

BRITAIN AND TIBET 1765-1947

This bibliography is a record of British relations with Tibet in the period 1765 to 1947. As such it also involves British relations with Russia and China, and with the Himalayan states of Ladakh, Lahul and Spiti, Kumaon and Garhwal, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and Assam, in so far as British policy towards these states was affected by her desire to establish relations with Tibet. It also covers a subject of some importance in contemporary diplomacy. It was the legacy of unresolved problems concerning Tibet and its borders, bequeathed to India by Britain in 1947, which led to border disputes and ultimately to war between India and China in 1962. These borders are still in dispute today. It also provides background information to Tibet's claims to independence, an issue of current importance. The work is divided into a number of sections and subsections, based on chronology, geography and events. The introductions to each of the sections provide a condensed and informative history of the period and place the books and articles in their historical context. Most entries are also annotated. This work is therefore both a history and a bibliography of the subject, and provides a rapid entry into a complex area for scholars in the fields of international relations and military history as well as Asian history.

Julie G. Marshall is a research associate in Asian Studies at La Trobe University in Melbourne where she was formerly Head Reference Librarian. She has published numerous bibliographic works in the field of social sciences and has travelled widely in the Himalayan Region including Tibet.

BRITAIN AND TIBET 1765-1947

A select annotated bibliography
of British relations with Tibet and
the Himalayan states including
Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan

Revised and updated
to 2003

Julie G. Marshall

With a Foreword by
Alastair Lamb

First published 2005
by RoutledgeCurzon
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4RN

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada
by RoutledgeCurzon
270 Madison Ave, New York, NY 10016

RoutledgeCurzon is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group

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Printed and bound in Great Britain by
TJ International Ltd, Padstow, Cornwall

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British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data
A catalog record for this book has been requested

ISBN 0-415-33647-3

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FOREWORD

A hundred years ago, in 1904, a British mission under Francis Younghusband, along with a formidable military escort commanded by Brigadier-General James Macdonald, entered Lhasa, the capital of Tibet. Thus nearly 150 years of British attempts from their Indian base to establish formal diplomatic relations with the ruling Tibetan theocracy culminated in the deployment of massive armed force. While the Younghusband venture failed to achieve nearly all its stated objectives, it undoubtedly marked the opening of a new era in Central Asian history the full consequences and complexities of which have yet to be revealed in full. To the steadily growing band of students of the history, nature and consequences of Anglo-Tibetan contacts, in which the Younghusband mission features so prominently, Julie Marshall's revised and enormously expanded version of her bibliography of works relating to British relations with Tibet from 1765 to 1947, of which the first version appeared in 1977, cannot fail to be of outstanding value. Its publication is indeed an appropriate event in the Younghusband centenary.

There is a paradox of sorts inherent in the very concept of 'British relations with Tibet' in that, strictly speaking, no such formal relations ever existed. The missions to Tibet despatched by Warren Hastings, of George Bogle in 1774-75 and Samuel Turner in 1783, never reached the seat of the Dalai Lama in Lhasa (and, indeed, never endeavoured to do so): they were directed towards the court of the Panchen Lama in Tashilhunpo where their immediate, if informal, successes produced no obvious lasting results. Warren Hastings' hope that George Bogle might, through the Panchen Lama, establish on behalf of the East India Company some kind of direct contact with the Chinese Emperor Ch'ien-lung, proved incapable of realisation. No more successful were efforts in the post-Hastings era to work in the opposite direction and seek relations with Tibet by way of China, a policy which was pursued with increasing degrees of energy from the 1860s and which, indeed, was inherent in some of the diplomatic arguments used to justify the Younghusband mission.

From the end of the eighteenth century until 1904 the British authorities in India, while establishing their influence to varying degrees in the Himalayan states of Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan, failed to proceed (beyond tentative contacts with Tibetan officials along their northern border) towards their formal diplomatic presence in any of the major centres of Central Tibet. In this the Chinese were unable, and, indeed, unwilling, to offer much assistance. Younghusband's Lhasa Convention of 1904, which would have created something very like a British Residency in Lhasa, was to all intents and purpose repudiated by the British Home Government. The British Trade Agency at Gyantse could well be classified, whatever its practical consequences were, as but part of a set of purely trading arrangements along the border between British India and Chinese territory. The various visits to Lhasa by the British Political Officer in Sikkim, which started in the 1920s, could be described as just that,

friendly visits across the border by the senior British frontier officer: in due course they gave rise, in the 1930s, to a permanent presence in Lhasa of a British official, but he was formally no more than an assistant to the Political Officer in Sikkim, and never turned into a fully accredited British diplomatic representative to the Dalai Lama as the ruler of Tibet.

In fact, of course, the British presence in Tibet after 1904 was considerable, be it exercised from Sikkim, Gyantse (and other Trade Marts) or Lhasa itself. The Government of India, however, despite its perceived geopolitical requirements, was never able to persuade its masters in London that Tibet was not in some way or other a part of the Chinese world even though it could add complexities to the definition of the precise nature of that Sino-Tibetan relationship (suzerainty versus sovereignty for example). When, soon after the British had departed the Subcontinent in 1947, the Chinese returned to Central Tibet in some force in 1950-51, the Government of independent India was not slow in acknowledging the fact of a Chinese Tibet (in, for instance, the *Agreement between the Republic of India and the People's Republic of China on Trade and Intercourse between Tibet Region of China and India*, signed in Beijing on 29 April 1954). India has frequently been criticised for this step: it must be admitted, however, that it probably had no alternative. The major Indian failure was to see that an admitted Chinese Tibet called for an agreed China-India border in the Himalayan range, an error which was destined to have the most profound consequences. Independent Indian attitudes in this respect, of course, derived directly from the practical evolution of a long history of British contacts, formal and informal, with the Tibetan borderlands combined with a profound reluctance on the part of the British Government of India (in contrast at times to the British Foreign Office in London) to strengthen in any way the Chinese presence, or right to a presence, in Tibet while being at the same time unable to deny categorically that right.

By 1904 the British Government of India under the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon had decided that it required some kind of formal relationship with the enormous tracts of Tibetan territory which lay beyond its Himalayan northern border. There were many in the British Government in London, which were after all Curzon's masters, who were not convinced by the arguments from India, not least the suggestion that the Tibetans, that is to say the XIIIth Dalai Lama and his officials, were in contact with agents of the Russian Tsar while refusing all overtures from the British. Curzon experienced some difficulty in producing a catalogue of reasons for preemptive action against Tibet, reasons which were not always founded upon the most solid of facts; but a case of sorts was cobbled together and Younghusband in due course arrived in Lhasa, killing numerous Tibetans along the way. The whole affair became extremely controversial, and so it has remained a hundred years on, as witness the many items on this subject listed by Julie Marshall. The real issues, however, were clear enough.

Was Tibet an independent entity or was it part, in some way or other, of the Chinese Empire? If part of China, then the Chinese authorities in Beijing could, and should, make their Tibetan subjects comply with the requirements of Anglo-Chinese diplomacy, including some kind of formal British representation in Tibet. If independent, *de facto* if not *de jure*, then it was reasonable for its

British Indian neighbours to expect that Tibet would accept a form of diplomatic contact at least equivalent to that which it was in the process of maintaining with the Russians. In other words, what was the status of Tibet? In a somewhat oblique manner Younghusband established that Tibet was, if anything, part of the Chinese world in that the diplomatic instruments which emerged from his mission involved the Chinese as parties and were effectively repudiated by the Dalai Lama (who fled Lhasa before Younghusband's entry). This conclusion was reinforced, albeit again rather obliquely, by the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907 (for example, Article 11 of the Tibetan section where we find: 'in conformity with the admitted principle of the suzerainty of China over Tibet, Great Britain and Russia engage not to enter into negotiations with Tibet except through the intermediary of the Chinese Government').

A Chinese Tibet, however, presented the British Government of India with real problems. First: in practice it did not end the Russian contacts (certain categories of which, indeed, were expressly authorised in the 1907 Anglo-Russian Convention). The Government of India had to hand surprisingly little intelligence on this point, but it had its suspicions, many of which have been confirmed in recent years following the opening of Russian archives. Second: the Tibetans, even with the Dalai Lama in exile, showed no great enthusiasm for Chinese rule; and in 1912 they effectively expelled the Chinese from Central Tibet. Third: in the years immediately following the Younghusband mission the Chinese in Central Tibet did not show themselves, in British eyes at least, to be ideal neighbours. When, following the fall of the Chinese Empire, in 1912, the Chinese regime in Central Tibet collapsed, there were powerful arguments for the British Government of India to avail itself of this opportunity to bring about something like an independent Tibet, under British protection (perhaps on the analogy of the trend in Outer Mongolia vis á vis the Russians), in place of Chinese 'suzerainty' (whatever that word might mean). Such reasoning, however, did not appeal to the Home Government, not least because they implied a repudiation of one key part of the 1907 Anglo-Russian Convention, an instrument which was still perceived as one of the foundations of British foreign policy. A major consequence of British policy in these years immediately before the outbreak of World War 1, therefore, was to frustrate any attempt by the Government of India to redefine the status of Tibet. Consequent ambiguities in British attitudes and actions have become a fruitful source of evidence for the existence after 1912 both of an independent Tibet and of a Tibet which remained legally part of China even if temporarily detached from it. Many, perhaps the majority, of the potential users of Julie Marshall's bibliography will be engaged, directly or indirectly, in the search for confirmation of one or other of these two interpretations of the Tibetan position.

A major consequence of the diplomatic problems posed by the Tibetan status, problems that can be traced back to at least the last years of the eighteenth century, was the failure (for a variety of reasons) of the British Government of India to secure an agreed definition of its many thousands of miles of common (or potentially common) border with Tibet along the Himalayan range. By 1947, in fact, only a single (and short) stretch of border, that between the British protected state of Sikkim and Tibet, had been defined by a remotely valid

international agreement, the Anglo-Chinese Convention of 1890 relating to Sikkim and Tibet, and this was to all intents and purposes repudiated by the Tibetans (who from time to time reiterated their attitude in various ways right up to the end of British rule in India in 1947) on whose behalf it had been signed by the Chinese. The so-called Simla Convention of 1914, and the associated Anglo-Tibetan notes of March 1914, would have provided a definition of sorts for the Indo-Tibetan border from the east of Bhutan to Burma, a stretch of several hundred miles which became known as the McMahon Line. Unfortunately, these diplomatic instruments are all of highly doubtful validity and were never accepted unconditionally either by the Chinese or the Tibetans (even if the latter had possessed the legal right to engage in bilateral agreements without Chinese participation). This question of the whereabouts of the borders of British India, which received extraordinarily scant public attention up to 1947, suddenly in the 1950s turned into the great Sino-Indian boundary dispute which resulted in a major war, albeit brief, in 1962. The argument over the whereabouts of the Sino-Indian boundary became in the late 1950s one of the key fundamentals in the structure of diplomacy in mainland Asia (and, though today, in 2004, no longer critical, is still with us and may yet again disrupt the relations between China and India, the two most populous states on the Planet). The Sino-Indian boundary dispute, with its roots firmly established in the British period, has given rise to a virtual international academic industry (by no means confined to India and China), to the workers in which Julie Marshall's revised bibliography, listing as it does a mass of material on this topic which has appeared since 1974, will surely be welcomed as a most valuable research tool.

The British approach to its northern border tracts contributed to the background of another of the great Asian boundary and territorial disputes of modern times, that between India and Pakistan relating to Kashmir. The connection between the Sino-Indian boundary question and the Kashmir problem has not received the recognition that it merits, but its existence cannot be doubted. A significant, sector of the border tracts in dispute between India and China, and, indeed, the area where the issue first detonated in significant armed conflict, the Aksai Chin, actually forms part of what both India and Pakistan (in 1947 at least, and probably far more recently) considered to be the legitimate territory of the old Princely State, under the British, of Jammu & Kashmir. Indeed it constitutes up to perhaps as much as 25% of the claimed area of that State which, in common with the bulk of the northern limits of British India elsewhere, possessed singularly ill-defined external boundaries. It is interesting that Julie Marshall's bibliographical approach points towards this particular relationship.

The State of Jammu & Kashmir was created from the 1840s under British influence very largely as a buffer between the north-western edge of the British Indian Empire and territory which either belonged to China or was, or could be, within the sphere of the expanding Russian Empire. How all this evolved in practice has in recent years become the subject of considerable popular interest, the so-called 'Great Game'. Until the Curzon-Younghusband era Tibet was not generally seen as a 'Great Game' tract, the key area for which involved the North-West Frontier and the world of Islamic Central Asia. In fact, of course,

this could never be entirely separated from the Buddhist world of Tibet, as Kipling's Kim (the key text for most 'Great Game' enthusiasts) makes clear enough. The problem facing the British was somehow to frustrate the inexorable march of Russia (or, at least, Russian influence) through Central Asia towards Afghanistan and then, by way of the convenient Khyber and Bolan Passes, into British India. Once sitting on the British borders in the north-west, the Russians could get up to all sorts of mischief: even if their armies never flooded down through the passes to the Indo-Gangetic plains, their very presence on the borders could seriously challenge British prestige. The same, of course, could be said of Tibet if the Russians ever turned up there, as indeed seemed to be the case on the basis of extremely unsatisfactory intelligence reaching British India at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to the alarm of the Curzon-Younghusband school of imperial strategists.

By the time of the Younghusband mission to Lhasa of 1904 the Russian advance had been halted, if only for the time being, along the Oxus and in the Pamirs. British India was shielded by a series of buffers of varying efficacy, Afghanistan, Jammu & Kashmir, and what was often called Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang or Xinjiang). In the decade leading to the Younghusband mission the continuance of Chinese rule in Xinjiang was seen by many British strategists as a crucial element in the security of India's northern border. The Chinese position in Xinjiang, however, was not too secure. There had been a prolonged rebellion against Chinese rule in the second half of the nineteenth century and it still seemed possible that the Russians, their ambitions refreshed, might cross the line of the Pamirs established in 1896 to take over western Xinjiang (just as the eastern part of the Province could well be approached from the Ili). Russian influence in Central Tibet, approaching it, perhaps, from Mongolia across a narrow corridor of Chinese territory in Gansu Province, could well turn out to be a useful aid to any Russian advance into Xinjiang directly from Russian-controlled territory. This was undoubtedly one fear behind the Younghusband mission. Once in Tibet, the Russians would be lurking behind or along some two thousand miles of India's northern borders, ill defined as they were and hitherto free from serious external threat.

In the 1920s, with the collapse of the authority of the Chinese Central Government, Xinjiang very much looked as if it would drift away from the rest of China and, so it seemed in the 1930s, pass under the influence of the Soviet Union which had already been demonstrating, to the alarm of some officials in British India, a renewed interest in Tibet. By the end of the decade some British observers concluded that in Xinjiang Russian influence was *de facto* paramount and that some kind of formal Soviet occupation of the region was far from impossible, perhaps, indeed, imminent. If so, of course, Tibet would be wide open to those very forces which had worried Curzon and Younghusband three decades earlier, now combined with that Communist ideology so threatening to colonial rule. In the late 1930s, indeed, the Russian threat in Xinjiang gave rise to an event unique in the long history of the 'Great Game': in March 1938, so the evidence rather suggests, a Russian force (or, at least, a force commanded by a Soviet agent) actually made its way across a small corner of Chinese Xinjiang from the Soviet Pamirs into the extreme north of British Indian territory, in

Hunza which had only just been brought under direct British administration with the lease in 1935 from the Maharaja of Jammu & Kashmir of the Gilgit region.

In the event the Russian threat died away. We know now that, at least in the specific Tibetan context, the whole project was effectively cancelled by Stalin when many of the key Russian players were eliminated in the purges that so devastated Soviet politics in the later 1930s. The Russian menace quietly disappeared, at least in Kashgaria (western Xinjiang). In its place, in the post-independence era, came a Russian alliance with the major successor to British India, an outcome which, one suspects, few British imperial statesmen and officials would have anticipated. As far as Xinjiang is concerned, and probably India as well, the Russian archival sources remain firmly closed: there is much about all this yet to discover.

In the 1930s the British Indian Foreign Office, inspired by its Deputy Foreign Secretary Olaf Caroe, was particularly alarmed by developments in Xinjiang. Apart from the 1935 Gilgit Lease referred to above (very much the handiwork of Caroe) there were two further immediate consequences, the decision to establish, albeit by subterfuge, something like a permanent British mission in Lhasa, and the resolve to bring about a definition of the northern Indian borders, particularly along the Assam Himalaya (the McMahon Line), to create a frontier more suitable for British strategic requirements. The Caroe doctrine shaped the way in which Tibet was treated in some British official sources where attempts were made to demonstrate a degree of Tibetan independence from China (in the negotiation, for example, of the Simla Convention of 1914 and the associated notes) which was certainly not supported either by the official British view in London and Beijing or, indeed, by the Tibetan authorities themselves. Caroe and his disciples had a profound effect upon much western writing on Tibet during the last years of the British Indian Empire, and more recently a great deal of scholarship has been devoted to attempts to correct Caroe-inspired distortions (some of which hovered, to put it mildly, on the verge of outright forgery). Olaf Caroe, however, continued to influence opinion long after both his retirement and the demise of the British Indian Empire. He was an active, and widely respected, advocate both of Tibetan independence and of the rightness of the case of independent India in its border arguments with China. He had also been the teacher of many of the first generation of independent Indian diplomats, not least K.P.S. Menon whose impact on Indo-Tibetan relations was to be profound indeed.

Much of British Indian policy towards Tibet, not least in the Caroe era which covered most of the period between 1934 and 1945, took place in an atmosphere where the interest of the general public (and not only in India) in Indian border problems received no official encouragement. Had the old fifty year rule for disclosure of British records been maintained, the implications of the papers on the final years of the British Indian Empire would only now be beginning to be understood. The change to the thirty-year rule, which may well be considered the greatest political achievement of Harold Wilson, started to bring into the public domain a mass of material just when the first version of Julie Marshall's bibliography was published in 1977. In the almost three decades that have elapsed since then a vast amount of research into the extraordinary riches of the

British archives relating to the now departed British Indian Empire, the records of the old India Office (now in the British Library) and of the Foreign Office (in the National Archives, formerly PRO, at Kew), has seen the light of day, to which has been added material from both Chinese and Russian archives (as well as a number of other lesser caches of official sources, for example Japanese and German).

At no point in the long history of British contacts, or attempted contacts, with Tibet which is the subject of Julie Marshall's bibliography did the British Government in London, or its diplomatic representatives in China, ever give specific recognition to the independence of Tibet (however that entity might be defined, which in itself was a by no means simple task). The British, however, did take a number of steps, particularly after 1912, which might indeed have contributed towards the establishment of Tibetan independent survival in the twentieth century, not least in attempting to promote some kind of modern education both in Tibet and for Tibetans abroad, and in providing the Lhasa authorities with the basis for a modern army, including some artillery and the capability of a measure of arms manufacture. Unofficially, more extreme measures may have been attempted. In the face of the obvious obstacle to change presented by certain elements of the Tibetan theocracy, there is some evidence of at least one endeavour by British officials directly in contact with Tibetan affairs to promote political reform if need be by some kind of coup d'état. In the event, political institutional reform proved impractical and military training totally ineffectual. Tibet never became a state remotely like Outer Mongolia, capable of preserving its independence against China. Outer Mongolia, moreover, probably survived only because of the far from happy legacy of western, in this case Soviet, rule or domination. There was no such legacy in Tibet. Even if the British Indian Government had actually attempted the incorporation of Tibet within the general sphere of the British Empire, it is highly unlikely that its successors after 1947 could have maintained, or indeed would even have attempted to maintain, this particular legacy in the face of the revived Chinese power that emerged in 1949 with the Communist victory over the KMT Nationalists.

A peculiar feature of the subject covered by Julie Marshall's bibliography is that with time it has not only become of greater interest to historians and other students of the past but also has acquired an increasing contemporary relevance. As we have noted above, the questions of Tibetan status and the nature and whereabouts of the Sino-Indian borders are still very much with us. The crucial geopolitical importance of the 'roof of the world' in Central Asia, to which Sir Halford Mackinder (*Democratic Ideals and Reality*) pointed rather ineffectively in 1919, is now very widely accepted indeed. The modern history of armed conflict may well have been ended in Europe by the march of liberal democratic capitalism (though a glance at the Balkans makes one wonder), but it is certainly still very much there in the middle of the Asian landmass, that same field on which the 'Great Game' was played. Tibet lies at the heart of that field, where the spheres of influence of China, India, Pakistan, Russia and its former Central Asian Republics, Pakistan, Iran, Iraq, even Myanmar (Burma), and the United States (whose presence here would certainly have astounded Younghusband and

Curzon and probably startled Mackinder as well). Whatever it was in Kipling's day, the 'Great Game' has become a mass sport with a huge following. Its background will continue to be studied and Julie Marshall's revised bibliography consulted as an essential work of reference (as indeed was the original version for those fortunate enough to have been able to lay their hands on a copy).

A final observation is called for. Julie Marshall's bibliography, in its original 1977 form and more so in the present revision, is astoundingly comprehensive. Nearly every aspect of Tibet and its external contacts, as well as those of Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan, be it political, geographical, religious, cultural or, indeed, almost anything else, is dealt with in great depth. Practically every work in English is listed, certainly everything of any significance, and a great deal in French (and some other European languages are at least touched upon). The arrangement is subtle and Julie Marshall's comments, which judiciously separate the grain from the chaff, are invaluable. We have here something far more than a piece of dry librarianship: it is in its own right a scholarly study of the highest quality.

Alastair Lamb
February 2004.

PREFACE

The first edition of this bibliography was published in 1977 by La Trobe University Library with the title *Britain and Tibet 1765-1947: the background to the India-China border dispute. A select annotated bibliography of printed material in European languages*. It contained material published up to mid-1974. Since its publication there has been an enormous growth of interest in Tibet and its relations with China and the West, and in the evolution of the Sino-Indian border as it evolved during the British rule in India. This has led to a wide-ranging critical reappraisal of the subject and of all aspects of Tibetan history, politics, religion and culture.

This revised and updated edition contains material published up to 2003 and also includes earlier works excluded from the original edition. It also includes some important theses that have not subsequently been published. Due to recent research new chapters have been added to cover such subjects as the Japanese in Tibet and Soviet Russia's interest in Tibet during the 1920's. As in the first edition each chapter, and subsection of a chapter, is introduced by a brief historical summary and each entry is annotated except for items of a strictly biographical nature or where their content is clear from the title. The vast majority of items have been seen by the compiler. When a copy of an item has not been personally inspected an asterisk appears before the entry and information on the source of reference is included.

Only material in European languages (including a select number of Russian publications) is included. Book reviews of important works are also included. These follow the main entry of the work concerned. Foreign translations of works originally appearing in English are omitted. Of other translations only those into English from other languages are included.

Comments on events especially in the nineteenth and early twentieth century often appeared anonymously. All these articles are grouped at the beginning of each chapter arranged by date of publication.

The spelling of names has been left unchanged in the entries, but in the annotations and notes the form of spelling most common in modern books has been used, e.g. Panchen Lama, not Tashi Lama or Teshoo Lama. I have also generally retained the Wade-Giles system of Romanisation of Chinese rather than change to the current Pinyin, and in the transliteration of Chinese, Tibetan and Indian names I have continued to use the form common during the British period and used in the contemporary sources, e.g. Shigatse not Xigatse, Peking not Beijing. I have also used the term 'British' in the annotations to refer to both Britain and British India.

The preparation of the original edition of this bibliography involved the use of many libraries in Australia and overseas, especially in England. The preparation of this revised and updated edition has benefited greatly from the advent of electronic databases and the ability to access major overseas collections such as the Library of Congress, other major American libraries, and libraries in Europe,

as well as publishers' catalogues on the Internet. As most of the material included in this revised edition has been published since 1974 I have been able to consult the majority of items in Australian libraries. I am grateful to the staff of La Trobe University, Monash University, the Universities of Melbourne, Sydney, Tasmania and Adelaide, the Australian National University, and the State Libraries of Victoria, South Australia and Tasmania for providing access to their collections. I should particularly like to thank the staff of the National Library of Australia who granted me access to their stacks so that I could browse their considerable collection of relevant material. I should also like to acknowledge my gratitude to Dr Philip Pierce of the Nepal Research Centre in Kathmandu, and the staff of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, and the British Library for permitting me to use their collections. The Interlending and Document Delivery Section of La Trobe University obtained material for me in their usual efficient manner and I am especially indebted to Sharon Karasmanis, Peggy Cochrane, Jonelle Bradley and Marnie Sier for their help.

A number of scholars provided me with information and/or copies of their publications or information about other relevant publications for which I am most grateful. Dr Alex McKay provided much help and encouragement and was at all times a fund of information about new and forthcoming books as well as providing me with copies of his papers. Dr Alastair Lamb provided valuable suggestions and specialised advice. He also gave me copies of his latest publications and his works on the diplomatic history of Anglo-Tibetan-Chinese relations were always a valuable guide. Information on Russian publications was provided by Dr Alexandre Andreyev, who alerted me to new research on the part played by Soviet Russia in Tibet especially in the 1920s; Professor Nikolai Kuleshov sent me a copy of his book, *Russia's Tibet file* and other publications; and Aida Tulskeya of the Roerich Institute, provided me with detailed information on publications concerning Nicholas Roerich's expeditions to Central Asia and Tibet. Dr Isrun Engelhardt, Dr Carole McGranahan, Dr David Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, Dr Kate Teltscher, Professor Derek Waller, Nicholas Rhodes, John Bray, James Cooper, and John Billington all sent me lists of their publications and copies of some of their articles which were extremely helpful and much appreciated. Professor Parshotam Mehra and Scott Berry also sent me lists of, or information about, their publications. David Templeman lent me items from his library and provided useful discussions and help. I should also like to thank Major John Raybould of the Royal Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire Regiment for providing an article from an early issue of the Regimental journal *The Britannia* and Philippa Carrick of the Tibet Society of the U.K. for sending me copies of articles from their *Newsletter*.

I wish to record my appreciation for the help and facilities provided by the Asian Studies Program in the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of La Trobe University, especially the assistance of Professor John Fitzgerald, Dr Greg Bailey, Dr Raj Pandey and Tracy Lee. My thanks are also due to my editor, Dorothea Schaefer, at RoutledgeCurzon who guided me through the intricacies of the production process. I owe a special debt to my husband, Alan, who was at

all times a source of encouragement and support throughout the preparation of this work.

My thanks go also to Richard and Rosemary Heyhoe for their hospitality during my visit to London and Jacqueline Elliott during my stay in Canberra.

Finally it is difficult to decide on a cut-off date for a bibliography as there are always new and interesting works due for release. This bibliography includes works published until 2003. Already in 2004 a new work on the Younghusband Expedition has been published (*Duel in the snows: the true story of the Younghusband Mission to Lhasa*, by Charles Allen), whilst other major publications such as a work on B.H. Hodgson edited by David Waterhouse (*Origins of Himalayan studies: Brian Houghton Hodgson in Nepal and Darjeeling*) are due for release.

Julie Marshall,
La Trobe University,
April 2004.

INTRODUCTION

This bibliography is a record of British relations with Tibet in the period 1765-1947. It also involves British relations with Russia and China, and with the Himalayan states of Ladakh, Lahul and Spiti, Kumaon and Garhwal, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and Assam, in so far as British policy towards these states was affected by the desire of Britain to establish diplomatic and commercial relations with Tibet.

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, although their early interest in the region was as much commercial as territorial. 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 Tibet. Britain also had a direct border with Tibet acquired by the annexation of Kumaon and Garhwal following the Anglo-Nepalese War of 1814-1816. These districts, and other states of the Western Himalayan Region such as Ladakh, possessed traditional relationships, religious, economic and political with Tibet. Thus to try and delimit a secure and settled border between these areas and Tibet was a problem of some difficulty. This meant that apart from the Boundary Commissions of 1846 and 1847, and Macdonald's note concerning the Aksai Chin in 1899, the problem of boundary delimitation was generally ignored by the British. When border disputes arose in these regions informal discussions took place between Tibetan and British officials and some minor boundary decisions were made but these were not included in any formal agreements.

On the North-East Frontier of India the problem was, to some extent, similar. The annexation of Assam following the first Anglo-Burmese War in 1826 brought Britain into contact with the tribes of the Assam Himalayas. The tribal regions, which are generally considered as being on the Indian side of the border, had close ties with Tibet to the north. The delimitation, let alone the demarcation, of a border in this region was even more difficult than in the Western Himalayan Region due to the rugged physical nature of the country and the limited exploration of the tribal regions until the twentieth century. Increased Chinese activity in Tibet and Chinese interest in the Assam Himalayan Region following the Younghusband Expedition to Tibet in 1903-1904, forced the British to attempt a delimitation of their border with Tibet in this region in 1914 by what is now known as the McMahon Line. This Line, which was concluded by a secret agreement between Britain and Tibet during the Simla Conference, and the Sikkim-Tibet border, delimited in the Anglo-Chinese Convention of 1890, were in fact the only two sections of the northern boundary of India defined during British rule by bilateral agreements. The validity of the McMahon Line was, however, not recognised by China who disputed that Tibet existed as an independent nation in 1914 with the right to sign agreements. The failure of Britain to gain Chinese recognition of the McMahon Line while China

was weak, and the fact that a concerted effort to establish the Line as the effective border was made only in the last years of British rule, meant that India inherited a border fraught with problems on her North-East Frontier.

Throughout the nineteenth century attempts were made by European travellers and missionaries to explore Tibet and to reach its capital, Lhasa, and some of these received some support from the Indian Government in their attempts to gain information. The British were also interested in Tibet as a market for their goods and as a trade route between India and China. This activity coincided with an increased determination by Tibet to maintain its isolation from the outside world. This was partly due to Chinese influence, and partly to Tibetan apprehension at the extension of British control in the Himalayan area. As attempts to establish formal relations with Tibet were unsuccessful the British resorted to using native surveyors known as pundits to provide information about Tibet. The pundits, who were trained by the Survey of India, travelled to Tibet disguised as pilgrims, and secretly compiled detailed maps of the country.

By the end of the nineteenth century Tibet had also become an area of dispute in the "Great Game" – the confrontation of Britain and Russia in Central Asia. The assumption of responsibility for the Government of Tibet by the 13th Dalai Lama in 1895 came at a time of declining Chinese influence in Tibet and increasing territorial expansion of the British in India to the Tibetan border. Disputes over the Sikkim-Tibet border, and the inability of Lord Curzon, who had become Viceroy of India in 1899, to establish direct contact with the Tibetan authorities, coincided with rumours of Russian activity in Tibet and news of a Tibet mission to Russia in 1901 led by a Russian Buriat, Agvan Dorjiev. This mission was a largely unsuccessful attempt by the 13th Dalai Lama to establish foreign relations with Russia to counteract the British expansion. However, it was Curzon's fear of Russian influence in Tibet and the threat this could pose to India's northern frontier, that was largely responsible for persuading the British Government to authorise the Younghusband Expedition to Tibet in 1903-1904. Despite the military and diplomatic success of this Expedition the British Government in London refused to accept the Convention signed in Lhasa by Younghusband which would have established a pre-eminent position for Britain in Tibet. The modifications they made to the Convention denied Britain most of the advantages won by the military action. They further restricted their relations with Tibet by the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 thus allowing the Chinese to consolidate their control of Tibet following the withdrawal of the Younghusband Expedition. The Anglo-Russian Convention also acknowledged Chinese suzerainty in Tibet. Later in the 1920s, in a reversal of roles, Soviet Russia sent several missions to Tibet to investigate British influence in Lhasa and to try and counteract what they saw as British imperialist designs on that country.

During the last thirty-five years of its rule in India, Britain tried to maintain Tibet as a buffer state between India and China by limiting Chinese influence in Tibet and by supporting Tibetan claims to 'de facto' independence, though also recognising Chinese claims to suzerainty over Tibet. Both Britain and China sent representatives to Tibet in this period to try and influence and control the

country though the British attitude towards Tibet was often ambivalent with the Government reluctant to respond to Tibet's requests for assistance. The British political officers on the frontier, on the other hand, were always sympathetic to the requests of the Tibetan Government and urged a more active Tibetan policy. Tibet meanwhile tried to follow a policy of non-alignment between Britain and China especially after Britain failed to gain Chinese adherence to the Simla Convention and was reluctant to supply the Tibetans with all the arms they needed. This policy, however, was only effective whilst there was a weak government in China. With the establishment of Indian independence in 1947 and the occupation of Tibet by the Chinese People's Republic in 1950, India and China were brought together along a common boundary. The legacy of unresolved problems concerning Tibet and its borders bequeathed to India by Britain was soon to lead to border disputes, and in 1962 to war between India and China. Negotiations on these borders continue to this day with both the eastern and western sectors of the border still in dispute. Thus, in the context of contemporary diplomacy, British relations with Tibet during the period 1765-1947 assume a disproportionate significance.

PERIODICAL ABBREVIATIONS

- A travers le monde*
A. Regist.
Academy
- Acta Geogr.*
Acta Orient. Acad. Scient. Hungaricae
Alpen
Alpine J.
Am. Anthropologist
Am. hist. Rev.
Am. J. int. Law.
Am. J. phys. Anthropol.
- Am. mon. Rev. Revs*
Am. polit. Sci. Rev.
Ancient Nepal
- Annales extr. Orient*
Annales Géogr.
Annales Hist. Sci. Soc.
Annales Prop. Foi
Annales Sci. Polit.
Annales Voyag.
- Annals Am. Acad. Pol. Soc. Sci.*
- Annals Assoc. Asian Stud. Southeast Conf.*
- Annals Mag. nat. Hist.*
Annals Phil.
Annals Prop. Faith
- Année géogr.*
Anthropos
Anz. Akad. Wiss. Wien Math.-Naturw. Kl.
- Archiv Orient.*
Archives Dipl.
Arena
Ariavarta
Army Q.
Army Rev.
Arts of Asia
Asia
- Asia and the Americas*
Asia Major
- A travers le monde. Paris.*
Annual register. London.
Academy: a weekly review of literature, science and art. London.
Acta geographica. Paris.
Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Budapest.
Alpen. Bern.
Alpine journal. London.
American anthropologist. Washington.
American historical review. New York.
American journal of international law. New York.
American journal of physical anthropology. New York.
American monthly review of reviews. New York.
American political science review. Baltimore.
Ancient Nepal: journal of the Department of Archaeology. Kathmandu.
Annales de l'extrême Orient. Paris.
Annales de géographie. Paris.
Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales. Paris.
Annales de la Propagation de la Foi. Lyon.
Annales des sciences politiques. Paris.
Annales des voyages de la géographie de l'histoire et de l'archéologie. Paris.
Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences. New York.
Annals of the Association for Asian Studies. Southeast Conference. [Continued as Southeast Rev. Asian Stud.]
Annals and magazine of natural history. London.
Annals of philosophy. London.
Annals of the Propagation of the Faith. London. [English edition of Annales Prop. Foi]
Année géographique. Paris.
Anthropos. Freiburg.
Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien. Mathematisch-naturwissenschaftliche Klasse. Anzeiger. Vienna.
Archiv orientální. Prague.
Archives diplomatiques. Paris.
Arena. Boston.
Ariavarta. St Petersburg.
Army quarterly. London.
Army review. London.
Arts of Asia. Hong Kong.
Asia. New York. [Continued as Asia and the Americas]
Asia and the Americas. New York.
Asia major. London.

- Asian Affairs*
Asian Ethnicity
Asian Rev., Lond.
Asian Rev., Tokyo.
Asian Stud., Bombay
Asian Stud., Quezon City
Asian Stud. Rev.
Asian Survey
Asiat. A. Regist.
Asiat. J.
Asiat. Q. Rev.
- Asiat. Rev.*
Asiat. Res.
Asiat. res. Bull.
Asie fr.
Asien
Assam Review
Athenaeum
Ausland
Aust. J. Polit. Hist.
Aust. Q.
Aust. Yb. int. Law
Aust. 's Neighb.
Aziia i Afrika Segodnia
- Bd Trade J.*
Beijing Rev.
Beng. Past Present
Biblque Univ. Genève
Blackwood's Edinb. Mag.
- Blackwood's Mag.*
Blue Peter
Boll. Soc. geogr. Ital.
Bolm. Soc. geogr. Lisb.
- Bombay Univ. J.*
- Br. Army navy Rev.*
Br. Emp. Ser.
Br. Foreign St. Pap.
- Br. Q. Rev.*
Br. Surv.
Britannia
- Bull. Am. geogr. Soc.*
- Bull. Br. Museum (Nat. Hist.) Botany*
- Bull. Com. Asie fr.*
- Bull. Dept. Sanskrit Indian Stud. Harvard Univ.*
- Asian Affairs.* London. [Formerly *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.*]
Asian Ethnicity. Abington, Oxfordshire.
Asian review. London. [Formerly *Asiat. Rev.*]
Asian Review. Tokyo.
Asian Studies. Bombay.
Asian Studies. Quezon City.
Asian studies review. Queensland.
Asian survey. Berkeley.
Asiatic annual register. London.
Asiatic journal. London.
Asiatic quarterly review. London. [Continued as *Imp. Asiat. Q. Rev.* and *Asiat. Rev.*]
Asiatic review. London.
Asiatick researches. Calcutta.
Asiatic research bulletin. Seoul.
Asie française. Paris.
Asien. Berlin.
Assam review. Silchar.
Athenaeum. London.
Ausland. Stuttgart.
Australian journal of politics and history. Brisbane.
Australian quarterly. Sydney.
Australian yearbook of international law. Sydney.
Australia's neighbours. Melbourne.
Aziia i Afrika Segodnia. Moscow.
- Board of Trade journal.* London.
Beijing Review. Beijing.
Bengal, past and present. Calcutta.
Bibliothèque universelle de Genève. Geneva.
Blackwood's Edinburgh magazine. Edinburgh.
 [Continued as *Blackwood's Mag.*]
Blackwood's magazine. Edinburgh; London.
Blue Peter. London.
Società Geografica Italiana. Bollettino. Rome.
Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa. Boletim. Lisbon.
Bombay University journal. (History, economics & sociology series). Bombay.
British army and navy review. London.
British empire series. London.
British and foreign state papers (G.B. Foreign Office). London.
British quarterly review. London.
British survey. London.
The Britannia: the regimental journal of the Norfolk Regiment.
Bulletin of the American Geographical Society. New York.
Bulletin of the British Museum (Natural History). Botany. London.
Comité de l'Asie française. Bulletin. Paris.
 [Continued as *Asie fr.*]
Bulletin of the Department of Sanskrit and Indian Studies, Harvard University.

- Bull. Ecole fr. Extr.-Orient* *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient.* Paris.
- Bull. Géogr. hist. descr.* *Bulletin de géographie historique et descriptive.* Paris.
- Bull. Inst. China Border Area Stud.* *Bulletin of the Institute of China Border Area Studies.* Taipei.
- Bull. Inst. Mod. Hist., Academia Sinica* *Bulletin of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica.* Taipei.
- Bull. Metrop. Mus. Art* *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.* New York.
- Bull. Misc. Inf. R. bot. Gdns Kew* *Bulletin of miscellaneous information.* Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.
- Bull. Sch. Orient. Afr. Stud.* *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.* London.
- Bull. Sect. Géogr. Com. Trav. hist. scient.* France. Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques. Section de Géographie. *Bulletin.* Paris.
- Bull. Soc. belge Étud. colon.* Société Belge d'Études Coloniales. *Bulletin.* Brussels.
- Bull. Soc. Étud. colon.* Société d'Études Coloniales. *Bulletin.* Brussels. [Continued as *Bull. Soc. belge Étud. colon.*]
- Bull. Soc. Étud. Colon. Marit.* Société des Études Coloniales et Maritimes. *Bulletin.* Paris.
- Bull. Soc. Géogr. comm. Bordeaux* Société de Géographie Commerciale de Bordeaux. *Bulletin.*
- Bull. Soc. Géogr. comm. Havre* Société de Géographie Commerciale du Havre. *Bulletin.*
- Bull. Soc. Géogr. comm. Paris* Société de Géographie Commerciale de Paris. *Bulletin.*
- Bull. Soc. Géogr. Est.* Société de Géographie de l'Est. *Bulletin.* Nancy; Paris.
- Bull. Soc. Géogr. Étud. colon. Marseille* Société de Géographie et d'Études Coloniales de Marseille. *Bulletin.*
- Bull. Soc. Géogr. Lille* Société de Géographie de Lille. *Bulletin.*
- Bull. Soc. Géogr. Lyon* Société de Géographie de Lyon. *Bulletin.*
- Bull. Soc. Géogr. Paris* Société de Géographie. *Bulletin.* Paris.
- Bull. Soc. R. belge Géogr.* Société Royal Belge de Géographie. *Bulletin.* Brussels.
- Bull. Tibetol.* *Bulletin of Tibetology.* Gangtok, Sikkim.
- Bull. Un. Géogr. N. Fr.* Union Géographique du Nord de la France. *Bulletin.* Douai.
- C. r. Séanc. Soc. Géogr. Paris* Société de Géographie. *Compte rendu des séances.* Paris.
- Calcutta hist. J.* *Calcutta historical journal.* Calcutta.
- Calcutta J. nat. Hist.* *Calcutta journal of natural history.* Calcutta.
- Calcutta Rev.* *Calcutta review.* Calcutta.
- Can. alp. J.* *Canadian alpine journal.* Winnipeg.
- Can. geogr. J.* *Canadian geographical journal.* Ottawa.
- Can. J. Hist.* *Canadian journal of history.* Saskatoon.
- Canada-Mongolia Review* *Canada-Mongolia Review.* Saskatoon.
- Central Asian Review* *Central Asian review.* London.
- Central Asian Survey* *Central Asian survey.* Oxford.
- Central Asiat. J.* *Central Asiatic journal.* Wiesbaden.
- Century ill. Mon. Mag.* *Century illustrated monthly magazine.* New York.
- Chamb. J.* *Chamber's journal.* Edinburgh; London.

- Chin. Jap. Repos.*
Chin. Repos.
Chin. social polit. Sci. Rev.
Chin. students' Mon.
China Critic
China J.
China J., Canberra
China Q., Lond.
China Q., Shanghai
China Report

China Rev. Int.
China wkly Rev.
China Yb.
China's Tibet
Chine
Chö Yang
Chron. Lond. miss. Soc.

Church History
Church miss. Intell.
Commonw. milit. J.
Contemp. Rev.
Continuity & Change
Contrib. Nepalese Stud.

Cornhill Mag.
Correspondant
Cosmos
Courr. Extr. Orient
Cslky casopis Hist.

Dial

Discovery
Dt. Polit.
Dt. Rdsch. Geogr. Statist.

E. Indian un. Serv. J.
East and West
East. Anthrop.
East. Wld
Econ. Polit. Wkly
Economist
Edinb. J. Sci.
Edinb. phil. J.
Edinb. Rev.
Engl. hist. Rev.
Engl. ill. Mag.
Engl. Rev.
European Bull. Himalayan Res.

Examiner
Explorateur
Export
- Chinese and Japanese repository.* London.
Chinese repository. Canton.
Chinese social and political science review. Peking.
Chinese students' monthly. Baltimore etc.
China critic. Shanghai.
China journal. Shanghai.
China journal. Canberra.
China quarterly. London.
China quarterly. Shanghai.
China Report: a journal of East Asian Studies. New Delhi.
China review international. Honolulu.
China weekly review. Shanghai.
China yearbook. Shanghai.
China's Tibet. Peking.
Chine. Peking.
Chö Yang. Dharamsala.
Chronicle of the London Missionary Society. London.
Church History. Chicago, etc.
Church missionary intelligencer. London.
Commonwealth military journal. Melbourne.
Contemporary review. London.
Continuity & Change. Cambridge.
Contributions to Nepalese studies. Kirtipur, Tribhuvan University.
Cornhill magazine. London.
Correspondant. Paris.
Cosmos. Torino.
Courrier de l'Extrême Orient. Brussels.
Ceskoslovensky casopis historicky. Prague.

The Dial; a semi-monthly journal of literary criticism, discussion and information. Chicago.
Discovery. London; Cambridge.
Deutsche Politik. Stuttgart; Berlin.
Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik. Vienna; Leipzig.

East Indian united service journal. Calcutta.
East and west. Rome.
Eastern anthropologist. Lucknow.
Eastern world. London.
Economic and political weekly. Bombay.
Economist. London.
Edinburgh journal of science. Edinburgh.
Edinburgh philosophical journal. Edinburgh.
Edinburgh review. Edinburgh.
English historical review. London.
English illustrated magazine. London.
English review. London.
European bulletin of Himalayan research. Heidelberg.
Examiner. London.
Explorateur. Paris.
Export. Berlin.

<i>Extreme-Asie</i>	<i>Extreme-Asie</i> . Saigon.
<i>Far East. econ. Rev.</i>	<i>Far Eastern economic review</i> . Hong Kong.
<i>Far East. polit. Sci. Rev.</i>	<i>Far Eastern political science review</i> . Canton.
<i>Far East. Q.</i>	<i>Far Eastern quarterly</i> . Ann Arbor.
<i>Far East. Rev.</i>	<i>Far Eastern review</i> . Shanghai.
<i>Far East. Survey</i>	<i>Far Eastern survey</i> . New York.
<i>Field</i>	<i>Field</i> . London.
<i>Foreign Affairs</i>	<i>Foreign affairs</i> . New York.
<i>Fort</i>	<i>Fort: the international journal of fortification and military architecture</i> . Isle of Wight.
<i>Fortnightly Rev.</i>	<i>Fortnightly review</i> . London.
<i>Forum</i>	<i>Forum</i> . New York.
<i>France-Asie</i>	<i>France-Asie</i> . Saigon.
<i>Fraser's Mag.</i>	<i>Fraser's magazine</i> . London.
<i>Free Press</i>	<i>Free Press</i> . London. [Continued as <i>Diplomatic review</i>]
<i>Frontiers</i>	<i>Frontiers: annual of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia</i> . Philadelphia.
<i>Garbe</i>	<i>Garbe</i> . Basel.
<i>Gartenlaube</i>	<i>Gartenlaube</i> . Leipzig.
<i>Gdnrs' Chron.</i>	<i>Gardeners' chronicle</i> . London.
<i>Geist des Ostens</i>	<i>Geist des Ostens</i> . Munich.
<i>Gen. Rep. Gt Trig. Surv. India</i>	<i>General report on the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India and the topographical surveys of the Bombay Presidency</i> . [Continued as <i>Gen. Rep. Ops Gt Trig. Surv. India</i>]
<i>Gen. Rep. Ops Gt Trig. Surv. India</i>	<i>General report on the operations of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India</i> .
<i>Gen. Rep. Ops Surv. India</i>	<i>General report on the operations of the Survey of India</i> .
<i>Gen. Rep. topogr. Surv. India</i>	<i>General report on the topographical surveys of India and the Surveyor General's Dept</i> .
<i>Gent. Mag.</i>	<i>Gentleman's magazine</i> . London.
<i>Geogr. J.</i>	<i>Geographical journal</i> . London.
<i>Geogr. Jb.</i>	<i>Geographisches Jahrbuch</i> . Gotha
<i>Geogr. Mag.</i>	<i>Geographical magazine</i> . London. 1874-1878.
<i>Geogr. Mag., Lond.</i>	<i>Geographical magazine</i> . London. 1935- .
<i>Geogr. Observ.</i>	<i>Geographical observer</i> . Meerut, India.
<i>Geogr. Rdsch.</i>	<i>Geographische Rundschau</i> . Brunswick.
<i>Geogr. Rev.</i>	<i>Geographical review</i> . New York.
<i>Geogr. Rev. India</i>	<i>Geographical review of India</i> . Calcutta.
<i>Geogr. Teach.</i>	<i>Geographical teacher</i> . London.
<i>Geogr. Tidsskr.</i>	<i>Geografisk tidsskrift</i> . Copenhagen.
<i>Geogr. Z.</i>	<i>Geographische Zeitschrift</i> . Leipzig.
<i>Geographical</i>	<i>Geographical: monthly magazine of the Royal Geographical Society</i> . London. (Formerly <i>Geogr. Mag., Lond.</i>)
<i>Géographie</i>	<i>Géographie</i> . Paris.
<i>Gesch. Wiss. Unterr.</i>	<i>Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht</i> . Stuttgart.
<i>Glean. Sci.</i>	<i>Gleanings in science</i> . Calcutta.
<i>Globus</i>	<i>Globus</i> . Hildburghausen; Brunswick.
<i>Goldthwaite's geogr. Mag.</i>	<i>Goldthwaite's geographical magazine</i> . New York.
<i>Good Words</i>	<i>Good Words</i> . London.

- Grenzboten*
Govt Opposition
Gt Br. East
- H. of C. Parl. Pap.*
H. of L. Parl. Pap.
- Harper's mon. Mag.*
Harper's Wkly
Harvard int. Rev.
Harvard J. Asiat. Stud.
- Harvard Univ. Pap. China*
- Hemisphere*
Hilfe
Himalaya Past and Present
Himalayan J.
Himalayan Res. Bull.
Hindustan Rev.
Hist. J.
Hist. polit. Bl. Kathol. Dtl.
- Hist. Rev.*
- Historian*
History
- History of Photography*
History of Religions
History of Science
History Today
Hokke bunka kenkyu
- Hooker's J. Bot. Kew Gdn Misc.*
- IIAS Newsletter*
- IIAS Yearbook*
Ill. Lond. News
Ill. Travels
Imp. Asiat. Q. Rev.
- Independent*
India Q.
Indian Aff. Rec.
Indian Antiq.
Indian Archives
Indian Art and Letters
Indian econ. social hist. Rev.
Indian foreign Rev.
Indian forester
Indian geogr. J.
Indian hist. Q.
- Grenzboten.* Leipzig; Berlin.
Government and opposition. London.
Great Britain and the East. London.
- Great Britain. Parliament. House of Commons.
Parliamentary papers. London.
 Great Britain. Parliament. House of Lords.
Parliamentary papers. London.
Harper's monthly magazine. New York.
Harper's weekly. New York.
Harvard international review. Cambridge, Mass.
Harvard journal of Asiatic studies. Cambridge, Mass.
 Harvard University. East Asian Research Center.
Papers on China. Cambridge, Mass.
Hemisphere. Sydney.
Hilfe. Berlin.
Himalaya past and present. Almora.
Himalayan journal. Calcutta, etc.
Himalayan research bulletin. Ithaca, N.Y.
Hindustan review. Allahabad.
Historical journal. Cambridge; London.
Historisch-politische Blätter für das katholische Deutschland. Munich.
Historical review. Indian Institute of Oriental Studies and Research. Calcutta.
Historian. Allentown, Pa.
History: journal of the Historical Association. Oxford.
History of photography. London.
History of religions. Chicago.
History of science. Britain.
History today. London
Hokke bunka kenkyu. Journal of Institute for the Comprehensive Study of Lotus Sutra. Tokyo.
Hooker's journal of botany and Kew Garden miscellany. London.
- IIAS Newsletter.* Leiden, International Institute for Asian Studies.
IIAS Yearbook. Leiden.
Illustrated London news. London.
Illustrated travels (Ed. by H.W. Bates). London.
Imperial and Asiatic quarterly review. London.
 [Continued as *Asiat. Q. Rev.*, then *Asiat. Rev.*]
Independent. New York.
India quarterly. New Delhi.
Indian affairs record. New Delhi.
Indian antiquary. Bombay.
Indian archives. New Delhi.
Indian art and letters. London.
Indian economic and social history review. Delhi.
Indian and foreign review. New Delhi.
Indian forester. Allahabad; Calcutta.
Indian geographical journal. Madras.
Indian historical quarterly. Calcutta.

- Indian hist. Rev.*
Indian J. int. Law
Indian J. polit. Sci.
Indian Rev.
Indian St. Rlys Mag.
Indian Stud. Past Present
Indian trade J.
Indian Yb. int. Aff.
Indo-Iran. J.
Inner Asia
Int. Aff.
Int. comp. Law Q.
- Int. hist. Rev.*
Int. J. Hist. Sport
Int. Stud.
Islamic Culture
Issues & Studies
- J. Allahabad hist. Soc.*
J. Am. geogr. Soc.
J. Am. orient. Soc.
J. Asian Hist.
J. Asian Stud.
J. Asiat.
J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.
J. Asiat. Soc., Calcutta
J. Assam Res. Soc.
J. Bihar Orissa Res. Soc.
J. Bihar Res. Soc.
J. Bombay Brch R. Asiat. Soc.
J. Br. Stud.
J. Buddh. Text Anthropol. Soc.
J. Buddh. Text Res. Soc.
J. Buddh. Text. Soc. India
J. Can. bank. Ass.
J. cent. Asian Soc.
J. China Brch R. Asiat. Soc.
J. contemp. Asia
J. contemp. Hist.
J. Débats
- Indian historical review.* Delhi.
Indian journal of international law. Delhi.
Indian journal of political science. Allahabad etc.
Indian review. Madras.
Indian state railways magazine. Bombay.
Indian studies past and present. Calcutta.
Indian trade journal. Calcutta.
Indian yearbook of international affairs. Madras.
Indo-Iranian journal. 'S-Gravenhage.
Inner Asia. Cambridge.
International affairs. London.
International and comparative law quarterly.
 London.
International history review. Canada.
International journal of the history of sport. London.
International studies. Delhi.
Islamic culture. Hyderabad.
Issues & Studies. Taipei.
- Journal of the Allahabad Historical Society.*
 Allahabad.
Journal of the American Geographical Society. New
 York.
Journal of the American Oriental Society. New
 Haven.
Journal of Asian history. Wiesbaden.
Journal of Asian studies. Ann Arbor.
Journal asiatique. Paris.
Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Calcutta.
Journal of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. Calcutta.
Journal of the Assam Research Society. Gauhati.
Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
 Patna. [Continued as *J. Bihar Res. Soc.*]
Journal of the Bihar Research Society. Patna.
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain
and Ireland. Bombay Branch. Bombay.
Journal of British studies. Hartford, Conn.
Journal of the Buddhist Text and Anthropological
Society. Calcutta. [Continued as *J. Buddh. Text*
Res. Soc.]
Journal of the Buddhist Text and Research Society.
 Calcutta.
Journal of the Buddhist Text Society of India.
 Calcutta. [Continued as *J. Buddh. Text Anthropol.*
Soc.]
Journal of the Canadian Bankers Association.
 Toronto.
Journal of the Central Asian Society. London.
 [Continued as *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.*]
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain
and Ireland. China Branch. Shanghai. [Continued
 as *Jl N. China Brch R. Asiat. Soc.*]
Journal of contemporary Asia. London.
Journal of contemporary history. London.
Journal des débats politiques et littéraires. Edition
hebdomadaire. Paris.

<i>J. econ. social Hist. Orient</i>	<i>Journal of the economic and social history of the Orient.</i> Leiden.
<i>J. Gter India Soc.</i>	<i>Journal of the Greater India Society.</i> Calcutta.
<i>J. hist. Geogr.</i>	<i>Journal of historical geography.</i> London.
<i>J. hist. Res.</i>	<i>Journal of historical research.</i> Ranchi, India.
<i>J. imp. Cwealth Hist.</i>	<i>Journal of imperial and Commonwealth history.</i> London.
<i>J. Indian Hist.</i>	<i>Journal of Indian history.</i> Trivandrum, India.
<i>J. intercult. Stud., Osaka</i>	<i>Journal of intercultural studies.</i> Osaka.
<i>J. interdisc. Hist.</i>	<i>Journal of interdisciplinary history.</i> Cambridge, Mass.
<i>J. Manchr geogr. Soc.</i>	<i>Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society.</i> Manchester.
<i>J. Manchr orient. Soc.</i>	<i>Journal of the Manchester Oriental Society.</i> Manchester.
<i>J. Nepal Res. Cent.</i>	<i>Journal of the Nepal Research Centre.</i> Kathmandu.
<i>J. Nepalese Stud.</i>	<i>Journal of Nepalese studies.</i> Kathmandu.
<i>J. orient. Soc. Aust.</i>	<i>Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia.</i> Sydney. [Continued as: <i>JOSA: J. orient. Soc. Aust.</i>]
<i>J. orient. Stud.</i>	<i>Journal of oriental studies.</i> Hong Kong.
<i>J. Panjab hist. Soc.</i>	<i>Journal of the Panjab Historical Society.</i> Lahore. Calcutta.
<i>J. Panjab Univ. hist. Soc.</i>	<i>Journal of the Panjab University Historical Society.</i> Lahore.
<i>J. Proc. Asiat. Soc. Beng.</i>	<i>Journal and proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.</i> Calcutta.
<i>J. Soc. Army hist. Res.</i>	<i>Journal of the Society of Army Historical Research.</i> London.
<i>J. Soc. Arts</i>	<i>Journal of the Society of Arts.</i> London. [Continued as <i>Jl R. Soc. Arts</i>]
<i>J. social Hist.</i>	<i>Journal of social history.</i> Pittsburgh, etc.
<i>J. Southeast Asian Stud.</i>	<i>Journal of Southeast Asian Studies.</i> Singapore.
<i>J. Supply Transp. Cps Indian Army</i>	<i>Journal of the Supply and Transport Corps, Indian Army.</i>
<i>J. Tibet Soc.</i>	<i>Journal of the Tibet Society.</i> Bloomington, Ind.
<i>J. Tibet Soc. U.K.</i>	<i>Journal of the Tibet Society of the U.K.</i> London.
<i>J. Tyneside geogr. Soc.</i>	<i>Journal of the Tyneside Geographical Society.</i> Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
<i>J. Un. Prov. Hist. Soc.</i>	<i>Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society.</i> Calcutta, etc.
<i>J. un. Serv. Instn India</i>	<i>Journal of the United Service Institution of India.</i> Simla.
<i>J. Univ. Saugar</i>	<i>Journal of the University of Saugar.</i> India.
<i>Jber. Frankf. Ver. Geogr. Statist.</i>	<i>Frankfurter Vereins für Geographie und Statistik. Jahresbericht.</i> Frankfurt-am-Main.
<i>Jl E. India Ass.</i>	<i>Journal of the East India Association.</i> London.
<i>Jl N. China Brch R. Asiat. Soc.</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. North China Branch.</i> Shanghai.
<i>Jl R. Anthrop. Inst.</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.</i> London.
<i>Jl R. Army med. Cps</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Army Medical Corps.</i> London.
<i>Jl R. Artill.</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Artillery.</i> Woolwich.
<i>Jl R. Asiat. Soc.</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.</i> London.
<i>Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society.</i> London.

- Jl R. geogr. Soc.*
Jl R. hort. Soc.
Jl R. Signals Inst.
Jl R. Soc. Arts
Jl. R. un. Serv. Instn
- Jl W. China Border Res. Soc.*
- JOSA: J. orient. Soc. Aust.*
- Kailash*
- Krasnyi Arkhiv*
Kratkie Soobshcheniia Instituta
Vostokovedeniia
Kunstwart
- Labour Mon.*
Linnean
- Listener*
Lit. Digest
Lit. Interpret. Theory
Littell's living Age
Living Age
Lond. J. Bot.
Lungta
- Mag. Asiat.*
Mainstream
Man
Man in India
Mar. Rdsch.
March of India
Mber. Verh. Ges. Erdk. Berl.
- Mem. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*
Mercator's World
Mercure Fr.
Middle East Policy
Middle Way
Millard's China natn Rev.
- Mining J.*
Minut. Proc. R. Artill.
- Minushee*
Miss. Belges
- Miss. Cathol.*
Miss. Rev. Wld
Mitt. Geogr. Ges. Münch.
- Mitt. Geogr. Ges. Thüringen*
- Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.* London.
Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society. London.
Journal of the Royal Signals Institution. London.
Journal of the Royal Society of Arts. London.
Journal of the Royal United Service Institution.
 London.
Journal of the West China Border Research Society.
 Chêngtu.
JOSA: journal of the Oriental Society of Australia.
 Sydney.
- Kailash: a journal of Himalayan Studies.*
 Kathmandu.
Krasnyi Arkhiv; istoricheskii zhurnal. Moscow.
Akademiia Nauk SSSR. Institut Vostokovedeniia.
Kratkie Soobshcheniia. Moscow.
Kunstwart. Dresden; Munich.
- Labour monthly.* London.
The Linnean: newsletter and proceedings of the
Linnean Society of London. London.
Listener. London.
Literary digest. New York.
LIT: literature, interpretation, theory. Storrs, Ct.
Littell's living age. Boston
Living age. Boston.
London journal of botany. London.
Lungta. Amnye Machen Institute, Dharamsala.
- Magasin Asiatique.* Paris.
Mainstream. New Delhi.
Man. London.
Man in India. Ranchi.
Marine-Rundschau. Berlin.
March of India. Delhi.
Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin. Monatsberichte
über die Verhandlungen. Berlin.
Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Calcutta.
Mercator's world. Eugene, Oregon.
Mercure de France. Paris.
Middle East Policy. Washington, DC.
The middle way. London.
Millard's China national review. Shanghai.
 [Continued as *China wkly Rev.*]
Mining journal. London.
Minutes of proceedings of the Royal Artillery
Institution. Woolwich. [Continued as *Jl R. Artill.*]
Minushee. Paris.
Missions Belges de la Compagnie de Jésus.
 Brussels; Louvain.
Missions catholiques. Lyon; Paris.
Missionary review of the world. Princeton.
Geographische Gesellschaft in München.
Mitteilungen. Munich.
Geographische Gesellschaft für Thüringen zu Jena.
Mitteilungen. Jena.

- Mitt. Geogr. Ges. Wien* Geographische Gesellschaft in Wien. *Mitteilungen*. Vienna.
- Mitt. Schweiz. Ges. Freunde ostasiat. Kult.* Schweizerische Gesellschaft der Freunde Ostasiatischer Kultur. *Mitteilungen*. St. Gall, etc.
- Mod. Asian Stud.* *Modern Asian studies*. Cambridge.
- Mod. Rev.* *Modern review*. Calcutta.
- Mod. Sri Lankan Stud.* *Modern Sri Lankan studies*. Peradeniya.
- Mois Colon. Marit.* *Mois colonial et maritime*. Paris.
- Mon. Rev.* *Monthly review*. London.
- Montagne* *Montagne*. Paris.
- Month* *Month*. London.
- Mouv. Géogr.* *Mouvement géographique*. Brussels.
- Museum* *The Museum*. Newark Museum, Newark, N.J.
- N. Am. Rev.* *North American review*. Boston; New York.
- N. China Herald* *North China herald*. Shanghai.
- N. Eastern res. Bull.* *North Eastern research bulletin*. Dibrugarh.
- N.Z. JI Asian Stud.* *New Zealand journal of Asian studies*. Hamilton.
- N.Z. JI east Asian Stud.* *New Zealand journal of east Asian studies*. Hamilton.
- Na zarubez. Vostoke* *Na zarubezhnom vostoke*. Tashkent.
- Nat. Hist., N.Y.* *Natural history*. New York.
- Nation* *Nation*. New York.
- Natn. Geogr. Mag.* *National geographic magazine*. Washington.
[Continued as *National geographic*]
- Natn. Integr.* *National integration*. New Delhi.
- Natn. Rev.* *National review*. London.
- Nature* *Nature*. London.
- Nepal-Antiquary* *Nepal-Antiquary*. Kathmandu.
- New China Rev.* *New China review*. Shanghai.
- New Hungarian Q.* *New Hungarian quarterly*. Budapest.
- New Leader* *New leader*. New York.
- New mon. Mag.* *New monthly magazine*. London.
- New Rev.* *New review*. Calcutta.
- New Statesman* *New Statesman*. London.
- Nineteenth Century* *Nineteenth Century*. London. [Continued as *Nineteenth Century and After*]
- Nineteenth Century and After* *Nineteenth Century and After*. London. [Continued as *Twentieth Century*]
- North Bengal Univ. Rev.* *North Bengal University review*. Darjeeling.
- North Dakota Q.* *North Dakota quarterly*. Grand Forks, North Dakota.
- Notes R. bot. Gdn Edinb.* *Notes from the Royal Botanic Garden, Edinburgh*.
- Nouv. Annales Voyag.* *Nouvelles annales des voyages*. Paris.
- Nouv. Bull. Soc. philom. Paris* Société Philomatique de Paris. *Nouveau bulletin des sciences*. Paris.
- Nouv. Géogr.* *Nouvelles géographiques*. Paris.
- Novaia i Noveishaia Istorii* *Novaia i Noveishaia Istorii*. Moscow.
- Novy Orient* *Novy Orient*. Prague.
- Novyi Vostok* *Novyi vostok*. Moscow.
- Old Reptonian Newsletter* *Old Reptonian Newsletter*. Repton. (Continued as *The Arch*)
- Once a Week* *Once a week*. London.
- Open Court* *Open court*. Chicago.
- Orbis* *Orbis*. Philadelphia.

- Oriens Extremus*
Orient
Orient et Occident
Oriental

Oriental Herald

Orientations
Orissa hist. Res. J.
Öst. Mschr. Orient
Ostasiat. Rdsch.
Outlook

Pacific Affairs
Pakist. geogr. Rev.
Pakist. Horiz.
Pakist. J. Hist. Cult.
Pall Mall Mag.
Pamphleteer
Panjab Past and Present
Pap. Subj. Duties Cps R. Engrs

Parl. Stud.
Past and Present
People's Tribune
Petermanns Mitt.

Phil. Trans. R. Soc.

Phoenix
Photogr. J.
Polit. Étrang.
Polit. Geogr.
Polit. Sci. Rev.
Polit. Scient.
Postal Himal

Proc. anat. anthrop. Soc., Aberd.

Proc. Asiat. Soc. Beng.

Proc. Br. Acad.
Proc. Indian hist. Congr.
Proc. Indian hist. Rec. Comm.

Proc. Indian sci. Congr.

Proc. Linn. Soc. Lond.

Proc. Punjab Hist. Conf.
Proc. R. geogr. Soc.

Proc. un. Serv. Instn India

Prof. Pap. Indian Engng
- Oriens Extremus.* Wiesbaden.
Orient. St Petersburg.
Orient et occident. Geneva.
Oriental; a monthly magazine devoted to the affairs of India, Turkey... London; Calcutta.
Oriental Herald and journal of general literature. London.
Orientations. Hong Kong.
Orissa historical research journal. Orissa.
Österreichische Monatschrift für den Orient. Vienna.
Ostasiatische Rundschau. Berlin.
Outlook. New York.

Pacific Affairs. Vancouver.
Pakistan geographical review. Lahore.
Pakistan horizon. Karachi.
Pakistan journal of history and culture. Islamabad.
Pall Mall magazine. London.
Pamphleteer. London.
Panjab past and present. Patiala
Papers on subjects connected with the duties of the Corps of Royal Engineers. [Continued as R. Engrs' J.]
Parliamentary studies. New Delhi.
Past and present. Oxford.
People's tribune. Peking.
Petermanns Mitteilungen aus Justus Perthes' geographischer Anstalt. Gotha.
Philosophical transactions of the Royal Society of London. London.
Phoenix. London.
Photographic journal. London.
Politique étrangère. Paris.
Political geography. Oxford.
Political science review. Jaipur.
Political scientist. Ranchi.
Postal Himal: quarterly journal of the Nepal and Tibet Philatelic Study Circle
Proceedings of the Aberdeen University Anatomical and Anthropological Society. Aberdeen.
Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Calcutta.
Proceedings of the British Academy. London.
Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.
Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission
Proceedings of the Indian Science Congress Association. Calcutta.
Proceedings of the Linnean Society of London. London.
Proceedings of the Punjab History Conference.
Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society. London.
Proceedings of the United Service Institution of India. [Continued as J. un. Serv. Instn India]
Professional papers of Indian engineering. Roorkee.

<i>Public Law</i>	<i>Public law.</i> London.
<i>Public Opinion</i>	<i>Public Opinion.</i> London.
<i>Q. JI Mythic Soc.</i>	<i>Quarterly journal of the Mythic Society.</i> Bangalore.
<i>Q. JI Sci. Lit. Arts</i>	<i>Quarterly journal of science, literature and the arts.</i> London.
<i>Q. orient. Mag.</i>	<i>Quarterly oriental magazine, review and register.</i> Calcutta.
<i>Q. Rev.</i>	<i>Quarterly review.</i> London.
<i>Q. Rev. hist. Stud.</i>	<i>Quarterly review of historical studies.</i> Calcutta.
<i>Queen's Quarterly</i>	<i>Queen's quarterly.</i> Canada.
<i>Quest</i>	<i>Quest.</i> Bombay.
<i>Quest. dipl. colon.</i>	<i>Questions diplomatiques et coloniales.</i> Paris.
<i>R. Engrs' J.</i>	<i>Royal Engineers journal.</i> Chatham.
<i>Radcom</i>	<i>Radcom: the radio Society of Great Britain members' magazine.</i> Herts,
<i>Rec. bot. Surv. India</i>	<i>Records of the Botanical Survey of India.</i>
<i>Rec. geol. Surv. India.</i>	<i>Records of the Geological Survey of India.</i>
<i>Rec. Surv. India</i>	<i>Records of the Survey of India.</i>
<i>Regional Studies</i>	<i>Regional studies.</i> Islamabad.
<i>Regmi Research Series</i>	<i>Regmi Research Series.</i> Kathmandu.
<i>Rep. Australas. Ass. Advmt Sci.</i>	<i>Report of the meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science.</i>
<i>Rep. Br. Ass. Advmt Sci.</i>	<i>Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science.</i>
<i>Rep. Smithson. Instn</i>	<i>Annual report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.</i> Washington.
<i>Res. Stud. Wash. St. Coll.</i>	<i>Washington (State). State College, Pullman. Research studies.</i>
<i>Resarun</i>	<i>Resarun.</i> Shillong.
<i>Revue</i>	<i>Revue.</i> Paris. [Continued as <i>Revue mondiale</i>]
<i>Revue Blanche</i>	<i>Revue blanche.</i> Paris.
<i>Revue Br.</i>	<i>Revue britannique.</i> Paris.
<i>Revue d'Hist. Dipl.</i>	<i>Revue d'histoire diplomatique.</i> Paris.
<i>Revue de Paris</i>	<i>Revue de Paris.</i> Paris.
<i>Revue des Deux Mondes</i>	<i>Revue des deux mondes.</i> Paris.
<i>Revue Extr. Orient</i>	<i>Revue de l'extreme Orient.</i> Paris.
<i>Revue fr. d'Hist. d'Outre-Mer</i>	<i>Revue française d'histoire d'Outre-Mer.</i> Paris.
<i>Revue fr. Étranger Colon.</i>	<i>Revue français de l'étranger et des colonies.</i> Paris.
<i>Revue gén. droit int. Public</i>	<i>Revue générale de droit internationale public.</i> Paris.
<i>Revue gén. Sci. pur. appl.</i>	<i>Revue générale des sciences pures et appliquees.</i> Paris.
<i>Revue Géogr.</i>	<i>Revue de géographie.</i> Paris.
<i>Revue Hebd.</i>	<i>Revue hebdomadaire.</i> Paris.
<i>Revue Indo-Chin.</i>	<i>Revue Indo-Chinoise.</i> Hanoi.
<i>Revue Jaune</i>	<i>Revue jaune.</i> Brussels.
<i>Revue Monde Musul.</i>	<i>Revue du monde musulman.</i> Paris.
<i>Revue Pacif.</i>	<i>Revue du Pacifique.</i> Paris.
<i>Revue polit. litt.</i>	<i>Revue politique et litteraire; revue bleue.</i> Paris.
<i>Revue scient.</i>	<i>Revue scientifique.</i> Paris.
<i>Revue Troupes colon.</i>	<i>Revue des troupes coloniales.</i> Paris.
<i>Riv. geogr. Ital.</i>	<i>Rivista geografica Italiana.</i> Florence.
<i>Rolamba</i>	<i>Rolamba.</i> Lalitpur, Nepal, Joshi Research Institute.
<i>Round Table</i>	<i>Round table.</i> London.
<i>Russ. Hist.</i>	<i>Russian history -- Histoire Russe.</i> Chicago etc.

<i>Sat. Rev.</i>	<i>Saturday review.</i> London.
<i>Sci Progr.</i>	<i>Science progress in the twentieth century.</i> London.
<i>Scient. Am.</i>	<i>Scientific American.</i> New York.
<i>Scott. Geneal.</i>	<i>Scottish genealogist.</i> Edinburgh
<i>Scott. geogr. Mag.</i>	<i>Scottish geographical magazine.</i> Edinburgh.
<i>Sel. Rec. Govt. India</i>	<i>Selection from the records of the Government of India.</i> Calcutta.
<i>Shakti</i>	<i>Shakti.</i> New Delhi.
<i>Shambhala</i>	<i>Shambhala.</i> Tring, Herts., Institute of Tibetan Studies
<i>Shilling Mag.</i>	<i>Shilling magazine.</i> London.
<i>Sight and Sound</i>	<i>Sight and sound.</i> British Film Institute, London.
<i>Sikh Review</i>	<i>Sikh review.</i> Calcutta
<i>Sinica</i>	<i>Sinica.</i> Frankfurt am Main.
<i>'Snapper'</i>	<i>The 'Snapper': the monthly journal of the East Yorkshire Regiment.</i> Beverley.
<i>Social Scientist</i>	<i>Social scientist.</i> New Delhi.
<i>Socialist Perspective</i>	<i>Socialist perspective.</i> Calcutta.
<i>Sociol. Rev.</i>	<i>Sociological review.</i> London.
<i>South Asia</i>	<i>South Asia: journal of South Asian studies.</i> Australia.
<i>South Asia Research</i>	<i>South Asia research.</i> London.
<i>South Asian Review</i>	<i>South Asian Review.</i> London.
<i>South Asian Studies</i>	<i>South Asian studies.</i> Jaipur.
<i>Southeast Rev. Asian Stud.</i>	<i>Southeast review of Asian studies.</i> Durham, N.C.
<i>Spectator</i>	<i>Spectator.</i> London.
<i>St. Antony's Pap.</i>	<i>St. Antony's Papers.</i> Oxford.
<i>Streffleur's Öst. milit. Z.</i>	<i>Streffleur's österreichische militärische Zeitschrift.</i> Vienna.
<i>Studies Nepali Hist. Soc.</i>	<i>Studies in Nepali history and society.</i> Kathmandu.
<i>Supply Pap. R. geogr. Soc.</i>	<i>Supplementary papers of the Royal Geographical Society.</i> London.
<i>Thought</i>	<i>Thought.</i> Delhi.
<i>Tibet J.</i>	<i>Tibet journal.</i> Dharamsala.
<i>Tibet News Review</i>	<i>Tibet news review.</i> Brighton, England.
<i>Tibet Soc. U.K. Newsl.</i>	<i>Tibet Society of the United Kingdom newsletter.</i> London.
<i>Tibetan Bull.</i>	<i>Tibetan bulletin.</i> Dharamsala.
<i>Tibetan Review</i>	<i>Tibetan review.</i> New Delhi.
<i>Time</i>	<i>Time.</i> London.
<i>T'oung Pao</i>	<i>T'oung Pao.</i> Leiden.
<i>Tour du Monde</i>	<i>Tour du Monde.</i> Paris.
<i>Trans. A. Rep. Lpool geogr. Soc.</i>	<i>Transactions and annual report of the Liverpool Geographical Society.</i>
<i>Trans. Asiat. Soc. Japan</i>	<i>Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan.</i> Yokohama.
<i>Trans. bot. Soc. Edinb.</i>	<i>Transactions of the Botanical Society of Edinburgh.</i> Edinburgh.
<i>Trans. Inst. Br. Geogr.</i>	<i>Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers.</i> London.
<i>Trans. R. Asiat. Soc.</i>	<i>Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.</i> London.
<i>Travel Explor.</i>	<i>Travel and exploration.</i> London.
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<i>Tricycle</i>	<i>Tricycle: the Buddhist review.</i> Ohio.

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Chapter I

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Comments on China's refusal to permit the British to enter Tibet, and on contacts between Tibetan and British officials at this time at Udalguri in Assam and in the Central Himalayas.

122. Anon. 1877. Trans-Himalayan missions, by T.S. [letter]. *Geogr. Mag.* 4: 130-131.

Reply to no. 349 which was against commercial intercourse with countries along the Indian frontier. This letter strongly advocates the promotion of trade with Tibet and enumerates the benefits it would bring.

123. Abrol, M. 1974. *British relations with frontier states (1863-1875)*. New Delhi, S. Chand. viii, 157 p.

[Reviewed: S.Chakravarty, *Indian hist. Rev.* 2(1): 236-238, 1975]

Detailed account of relations in this period with Nepal, Tibet, Sikkim and Bhutan.

124. Aitchison, C.U., comp. 1929-1933. *A collection of treaties, engagements, and sanads relating to India and neighbouring countries*. [5th ed.] revised

and continued up to 1929 by the authority of the Foreign and Political Department. Calcutta, Government of India Central Publication Branch.

14 vols. Reprinted: Nendeln/Liechtenstein, Kraus, 1973.

[1st ed., 1862-1865, 7 vols; 2nd ed., 1876-1878, 8 vols; 3rd ed., 1892, 11 vols; 4th ed., 1909, 13 vols.]

The standard reference work containing treaties etc. between the British Government and Indian States and neighbouring countries. Each section of this work includes an historical survey of the region concerned as a background to the treaties concluded, followed by the text of the treaties. In the 5th edition vol. 12 contains the treaties relating to Jammu and Kashmir, Sikkim, Assam and Burma; vol. 14 contains the treaties relating to Eastern Turkistan, Tibet, Nepal, and Bhutan.

125. Alexandrowicz, C.H. 1956. India's Himalayan dependencies. *Yb. Wld Aff.* 10: 128-143.

Discusses the British policy of diplomatic negotiation, rather than direct action, as a means of settling problems in the Himalayan region, and whether the changed situation in 1956 calls for a revision of this policy by India.

126. Andrew, W.P. 1878. *India and her neighbours*. London, W.H. Allen. xviii, 413 p.

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A legal and historical account of the dispute dealing with Ladakh with emphasis on the 1842 treaty, the North-East Frontier with emphasis on the Chinese and Indian interpretations of the Simla Convention and the McMahon Line, and the borders of Sikkim and Bhutan with Tibet.

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The second part of this article covers the extension of British control over the border areas of India, Burma and Malaya.

129. Basu, B.K. 1965/1966. India's frontier problems in the 19th and 20th centuries with Tibet and China: historical background. *Q. Rev. hist. Stud.* 5: 30-36.

Examines disputes concerning the Himalayan boundaries of India in this period concentrating on the 1842 treaty between Ladakh and Tibet and China; the 1924 agreement between Ladakh, India and Tibet in the Lake Pangong region; the 1889 boundary disagreement in the Barahoti area between India and Tibet; the 1926 Tehri-Tibet boundary negotiations; the 1890 Anglo-Chinese Convention defining the border of Sikkim; the agreements between the British and the frontier tribes of the Assam Himalayan region; and the Simla Convention and the McMahon Line.

130. Bayly, C.A. 1996. *Empire and information: intelligence gathering and social communication in India, 1780-1870*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. xiv, 412 p.

British political intelligence in northern India during these years including the work of explorers such as Moorcroft. See especially Chapter 3, 'Misinformation and failure on the fringes of empire' which covers the Anglo-Nepalese War, the first Burma War and the rise of the Sikhs.

131. Bengal. *Report on the administration of Bengal*. 1855/56- . Calcutta. Title varies.

Each report contains an account of the relations of Bengal with the border areas e.g. the Sikkim Expedition 1860-1861, the Bhutan War, visit of the Panchen Lama to India etc. Details of Bengal's trade with Sikkim, Tibet, Bhutan, and Nepal are also included.

132. Bengal. *The trade of Bengal with Nepal, Tibet, Sikkim and Bhutan*. 1880/81-1912/13. Calcutta. Title varies. Continued as no. 193.

133. Bonin, C.E. 1911. *Les royaumes des neiges (états Himalayens)*. Paris, A. Colin. x, 306 p.

Includes detailed accounts of the invasion of Ladakh and Western Tibet by Gulab Singh. British relations with Bhutan and the Assamese frontier tribes, and the relations of Tibet with China.

134. Bray, J. 1994. Christian missions and the politics of Tibet, 1850-1950. In: W. Wagner, ed. *Kolonien und Missionen: Referate des 3. Internationalen Kolonialgeschichtlichen Symposium 1993 in Bremen*. Munster, Lit, p. 180-195. Reprinted in A. McKay, ed. *The history of Tibet. Vol. 3.* (see no. 211), p. 489-500.

Study of the Christian missionaries on the borders of Tibet in this period. Includes the Moravian missionaries in the Western Himalayas, Tharchin and the Church of Scotland in Sikkim, and the Catholic and Protestant missionaries on the Sino-Tibetan border such as Edgar and Shelton. The missionaries provided a source of information on Tibetan language and culture, and both Tharchin and the Protestant missionaries in Kham provided political intelligence to British officials.

135. Brownrigg, H.S. 1878. *Routes in Asia. Section VI, comprising pt I, routes in Nepaul; pt II, routes in Bhutan; pt III, routes in Sikkim; pt IV, routes in Thibet; pt V, routes in Burmah; pt VI, routes between Assam and Burmah*. Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing. 307 p.

Compiled in route book format from numerous sources which are listed in the 'List of routes' at the beginning of the work. Detailed, varied information is given about each place and the route to it, including topographical details, population, crops etc.

136. Burgess, J. 1913. *The chronology of modern India for four hundred years from the close of the fifteenth century, A.D. 1494-1894*. Edinburgh, J. Grant. vi, 483 p. Reprinted with title: *The chronology of Indian history: medieval and modern*. Delhi, Cosmo Publications, 1972.

Chronology of Indian history with a brief description of the events listed. It includes details of the major events in British relations with Tibet and the border areas in this period.

137. Burrard, S.G. and Hayden, H.H. 1907-1908. *A sketch of the geography and geology of the Himalaya mountains and Tibet*. Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing, India. vi, 308 p. 2nd ed. rev. by S. Burrard and A.M. Heron. Delhi, 1933-1934. Reprinted with title: *Geography and geology of the Himalayan Mountains and Tibet*. Delhi, Gian Publications, 1980.

[Reviewed: J.Deniker, *Geographie* 18: 379-386, 1908; H.L.C., *Geogr. J.* 32: 416-418, 1908; *Scott. geogr. Mag.* 25: 18-23, 1909; K.Mason, *Himalayan J.* 7: 113-124, 1935; A.R.H., *Geogr. J.* 85: 70-76, 1935; L.R.W., *Geogr. J.* 85: 473-474, 1935]

Detailed study with numerous maps divided into four sections: the high peaks of Asia, the principal mountain ranges of Asia, the rivers of the Himalaya and Tibet, and the geology of the Himalaya.

138. Callwell, C.E. 1899. *Small wars; their principles and practice*. New ed. rev. London, Harrison. xxi, 557 p. [1st ed. 1896]

The strategy, tactics, and broad rules governing the conduct of small wars with examples drawn from campaigns throughout the world including the wars against Nepal, Bhutan, Burma and the Sikhs. There is also a chapter on hill warfare.

139. Cameron, I. 1984. *Mountains of the Gods*. London, Century Publishers. 248 p.
History of the exploration of the Himalayas and the mountains of Central Asia. It includes the travels of such people as Bogle, Manning, Johnson, Moorcroft, the pundits and the Younghusband Expedition. Beautifully illustrated with contemporary photos.
140. Cardew, F.G. 1903. *A sketch of the services of the Bengal Native Army, to the year 1895*. Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing, India. v, 576 p.
Includes an account of the Anglo-Nepalese War 1814-1816, the Sikkim Expeditions of 1860-1861 and 1888, the Bhutan War 1864-1866, the 1793 expedition to Assam under Captain Welsh, the first Burmese War 1824, the Abor Expedition 1858-1859, and the Daphla Expedition 1874-1875.
141. Caroe, O. 1960. *Englishmen in Tibet from Bogle to Gould*. London, Tibet Society. 12 p. (Tibet Society publication no. 4)
Account of the experiences of Bogle, Manning, Younghusband, Bell and Gould in Tibet.
142. Caroe, O. 1960. Geography and ethnics of India's northern frontiers. *Geogr. J.* 126: 298-309. *United Asia* 12: 310-322.
Outlines the history of the formation of India's borders with Tibet. A copy of the map attached to the Simla Convention showing the McMahon Line is reproduced.
143. Chakrabarti, B.B. 1941. Introduction of tea plantations in India. *Beng. Past Present* 61: 55-64.
Traces the attempts to establish tea plantations in India. The question of introducing the tea plant to Bengal dates back to 1788 when Sir Joseph Banks remarked that 'the lama of Tibet...might be induced on proper terms to procure not only tea plants but a colony of the Chinese skilled in the cultivation of tea'.
144. Chakrabarty, P. 1990. *Trans-Himalayan trade, a retrospect (1774-1914): in quest of Tibet's identity*, by Phanindra Nath Chakrabarti. Delhi, Classics India Publications. xiv, 138 p.
[Reviewed: J.J.Woolsey, *Tibet J.* 15(3): 82-83, 1990]
Study of trans-Himalayan trade and the political and economic relations between India, Tibet and China mainly in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century. Draws heavily on Bogle's account.
145. Chakravarti, P.C. 1971. *The evolution of India's northern borders*. New York, Asia Publishing House. xii, 179 p.
[Reviewed: O.Caroe, *Asian Affairs* 59: 91, 1972; R.L.Dial, *J. Asian Stud.* 32: 361-363, 1973; K.Sharma, *Pacific Affairs* 45: 134-135, 1972; *India Q.* 27: 232-237, 1971]
History of British involvement in the Himalayan area with the aim of supporting India's claims in the current border dispute with China. Deals separately with the Eastern, Central and Western sectors.

146. *Chakravarti, S. 1976. India's overland trade with China through Ladakh, Assam and Burma, 1772-1873. Thesis (Ph.D) Panjab University. xiv, 296 p. Source: no. 98.
147. Chandra, Suresh. 1968. The development of mountain warfare in India in the nineteenth century. Thesis (M.Phil) University of London. 354 p.
Traces the important political and geographical aspects of military operations in the hill frontiers of India and the problems of communications, supply and transport, and illustrates the account with reference to the campaigns waged, especially the Anglo-Nepalese War of 1814-1816. Also covers campaigns in Sikkim, Bhutan and against the Assamese hill tribes. Appendix D, 'List of wars and expeditions along the frontiers of India in the nineteenth century' provides the date of each war, the locality, the number of troops engaged, and the causes and results of the war.
148. China. Inspectorate General of Customs. Statistical Dept. 1917. *Treaties, conventions, etc., between China and foreign states*. 2nd ed. Shanghai. 2 vols. (China. Maritime Customs. Miscellaneous series, no. 30). [1st ed. 1908]
Vol. 1 includes Anglo-Chinese agreements concerning Tibet from the Chefoo Agreement in 1876 to the Tibet Trade Regulations in 1908.
149. Choudary, P.A. 1952. Tibet. *Indian Yb. int. Aff.* 1: 185-196.
History of Tibet's relations with China and India to modern times.
150. Choudhury, D.P. 1996. *Trade and politics in the Himalaya-Karakoram borderlands*. London, Sangam Books. xii, 130 p.
[Reviewed: A.R.H.Kellas, *Asian Affairs* 28: 86, 1997; H.J.Kreutzmann, *South Asia* 20(1): 149-150, 1997]
British relations with Bhutan, Sikkim, Nepal, Kashmir and Ladakh from 1767 to 1898 and attempts to delimit the border in these regions.
151. Chowdhury, J.N. 1967. British contributions to the confusion of Tibet's status. *Quest* no. 54: 32-38.
Outlines British relations with Tibet from Warren Hastings to the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907.
152. Clarke, H. 1859. On the organisation of the army of India, with special reference to the hill regions. *Jl R. un. Serv. Instn* 3: 18-27.
Recommends the development of the hill regions and the establishment of more army stations or cantonments such as Darjeeling. Stresses the importance of these stations for strategic reasons.
153. Clarke, H. 1881. *The English stations in the hill regions of India: their value and importance, with some statistics of their produce and trade*. London, Trübner. 48 p. (From *Journal of the Statistical Society*, Sept. 1881)
Describes the main Indian hill stations and urges their development, not only as

sanitaria but also for trade and the defence of the Indian frontier. Includes details of attempts to improve trade with Tibet, Ladakh, Nepal and Bhutan and gives statistics of existing trade with these areas.

154. Coen, T.C. 1971. *The Indian Political Service: a study in indirect rule*. London, Chatto & Windus. x, 291 p.
Detailed account of the Service. It includes chapters on the Himalayan frontier which deal with service in Gilgit, Nepal, Assam, Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet.
155. *Corrigan, D.A. A tiger made of tea: the Sino-Indian tea trade and the British failure to enter the Tibetan market, 1870-1905. Thesis (M.A.) Cornell University, 1994. vii, 157 leaves. Source: Cornell University Library Catalogue.
156. Das, T. 1926. British expansion in Tibet. *Mod. Rev.* 39: 140-147, 261-266, 437-440, 557-560, 631-634; 40: 8-16, 256-260. **Chin. students' Mon.* 22(1): 8-22, 1926; 22(2): 14-26, 1926; 22(3): 19-35, 1927. Source: no. 52. Also published: Calcutta, N.M. Raychowdhury, 1928? 137 p.
Very critical account of British relations with Tibet from 1774 to the Washington Conference of 1921-1922.
157. Dhar, T.N. 1995. Himalayas – the geopolitical imperatives. In: K. Warikoo, ed. *Society and culture in the Himalayas*. New Delhi, Har-Anand Publications, p. 69-103.
Examines 'the perceptions that different countries adjoining the Himalayas have had about the nature of the frontiers and their own needs and roles vis-à-vis the geographical and political configurations of power balance in the region'.
158. Dubeux, L. and Valmont, V. 1848. *Tartarie, Belouchistan, Boutan et Népal*. Paris, Didot. 388 p. (L'univers, ou histoire et description de tous les peuples, de leurs religions, moeurs, coutumes etc.)
General account of these countries with the majority of the work devoted to Tartarie which includes a section on Tibet.
159. Dutt, S. 1980. India and the Himalayan states. *Asian Affairs* n.s. 11: 71-81.
Includes a brief account of British relations with Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan.
160. Edwardes, M. 1975. *Playing the Great Game: a Victorian cold war*. London, Hamish Hamilton. viii, 167 p.
Account of the 'Great Game' – the contest for political ascendancy in Central Asia between Britain and Russia. This was really a 'tournament of shadows', a secret war of illusions as there was never open conflict between the two forces. Includes chapters on Moorcroft and the Younghusband Mission and its background.
161. Embree, A.T. 1977. Frontiers into boundaries: from the traditional to the modern state. In: R.G. Fox, ed. *Realm and region in traditional India*. New Delhi, Vikas Publishing House, p. 255-280.

Describes how traditional frontiers in India became modern boundaries and examines why India asserted the validity of these boundaries which were established during British rule in India.

162. Engel, C.-E. 1936. *Les batailles pour l'Himalaya 1783-1936*. Paris, Flammarion. 161 p.
- Includes an account of the journeys of Turner to Tibet, Hamilton to Nepal, and Moorcroft and Jacquemont in the Western Himalayan region. Descriptions of the Everest Expeditions of 1921, 1922, 1924, and 1933 are also included.
163. English, R. 1985. Himalayan state formation and the impact of British rule in the nineteenth century. *Mountain Res. Devt* 5(1): 61-78.
- Examines the evolution of socio-political formations in the central and eastern Himalaya during the nineteenth century, and the transformation of the region's trade as states became more centralised and as the British expanded their rule and commercial interests in these areas.
164. Ewart, W. 1858. *Settlement in India and trade with Central Asia: speech in the House of Commons, March 23, 1858*. London, J. Ridgway. 18 p.
- Urges that efforts be made to extend trade with Central Asia particularly the export of tea to Tibet, and the import of gold from that country to India.
165. Fairbank, J.K. and Teng, S.Y. 1941. On the Ch'ing tributary system. *Harvard J. Asiat. Stud.* 6: 135-246. Reprinted in their *Ch'ing administration: three studies*. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1961, p. 107-218.
- Analysis of the way China conducted her diplomatic, political, and commercial relations with her dependencies and foreign countries, including Nepal and Tibet.
166. Field, A.R. 1959. Himalayan salt - a political barometer. *Mod. Rev.* 105: 460-465.
- Examines the importance of the lack of salt in the Himalayan region both historically and today. The people of Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and Upper Assam rely on Tibet or India for their supply of salt and both these countries have used salt as an indirect weapon to influence trade and politics.
167. Fisher, M.W. and Rose, L.E. 1959. *England, India, Nepal, Tibet, China - 1765-1958; a synchronistic table showing the succession of heads of state and other political and diplomatic personages of importance in these countries, along with Nepali tributary missions to China, from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-twentieth century*. Berkeley, University of California. 17 p. (Indian Press Digests Project)
168. Gopal, R. 1964. *India-China-Tibet triangle*. Lucknow, Pustak Kendra. 225 p.
- Historical account of Tibet's relations with Britain and China, and a discussion of the claims of India and China in their current border disputes together with the

historical background to their claims. The major treaties and agreements between Britain and China concerning Tibet are reproduced in the appendices.

169. Goré, F. 1927. L'Angleterre au Thibet. *Géographie* 47: 57-66.
Traces British relations with Tibet from 1774 to the 1920's.
170. Goré, F. 1931. L'exploration au Tibet. *Géographie* 55. 1-19.
The exploration of Tibet by Europeans from the seventeenth century.
171. Goyal, N. 1960. The Himalayan border. *Aust. Q.* 32(1): 54-65.
Historical account of attempts to delimit the borders of Kashmir and Ladakh, and the North-East Frontier of India. There are also brief notes on the borders of the Himachal-Uttar Pradesh area, and Sikkim and Bhutan.
172. Graham, C.A.L. 1957. *The history of the Indian mountain artillery*. Aldershot, Gale & Polden. xv, 470 p.
[Reviewed: K.K.Pillay, *J. Indian Hist.* 35: 398-401, 1957]
Includes brief accounts of the Bhutan Expedition 1773, the Bhutan war 1864-1865, the Daphla Expedition 1875, and the Younghusband Expedition to Tibet.
173. Great Britain. East India (Wars on or beyond the borders of British India). 1900. *Return setting out (1) wars and military operations on or beyond the borders of British India in which the Government of India has been engaged since 1849 in chronological order; (2) the causes of such wars or operations; (3) the locality in which troops operated; (4) the results obtained; (5) the numbers approximately of troops employed; (6) the cost of such wars or operations where shown separately in the accounts of the Government of India; and (7) the amount of any contributions towards such cost from the British Treasury*. London. 17 p. (Parliament, 1900. House of Commons. Reports and papers, 13). In: *H. of C. Parl. Pap.* LVIII: 847-863, 1900.
Includes details of the Bhutan War 1864-1865, expeditions against the Daflas 1874, Akas 1883, Bor Abors 1893-1894, and the Sikkim Expedition 1888.
174. Great Britain. India Office. East India (Progress and condition). *Statement exhibiting the moral and material progress and condition of India*. 1859/1860-1934/1935. London.
Annual review of events in India including an account of relations with the border areas. Issued in the series, Reports and papers of the House of Commons, 1859/1860-1916, 1918, 1920-1921, 1926-1934/ 1935, and in the series, Papers by command, 1917, 1919, 1923-1924.
175. Great Britain. Parliament. House of Commons. Select Committee on Colonization and Settlement (India). 1858. *Report from the Select Committee on Colonization and Settlement (India); with the minutes of evidence taken before them*. London. 5 vols. (Parliament 1857/1858. House of Commons. Reports and papers, 261, 261-I, 326, 415, 461, 461-I).

In: *H. of C. Parl. Pap.* VII, pts 1 & 2, 1857/1858.

Four reports with an index on the best means 'for the promotion of European colonization and settlement in India, especially in the hill districts...as well as for the extension of our commerce with Central Asia'. Includes the evidence of Joseph Hooker and Hermann and Robert Schlagintweit on Tibet, Sikkim, Bhutan, Nepal, Kumaon, Garhwal, Kashmir etc. especially on the trade of these areas, and on routes to Tibet.

176. Great Britain. Parliament. House of Commons. Select Committee on Colonization and Settlement (India). 1859. *Report from the Select Committee on Colonization and Settlement (India); together with the proceedings of the Committee, minutes of evidence, appendix and index.* London. x, 440 p. (Parliament, 1859. House of Commons. Reports and papers, 198). In: *H. of C. Parl. Pap.* IV: 1-450, 1859.

Includes further evidence by Joseph Hooker on Tibet, Sikkim and Nepal, and especially on the trade of Tibet. There is also evidence by R.D. Mangles on Tibetan trade, and Hamilton Vetch on Assam.

177. Great Britain. Parliament. House of Commons. Select Committee on Colonization and Settlement (India). 1859. *Report from the Select Committee on Colonization and Settlement (India); together with the proceedings of the Committee, minutes of evidence and index.* London. xxxviii, 51 p. (Parliament, 1859. House of Commons. Reports and papers, 171-session 2). In: *H. of C. Parl. Pap.* V: 261-350, 1859 (session 2)

Only two witnesses were called before this session of the Committee: Laurence Oliphant who gave evidence on Nepal and its trade with Tibet, and Sir John Lawrence whose evidence concerned the Punjab.

178. Gulati, M.N. 2003. *Tibetan wars through Sikkim, Bhutan and Nepal.* New Delhi, Manas Publications. 406 p.

Detailed account of British relations with Tibet, Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan with emphasis on military engagements, especially the Younghusband Expedition. Covers the period from Bogle's Mission to Bhutan and Tibet to the Simla Convention.

179. Hamilton, W. 1815. *The East India gazetteer; containing particular descriptions of...Hindustan and the adjacent countries, India beyond the Ganges, and the Eastern Archipelago.* London, J. Murray. xv, 862 p.

Includes entries for Tibet, Bhutan, Nepal, Ladakh etc. There is a list of authorities at the end of the work from which Hamilton compiled his information.

180. Hamilton, W. 1820. *A geographical, statistical and historical description of Hindostan, and the adjacent countries.* London, J. Murray. 2 vols. Reprinted: Delhi, Oriental Publishers, 1971.

Very detailed account compiled from all available knowledge at that time. It includes Tibet, Ladakh, Bhutan, Assam, Sikkim, Nepal, Kumaon and Garhwal.

181. Heath, I. 1998-1999. *Armies of the nineteenth century: Asia. Organisation, warfare, dress, and weapons*. St. Peter Port, Foundry Books. 3 vols.

Vol. 1. Central Asia and the Himalayan Kingdoms. Vol. 2. China. Vol. 3. India's north-east frontier. Provides information on the armies of all the major and many of the minor powers in Asia. For each country or tribal group there is an historical background, details of the administration of its troops and the way they waged war, descriptions of the dress and appearance of the people and the types of arms and artillery used, and illustrations of the troops. Vol. 1 includes the armies of Baltistan, Bhutan, Jammu & Kashmir, Ladakh, Nepal, Sikkim and Tibet; vol. 3, the Abors, Akas, Daflas, Miris, Mishmis and the Singphos.

182. Hodgson, B.H. 1849. On the physical geography of the Himalaya. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 18(2): 761-788. Reprinted: *Phoenix* 2: 96-98, 107-110, 125-127, 143-145, 1871/1872.

183. Hodson, V.C.P. 1927-1948. *List of the officers of the Bengal Army 1758-1834*. London, Constable. 4 vols.

Alphabetically arranged list with biographical information on each officer. There is also a chronological list of the more important campaigns in which the Bengal Army was engaged from 1756 to 1861.

184. Holditch, T.H. 1916. *Political frontiers and boundary making*. London, Macmillan. xi, 327 p.

Considered that the Himalaya was 'the finest natural combination of boundary and barrier that exists in the world' and that it was unnecessary to consider the need for Tibet as a political buffer between India and China. Its value was as a practical buffer land due to its enormous altitude, size and climate. He maintained that 'we may leave Tibet and all east of Tibet out of our reckoning in summing up the possibilities of an advance from the north'.

185. Hopkirk, P. 1982. *Trespassers on the roof of the world: the race for Lhasa*. London, John Murray. x, 274 p. Reprinted: Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2001.

[Reviewed: G.B.Jackson, *Asian Affairs* 13: 316-317, 1982; G.P.Deshpande, *Int. Stud.* 26(2): 187-188, 1989]

Western attempts to reach Lhasa from the middle of the nineteenth century using the travellers' own accounts as the basis of his work.

186. Hopkirk, P. 1990. *The Great Game: on secret service in High Asia*. London, John Murray. 562 p.

[Reviewed: W.Peters, *Asian Affairs* 22: 76, 1991; B.Osborne, *Queen's Quarterly* 100(2): 415-419, 1993]

Mainly concerned with Anglo-Russian rivalry west of Tibet but includes chapters on Moorcroft which describe his travels and highlights his unheeded warnings about Russian influence in Ladakh and Central Asia. There is also information about the Younghusband Expedition and its background.

187. *Imperial gazetteer of India*. New ed. published under the authority of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India in Council. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1907-1909. 26 vols. [1st ed. 1881, 9 vols; 2nd ed. 1885-1887, 14 vols.]

The gazetteer is preceded by a descriptive, historical, economic and administrative account of the Indian Empire.

188. India. *Review of the trade of India*. 1884/1885 - 1945/1946-1946/1947. Calcutta. Issuing Department varies.

Each report contains a section on trade with Kashmir, Ladakh, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet. For previous reports see nos. 191 and 192.

189. India. Army Headquarters. Intelligence Branch. 1907. *Frontier and overseas expeditions from India. Vol. IV. North and North-Eastern Frontier tribes*. Simla, Government Monotype Press. iv, 249 p. Reprinted: Delhi, Mittal Publications, 1983.

A useful work divided into six parts - Nepal, Sikkim, Tibet, Bhutan, Assam, and the Lushais. In each part the country concerned is described and details given of its history and relations with the British. This is followed by a full account of military operations undertaken by the British against the country or tribe.

190. India. Dept of Finance and Commerce. *Accounts relating to the trade by land of British India with foreign countries*. 1878/79 - 1923/24. Calcutta. Issuing Department varies.

Includes accounts relating to trade with Tibet, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, and the Assam tribal areas.

191. India. Dept of Finance and Commerce. *Review of the external land trade of British India (namely, of the trade which crosses the frontier of British India from Sindh to Burma)* 1878/79 - 1881/82. Calcutta. Continued as no. 192.

Review of the trade of India with Kashmir, Ladakh, Nepal, Tibet, Sikkim, Bhutan and the Assam tribal areas. Details of the trade value of each commodity are given, the trade routes used, and extracts from reports of officials in the frontier areas included.

192. *India. Dept of Finance and Commerce. 1884. *Review of the trade by land of British India with foreign countries for ... 1883-84*. Simla. Continued as no. 188. Source: no. 17.

193. India. Dept of Statistics. *Bengal frontier trade*. 1914/1915 - 1921/ 1922? Calcutta. Title varies. For earlier reports see no. 132.

194. India (Republic). Ministry of External Affairs. 1961. *Report of the officials of the Governments of India and the People's Republic of China on the boundary question*. New Delhi. 342, 213 p. [Reviewed: O.Caroe, *Geogr. J.* 127: 345-346, 1961; O.Caroe, *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 48: 336-337, 1961; G.F.Hudson, *China Q., Lond.* no. 8: 217-221, 1961]

Separate reports by the Indian and Chinese officials concerning the history of the formation of the borders under dispute.

195. Indian Society of International Law. 1962. *The Sino-Indian boundary: texts of treaties, agreements and certain exchange of notes relating to the Sino-Indian boundary*. New Delhi. 49 p.
Contains all major treaties and agreements concerning Tibet concluded since 1684.
196. [Inglis, R.] 1836. Notices of modern China: the influence of foreign commerce considered, first in connection with European nations, and then with those conterminous with this empire. By R.I. *Chin. Repos.* 5: 202-212, Sept.
Includes an account of Chinese fears of the expansion of British territory and influence in Assam, Nepal, Kumaon, and Garhwal.
197. Jha, R.K. 1986. *The Himalayan kingdoms in Indian foreign policy*. Ranchi, Maitryee Publications. vi, 398 p.
Includes an historical background on British relations with Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan.
198. Karan, P.P. and Jenkins, W.M. Jr. 1963. *The Himalayan kingdoms: Bhutan, Sikkim and Nepal*. Princeton, Van Nostrand. 144 p.
199. Khan, C.K. 1997. *Trans-Himalayan politics. China, Britain and Tibet*. Agra, Y.K. Publishers. ii, 133 p.
Studies the inter-relationship of the major powers, Britain, China and Russia, with Tibet and the kingdoms of Sikkim, Bhutan and Nepal from 1842 to 1914. Covers the Dogra wars with Tibet, Nepal's relations with Tibet following the 1855-56 war and the rivalries in Tibet at this time, British advances in Sikkim and clashes with Tibet, the events leading to the Younghusband Expedition, the resulting treaties and Tibet's struggle for autonomy from 1908-1914.
200. Lamb, A. 1957-1958. Tibet in Anglo-Chinese relations: 1767-1842. *Jl R. Asiat. Soc.* 1957 p. 161-176; 1958 p. 26-43.
201. Lamb, A. 1960. *Britain and Chinese Central Asia: the road to Lhasa, 1767 to 1905*. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul. xi, 388 p.
[Reviewed: C.H.Ellis, *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 48: 196-197, 1961; O.Lattimore, *Geogr. J.* 26: 504-506, 1960; A.M.S., *J. un. Serv. Instn India* 92: 297-298, 1962]
The major work on British relations with Tibet and the Himalayan region in this period with an appendix on trade between India and Tibet. For revised edition see no. 206.
202. Lamb, A. 1960. The Indo-Tibetan border. *Aust. J. Polit. Hist.* 6: 28-40.
Reviews British relations with Tibet from 1774 in relation to the boundary dispute between India and China in 1960.

203. Lamb, A. 1964. *The China-India border; the origins of the disputed boundaries*. London, Oxford University Press. xi, 192 p. (Chatham House essays, 2)
[Reviewed: O.Caroe, *Geogr. J.* 130: 273-275, 1964; G.Patterson, *China Q., Lond.* no. 18: 221-225, 1964; N.C.Sinha, *China Q., Lond.* no. 21: 183, 1965; H.Richardson, *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 51: 161-163, 1964; R.W.Stern, *J. Asian Stud.* 24: 141, 1964/1965; *India Q.* 27: 232-237, 1971]
Detailed historical study of the disputed boundaries in the western, middle and eastern sectors.
204. Lamb, A. 1966. Studying the frontiers of the British Indian Empire. *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 53: 245-254.
General survey of the frontiers of India and the history of their origins. Maintains that the boundaries were created to meet British strategic, administrative, and commercial needs and were not traditional and customary.
205. Lamb, A. 1968. *Asian frontiers; studies in a continuing problem*. London, Pall Mall Press. x, 246 p.
[Reviewed: Z.Mustafa, *Pakist. Horiz.* 25(2): 62-66, 1972; B.R.P., *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 55: 304-305, 1968]
Examines frontier problems in Asia, including the dispute over the India-China border and its background.
206. Lamb, A. 1986. *British India and Tibet, 1766-1910*. 2nd rev. ed. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul. xiv, 353 p.
[Reviewed: A.T.Grunfeld, *Pacific Affairs* 61(1): 180-181, 1988; D.Gillard, *J. imp. Cwealth Hist.* 17(3): 440-441, 1989; R.J.Young, *J. Am. orient. Soc.* 109(1): 166-167, 1989]
Revised and expanded version of no. 201 with a final chapter extending coverage to 1910 when the Chinese occupied Lhasa following the British Government's repudiation of the Younghusband expedition. This is the major work on British contacts with, and concerning Tibet in this period.
207. Leifer, W. 1962. *Himalaya: mountains of destiny*. Translated from the German by U. Prideaux. London, Galley Press. x, 176 p.
Study of the Himalayan territories, including Tibet, tracing their history and political contacts with the neighbouring regions.
208. Leont'ev, V.P. 1955. Iz istorii angliiskoi ekspansii v Tibet (XVIII-XIX vv). *Kratkie Soobshcheniia Instituta Vostokovedeniia* 16: 30-41.
The history of British expansion in Tibet in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.
209. Lipton, B. 1972. The western experience of Tibet, 1327-1950. *Museum* 24(2 & 3): 1-10.
Includes a chronological chart which details the major European journeys of exploration in Tibet before 1950.

210. McKay, A. 2003. 19th century British expansion on the Indo-Tibetan frontier: a forward perspective. *Tibet J.* 28(4): 7-22.

British expansion towards Tibet from the time of Hastings and the methods they used to expand their control over the neighbouring territories, highlighting the importance of the information-gathering process which always preceded political action. Also examines the differences between opposing schools of British policy – those favouring ‘masterly inactivity’ and those favouring a ‘forward policy’, and the exploitation of the idea of a Russian threat to India by the latter school.

211. McKay, A., ed. 2003. *The history of Tibet*. London, RoutledgeCurzon. 3 vols. [Vol. I. The early period: to c. AD 850. The Yarlung Dynasty. Vol. II. The medieval period: c. 850-1895. The development of Buddhist paramouncy. Vol. III. The modern period: 1895-1959. The encounter with modernity.]

Collection of mainly previously published journal articles and excerpts from books to provide a cohesive body of contemporary knowledge concerning the history of Tibet. McKay’s historical introductions to each volume discuss the main themes of each period, analyse each author’s contribution and suggest areas in which future scholarship might proceed. Vol. 2 includes an appendix of Tibetan treaties from 1684-1856 and vol. 3 reprints the 1914 Simla Convention and attached trade regulations and the Mongolia-Tibet treaty of 1913.

212. McKay, A., ed. 2003. *Tibet and her neighbours: a history*. London, Edition Hansjörg Mayer. 239 p.

Collection of papers presented at the History of Tibet Conference held in St Andrews, Scotland, in September 2001 (see nos 815, 2561, 3557 and 3577). In his introduction McKay provides an historical background and briefly summarises the papers presented. The work is illustrated by a number of historical photos from the Charles Bell collection at the Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

213. McLeish, A. 1931. *The frontier peoples of India: a missionary survey*. London, World Dominion Press. viii, 202 p.

Account of the people living in the Himalayan regions of India, with a brief history of each area, and an account of the progress of missions there.

214. McMillin, L.H. 2001. *English in Tibet, Tibet in English: self-presentation in Tibet and the diaspora*. New York, Palgrave. xii, 260 p.. [Reviewed: C.Harris, *J. Asian Stud.* 61(4): 1325-1326, 2002]

Explores two kind of self presentation in Tibet - that of British writers in their travel texts on Tibet from 1774 to 1910 and that of Tibetans in recent autobiographies. Includes chapters on Bogle, Turner, Manning, Hodgson, Waddell and Blavatsky, and Younghusband.

215. MacMunn, G. 1931. *The romance of the Indian frontiers*. London, J. Cape. 352 p.

Includes a section on the North-Eastern Frontier of India which covers Tibet, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, and Assam.

216. MacMunn, G. 1935? *The history of the Sikh Pioneers (23rd, 32nd, 34th)*. London, Sampson Low, Marston. xvi, 560 p.

Account of their participation in the Bhutan War of 1864-1865, Sikkim Expedition 1888, Younghusband Expedition, and the Abor Expedition 1911-1912.

217. Markham, C.R. 1894. Himalayan trade routes. *J. Manchr geogr. Soc.* 10: 1-18.

Examines the exploration of the Himalayan region by the Survey of India, the attempts to promote trade with Tibet by way of existing trade routes, and the products and exports of Tibet.

218. Mason, K. 1928. A hundred years of Himalayan exploration. *J. un. Serv. Instn India* 58: 513-524.

219. Mason, K. 1930/1931. Exploration and mountaineering in the Himalaya. *Indian St. Rlys Mag.* 4: 163-169.

220. Mason, K. 1955. *Abode of snow; a history of Himalayan exploration and mountaineering.* London, Hart-Davis. xi, 372 p.

[Reviewed: H.Ruttledge, *Alpine J.* 60: 416-417, 1955; W.R.B., *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 43: 67-68, 1956; W.Allsup & H.W.Tobin, *Himalayan J.* 19: 180-182, 1955/1956]

Comprehensive work on the exploration of the Himalayan region and Tibet.

221. Mason, K. 1956. Himalayan exploration. *Asian Rev., Lond.* 52: 191-200.

History of British exploration in the Himalayan region in the nineteenth century divided into three sections: political expansion (e.g. Webb, Raper, Moorcroft, Gerard brothers, Richard Strachey), scientific survey (the work of the Survey of India), and romantic period (the exploration of the pundits).

222. Mehra, P. 1989. *Negotiating with the Chinese 1846-1987: problems and perspectives.* New Delhi, Reliance Publishing House. xv, 316 p.

Includes three lectures one of which, 'The Raj and the Chinese 1846-1947', highlights the different phases of Indian-Chinese negotiations on the borders of Kashmir and Ladakh in the west, and Sikkim and the North-East Frontier. Emphasises the difficulties experienced by the British in dealing with the Chinese even when they were at their weakest. The appendices include the major treaties and conventions signed between India, China and Tibet.

223. Meyer, K.E. and Brysac, S.B. 1999. *Tournament of shadows: the great game and the race for empire in Central Asia.* Washington D.C., Counterpoint. xxvi, 646 p.

[Reviewed: R.Draper, *New Leader* 82(15): 3-4, Dec. 1999; D.Nalle, *Middle East Policy* 7(3): 199-200, 2000; A.Rashid, *Harvard int. Rev.* 22(3): 82-83, 2000; J.Cooper, *Tibet Soc. U.K. Newsl.* Summer 2001, p. 18; W.Palace, *Asian Affairs* 33(1): 141-143, 2002]

Includes chapters on Moorcroft, Przhivalsky, exploration by the Indian pundits, Dorjiev, Curzon and the Younghusband Expedition, Hedin, Rockhill, Bailey, Bell, the Roerichs, Suydam Cutting, Ernst Schäfer, and Tolstoy and Dolan.

224. *Monoski, J.J. 1968. British Tibetan foreign policy from Bogle to

Younghusband, why it failed. Thesis (M.A.) Duke University. v, 125 p.
Source: Duke University Library Catalogue.

225. Murray, H. 1820. *Historical account of discoveries and travels in Asia from the earliest ages to the present time*. Edinburgh, A. Constable. 3 vols.
Includes an account of the Bogle and Turner Missions to Tibet, the journeys of Webb, Hardwicke, Moorcroft and J.B. Fraser, and a description of Nepal.
226. Murty, T.S. 1968. Evidence on traditional boundaries and some problems in its interpretations. *Indian J. int. Law* 8: 479-514.
Discusses the differences involved in solving territorial disputes and boundary claims using mainly the Himalayan border areas as examples.
227. Newall, D.J.F. 1882. *The highlands of India strategically considered, with special reference to their colonization as reserve circles, military, industrial and sanitary*. London, Harrison. xv, 274 p.
Includes the highlands of Kashmir, Kumaon, Garhwal, Nepal, Darjeeling, Sikkim and Assam as well as the southern mountain areas of India. The topography and history of each area is described including a description of the passes into Tibet.
228. Newall, D.J.F. 1887. *The highlands of India. Vol. II. Being a chronicle of field sports and travel in India*. London, Harrison. xvi, 464 p.
Account of the journeys made by Newall to collect the information contained in no. 227.
229. O'Malley, L.S.S. 1917. *Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Sikkim*. Cambridge, University Press. xii, 317 p.
General account of these states including their geography, history, administration, communications and trade.
230. O'Malley, L.S.S. 1925. *History of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa under British rule*. Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Book Depot. 779, xxii p.
Includes a section on the 'Settlement of the frontiers'. This examines the history of Nepal to the Anglo-Nepalese War 1814-1816, Sikkim to the Younghusband Expedition of 1904, and Bhutan to the Treaty of 1910.
231. Pandey, V.S. 1992? *Himalayan trade routes to Central Asia: some aspects of international trade in the Himalayan Region 1858-1907*. Patna, Janaki Prakashan. 213 p.
Study of the trade routes, the products traded, the transport used, and the people involved in the trade to Central Asia and Tibet. Moorcroft's account of shawl manufacture is included in an appendix.
232. Panikkar, K.M. 1959. *Geographical factors in Indian history*. 2nd ed. Bombay, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. 128 p. [1st ed. 1955]
See chapter 'The Himalayas in Indian life' which includes a general account of British relations with Tibet and of the routes between Tibet and India.

233. Pathak, S.K. 1995. The last three centuries of Bhotias of the Himalayas. In: K. Warikoo, ed. *Society and culture in the Himalayas*. New Delhi, Har-Anand Publications, p. 163-178.

Describes the people of Tibetan origin who live in the Himalayan regions of India with a brief account of the effect of the British on their socio-economic life style.

234. Philips, C.H., ed. 1962. *The evolution of India and Pakistan, 1858 to 1947; select documents*. With the co-operation of Hira L. Singh and B.N. Pandey. London, Oxford University Press. xxi, 786 p. (Select documents on the history of India and Pakistan, vol. 4)

See section IIIB 'Frontier problems and external policy 1858-1947'. This includes the texts of treaties, parliamentary papers and letters concerning relations between Tibet and Britain in this period.

235. Phillimore, R.H., comp. 1945-1968. *Historical records of the Survey of India*. Dehra Dun, Geodetic Branch, Survey of India. 5 vols.

A very comprehensive work covering the exploration and surveying of India from the eighteenth century to the 1860s. Vol. 1 examines the eighteenth century; vol. 2 (1800-1815) contains a section on the Himalayas which includes accounts of surveys carried out in Nepal by Charles Crawford during Knox's mission, exploration of the sources of the Upper Ganges and the journeys of Moorcroft and Hearsey; vol. 3 (1815-1830) includes surveys in Garhwal and Kumaon and the acquisition of Assam; vol. 4 (1830-1843) includes Pemberton's 1837 Bhutan mission; vol. 5 (1844-1861) includes the work of the 1846 and 1847 Boundary Commissions and also contains a section on trans-Himalaya surveys 1862-1865.

236. Pochhamer, W. von. 1962. *Die Auseinandersetzung um Tibets Grenzen*. Frankfurt a. M., A. Metzner Vlg. 129 p. (Schriften des Instituts für Asienkunde in Hamburg, Bd XIV)

The historical background to the India-China border disputes with maps of the disputed areas.

237. Prasad, Bisheshwar. 1965. *Our foreign policy legacy: a study of British Indian foreign policy*. New Delhi, People's Publishing House. viii, 89 p.

Includes chapters on 'The border states and the defence of the Indian Empire' and the 'Northern border in recent history'.

238. Prescott, J.R.V. 1975. *Map of mainland Asia by treaty*. Melbourne, Melbourne University Press. xx, 518 p.

Examines the political geography of those international boundaries of mainland Asia settled by treaties. They include the boundaries between India and Nepal, India and Sikkim, India and Bhutan, Sikkim and China and India and China. Each chapter provides the geographical and political background against which the treaties were concluded and discusses the problems which were faced by the statesmen and surveyors concerned with the negotiation of the treaties. The relevant sections of the treaties concerning the boundaries are reproduced at the end of each chapter.

239. Rahul, R. 1964/1965. *The Himalaya frontier in the nineteenth century*. *Q. Rev. hist. Stud.* 4: 138-151.
Traces the development of British relations with Assam, Bhutan, Sikkim, Nepal, Kumaon and Garhwal, and Kashmir in this period.
240. Rahul, R. 1970. *The Himalaya borderland*. Delhi, Vikas Publications. vi, 157 p.
[Reviewed: R.R.Parihar, *Indian J. polit. Sci.* 31: 413-414, 1970; L.E.Rose, *J. Asian Stud.* 31: 984-985, 1972; G.N.K., *India Q.* 26: 434-435, 1970; F.H.Gaige, *Pacific Affairs* 44: 297, 1971]
A general introduction to the people, history, administration, and development of the southern half of the Himalaya borderland comprising the North-East Frontier, Bhutan, Sikkim, Nepal, Uttarakhand, Kinnaur, Lahul and Spiti, and Ladakh.
241. Rahul, R. 1978. *The Himalaya as a frontier*. New Delhi, Vikas. vi, 154 p.
The relations of Tibet, Bhutan, Sikkim and Nepal with both India and China over the centuries and between and amongst themselves. Emphasises the influence of Tibet on the historical and political development of the Himalayan countries, especially Bhutan.
242. Rao, G.N. 1968. *The India-China border: a reappraisal*. Bombay, Asia Publishing House. xii, 106 p.
[Reviewed: B.Burton, *China Q., Lond.* no. 41: 141-144, 1970; *India Q.* 27: 232-237, 1971]
Rao served as an adviser to the delegation of Indian officials who discussed the boundary question with Chinese officials in 1960. His work gives an historical account of the boundary dispute from the Indian point of view and aims to refute arguments put forward by Lamb in his *China-India border* (see no. 203).
243. Ray, A.K. 1995. *The Himalayan frontier: some strategic aspects*. In: K. Warikoo, ed. *Society and culture in the Himalayas*. New Delhi, Har-Anand Publications, p. 104-111.
Examines the character of the Himalayan frontier and the differences between political, natural or geographic, and strategic frontiers.
244. Ritter, C. 1822-1859. *Die Erdkunde im Verhältniss zur Natur und zur Geschichte des Menschen, oder allgemeine vergleichende Geographie, als sichere Grundlage des Studiums und Unterrichts in physicalischen und historischen Wissenschaften*. Berlin, G. Reimer. 19 pts in 21 vols. (Pts 2-19 have added title-page: *Die Erdkunde von Asien*)
Pts 3 and 4 include an account of British exploration in the Himalayan region in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.
245. Robertson, D. 1998. *North of India: some 19th century Europeans in the Himalayan regions and Central Asia*. Bangkok, Orchid Press. xii, 181 p.
Biographies of nineteenth century European travellers in the Himalaya and Central Asia. They include Csoma de Koros, Hooker, Ashley Eden, and the Moravian missionaries in Lahoul and Ladakh, especially August Wilhelm Heyde and Edward

Pagell. In 1863 Heyde accompanied P.H. Egerton on a two month tour of Spiti.

246. Rouire, A.M.F. 1905. *Les Anglais au Thibet*. I. Les premières tentatives de pénétration. II. Le gouvernement thibétain. Le traité anglothibétain et le nouvel état de choses au Thibet. *Revue des Deux Mondes* 5 per., 28: 296-321, 677-708.

The first part of this article examines British relations with Tibet and the border areas, and the attempts by Europeans to travel in Tibet; the second part describes the religion of Tibet, the institution of the Dalai Lama, the Russian influence in Lhasa, the Younghusband Expedition, and the Lhasa Convention.

247. Sandes, E.W.C. 1933-1935. *The military engineer in India*. Chatham, Institution of Royal Engineers. 2 vols.

Vol. 1 records the activities of the military engineers in war including their participation in the Anglo-Nepalese War, first Burmese War, Bhutan War, Younghusband Expedition, and the Abor and Mishmi Expeditions 1911-1912. Vol. 2 describes their service while working as engineers, scientists, and administrators under the civil government e.g. their part in projects such as the Hindustan-Tibet Road, and their exploration and survey work.

248. Sandes, E.W.C. 1948. *The Indian Sappers and Miners*. Chatham, Institution of Royal Engineers. xxx, 726 p.

Includes an account of their participation in the Anglo-Nepalese War, first Burmese War, Sikkim Expeditions of 1860-1861 and 1888, Bhutan War, Younghusband Expedition, and expeditions against the Daflas 1874-1875, Akas 1883, Mishmis 1899-1900, and Abors and Mishmis 1911-1912.

249. Schell, O. 2000. *Virtual Tibet: searching for Shangri-la from the Himalayas to Hollywood*. New York, Metropolitan Books. x, 340 p. [Reviewed: J.Ardley, *Tibetan Review* 36(5): 25-26, 2001.]

Examines the past, mainly European, interest in Tibet as told by travellers and explorers such as Samuel Turner, Waddell, Candler, Younghusband, David-Neel and Hedin, and the contemporary fascination with the country as shown by Hollywood films such as 'Seven Years In Tibet' and 'Kundun'.

250. Schlagintweit, E. 1875-1876. Die englischen Himalaya-Besitzungen. *Globus* 28: 234-235, 248-251; 29: 248-251, 281-284, 314-318, 376-380.

General account of areas under British control in the Himalayan region.

251. Sen, D.K. 1951. China, Tibet and India. *India Q.* 7: 112-132.

Reviews the relations of Tibet with China and Britain from the seventh century to illustrate the political status of Tibet.

252. Sen, J. 1981. Politics of tea in Central Asia. *Proc. Indian hist. Congr.* 42: 589-594.

On attempts by the British to encourage the cultivation of tea in India and to promote its export to Tibet, Nepal and some parts of Central Asia.

253. Sen, N.C. 1969. Tibet in India-China relations. *China Report* 5(5): 23-29. Account of British relations with Tibet.
254. Sen, S.P., ed. 1971. *The Sino-Indian border question: a historical review*. Calcutta, Institute of Historical Studies. xix, 203 p.
[Reviewed: P.Mehra, *India Q.* 32(4): 489-491, 1976]
Papers read at the 1967 Conference of the Institute of Historical Studies. They examine the history of the Himalayan area from earliest times to the present century in order to place the Sino-Indian border problem in its correct perspective.
255. Singh, A.K.J. 1988. *Himalayan triangle: a historical survey of British India's relations with Tibet, Sikkim and Bhutan 1765-1950*. London, British Library. xii, 408 p.
[Reviewed: A.Lamb, *Int. Aff.* 64(4): 732-734, 1988; A.Rumbold, *Asian Affairs* 20: 209-210, 1989; P.Mehra, *Indian hist. Rev.* 22(1-2): 207-227, 1995/1996]
Detailed study of the diplomatic relationship between Britain and Tibet, Sikkim and Bhutan from the time of Warren Hastings until the transfer of power in India. It also reassesses particular issues affecting the political development of the region such as the interests of Britain and Russia, the claim of China to suzerainty over Tibet, and the consequences of Britain's earlier strategic and frontier policy in relation to the Himalayan region for the period after 1947. Based primarily on source materials in the India Office Library and Records and the Public Record Office. A guide to these records was also published at the same time (see no. 100).
256. Sinha, N.C. 1967. *Tibet; considerations on Inner Asian history*. Calcutta, Mukhopadhyay. 71 p.
Collection of lectures originally given at Indian universities and colleges. They include 'Historical status of Tibet' (no. 1884), 'Tibet's status during the World War' (no. 3815), 'Was the Simla Convention not signed' (no. 3253) and 'Asian law and usage in European expression'. This latter article explains the Asian interpretation of European words such as suzerainty, tribute etc.
257. Sinha, N.K. 1965-1970. *The economic history of Bengal*. Calcutta, Mukhopadhyay. 3 vols.
Vol. 3, which covers the period 1793-1848, includes a brief account of attempts to extend trade with Nepal, Bhutan and Tibet.
258. Sinha, N.K., ed. 1967. *The history of Bengal (1757-1905)*. Calcutta, University of Calcutta. xii, 627 p.
Includes a chapter on 'Foreign and inland trade' by N. Mukherjee which contains a brief account of the frontier trade with Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet from 1886.
259. Stockwell, F. 2003. *Westerners in China: a history of exploration and trade, ancient times through the present*. Jefferson, N.C., McFarland. 226 p.
Includes an account of early Western exploration in Tibet and Yunnan, the explorations of Przhevalsky, Annie Taylor and David-Neel, and a chapter on the 'last imperialist', Francis Younghusband.

260. *Suri, M. 1965. India's relations with frontier states with particular reference to Afghanistan, Persia, Russia, Bhutan, Nepal, Tibet and Burma, 1863-1875. Thesis (Ph.D) University of Allahabad, 1965. Source: nos 40 and 68.
261. Suzuki, C. 1968. China's relations with Inner Asia: the Hsung-nu, Tibet. In: J.K. Fairbank, ed. *The Chinese world order: traditional China's foreign relations*. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, p. 180-197.
- See the third section of this article, 'Ch'ing Tibetan relations before the mid-nineteenth century'. It examines China's relations with Tibet and Nepal from the early eighteenth century including the Nepal-Tibet Wars from 1788 to 1792 and 1854 to 1856, and the negotiations to try and settle the Ladakh border in 1846-1847.
262. Sykes, P. 1950. *A history of exploration, from the earliest times to the present day*. 3rd ed. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul. xiv, 426 p. [1st ed. 1934]
- Includes a section on the exploration of Tibet.
263. Tanner, H.C.B. 1889. Trans-Himalayan explorations. Notes on reconnaissances and explorations in Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and Assam. *Gen. Rep. Ops Surv. India 1887/88*: xlvii-xlviii.
- General report on the present knowledge of these areas and a brief note on the people who supplied the information.
264. Tanner, H.C.B. 1891. Our present knowledge of the Himalayas. *Proc. R. geogr. Soc.* n.s. 13: 403-423.
- Examines all sections of the Himalayas. Includes comments on the difficulty of gaining information about Tibet, Nepal and Bhutan especially after the Sikkim Expedition of 1888, and on the measures adopted by Tibetan officials to prevent the entry of foreigners into Tibet.
265. Taylor, M. 1985. *Le Tibet: de Marco Polo à Alexandra David-Neel*. Paris, Payot. 234 p.
- Describes the travels of many of the Europeans who have visited Tibet including Bogle and Turner, Thomas Manning, Huc and Gabet, Csomo de Koros, Annie Taylor, David Neel, and the travels of Brian Hodgson on the borders of Tibet. Also contains an account of the Younghusband Mission. Includes many historical photos.
266. Thornton, E. 1854. *A gazetteer of the territories under the government of the East India Company and of the native states on the continent of India*. London, W.H. Allen. 4 vols.
- Comprehensive work which includes substantial entries for Nepal, Kumaon, Lahul, and Ladakh, and entries for towns such as Niti and Chini.

267. *Tu, Hêng-chih. 1971. *A study of the treaties and agreements relating to Tibet; a documentary history of the international relations of Tibet*, by Hengtse Tu. Taichung, Taiwan, Tunghai University. v, 218 p. Source: no. 82
268. Tugwell, W.B.P. 1938. *History of the Bombay Pioneers*. London, Sidney Press. xix, 439 p.
Includes an account of their participation in the first Burmese War 1824-1826, the Bhutan War 1864-1866, and the expedition against the Akas 1883.
269. Varma, S.P. 1964. Sino-Indian frontiers: a study in origins. *Polit. Sci. Rev.* 3(2): 12-29.
Aims to repudiate the thesis in Lamb's *China-India border* (see no. 203) that 'existing Indian frontiers were determined by the British out of imperialistic motives and involved, in many cases, a violation of the Chinese territory'.
270. Vasanthamadhava, K.G. 1986. British historians on the Himalayan frontier (1774-1905). In: N.R. Ray, ed. *Himalaya frontier in historical perspective*. Calcutta, Institute of Historical Studies, p. 29-37.
British historians mainly assessed British policy towards the Himalayan frontier from the point of view of India's defence.
271. Venner, F.J.S. 1868. England and her Eastern question. *New mon. Mag.* 143: 347-366.
On the advantages and disadvantages to England of her relationship with India. Refers to the prospect of direct commercial intercourse with countries adjoining India and the possible value to England if routes are developed from India to China through Tibet. Also comments on the appointment of Dr Cayley as British agent at Leh to supervise trade with Chinese Turkestan.
272. Vohra, S. 1991. Himalayan borderlands and Tibet. *J. un. Serv. Instn India* 121(504): 205-212.
Brief account of the Himalayan border areas to show their long historical connection with Tibet.
273. Vohra, S. 1993. *The northern frontier of India: the border dispute with China*. New Delhi, Intellectual Publishing House. viii, 172 p.
The first part of this work contains a detailed historical account of the Indian-Tibetan border region dealing separately with Ladakh, the Aksai Chin and the North-East Frontier as well as the Himalayan borderlands of Spiti and Rampur, Uttarakhand, Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan. It also examines the historical relations between India, Tibet and China and the status of Tibet.
274. Watt, G. 1889-1893. *A dictionary of the economic products of India*. Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 6 vols in 9. Reprinted: Delhi, Cosmo Publications, 1972.
Detailed and varied information is given for each product; in the case of products

such as wool and borax information is included on the trade with Tibet. Correspondence and reports relating to the products are also quoted.

275. White, J.C. 1912. A short description of Sikkim, Lhasa and part of Tibet. *Imp. Asiat. Q. Rev.* 3s., 33: 361-367, 368-373.
276. White, J.C. 1913. A short account of the Eastern Himalayan states of Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet. *Jl E. India Ass.* n.s. 4: 170-180. *Asiat. Q. Rev.* n.s. 2: 126-135.
277. Willoughby, W.W. 1966. *Foreign rights and interests in China*. Rev. and enlarged ed. Taipei, Ch'eng-wen Publishing Co. 2 vols. [1st ed. 1920]
Includes a brief account of relations between Britain, China and Tibet in the period 1888-1914.
278. Wimmel, K. 1996. *The alluring target: in search of the secrets of Central Asia*. Washington, DC, Trackless Sands Press. xvi, 256 p.
Includes the travels in Tibet of Hedin, Landor, Younghusband and David-Neel.
279. Woodman, D. 1969. *Himalayan frontiers; a political review of British, Chinese, Indian and Russian rivalries*. London, Barrie & Rockliff, the Cresset Press. xii, 423 p.
[Reviewed: M.W.Fisher, *J. Asian Stud.* 32: 334-335, 1973; A.P.Rubin, *China Q., Lond.* no. 43: 154-156, 1970; *India Q.* 27: 232-237, 1971; R.I.Crane, *Am. hist. Rev.* 76(2): 538, 1971]
Detailed review of the influence of the Himalayas on the Indian subcontinent in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. A large number of maps illustrate the work, and relevant treaties, documents and letters are reproduced in the appendices.
280. Wylly, H.C. 1904. British relations with Thibet. *Mon. Rev.* 15(2): 41-54, May.
Traces British relations with Tibet from the Bogle to the Younghusband Mission.
281. Younghusband, F.E. 1917. Geographical work in India for this Society. *Geogr. J.* 49: 401-418.
Exploration of the Himalayan region, and the help provided by the Royal Geographical Society to individual explorers such as Deasy.
282. Younghusband, F.E. 1927. The exploration of the Himalaya. *Jl E. India Ass.* n.s. 18: 157-172. *Asiat. Rev.* 23: 449-464.
283. Zurick, D. and Karan, P.P. 1999. The colonial great game. In their *Himalaya: life on the edge of the world*. Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, p. 93-113.
The extension of British control to the Himalayas, their attempts to survey the area and to use the trade routes through the Himalayas to Tibet and China. A map of the important Himalayan trade routes is included.

Chapter III

FIRST BRITISH CONTACTS WITH THE HIMALAYAN AREA AND THE POLICY OF WARREN HASTINGS

The English East India Company was founded in 1600 and established itself in India soon afterwards. In 1765 the Company took over the control of Bengal thus expanding its territory to the borders of the Himalayan area. This marked the beginning of the development of relations with the Himalayan States and Tibet, although information on these areas had been collected earlier by some agents of the Company such as John Marshall.

Although the first contact came through the survey work of James Rennell, 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 Hindu Gurkhas under Prithvinarayan Shah. In 1767 Prithvinarayan invaded the Newar States of the Nepal Valley which had close ties with Tibet. The resulting military operations and siege effectively disrupted the trans-Himalayan trade which passed through the Nepal Valley. Consequently when the Newars appealed to the Company for help against the Gurkhas, a force under Captain Kinloch was sent in the hope that a successful result would both help to contain the Gurkha expansion and also revive the trade relations which had been disrupted by the Gurkha conquests. The expedition was a failure, and the proposed commercial mission of James Logan to Nepal two years later was abandoned with the fall of Kathmandu in 1769. The Indo-Tibetan trade route through the Nepal Valley was now virtually closed and the Company began to look towards Bhutan and Assam in the hope of finding alternative routes to Tibet.

Warren Hastings began his administration of Bengal in April 1772. Later that year Cooch Behar, a small state on the southern borders of Bhutan, appealed to the Company for help against the invading Bhutanese. The successful campaign waged by the Company, and the intervention by the Panchen Lama of Tibet on behalf of the Bhutanese, led to the Bogle Mission to Bhutan and Tibet in 1774 and the Turner Mission in 1783.

1. GENERAL

284. Anon. 1909. An account of the countries, cities and towns, adjacent to Bengal, contained in Mr Plaisted's map prefixed to this volume, by a gentleman who resided there for many years. *Beng. Past Present* 4: 600-606. See no. 293.

285. Blane, W. 1787. Some particulars relative to the production of borax; in a letter from William Blane Esq. to Gilbert Blane M.D., F.R.S. *Phil. Trans. R. Soc.* 77: 297-300.

Early account of the production of borax and the Tibetan trade in this product with India.

286. Cammann, S. 1951. *Trade through the Himalayas; the early British attempts to open Tibet*. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press. x, 186 p. Reprinted: Westport, Conn., Greenwood Press, 1970. [Reviewed: M.Naidis, *Am. hist. Rev.* 57: 240-241, 1951; H.Richardson, *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 39: 285-286, 1952]

The relations of the East India Company with Nepal, Tibet and Bhutan in the period 1767-1794, with emphasis on the Bogle and Turner missions.

287. Field, A.R. 1972. *Himalayan diplomacy (1767-1793)*. Thesis (Ph.D) The American University, Washington, D.C. 321 p.

These years mark the beginnings of economic and political diplomacy in the Himalayas. Field traces the growth of the Gorkha state and provides a detailed account of British relations with Nepal in these years, and also covers the Bogle Mission to Bhutan and Tibet. Sir Robert Barker's plan to attack Nepal, written a year before the Kinloch Mission, is included in an appendix.

288. India. Imperial Record Dept. 1911-1959. *Calendar of Persian correspondence, being letters which passed between some of the Company's servants and Indian rulers and notables*. Calcutta, Superintendent, Government Printing, India. 10 vols.

Includes numerous extracts from the letters that passed between Warren Hastings and the Panchen Lama and Raja of Bhutan concerning the missions of Bogle, Turner and Purangir to Bhutan and Tibet. Correspondence on trade with Bhutan and Nepal, Logan's mission, and the correspondence of Cornwallis with the Panchen Lama at the time of the Tibetan-Nepalese War are also included.

289. India (Republic). National Archives. 1949-1985. *Fort William-India House correspondence and other contemporary papers relating thereto*. Delhi, Manager of Publications. 21 vols.

Correspondence exchanged between the East India Company's representatives at Fort William in Calcutta and the Directors in London during the period 1748-1800. Vols 15-18 cover the Foreign and Secret series, 1752-1800. They include information on Turner's mission to Tibet, early British relations with Nepal, the Tibetan-Nepalese Wars and Kirkpatrick's mission, and disturbances in Assam and Welsh's expedition.

290. Majumdar, A.B. 1969. Note on the northern frontier of Bengal from Murshid Kuli Khan to Warren Hastings. *Proc. Indian hist. Congr.* 31: 331-334.

On the frontier in the eighteenth century, including Hastings' problems with

the Gurkhas of Nepal (who occupied the western section of Morung in 1774) and Cooch Behar.

291. Marshall, J. 1927. *John Marshall in India: notes and observations in Bengal, 1668-1672*. Ed. by Shafaat Ahmad Khan. London, Oxford University Press. xiii, 471 p. (Allahabad University studies in history, 5)

Marshall was an East India Company agent in India from 1668-1677. His manuscripts consist of notes on many subjects gathered from hearsay and observation. Whilst he was the Company agent in Patna from 1670-1671 he collected information on Nepal, Tibet and Bhutan including information on the trade goods, government, customs and geography of these countries.

292. Petech, L. 1950. *China and Tibet in the early 18th century; history of the establishment of Chinese protectorate in Tibet*. Leiden, E.J. Brill. x, 286 p. 2nd ed. rev.: Leiden, Brill, 1972. 317 p. (T'oung pao. Monographie 1)

[Reviewed: R.A.Stein, *J. Asiat.* 240: 95-97, 1952; H.Richardson, *J. Am. orient. Soc.* 94: 215-216, 1974]

The relations of China and Tibet, and Tibet with Ladakh, Nepal, Sikkim, and Bhutan in the period preceding Bogle's mission to Tibet. Based on original Chinese and Tibetan sources.

293. Plaisted, B. 1758. *Journal from Calcutta in Bengal...to England in the year MDCCL...* 2nd ed. London. 289 p.

Plaisted was engineer and surveyor to the East India Company. His journal is accompanied by a map of Bengal 'collected from the best authorities' which included Tibet as far north as Lhasa, and also Assam. An explanation of the map follows Plaisted's journal with notes on the countries shown. It includes comments on the gold resources of Tibet and that the 'King of Tibet has a guard of 8,000 men'. This account is reprinted in no. 284.

294. Saran, S. 1968. Trade and commerce of Tibet in the second half of the 18th century. *Proc. Indian hist. Congr.* 30: 426-429.

Description of trade relations, trade items and traders.

See also nos 143, 200-1, 206, 235.

2. JAMES RENNELL

Rennell was appointed Surveyor-General of the East India Company's territories in Bengal in 1764. He began his survey of Bengal in the same year and in 1766 and 1767 travelled either in Bhutan or in Bhutanese controlled territory.

Rennell was probably the first man to correctly determine the course of the Tsangpo [river] of Tibet. He proposed that it flowed via the Dihang

River into the Brahmaputra River in Assam. This proposal was subsequently proved to be correct by the surveys of Bailey and Morshead in 1913 (see chapter XIII.3b).

295. Anon. 1970. Manuscript maps by James Rennell. *Geogr. J.* 136: 161-162.

296. Ardussi, J.A. 1977. The quest for the Brahmaputra River and its course according to Tibetan sources. *Tibet J.* 2(1): 35-49.

Describes British attempts to identify the origin and course of the River before examining several Tibetan texts which refer to the course of the river in Tibet and India.

297. Baker, J.N.L. 1963. Major James Rennell, 1742-1830, and his place in the history of geography. In his *The history of geography*. Oxford, B. Blackwell, p. 130-157.

298. Cook, A.S. 1978. Major James Rennell and a Bengal atlas (1780 and 1781). In: *India Office Library and Records: report for the year 1976*. London, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, p. 5-42.

299. Diskalkar, D.B. 1933. An unpublished letter of Major James Rennell dated Bengall, August 31st 1765. *Beng. Past Present* 46: 26-31.

In the first section of the letter he gives a geographical account of Bengal with special reference to the Brahmaputra River which he was then 'tracing ... towards its source'.

300. Downes, A. 1977. James Rennell 1742-1830. In: *Geographers, bibliographical studies*. London, Mansell, vol. 1, p. 83-88.

301. Field, A.R. 1962. A note concerning early Anglo-Bhutanese relations. *East and West* n.s. 13: 340-345.

Relations prior to the invasion of Cooch Behar by the Bhutanese in 1772. Mainly concerns the journeys of James Rennell in 1766-67, when he travelled in Cooch Behar and then in a north-easterly direction towards the Himalaya mountains, crossing either into Bhutan or into Bhutanese controlled territory. Forced to turn back by a Bhutanese army.

302. Gole, S. 1976. *Early maps of India*. New York, Humanities Press. 123 p.

Includes the first surveys made by Rennell and the maps he produced.

303. Hirst, F.C. 1917. *The surveys of Bengal by Major James Rennell, F.R.S. 1764-1777*. Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Book Depot. iv, 51, ii p.

A short biography of Rennell together with a description of his maps found in the India Office collection. There are also notes on Rennell's survey assistants and helpers.

304. Hirst, F.C. 1925. *Notes on the physical geography of Bengal 1764-1776; from the writings and maps of Major James Rennell, F.R.S.* Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Book Depot. 101 p. + maps (in portfolio)
Mainly concerned with the rivers of the area including the Brahmaputra. Included in the portfolio of maps is map VI A and B of Rennell's 5 mls to 1" series of Bengal which shows west Assam and part of Bhutan.
305. Jameson, A.K. 1924. James Rennell, first surveyor-general of India. *Beng. Past Present* 27: 1-11.
Brief mention of his survey of the Brahmaputra River and his attempt to penetrate north into Bhutan.
306. Markham, C.R. 1895. *Major James Rennell and the rise of modern English geography.* London, Cassell. 232 p.
Examines the mapping of Hindustan by Rennell and his disagreement with D'Anville who mapped the Tsangpo as flowing into the Irrawaddy River. A brief account is also given of Rennell's surveys on the borders of Bhutan in 1766 where he was wounded by 'Sanashi fakirs' - a fanatical tribe in this area.
307. [Markham, C.R.] 1917. James Rennell (1742-1830), by C.R.M. In *The dictionary of national biography*, vol. XVI. London, Oxford University Press, p. 900-901.
308. Rennell, J. 1781. An account of the Ganges and Burrampooter Rivers. *Phil. Trans. R. Soc.* 71: 87-114. Also published: London, J. Nichols, 1781. 30 p.
Account in which he proposed that the 'Burrampooter and Sanpo were one and the same river'.
309. Rennell, J. 1793. *Memoir of a map of Hindustan; or the Mogul Empire...* 3rd ed. London, W. Bulmer. cxli, 428 p. [1st ed.: 1783]
Includes his 'Account of the countries between Hindoostan and China' and 'Account of the Ganges and Burrampooter Rivers' (see no. 308)
310. Rennell, J. 1910. The journals of Major James Rennell, first surveyor-general of India; written for the information of the governors of Bengal during his surveys of the Ganges and Brahmaputra Rivers 1764-1767. Ed. by T.H.D. La Touche. *Mem. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 3(3): 95-248.
His journal from May 1764 to March 1767 which includes descriptions of his survey work on the borders of Bhutan.
311. Rodd, R. 1930. Major James Rennell. *Geogr. J.* 75: 289-299.
312. Thackeray, E.T. 1900. *Biographical notices of officers of the Royal (Bengal) Engineers.* London, Smith, Elder. x, 276 p.
Includes a biography of Rennell.

313. Yule, H. 1882. Major James Rennell, F.R.S., of the Bengal Engineers. *R. Engrs' J.* 12: 9-13.

See also nos 235, 397, 1988, 1993, 2000, 2368, 2373, 2375, 2986, 3347.

3. GURKHA CONQUEST OF NEPAL AND THE KINLOCH AND LOGAN MISSIONS

Prithvinarayan Shah became ruler of Gorkha in 1742 and for the next thirty years devoted himself to the expansion of his territory. In 1767 he invaded the Nepal Valley. In response to the request by the Newars for help against the Gurkhas, the East India Company sent an expedition to Nepal under the command of Captain Kinloch. The expedition was a failure and only succeeded in delaying the Gurkhas briefly before it was forced to withdraw. Two years later in 1769 the Company agreed to the proposal of James Logan, a Company surgeon, that he go on a mission to Nepal in an attempt to improve trade relations and also to investigate establishing trade with Tibet. The mission was abandoned with the fall of the Nepal Valley to the Gurkhas. A later mission led by George Foxcroft in 1783 also failed to reach Nepal.

314. Anon. 1817. A concise narrative of the invasion of Nepal by the Gorkhas. *Asiat. J.* 3: 17-21.

Account to the fall of Kathmandu in 1769.

315. Acharya, B. 1977-1978. King Prithvi Narayan Shah. *Regmi Research Series* 9: 108-112, 169-172; 10: 26-32, 41-45, 60-64, 69-78, 86-93, 110-112, 121-125, 141-144, 174-176, 180-186.

316. Ahmad, Q. 1958. Early Anglo-Nepalese relations with particular reference to the principality of the Raja of Makwanpur. *Proc. Indian hist. Rec. Comm.* 34(2): 17-26.

Maintains that the seizure by Prithvinarayan of some parts of the principality of the Raja of Makwanpur and some villages claimed by the Raja of Bettiah, led to the intervention of the British with the Kinloch Expedition. The letters quoted in this article refer to the subsequent dispute between the Gurkhas and the Makwanpur Raja in 1771 and the attitude of the British to the Raja's request for help.

317. Amatya, S. 1969. British diplomacy and its various missions to Nepal from 1767 to 1799. *Ancient Nepal* no. 6: 1-5, Jan.

On the Kinloch and Logan Missions, the Nepal-Tibet War of 1792, and the missions of Kirkpatrick and Abdul Kadir Khan.

318. Bajracharya, B.R. 1992. *Bahadur Shah: the regent of Nepal, 1785-1794 A.D.* New Delhi, Anmol Publications. xvi, 363 p.

Bahadur Shah was the son of Prithvinarayan Shah and ruled Nepal from 1785 to 1794 as a regent for his nephew Rana Bahadur Shah during his minority. His regency was marked by successful expansionist campaigns in the west and war with Tibet. This work deals in detail with his relations with the East India Co and his wars with Tibet.

319. Barwell, R. 1915. The letters of Mr Richard Barwell. IV. *Beng. Past Present* 10: 1-35.
- Letter no. cxi to his father, dated Feb. 28, 1768, concerns Kinloch's expedition and the reasons for its failure.
320. Bouillier, V. 1991. The king and his yogi: Prithvi Narayan Shah, Bhagavantnath and the unification of Nepal in the Eighteenth Century. In: J.P. Nelson, ed. *Gender, caste and power in South Asia: social status and mobility in a transitional society*. New Delhi, Manohar, p. 3-21.
- Examines the historical background to the rise to power of Prithvinarayan and the importance of his relationship with Bhagavantnath.
321. Chatterji, N. 1938. The first English expedition to Nepal. *Proc. Indian hist. Congr.* 2: 545-553. Reprinted in his *Verelst's rule in India*. Allahabad, Indian Press, 1939, p. 21-41.
- Kinloch's expedition - its background and reasons for its failure, and Logan's mission.
322. Chatterji, N. 1938. A forgotten English expedition against Prithvi Narayan. *J. Un. Prov. Hist. Soc.* 11(2): 45-65.
- Kinloch's expedition - its background, progress and failure, and Logan's mission. Logan's letter to the Governor dated Aug. 25, 1769, in which he urges his mission and gives information on the trans-Himalaya trade of Bengal, is reproduced.
323. Chaudhuri, K.C. 1960. *Anglo Nepalese relations from the earliest times of the British rule in India till the Gurkha War*. Calcutta, Modern Book Agency. xi, 181 p.
- A detailed account from Kinloch's expedition in 1767 to the outbreak of the Anglo-Nepalese War in 1814, including information on the Kirkpatrick and Knox Missions in 1793 and 1801.
324. Giuseppe da Rovato, Father. 1801. Account of the kingdom of Nepal, by Father Giuseppe. *Asiat. Res.* 2: 307-322.
- His account, to 1769, includes an eyewitness description of the Gurkha conquest of the Nepal Valley in 1767-68.
325. *Giuseppe da Rovato, Father. 1970. *Account of the kingdom of Nepal; being an account of the consolidation of power within the Cat'hmandu Valley by Prit'hwinarayan, founder of the Shah Dynasty, during the*

years 1767-1771, by Father Giuseppe. New Delhi, India Offset Press. 20 p. Reprinted from no. 324. Source: Library of Congress Catalogue.

326. Khanal, M.P. 1980. Prithvi Narayan Shah's victory. *Regmi Research Series* 12: 42-48.

On his invasion of the Kathmandu Valley, the appeal of the Mallas for help from the East India Co., and the victory of the Gorkha troops over the forces led by Capt. Kinloch. Reprinted and translated from *Ancient Nepal* no. 14, 1971, p. 57-61.

327. Kumar, U.S. 1903. *The Gurkha conquest of Arki*. Lahore, Punjab Printing Works. ii, 33 p.

Small format book which gives a brief historical account of the military conquests in the west by the Gurkhas and the outbreak of war with the British.

328. Long, J. 1869. *Selections from unpublished records of government for the years 1748 to 1767 inclusive relating mainly to the social condition of Bengal, with a map of Calcutta in 1784*. Vol. 1. Calcutta, Office of Superintendent of Government Printing. iv, 579 p.

The appendices contain information on some of the events which took place after 1767, derived from official records. They include Kinloch's expedition, British intervention in Cooch Behar, and Welsh's expedition to Assam in 1792.

329. Michael, B.A. 1998. Describing Gorkha: "Faskirap Saheb's" mission to Gorkha, 1783. *Contrib. Nepalese Stud.* 25(2): 279-289.

Describes the 1783 mission of George Foxcroft, an East India Co. official, to Nepal. Foxcroft wished to gather data to write a natural and political history of Nepal and, whilst the Government sanctioned the visit and he carried a letter from the Governor-General, it is unclear if this was an official mission. He was turned back by the Gurkhas and forced to return to Patna.

330. Mishra, K.C. 1982/1983. Annals of Prithvinarayan Shah in contemporary Sanskrit literature. *Contrib. Nepalese Stud.* 10(1&2): 51-56.

331. Pande, M.R. 1977. The Court massacre of 1778 and its effects. *Voice of History* 3: 1-6.

On the unrest in the Nepalese Court following the death of Prithvinarayan Shah.

332. Regmi, J.C. 1979. Prithivi Narayan Shah. *Nepal-Antiquary* no. 10: 1-17.

A collection of excerpts on his life and career mainly compiled from nos 552 and 597.

333. Regmi, M.C. 1995. *Kings and political leaders of the Gorkhali Empire 1768-1814*. London, Sangam. 83 p.

[Reviewed: A.R.H.Kellas, *Asian Affairs* 27: 213, 1996; T.R.Manandhar, *South Asia* 20(1): 150-152, 1997]

Analyses the rise of the Gorkha Empire to 1814 with emphasis on the political and economic leadership during this period.

334. Sarkar, S.C. 1930. Some notes on the intercourse of Bengal with the northern countries in the second half of the eighteenth century. *Proc. Indian hist. Rec. Comm.* 13: 99-109; *Beng. Past Present* 41: 120-128, 1931.

An examination of documents preserved in the Home (Public) Dept of the Imperial Record Office in Calcutta on British relations with Nepal, Bhutan and Tibet in this period. A letter from McDowall, Collector at Rungpore, to Cornwallis dated 9th Dec. 1788 is reproduced. It concerns the arrival of ambassadors from the 'Grand Lama of Tibet' with despatches for Cornwallis.

335. Sarkar, S.C. 1932. Some interesting documents. *Beng. Past Present* 44: 42-53.

Reproduction of some of the documents on which he based his previous article (no. 334). They concern the missions of Kinloch and Logan to Nepal and reproduce Logan's letter to Harry Verelst with his proposals for his mission. They also include information on the commercial relations between Bhutan and Bengal and a translation of the agreement between Lama Rimbochay [Rimpashay] of Bhutan and the Company in 1778 which ratified an agreement for a trade passage across Bhutan.

336. Sarkar, S.C. 1939. The Nepal frontier in the second half of the 18th century. *Proc. Indian hist. Congr.* 3: 1605-1629.

The Gurkha conquest of Nepal and British reaction to it by sending the Kinloch and Logan Missions. Also covers relations with Morung and its conquest by Prithvinarayan in 1774. Based on unpublished documents.

337. Spaight, W.J.M. 1947. The Gurkha expansion, 1765-1805. *J. un. Serv. Instn India* 77: 441-449.

The capture of the Nepal Valley, the defeat of the Raja of Morung, and the Gurkha successes in Kumaon and Garhwal in 1790-1791. The article also describes the Gurkha administration of the occupied districts, their army in this period, and the effects of the Gurkha expansion.

338. Stiller, L.F. 1968. *Prithvinarayan Shah in the light of Dibya Upadesh*. Ranchi, Bihar, Catholic Press. viii, 74 p.

Study of the policies of Prithvinarayan Shah as enunciated in his *Dibya Upadesh*. The work is divided into three parts: the first examines the historical role of Prithvinarayan Shah; the second is a translation of the *Dibya Upadesh*; and the third analyses and comments on his internal and foreign policy as described in the document.

339. Stiller, L.F. 1973. *The rise of the House of Gorkha; a study in the unification of Nepal 1768-1816*. New Delhi, Manjusri. xvi, 390 p. 2nd ed.: Patna, Patna Jesuit Society, 1975.

Describes the unification of Nepal under Prithvinarayan Shah and traces Nepal's subsequent expansion under Bahadur Shah and Kazi Amar Singh Thapa up until their defeat by the British in the 1814-1816 War.

340. Stiller, L.F. 1974. The role of fear in the unification of Nepal. *Contrib. Nepalese Stud.* 1(2): 42-89.

Analyses Nepal's relations with the British from Prithvinarayan Shah to Bhim Sen Thapa. Reviews favourably the role of Prithvinarayan in the unification of Nepal and considers that, although there was some fear of the British, it was not a direct fear but rather a fear by Prithvinarayan that the British would side with one of the Rajas in the Nepal Tarai against him.

341. Swaminath, C.R. 1968. A eulogy on the great king Prithvinarayan Shah. *Ancient Nepal* no. 4: 44-47, July.

On a poem by a contemporary poet Lalitavallabha Kavi which includes references to historical events in Prithvinarayan Shah's life.

342. Vaidya, T.R. 1993. *Prithvinarayan Shah, the founder of modern Nepal*. New Delhi, Anmol Publications. xiii, 447 p.

Account of his life and the foundation of the Gorkha state with information on the administrative system, socio-religious and cultural life of the people, and economic conditions during his rule. Also examines relations with neighbouring states including Tibet and the East India Co.

See also nos 178, 201, 206, 235, 286-7, 290, 437, 442-3, 445, 449-50, 452, 459, 461, 463-4, 466, 479-80, 482, 486-90, 496-7, 499-502, 504-8, 513-17, 519, 522, 526, 529-30, 532, 534-5, 537, 601, 797.

4. FIRST ANGLO-BHUTANESE WAR AND THE BOGLE MISSION TO TIBET

The outbreak of war between Bhutan and Cooch Behar led indirectly to the first English mission to Tibet. In 1772, following frequent border incidents and the abduction of their Raja by the Bhutanese, Cooch Behar appealed to the Company for help offering half their state revenues in return. Hastings agreed to the offer and, on the understanding that the state would accept annexation to Bengal, sent a force to Cooch Behar under the command of Captain John Jones in December 1772. Alarmed by the British successes in Bhutan both the Ghurkhas and the Bhutanese authorities appealed to the Panchen Lama to intercede with the British. The Panchen Lama wrote to Hastings but hostilities had ceased before the letter was received in Calcutta on March 29, 1774 and a treaty was concluded in the following month. The letter did, however, provide Hastings with the opportunity to establish contact with Tibet and a mission led by George Bogle and accompanied by Dr Alexander Hamilton left Calcutta in May 1774 for Tibet via Bhutan. The aim of the mission was to report on both

countries, to establish commercial links between Bhutan and Bengal, and to explore the possibility of a trade route through Bhutan to Tibet. Bogle and Hamilton reached Tashilhunpo, the home of the Panchen Lama, in December 1774 and stayed there for five months. Following Bogle's return correspondence between Hastings and the Lama continued through the intermediary of Purangir, a Hindu *gosain*, or pilgrim. Hamilton returned to Bhutan in 1775-1776 and 1777 to strengthen contacts made with the Bhutanese and to mediate on frontier problems.

In 1779 Hastings proposed sending Bogle on a second mission to Tibet in the hope that the Panchen Lama might be able to assist in arranging a British mission to Peking. This plan was thwarted by the deaths of the Panchen Lama in Peking in 1780 and Bogle in the following year.

343. Anon. 1776-1814. *Memoires concernant l'histoire, les sciences, les arts, les moeurs, les usages, etc. des Chinois*, par les missionnaires de Pekin. Paris, Nyon. 16 vols.

Vol. IX contains an extract from a letter by M. Amiot, a French missionary. It includes a translation of the letter sent by the Chinese Emperor to the Dalai Lama, dated August 17, 1781, concerning the death of the Panchen Lama.

344. Anon. 1800. Translation of a letter from Kienlong, Emperor of China, to Dalai Lama, the Grand Lama of Tibet. Extracted from Turner's "Embassy to Tibet". *Asiat. A. Regist.* 2(Misc. tracts): 69-72.

On the visit of the Panchen Lama to Peking and his death there.

345. Anon. 1840. Wei-tsang too sheih, or Tibet in a series of maps and descriptions: four volumes. Reviewed by a Correspondent. *Chin. Repos.* 9: 26-46.

The relations of Hastings with Tibet are described in a substantial preface to the review.

346. Anon. 1865. Bootan and Tibet in relation with China. *Chin. Jap. Repos.* 3(22): 201-208. Abstract: *N. China Herald* 16: 103, July 1.

Bogle's mission and the Panchen Lama's visit to Peking.

347. Anon. 1875. The history of the mission to Tibet in 1774. *Geogr. Mag.* 2: 55-56.

Report that Bogle's account of his mission is soon to be published.

348. Anon. 1876. Kashgar, Pamir and Tibet. *Q. Rev.* 141: 417-447.

The Tibetan section mainly concerns the publication by Markham of the journals of Bogle and Manning (see no. 393)

349. Anon. 1877. Trans-Himalayan missions and their results. *Calcutta Rev.* 64(127): 115-159.

Detailed review of no. 393 which also attacks Markham's support for

commercial relations with countries along the Indian frontier. See also nos 122 and 392.

350. Anon. 1923. The Buddhist monastery at Ghoosery. *Beng. Past Present* 26: 195-197.

In 1775 land was rented to the Panchen Lama to establish a monastery in Calcutta, headed by Purangir. This article reproduces the rent document and also mentions the missions of Bogle and Turner to Tibet, and Hamilton to Bhutan in 1775 and 1776.

351. Ahmad, A. 1948. A letter written by Dharm Raja of Bhutan to the Maharaja of Cooch Behar. *Proc. Indian hist. Rec. Com.* 25(2): 190-191.

Letter sent in 1777 in reply to one written by Maharaja Dhairjendra Narayan of Cooch Behar following his release by the Bhutanese. It refers to Bogle's visit to Bhutan.

352. *Andrade, Antonio de. [1795/1796] *Voyages au Thibet, faits en 1625 et 1626, par le père d'Andrada, et en 1774 et 1785, par Bogle, Turner et Pourunguir*. Traduits par J.P. Parraud et J.B. Billecoq. Paris, Hautbout l'ainê, l'an IV. xii, 204 p. Source: no. 75.

353. Aris, M. 1994. India and the British according to a Tibetan text of the later eighteenth century. In: P. Kvaerne, ed. *Tibetan studies: proceedings of the 6th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Fagernes, 1992*. Oslo, Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, vol. 1, p. 7-15, appendix, p. 3-11. Reprinted in A. McKay, ed. *The history of Tibet. Vol. 2*. (see no. 211) p. 768-784.

The text by the Tibetan scholar Jigmelingpa (1730-98) provides information on the Tibetan and Bhutanese view of the world gained from their fleeting contacts with the British, especially with the Bogle and Turner Missions. Jigmelingpa also gained information from a Bhutanese disciple who spent three years in Calcutta. Extracts from the text in Tibetan and English are included in the appendix.

354. Auber, P. 1837. *The rise and progress of the British power in India*. London, W.H. Allen. 2 vols.

Provides a progressive account of political events that occurred in India from 1600-1835. The letter from the Panchen Lama to Hastings asking him to mediate in the dispute between Cooch Behar and Bhutan is reproduced in vol. 1, whilst the Anglo-Nepalese War and the Anglo-Burmese War are covered in vol. 2.

355. Banerjee, S.M. 1949. A forgotten chapter of Indo-Tibetan contact - the story of an Indian ambassador. *Calcutta Rev.* 113: 121-131, Nov. The part played by Purangir in early British-Tibetan relations.

356. Banerjee, S.M. 1952. A forgotten chapter of Indo-Tibetan contact: a further review. *Calcutta Rev.* 123: 29-36, Apr.
Additional information on the Bogle and Turner Missions and the part played by Purangir in British Tibetan relations; based on Petech's article (see no. 398)
357. Bernstein, J. 2000. *Dawning of the raj: the life and trials of Warren Hastings*. Chicago, Ivan R. Dee. xi, 319 p.
Includes an account of the Bogle Mission and its background.
358. Biovès, A. 1904. *Les Anglais dans l'Inde: Warren Hastings (1772-1785)*. Paris, A. Fontemoing. v, 372 p.
Includes a brief account of the Bogle Mission to Tibet.
359. Bogle, G. 2002. *Bhutan and Tibet: the travels of George Bogle and Alexander Hamilton 1774-1777. Vol. 1. Bogle and Hamilton: letters, journals and memoranda*. Edited by A. Lamb. Hertingfordbury, Herts., Roxford Books. xxiii, 479 p.
[Reviewed: A.C.McKay, *Bull. Sch. Orient. Afr. Stud.* 66(2): 285-287, 2003]
The first of a projected two volume work. It contains instructions, narratives, reports, memoranda, letters and journals relating to Bogle's mission and the subsequent visits to Bhutan of Hamilton until his death in 1777, as well as some documents concerning Bogle's proposed second Tibet mission in 1779. A brief biography of Bogle and an account of the immediate consequences of his mission up to the end of the Tibetan-Nepalese War in 1793 are also included, as well as an analysis of Markham's publication on Bogle (see no. 393). Vol. 2 will contain the historical background to the Bogle Mission including a study of early European travellers to Tibet.
360. Buchanan, F. Hamilton. 1838. History of Cooch Behar, being an extract of a passage from Dr. Buchanan's Account of Rungpur (Rangapura). Revised...by Major F. Jenkins. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 7: 1-19.
History of Cooch Behar up to its attack by the Bhutanese and the intervention of the East India Company.
361. Bysack, G.D. 1890. Notes on a Buddhist monastery at Bhot Bágán (Howrah), on two rare and valuable Tibetan MSS. discovered there, and on Puran Gir Gosain, the celebrated Indian Acharya and Government emissary at the court of the Tashi Lama, Tibet, in the last century. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 59(1): 50-99.
Detailed account of the part played by Purangir in British-Tibetan relations, and on the purchasing and granting of land in Calcutta to the Panchen Lama for the construction of a Buddhist temple.
362. Cammann, S. 1949. The Panchen Lama's visit to China in 1780: an episode in Anglo-Tibetan relations. *Far East. Q.* 9: 3-19.
The Panchen Lama was accompanied by Purangir on this visit to Peking where he died of smallpox.

363. Cotton, E. 1931. A letter from Warren Hastings to George Bogle. *Beng. Past Present* 42: 83-89.

Bogle was Collector at Rungpore when he received this letter dated Nov. 18, 1779.

364. Craufurd, Q. 1792. *Sketches chiefly relating to the history, religion, learning and manners of the Hindoos, with a concise account of the present state of the native powers of Hindostan*. 2nd ed. London, T. Cadell. 2 vols. Reprinted: Delhi, ResearchCo Publications, 1976-1977.

Includes an account of Bhutan and Tibet largely derived from Bogle's manuscript of his travels.

365. Dabringhaus, S. 1994. *Das Qing-Imperium als Vision und Wirklichkeit: Tibet in Laufbahn und Schriften des Song Yun (1752-1835)*. Stuttgart, Franz Steiner. 296 p.

Song [Sung] Yun served as imperial resident in Tibet from 1794 to 1799 and wrote two works on Tibet. This book on his career and writings also includes an account of early European travel to Tibet including the journeys of Bogle and Turner.

366. Dalrymple, A. 1808. *Oriental repertory*. London, W. Ballintine. 2 vols.

Vol. 2 includes Purangir's report on the visit of the Panchen Lama to Peking in 1780, and a translation of a letter by M. Amiot from the Emperor Ch'ien Lung to the Dalai Lama of Tibet on the visit and death of the Panchen Lama there. See also no. 343.

367. Das, S.C. 1882. Contributions on the religion, history, etc. of Tibet. V. The lives of the Panchhen-Rinpochehes or Tasi Lamas: Panchhen Lo-ssan Paldan-Ye-se. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 51(1): 15-52.

This account of the life of the 3rd (6th) Panchen Lama is abridged from the Nam-thar, or biography of Paldan-Ye-se, written in Tibetan in 2 vols. It includes an account of his meeting with Bogle and visit to Peking.

368. Das, S.C. 1898. A sketch of Tibetan character. *J. Buddh. Text Anthropol. Soc.* 6(4): 1-8.

Extracts from the official reports of Bogle and Turner to Hastings about the Tibetans, and a translation of the Panchen Lama's letter of 1774 in which he requested the cessation of hostilities against Bhutan.

369. Das, S.C. 1970. *Contributions on the religion and history of Tibet*. New Delhi, Manjusri Publishing House. 210 p. Reprinted from *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, v. 50, 1881 and v. 51, 1882. Reprinted with title: *The religion and history of Tibet*. New Delhi, Cosmo Publications, 1988.

Includes no. 367.

370. Davies, A.M. 1935. *Strange destiny; a biography of Warren Hastings*. New York, G.P.Putnam's Sons. xii, 468 p. English edition has title: *Warren Hastings, maker of British India*. London, Nicholson & Watson, 1935.
Includes a brief account of Bogle's mission.
371. Deb, A. 1971. George Bogle's treaty with Bhutan (1775). *Bull. Tibetol.* 8(1): 5-14.
Detailed account of Bogle's visit to Bhutan and the treaty he concluded with the Deb Raja.
372. Diskalkar, D.B. 1933. Bogle's embassy to Tibet. *Indian hist. Q.* 9: 420-438.
Contains five previously unpublished letters. The first three are letters from Bogle to Hastings written at the time of his mission. They include Bogle's memorandums on the trade, money and merchandise of Tibet. The other letters, addressed to Hastings and Bogle, concern the visit and death of the Panchen Lama in Peking.
373. Eyriès, J.B.B. 1822-1824. *Abrégé des voyages modernes, depuis 1780 jusqu'a nos jours ...* Paris, E. Ledoux. 14 vols in 7.
See vol. 14. Tibet et Boutan. Bogle - Turner, p. 1-34; Nepal. Kirkpatrick - Hamilton, p. 48-71; Voyages à travers l'Himalaya et aux sources des rivières de l'Hindoustan. Hardwicke - Webb - Moorcroft - Fraser, p. 72-116.
374. Feiling, K.G. 1954. *Warren Hastings*. London, Macmillan. 420 p.
Includes a brief mention of the Bogle Mission.
375. Forrest, G.W., ed. 1890. *Selections from the letters, despatches and other state papers preserved in the Foreign Department of the Government of India, 1772-1785*. Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 3 vols.
Contains letters and documents on the expedition to Cooch Behar against Bhutan and on the Bogle and Turner Missions.
376. Forrest, G.W. 1892. *The administration of Warren Hastings, 1772-1785*. Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing, India. vii, 317, I, xxxvi p.
Includes an account of the Bogle and Turner Missions.
377. Forrest, G.W., ed. 1910. *Selections from the state papers of the governor-generals of India: Warren Hastings*. Oxford, Blackwell. 2 vols.
Includes a brief account of the Bogle and Turner Missions.
378. Gibson, H. 1889. A mission to Tibet in the last century. *Month* 65: 350-366.

Bogle's mission and its background, and a brief account of Turner's mission.

379. Gleig, G.R. 1841. *Memoirs of the life of the Right Hon. Warren Hastings, first governor-general of Bengal*. London, R. Bentley. 3 vols.

Includes an account of the Bogle and Turner Missions.

380. Goldschmit, B. 1913-1914. *Tibetforschung vor 100 Jahren*. Z. *Misskde Religionswiss.* *28: 363+ ; 29: 8-13.

The journeys of Bogle and Manning to Tibet.

381. Hastings, G.W. 1909. *A vindication of Warren Hastings*. London, H. Frowde. viii, 203 p.

In the introduction he gives details of the 'public services' of Hastings, amongst which was the establishment of relations with Tibet.

382. [Henderson, T.F.] 1917. George Bogle (1746-1781), by T.F.H. In: *The dictionary of national biography*, vol. II. London, Oxford University Press, p. 764.

383. Johnston, H.H. 1913. *Pioneers in India*. London, Blackie. 320 p.

See ch. XI: Bhutan and Tibet. This describes Bogle's mission, briefly mentions the journeys of Turner and Manning, and reviews the career of Brian Houghton Hodgson.

384. Jones, M.E.M. 1918. *Warren Hastings in Bengal 1772-1774; with appendices of hitherto unpublished documents*. Oxford, Clarendon Press. xvi, 360 p. (Oxford historical and literary studies, vol. 9)

The appendices include documents concerning the Company's war with the Bhutanese on behalf of Cooch Behar.

385. Kawasaki, S. 1975. Warren Hastings and Trans-Himalayan trade: significance of Bogle's Mission to Tibet, 1774-75. *J. intercult. Stud., Osaka* 2: 57-67.

Examines the background to Bogle's Mission, the importance of his report on Tibet, and its influence on the policy of Hastings in the following years.

386. Le Breton, F. 1789. *Roman historique, philosophique et politique de Bryltophend ... Suivi de trois relations, la premiere sur le royaume du Thibet, en 1774, par M. Bogle; la deuxieme sur le Japon, en 1776, par M. Thunberg; et la troisieme sur l'ile de Sumatra, par M. Miller fils, traduit de l'anglois par Bryltophend [pseud.]*. Paris, Royez. xxxii, 112, 72 p.

Includes French translations of no. 410 and of the Panchen Lama's letter to Hastings in 1774. Also contains 'Lettre de M. Alexandre Rose à M. Murdoch, sur la contrée de Nepale' dated Aug. 20, 1769, which includes comments on the amount of Chinese merchandise in Nepal.

387. *Loo, M.M.S. 1970. The biography of the III Panchen Lama, Blo-Bzang-Dpal-Ldan-Ye-Shes-Dpal-Bzang-Po, examined in light of Sino-Tibetan relations during the late eighteenth century. Thesis (PhD) University of Washington. 259 p. Source: nos 30 and 40.

Examines Sino-Tibetan relations in this period with emphasis on the visit of the Panchen Lama to Peking in 1779-1780.

388. Ludwig, E. 1904. *The visit of the Teshoo Lama to Peking. Ch'ien Lung's inscription*. Peking, Tientsin Press. 88 p.

Chinese text, with a translation and comments, of the 'Inscription on the stone tablet in the Eastern Pavilion of the Western Yellow Temple' which refers to the visit of the Panchen Lama to Peking in 1780. There is also a general account of the Lama's visit and his relations with Bogle.

389. McMillin, L.H. 1996. The first one there: George Bogle in Tibet. *Lit. Interpret. Theory* 7(2-3): 227-252.

390. Majumdar, A.B. 1986. Changing pattern of the northern frontier of Bengal in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In: N.R. Ray, ed. *Himalaya frontier in historical perspective*. Calcutta, Institute of Historical Studies, p. 89-101.

Describes the frontier of Bengal at the time the East India Company took control of the state and examines British policy towards the frontier which was based on the extension of trade and on enhancing the security of the Company's territory. Covers the Anglo-Bhutanese War and relations with Nepal in this period.

391. Markham, C.R. 1875. Travels in Great Tibet, and trade between Tibet and Bengal. *Jl R. geogr. Soc.* 45: 299-315; with discussion: *Proc. R. geogr. Soc.* 19: 327-347, 1874/1875. *Geogr. Mag.* 2: 129-135, 189-191, 1875.

Main aim of the article was to draw attention to the journeys of Bogle and Manning and their valuable results which have only just been 'brought to light', and to give an account of the recent discoveries of the pundits of the Survey of India in Tibet. Markham also describes the known passes into Tibet from Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and Tawang.

392. Markham, C.R. 1877. The Himalayan system. *Geogr. Mag.* 4: 113-118.

Reply to no. 349. Markham describes the physical geography of the Himalaya and criticises the article's advocacy of a policy of inaction in Tibet. He strongly disputes that trade between India and Tibet will not eventuate, and that the missions sent by Warren Hastings to Tibet were useless.

393. Markham, C.R., ed. 1879. *Narratives of the mission of George Bogle to Tibet, and of the journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa*. Ed. with notes, an introduction, and lives of Mr. Bogle and Mr. Manning. 2nd ed. London, Trübner. clxv, 362 p. [1st ed. 1876]. Reprinted: New Delhi, Manjusri, 1971; New Delhi, Asian Education Services, 1999.

[Reviewed: E.Quincy, *Nation* 23: 43-45, 1876; G.Campbell, *Academy* 9: 399-400, April 29, 1876; *Calcutta Rev.* 64(127): 115-159, 1877; *Br. Q. Rev.* 64: 198-200, 1876; *Athenaeum* no. 2529: 525-526, Apr. 15, 1876]

Bogle's narrative of his journey and a selection of papers about his mission to Tibet, and Manning's journal of his journey to Lhasa. Their accounts are preceded by a long introduction (165 p.) by Markham which includes details of British relations with Tibet, Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan and exploration in these areas to 1870. For a more complete collection of Bogle papers see no. 359.

394. [Mojumdar, K.] 1959. Tibet and British India in the 18th century, by K. Majumdar. *Mod. Rev.* 106: 313-316, Oct.

The policies of Hastings and Cornwallis towards Tibet in this period.

395. Moon, P. 1947. *Warren Hastings and British India*. London, Hodder & Stoughton. 361 p.

Includes a brief mention of Bogle's mission.

396. Morehead, C., ed. 1875. *Memorials of the life and writings of the Rev. Robert Morehead*. Edinburgh, Edmonston & Douglas. xii, 411 p.

Bogle was a relation of the Morehead family. His Tibetan visit is briefly mentioned and there is a biographical sketch of Bogle in the notes at the conclusion of the volume, together with letters written to him by the Moreheads between 1771-1780.

397. Pennant, T. 1798. *The view of Hindoostan*. London, Printed by Henry Hughes. 2 vols. (Outlines of the globe)

Vol. 1 (Western Hindustan); vol. 2 (Eastern Hindustan). Account of his travels and impression of the areas visited as well as information on areas he did not visit derived from other sources. Vol. 2 includes comments on Nepal, Cooch Behar, Bhutan, Assam, Tibet and the course of the Brahmaputra River, mainly derived from the accounts of Saunders, Bogle and Rennell. In the section on Bhutan he includes information on the first Anglo-Bhutanese War and his comments provide an insight into the way some British viewed the Bhutanese at this time.

398. Petech, L. 1950. The missions of Bogle and Turner according to the Tibetan texts. *T'oung Pao* 2s., 39: 330-346. Reprinted in his *Selected papers on Asian history*. Roma, Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1988, p. 49-62.

Information gained from the Tibetan autobiographies of the third and fourth (also called sixth and seventh) Panchen Lamas on the Bogle and Turner Missions, and the mission of Purangir in 1785.

399. Pritchard, E.H. 1936. The crucial years of early Anglo-Chinese relations, 1750-1800. *Res. Stud. Wash. St. Coll.* 4: 91-442.

Includes an inaccurate account of Hastings' relations with Tibet. Also contains information on the Cathcart Mission and the plan to send Captain P. Agnew

back to India through Tibet, and the Macartney Mission and the Chinese belief that the English had helped the Gurkhas in their war with Tibet.

400. [Purangir] 1800. Narrative of the particulars of the journey of Teshoo Lama, and his suite, from Tibet to China, from the verbal report of Porungheer Gosein. Extracted from Mr Turner's "Embassy to Tibet". *Asiat. A. Regist.* 2(Misc. tracts): 58-69. *J. Buddh. Text Soc. India* 1(4): App. 1, p. 1-8, 1893.

The Panchen Lama's journey to Peking as related by his fellow traveller, Purangir.

401. Regmi, D.R. 1942. English and Bhutanese in the 18th century. *New Rev.* 15: 236-246.

Examines the reasons for British interest in Bhutan in the eighteenth century especially the importance of trade, and gives an account of the 1st Anglo-Bhutanese War and subsequent relations between the two countries.

402. Regmi, D.R. 1942. The second trade mission to Tibet. *New Rev.* 16: 406-411.

Covers the years between the return of Bogle from Tibet and Turner's Mission and examines the contacts maintained between Hastings and the Panchen Lama's Court during these years.

403. Richardson, H.E. 1982. George Bogle and his children. *Scott. Geneal.* 24(3): 73-83. Reprinted in his *High peaks, pure earth* (see no. 1869), p. 468-481.

Presents evidence to show that Bogle had a Tibetan wife, possibly a relation or dependant of the Panchen Lama, and two daughters who were sent to Scotland.

404. Richardson, H.E. 1996. Britain and the Panchen Lamas. *Lungta* no. 10: 2-3.

The journeys of Bogle and Turner and contacts of the British with the 9th Panchen Lama in the twentieth century.

405. Sarkar, S.C. 1932. A note on Puran Gir Gosain. *Beng. Past Present* 43: 83-87.

The part played by Purangir in Anglo-Tibetan relations and information on his mission to China in 1779-1781.

406. Scheinberg, S. 1963. The initiation of Bhutan's British experience. *Proc. Indian hist. Congr.* 25: 235-239.

Anglo-Bhutanese War of 1773-1774 and the treaty concluded with Bhutan.

407. Sharma, R.P. 1960. *The foreign policy of Warren Hastings*. Hoshiarpur, Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute. xiv, 72 p.

Includes a section on Hastings' Tibetan policy.

408. Sinha, J.C. 1927. *The economic annals of Bengal*. London, Macmillan. 301 p.
Economic history of Bengal in the eighteenth century including the efforts of Hastings to extend trade with Tibet and Bhutan by means of the Bogle Mission.
409. Sprengel, M.C. and Forster, J.G.A., eds. 1790-1793. *Neue Beiträge zur Völker- und Länderkunde*. Leipzig, P.G. Kummer. 13 vols in 7.
See vol. 3 pt II, which contains details of the Bogle and Turner Missions and Purangir's journey to Tibet in 1785.
410. Stewart, J. 1777. An account of the kingdom of Thibet, in a letter...to Sir John Pringle, Bart. F.R.S. *Phil. Trans. R. Soc.* 67: 465-492; *A. Regist.* 1778, p. 32-43 (Section 'Characters').
Account of Tibet and its trade drawn from Bogle's letters and papers. This was the first published account of Bogle's visit to Tibet.
411. Teltscher, K. 1999. The sentimental ambassador: the letters of George Bogle from Bengal, Bhutan and Tibet, 1770-1781. In: R. Earle, ed. *Epistolary selves: letters and letter writers, 1600-1945*. Aldershot, Ashgate, p. 79-94.
His letters to his family which provide an 'exceptional account of British life in Calcutta in the 1770s and offer a fascinating record of the first mission to Bhutan and Tibet'.
412. Teltscher, K. 2003. The Lama and the Scotsman: George Bogle in Bhutan and Tibet 1774-5. In: F.A. Nussbaum, ed. *The global eighteenth century*. Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, p. 151-164.
Examines the idea of cross-cultural encounter and intimacy as illustrated by Bogle's travels and his relationship with the Panchen Lama.
413. Wang, Xiangyun. 2000. The Qing Court's Tibet connection: Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje and the Qianlong Emperor. *Harvard. J. Asiat. Stud.* 60(1): 125-163.
Includes a detailed account of the Panchen Lama's visit to Peking in 1780 which Lcang skya, a Buddhist lama from Amdo who was a close confidant of the Chinese emperor, Ch'ien Lung, helped to arrange.
414. Woodcock, G. 1971. *Into Tibet. the early British explorers*. London, Faber. 277 p.
[Reviewed: H.E.Richardson, *Asia Major*, 17(2): 244-245, 1972; T.V.Wylie, *J. Am. Orient. Soc.* 93: 227-228, 1973; P.Hyer, *Am. hist. Rev.* 80: 1033-1034, 1975]
Account of the journeys of Bogle, Turner, and Manning to Tibet.

See also nos 124, 139, 141, 144, 150-1, 172, 178, 201, 206, 214, 224-5, 235, 265,

280, 286-8, 290, 334-5, 418, 422, 438, 459, 488, 546, 581, 1373, 1389, 1431, 1502-3, 1607, 1613, 1617, 1619, 1627, 1629, 1632, 1634, 1636, 1643, 1678, 1694, 1771, 1776, 1813, 1815, 1834, 1836, 1868, 1879, 1882, 2072, 2089, 2164, 2493, 2705, 2986, 4018.

5. TURNER MISSION

The installation of the new Panchen Lama provided Hastings with the opportunity to send a further mission to Tibet. In 1783 Samuel Turner, accompanied by Samuel Davis and Robert Saunders, travelled to Bhutan and, after some delays, Turner and Saunders continued on to Tashilhunpo, where they met the 7th Panchen Lama. In 1785 Purangir also again went to Tibet on behalf of the Company. Before Purangir's return Hastings had left India, and although friendly relations continued for a short while with Tibet, the departure of Hastings saw the end of the first successful phase of British relations with Tibet.

415. Anon. 1802. Samuel Turner [obituary] *Gent. Mag.* 72(1): 87-88.

416. Anon. 1904. Tibet. A visit to an infant Grand Lama a hundred years ago. *Good words* 45: 510-513.

Turner's visit to Tibet and interview with the Panchen Lama.

417. Davis, S. 1830. Remarks on the religious and social institutions of the Bouteas, or inhabitants of Boutan from the unpublished journal of the late Samuel Davis, Esq. F.R.S. etc. Communicated by J.F. Davis Esq. F.R.S. M.R.A.S. *Trans. R. Asiatic Soc.* 2: 491-517.

Extracts read to the Royal Asiatic Society on 20 Feb. 1830. They include comments on relations between Bhutan and Nepal with Tibet at this time including political ties and trade.

418. Davis, S. 1982. *Views of medieval Bhutan: the diary and drawings of Samuel Davis, 1783*. Ed. by M. Aris. London, Serindia; Washington, D.C., Smithsonian Institution Press. 124 p.

[Reviewed: E.C., *Asian Affairs* 13: 325-326, 1982; M.Tatz, *Tibet J.* 7(4): 98-99, 1982; F.Pommaret-Imaeda, *J. Tibet Soc.* 2: 109-112, 1982]

Davis accompanied Turner to Bhutan as draftsman and surveyor. His drawings of Bhutan and the diary he kept of his journey are preceded by a substantial introduction by Aris. This provides biographical information about Davis and background information on the history, culture and religious practices of the Bhutanese people and on the Bogle and Turner Missions.

419. Hastings, W. 1905. *The letters of Warren Hastings to his wife, transcribed in full from the originals in the British Museum*.

Introduced and annotated by S.C. Grier. London, W. Blackwood. vii, 484 p.

His letters from 1780-1785. They include some references to Turner's mission and the gifts sent to Hastings by the Panchen Lama.

420. Montemont, A.E. de. 1833-1837. *Bibliothèque universelle des voyages effectués par mer ou par terre dans les diverses parties du monde, depuis les premières découvertes jusqu'à nos jours...* Paris, Armand-Aubree. 46 vols.

Vol. 31 contains an account of the Turner Mission to Tibet.

421. Saunders, R. 1789. Some account of the vegetable and mineral productions of Boutan and Thibet. *Phil. Trans. R. Soc.* 79(1): 79-111.

Saunders accompanied Turner on his journey to Bhutan and Tibet. Although his account mainly concerns the products of Bhutan and Tibet, it also contains a guide to the route taken by the mission.

422. Sinha, N.C. 1984. Articles of Tibet trade, 1784. *Bull. Tibetol.* no. 1: 21-25.

Lists Tibet's exports to, and imports from, China and Bhutan, derived from Turner's report to the Governor General of Bengal, dated 2 March 1784, which suggests that trade during this period with Tibet was quite high. Also includes excerpts from Bogle's report on Tibet trade.

423. Turner, S. 1788. Extract of a letter from Mr Samuel Turner to the Hon. the Governor General dated Patna, 2nd March 1784. *Asiat. Res.* 1: 197-198.

Account of attempts by Turner to gain an interview with the Panchen Lama.

424. Turner, S. 1788. Copy of an account given by Mr Turner, of his interview with Teeshoo Lama at the Monastery of Terpalng, enclosed in Mr Turner's letter to the Hon. the Governor General, dated Patna, 2nd March, 1784. *Asiat. Res.* 1: 199-205.

425. Turner, S. 1788. An account of a journey to Tibet to the Honourable John Macpherson, Esq. Governor General. *Asiat. Res.* 1: 207-220.

Purangir's journey in 1785 to the Panchen Lama taking despatches from Hastings.

426. [Turner, S.] 1798. *Account of an interview between Teeshoo Lama and Capt. Samuel Turner (who was appointed on an embassy to Tibet), at the monastery of Terpalng.* Oxford, W. Hill. 12 p.

427. Turner, S. 1800. *An account of an embassy to the court of Teshoo Lama, in Tibet; containing a narrative of a journey through Bootan, and part of Tibet. To which are added, views taken on the spot, by Lt. Samuel Davis; and observations botanical, mineralogical, and medical, by Mr Robert Saunders.* London, printed by W. Bulmer and sold by G. & W. Nicol.

xxviii, 473 p. 2nd ed., 1806. Reprinted: New Delhi, Manjusri, 1971; New Delhi, Asian Educational Services, 1991.

[Reviewed: *Gent. Mag.* 70(2): 965-68, 1800]

The primary source for a study of Turner's mission. It also contains an account of affairs in Tibet from 1785-1793, including a description of the Nepalese-Tibetan wars of 1788-1792.

428. [Wheeler, S.] 1917. Samuel Turner (1749?-1802), by S.W. In *The dictionary of national biography*, vol. XIX. London, Oxford University Press, p. 1281-1282.

See also nos 150, 162, 178, 201, 206, 214, 225, 235, 249, 265, 286, 288-9, 334, 350, 352-3, 355-6, 359, 365, 368, 373, 375-9, 383, 398, 404, 409, 414, 546, 581, 1061, 1503, 1613, 1617, 1636, 1643, 1771, 1813, 1834, 1868, 1897, 2100, 2493, 2705, 2986, 4018.

Chapter IV

NEPAL 1788-1903

The Gurkhas continued their military expansion following the fall of the Nepal Valley in 1769 (see chapter III.3). Between 1788 and 1792 they twice invaded Tibet which resulted in the intervention of China on behalf of Tibet. Both the Gurkhas and Tibetans appealed unsuccessfully to the British for military help during the wars, the Gurkhas signing a commercial treaty with the British in 1792 in the hope of aid. Cornwallis, the Governor General, instead sent Captain William Kirkpatrick on a mission to Kathmandu to act as mediator in the war. He arrived in 1793 but the Chinese had by then defeated the Gurkhas and concluded a treaty with them. Furthermore the Chinese suspected that the British had aided the Gurkhas, and this suspicion has been given as a reason for the failure of the Macartney Mission then visiting Peking.

Attempts by the British to improve trade relations with Nepal continued after the war, and missions were sent to Kathmandu in 1795 and 1801. However, continued territorial encroachments by the Gurkhas led to the outbreak of the Anglo-Nepalese War in 1814. The British were successful and peace was concluded in 1816. The importance of Nepal in the development of British relations with Tibet diminished after the British victory. By the Treaty of Segauli the districts of Kumaon and Garhwal were ceded to the British. This brought British territory for the first time to the borders of Tibet and the conclusion of the Treaty of Titalia with Sikkim in 1817 extended British influence over a territory which commanded a direct route to Tibet.

In 1846 the Rana regime was established in Nepal. This regime, with its policy of friendship and cooperation with the British, terminated a period of anti-British intrigues which had followed the Anglo-Nepalese War. Crises between Nepal and Tibet, however, continued throughout the nineteenth century.

1. GENERAL

429. Anon. 1816. A description and history of Nipal. *Asiat. J.* 1: 547-553.

Account of Nepal's history, government, army and trade.

430. Anon. 1884. *The armies of the native states. Reprinted by permission from "The Times"*. London, Chapman and Hall. viii, 172 p.

Includes a section on the 'Frontier States' which covers the armies of the Sikhs and the Gurkhas and their contacts with the British.

431. Anon. 1914. *Leading personages in Nepal*. Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 6 p.

Account of British relations with Nepal, and biographical notes on the leading men in Nepal in the early twentieth century, including Maharaja Chandra Shamsher.

432. Anon. 1966. Nepal. *Br. Surv.* no. 209: 1-20, Aug.
General account of Nepal including its history and foreign relations.
433. Aryal, I.R. and Dhungyal, T.P. 1975. *A new history of Nepal*. Kathmandu, Voice of Nepal. iv, 223 p. [1st ed. 1970]
History from earliest times with a substantial section on the period from the rise of the Gurkhas.
434. Aspinall, A. 1931. *Corwallis in Bengal; the administrative and judicial reforms of Lord Cornwallis in Bengal, together with accounts of the commercial expansion of the East India Company, 1786-1793, and of the foundations of Penang, 1786-1793*. Manchester, Manchester University Press. xv, 210 p.
[Reviewed: *Beng. Past Present* 43: 143-144, 1932; *Geogr. J.* 80: 72-73, 1932]
An account of the attempts by the Company to promote trade with Nepal, Tibet and Assam is contained in the appendices.
435. Banskota, N.P. 1981. *Indo-Nepal trade and economic relations*. Delhi, B.R. Publishing Corporation. viii, 267 p.
Includes an historical review of Indo-Nepalese economic relations during the nineteenth century.
436. Banskota, P. 1994. *The Gurkha connection: a history of the Gurkha recruitment in the British Indian army*. Jaipur, Nirala Publications. 221 p.
[Reviewed: K.Nag, *Indian hist. Rev.* 21(1-2): 205-206, 1994/1995]
Covers the origin and growth of Gurkha recruitment, the attitude of the Nepalese rulers and the policy pursued by the British Residents.
437. Beveridge, H. 1866. *A comprehensive history of India, civil, military and social...* London, Blackie. 3 vols.
Vol. 3 includes an account of British relations with Nepal from 1767 to the Anglo-Nepalese War, and of the Anglo-Burmese War, 1824-26, which led to the annexation of Assam.
438. Bista, D.B. 1978. Nepalis in Tibet. In: J.F. Fisher, ed. *Himalayan anthropology: the Indo-Tibetan interface*. The Hague, Mouton, p. 187-204.
Examines the historical background of Nepalis in Tibet and shows how British efforts to expand trade with Tibet affected the Nepalese. Also quotes from the reports of Bogle and Huc to show the ignorance of the Nepalis in Tibet in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and examines the implications of Nepalese support for the Younghusband Mission.
439. Boulnois, L. 1976. Le Népal et les européens. *Revue fr. d'Hist. d'Outre-Mer* 63(1): 44-74.

Account of the discovery of Nepal by the West divided into three parts – the journeys in the seventeenth to early nineteenth centuries mainly by Catholic missionaries and British officials; the period following Jang Bahadur's trip to Europe in 1850, and the travels of mainly French nationals such as the journey of Alexandra David-Neel; and the modern period since 1950.

440. Boulnois, L. 1988. *Les passes himalayennes. Religieux, marchands et militaires. XVII-XVIIIe siècles.* In: *Routes d'Asie. Marchands et voyageurs XVe-XVIIe siècle: actes du Colloque organisé par la Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire des Langues Orientales, Paris, 11-12 Décembre 1986.* Istanbul, Éditions Isis, p. 67-78.

Account of the economic and strategic significance of the trans-Himalayan passes during this period, including details of trade between Nepal and Tibet.

441. Chant, C. 1985. *Gurkha: the illustrated history of an elite fighting force.* Poole, Dorset, Blandford Press. 160 p.

Includes chapters on the Nepal War and early British service of the Gurkhas, and on their service on the North East Frontier. Illustrated with many historical photos.

442. Chaudhury, P. C. Roy. 1976. Early Indo-Nepal relations through Bihar. *Indian Rev.* 72(2): 49-55, May.

On relations from 1715 to 1857 based on unpublished documents. It highlights the work of the Catholic missionaries in Nepal and on its borders, the growth of British interest in Nepal and Logan's proposals, the Anglo-Nepalese War and the rule of Jang Bahadur.

443. Dasgupta, J. 1930. Nepal's relations with the outer world. *Calcutta Rev.* 3s., 35: 370-388; 36: 90-101, 233-238.

Relations with India, Tibet and China from earliest times to 1930.

444. Dhanalaxmi, R. 1981. *British attitude to Nepal's relations with Tibet and China (1814-1914).* New Delhi, Bahri Publications. xi, 183 p. [Reviewed: D.P.Choudhury, *Q. Rev. hist. Stud.* 22(1): 56-57, 1982; P.Mehra, *Indian hist. Rev.* 9(1-2): 310-313, 1982/83]

Nepal's relations with Tibet and China often had an important impact on British policy towards Nepal. This work shows how these relations enabled Nepal to resist British pressure by playing off China against British India to promote its own interests. It also examines how these relations changed following the establishment of the pro-British Rana regime in Nepal and due to the changing pattern of Himalayan politics. Closer ties with the British also developed as a result of the Tibetan crisis in 1903/1904 and the growing influence of China in Tibet following the Younghusband Expedition.

445. Forbes, D. 1964. *Johnny Gurkha.* London, R. Hale. 208 p.

An account of the Gurkhas of Nepal. Includes chapters on the Gurkha conquests, their war with Tibet, and the Anglo-Nepalese War of 1814-16.

446. Gibbon, F.P. 1898. The record of the Gurkhas. *Pall Mall Mag.* 14: 416-424, 527-535.

Traces the history of the Gurkhas, their performance in the Anglo-Nepalese War, and their subsequent contribution as soldiers in the border wars fought by Britain in India.

447. Gibbons, B. and Ashford, B. 1983. *The Himalayan kingdoms: Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim*. London, Batsford. 157 p.

Mainly concerns Nepal. It includes a history of each of the states.

448. Great Britain. Ministry of Defence. 1965. *Nepal and the Gurkhas*. London, H.M.S.O. vi, 158 p.

The history and geography of Nepal and British relations with the Gurkhas are described, as well as accounts of the different Gurkha tribes. Published primarily for officers who served with Gurkha regiments. A successor to no. 533.

449. Hamal, L.B. 1994. *Economic history of Nepal: from antiquity to 1990*. Varanasi, Ganga Kaveri Publishing House. v, 225 p.

Includes a chapter on foreign trade which provides an historical account of Nepal's trade with Tibet especially in the late eighteenth century.

450. Hamal, L.B. 1995. *Military history of Nepal*. Kathmandu, Sharda Pustak Mandir. vii, 319 p.

A detailed account of the Nepalese Army and its organisation from the beginning of the Shah dynasty to the twentieth century, with emphasis on the period to the Anglo-Nepalese War. Also examines the major battles in the Nepal-Tibet Wars of 1792 and 1855-1856 and the Anglo-Nepalese War, and the preparations of the Nepal Army for each of these wars, and provides biographies of major Nepali commanders such as Damodar Pande and Amar Singh Thapa. Based on Nepalese sources.

451. Harris, G.L. 1973. *Area handbook for Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim*, by G.L. Harris and others. Washington, U.S. Govt Printing Office. lxxx, 431 p.

Covers the history, foreign relations, trade etc. for each country.

452. Hasrat, B.J., ed. 1970. *History of Nepal as told by its own and contemporary chroniclers*. Hoshiarpur, V.V. Research Institute Book Agency. lxxxiv, 356 p.

Includes translations of Nepali documents on the Gurkha conquest of Nepal; A. Campbell's sketch of British political relations with Nepal from 1767-1834 which includes a detailed account of Knox's mission; B.H. Hodgson's observations on the Nepalese court and politics to 1839; and Lord Hastings account of the Anglo-Nepalese War summarised from his secret letters to the court. The final section is on events at the Nepal Court drawn from the decennial official narratives compiled by the British Residents in Kathmandu - S.R. Tickell (1830-1840), C.H. Nicholette (1840-1851) and G. Ramsay (1851-1861) based on official British Residency papers. They include information on the decline and fall of Bhimsen Thapa, the rise of Jang Bahadur, and Nepal under his rule to 1861. Hasrat also provides a substantial introduction setting the documents in context.

453. Hedrick, B.C. and Hedrick, A.K. 1972. *Historical and cultural dictionary of Nepal*. Metuchen, N.J., Scarecrow Press. vii, 198 p.
Information on historical events, persons, places etc.
454. Heitzman, J. 1993. Nepal: historical setting. In: A.M. Savada, ed. *Nepal and Bhutan: country studies*. Washington, D.C., Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, p. 1-52.
455. Hodgson, B.H. 1857. *Papers relative to the colonization, commerce, physical geography etc. of the Himalaya mountains and Nepal*. Calcutta, 'Calcutta Gazette' Office. 243 p. (Selections from the records of the Government of Bengal, no. 27)
Hodgson was Resident or Assistant Resident in Kathmandu from 1821 to 1843. This collection contains a number of previously published papers by Hodgson (see nos 182, 752, 753) and two new articles - 'On the colonization of the Himalaya by Europeans' and 'Papers relative to the commerce of Nepal'.
456. Hodgson, B.H. 1874. *Essays on the languages, literature and religion of Nepal and Tibet; together with further papers on the geography, ethnology, and commerce of those countries*. London, Trübner. xi, 145, 124 p. Reprinted: Varanasi, Bharat-Bharati, 1971; New Delhi, Manjusri, 1972.
[Reviewed: *Geogr. Mag.* 1: 381, 1874; *Indian Antiq.* 4: 89-90, 1875]
Collection of his articles, all previously published. They include articles published in no. 455.
457. Ikbāl Ali Shah, Sirdar. 1938. *Nepal, the home of the Gods*. London, S. Low, Marston. vii, 252 p.
General account of Nepal including its history.
458. Jest, C. 1993. The Newar merchant community in Tibet: an interface of Newar and Tibetan cultures. A century of transhimalayan trade and recent developments. In: G. Toffin, ed. *Nepal, past and present: proceedings of the Franco-German Conference, Arc-et-Senans, June 1990*. Paris, CNRS Editions, p. 159-168.
On the strong historical links between the Newars and Tibetans.
459. Jha, S.K. 1974. British India's policy towards Nepal. *J. Bihar Res. Soc.* 60: 190-219.
British relations with Nepal from the time of Kinloch's mission to 1923.
460. Kennion, R.L. 1922. England and Nepal. *Nineteenth Century and After* 91: 45-56.
Historical survey of their relations from 1769.
461. Khatri, S.R. 1999. *Nepal army chiefs: short biographical sketches*.

Kathmandu, Sira Khatri. vii, 161 p.

The activities and contributions of the army chiefs mainly from the Shah period to the present time including details of the battles in which they fought.

462. *Kshetri, D. B. 1998. *Documents on Nepal: a collection of diplomatic correspondences with British-India, Sanads, and Lalmohars*. Kathmandu, Parbati Kshetri. 368 p. In English and Nepali. Source: Library of Congress Catalogue.
463. Kumar, S. 1962/1963. The Nepalese monarchy from 1769 to 1951. *Int. Stud.* 4: 46-73.
Divided broadly into two sections: the pre-Rana period (1769-1846) and the Rana period (1846-1951).
464. Landon, P. 1928. *Nepal*. London, Constable. 2 vols. Reprinted: Kathmandu, Ratna Pustak Bhandar, 1976 and 1987; New Delhi, Asian Educational Services, 1993.
[Reviewed: C.J.Morris, *J. cent. Asian Soc.* 16: 134-136, 1929; C.J.Morris, *Himalayan J.* 1: 113-116, 1929; R.L.Turner, *Jl R. Asiat. Soc.* 1931, p. 196-198; H.M.P., *Scott. geogr. Mag.* 45: 34-37, 1929; L.A.B., *Geogr. J.* 73: 77-79, 1929]
History of Nepal from earliest times. Includes an account of the work of B.H. Hodgson in Nepal, and also the part played by Maharaja Chandra Shamsher both before and during the Younghusband Mission to Tibet in 1904.
465. Lévi, S. 1905-1908. *Le Népal; étude historique d'un Royaume Hindou*. Paris, E. Leroux. 3 vols. (Musée Guimet. Annales. Bibliothèque d'études, t. xvii, xviii, xix). Reprinted: New Delhi, Asian Educational Services, 1990.
[Reviewed: E.Chavannes, *T'oung Pao* 9: 609-610, 1908; M.Z., *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Lyon* 21: 72-73, 1906; *Sat. Rev.* 100: 247-48, 1905]
A comprehensive work on the history and culture of Nepal.
466. Lewis, T.T. 1996. A chronology of Newar-Tibetan relations in the Kathmandu Valley. In: S. Lienhard, ed. *Change and continuity: studies in the Nepalese culture of the Kathmandu Valley*. Torino, Edizioni dell'Orso, p. 149-166.
Examines the long-standing connection of the Kathmandu Valley with Tibet and provides a detailed chronology of these relations from 464 AD to present times.
467. Manandhar, T.R. and Mishra, T.P. 1986. *Nepal's quinquennial missions to China*. Kathmandu, Purna Devi Manandhar & Puspa Mishra. 112 p.
A study of the 'tribute' missions sent to Peking from 1792 to 1906 in compliance with China's tributary system and an analysis of British and Chinese attitudes towards the missions.
468. Manandhar, V.K. 1986. The political status of Nepal vis-à-vis China. *Voice of History* 9-11(1): 8-18, Dec. Reprinted in his *Cultural and*

political aspects of Nepal-China relations. Delhi, Adroit Publishers, 1999, p. 133-148.

Discusses to what extent the Sino-Nepalese agreement of 1792 and the Nepalese-Tibetan Treaty of 1856 support the Chinese claim to suzerainty over Tibet, and whether the Nepal quinquennial missions entailed political subordination to China. Notes that the missions were sent 'less as an acknowledgement of subjection than as a token of compliment and as a convenient means of making a profitable commercial transaction'.

469. Manandhar, V.K. 2001. *A documentary history of Nepalese quinquennial missions to China, 1792-1906*. Delhi, Adroit Publishers. [ix], 250 p.

Detailed account of the eighteen missions sent to China divided into two parts, the first dealing with the pre-Rana period (1792-1842) and the second with the Rana Period (1847-1906). It includes information on the composition of each mission, the presents taken, events on the journey and an assessment of the importance of each mission. The major unpublished documents concerning each mission are reproduced in Nepali at the end of each chapter.

470. Massieu, I. 1914. *Népal et pays Himalayens*. Paris, Felix Alcan. 228 p. [Reviewed: G.Bradier, *Asie fr.* 14: 217-220, 1914; G.Houbron, *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Lille* 61: 171-172, 1914; J.Leclercq, *Bull. Soc. R. belge Géogr.* 38: 136-137, 1914/1919]

Includes a chapter on the history of Nepal and comments on British contact with Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan.

471. Mehra, P. 1981/1982. Nepal in some recent studies: an overview - a review article. *Indian hist. Rev.* 8(1-2): 95-106.

Reviews a number of books covering the history of Nepal mainly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

472. Mojumdar, K. 1965. Nepal's relations with Indian states (1800-50). *J. Indian Hist.* 43: 403-465.

Mainly concerns Nepal's relations with the British and the Sikhs under Ranjit Singh.

473. [Mojumdar, K.] 1966. British policy towards Nepal, 1767-1947, by K. Mazumdar. *Mod. Rev.* 119: 472-479, June.

474. Mojumdar, K. 1967, 1969. British attitudes to Nepal's relations with Tibet and China. *Beng. Past Present* 86(2): 169-184; 88: 1-13.

From the Nepalese-Tibetan Wars 1788-1792 to the end of the nineteenth century. Also covers British apprehension at Nepal's relations with the Dogras.

475. Mojumdar, K. 1973. *Anglo Nepalese relations in the nineteenth century*. Calcutta, Mukhopadhyay. x, 195 p.

A collection of his articles on this subject. It includes nos 472-474, 771, 816-817, 1138.

476. Morris, C.J. 1933. *Gurkhas*. Delhi, Manager of Publications. 169 p. 2nd revised ed. 1936. Reprinted: Delhi, B.R. Publishing Corporation, 1985. [Reviewed: L.Adam, *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 22: 298-300, 1935; C.G.Bruce, *Himalayan J.* 6: 168-170, 1934]
Revised edition of no. 533.
477. Muni, S.D. 1973. *Foreign policy of Nepal*. Delhi, National Publishing House. ix, 320 p.
The contemporary foreign policy of Nepal with a background chapter on Nepal's relations with India, Tibet and China prior to 1947.
478. Nicholson, J.B.R. 1974. *The Gurkha rifles*. Reading, Osprey Publishing. 40 p (Men-at-arms series)
Covers the Nepal War, the formation of the Gurkha Regiments, and their participation in Assam and Tibet.
479. Northey, W.B. 1937. *The land of the Gurkhas; or the Himalayan kingdom of Nepal*. Cambridge, W. Heffer. x, 248 p. Reprinted: New York, AMS Press, 1975.
[Reviewed: F.O'Connor, *Geogr. J.* 91: 370-371, 1938; F.O'C[onnor], *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 25: 142-143, 1938; P.Sorin, *Himalayan J.* 10: 217-218, 1938]
Includes an account of the history of Nepal and her relations with the British from 1767.
480. Northey, W.B. and Morris, C.J. 1928. *The Gurkhas: their manners, customs and country*. London, J. Lane. xxxvii, 282 p. Reprinted: Delhi, Cosmo Publications, 1974.
[Reviewed: W.Beynon, *J. cent. Asian Soc.* 15: 478-479, 1928; C.S.S., *J. Indian Hist.* 7: 400-401, 1928; L.A.B., *Geogr. J.* 73: 77-79, 1929]
Includes an account of the history of Nepal.
481. Pandey, R.A. 1985. Growth of trade and commerce during 19th Century in Gorakhpur District. *Q. Rev. hist. Stud.* 25(1): 58-66.
Gorakhpur is bounded on the north by Nepal with which it had close ties fostered by trade. Discusses the importance of this district as a centre of trade, the principal markets in the district, trade routes, and the impact of British colonialism on Gorakhpur commerce.
482. Pandey, R.N. 1995. Historical perspectives of Nepal India border relations. In: H.B. Jha, ed. *Nepal-India border relations*. Kathmandu, Centre for Economic and Technical Studies (CETS), p. 1-31.
Includes an account of the rise of Prithvinarayan Shah, Nepal's relations with the East India Company, and the post Treaty of Segauli period.
483. Pandey, R.N. 1997. *Making of modern Nepal: a study of history, art, and culture of the principalities of western Nepal*. New Delhi, Nirala Publications. 819 p.

Includes an account of the unification of western Nepal through the conquests of Rana Bahadur Shah.

484. Parker, E.H. 1911. China, Nepal, Bhutan, and Sikkim; their mutual relations as set forth in Chinese official documents. *J. Manchr orient. Soc.* 1: 129-152.

China's relations with Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim from earliest times to 1822. The major part of the article deals with her relations with Nepal.

485. Petech, L. 1996. Chinese and Tibetan materials on the Nepalese quinquennial missions. In: S. Lienhard, ed. *Change and continuity: studies in the Nepalese culture of the Kathmandu Valley*. Torino, Edizioni dell'Orso, p. 167-188.

List of Chinese and Tibetan documents concerning each mission from 1792/1793 to 1906, together with a brief summary of the contents of each document. Background information on each of the missions precedes the documents.

486. Pradhan, B. 1996. *Behaviour of Nepalese foreign policy*. Kathmandu, Durga Devi Pradhan. 643 p.

Includes a section on Nepalese foreign policy from 1769 to 1950 with chapters on Prithvinarayan Shah, Bhimsen Thapa and Jang Bahadur.

487. Pradhan, K.L. 1991. *The Gorkha conquests: the process and consequences of the unification of Nepal with particular reference to eastern Nepal*. Calcutta, Oxford University Press. xi, 282 p.

488. Rahul, R. 1984. *Rise of Nepal and Bhutan*. New Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal. viii, 96 p.

[Reviewed: P.Mehra, *Indian hist. Rev.* 13(1-2): 306-308, 1986/1987]

General work which includes an account of British relations with both countries.

489. Rahul, R. 1985. *Modern Nepal*. New Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal. viii, 108 p.

[Reviewed: P.Mehra, *Indian hist. Rev.* 13(1-2): 306-308, 1986/1987]

History of Nepal from 1769.

490. Rahul, R. 1996. *Royal Nepal: a political history*. New Delhi, Vikas Publishing House. vi, 92 p.

Historical account of Nepal from the rule of Prithvinarayan Shah to 1951.

491. Raj, P.A. 1997. *Queens of the Shah dynasty in Nepal*. Kathmandu, Nabeen Publications. 80 p.

Information on the Shah Queens, some of whom exercised great power especially during their regencies. These included Rajendra Laxmi when Rana Bahadur Shah was a minor, Lalit Tripurasundari who was regent from 1806 to 1832, and Rajya Laxmi who was in control at the time of the Kot massacre.

492. *Rajbanshi, B.S. *Anglo-Nepalese relations through the ages*. Kathmandu, Nepal, n.d. Source: no. 15.
493. Ramakant. 1973. Geography as a factor in Nepal's foreign policy. *South Asian Studies* 8(2): 55-61.
494. Ramakant. 1976. *Nepal-China and India: (Nepal-China relations)*. New Delhi, Abhinav Publications. xi, 342 p.
[Reviewed: V.Rao, *China Report* 13(1): 56-57, 1977; K.Mojumdar, *India Q.* 32(4): 491-494, 1976]
Includes an historical perspective of relations between China, Nepal and India as background to current relations.
495. Rawat, P.C. 1974. *Indo-Nepal economic relations*. Delhi, National Publishing House. xiv, 287 p.
Includes an account of Indo-Nepalese trade relations during the British period.
496. *Red'ko, I.B. 1959. Anglo-nepal'skie otnosenija vo vtoroj polovine XVIII - pervoj polovine XIX v. *Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta Vostokovedeniia* 35: 3-11. Source: no. 15
Anglo-Nepalese relations in the second part of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.
497. Regmi, D.R. 1975. *Modern Nepal*. Calcutta, Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay. 2 vols. [Vol. 1. Rise and growth in the eighteenth century. 2nd ed., rev. and enl. Vol. 2. Expansion: climax and fall]
Vol. 1 is a revised and enlarged edition of his *Modern Nepal; rise and growth in the eighteenth century* (Calcutta, 1961). It covers the period to 1800 with emphasis on the rise of the Gurkhas, the first Nepal-Tibet wars, and Anglo-Nepalese relations and the missions of Kirkpatrick and Abdul Khadir Khan. Volume 2 covers the period from 1800 to the outbreak of the Anglo-Nepalese War in 1814 including Knox's contacts with Rana Bahadur Shah and his mission to Nepal, and Nepal's expansion to the west and conflicts with the Sikhs and British.
498. Regmi, J.C. 1978. The Thapas (socio-historical aspects of a famous clan). *Nepal-Antiquary* no. 5: 41-50.
History of the Thapa clans with emphasis on Bhimsen Thapa's line, the Bagale Thapas. Lists some of the Thapa warriors who fought against the British or took part in politics. There are tables tracing the lineage of the Thapas.
499. Regmi, M.C. 1971. *A study in Nepali economic history 1768-1846*. New Delhi, Manjusri Publishing House. xiii, 235 p. Reprinted: 1978.
Includes an account of Nepal, the process of political unification after the mid-eighteenth century and the economic aspects and results of this development.
500. Regmi, M.C. 1999. *Imperial Gorkha: an account of Ghorkhali rule in Kumaon (1791-1815)*. Delhi, Adroit Publishers. xviii, 149 p.

Describes the territorial expansion of the Gurkhas, their administrative system and their problems controlling and administering the province of Kumaon from Kathmandu, and the impact of their rule there. Also examines the Gurkha Army at this time.

501. Regmi Research (Private) Ltd. 1980. *Miscellaneous notes on Nepal-India trade. Regmi Research Series 12: 145-151.*

Notes on the trade from 1791 to the end of the nineteenth century.

502. Rose, L.E. 1971. *Nepal: strategy for survival.* Berkeley, University of California Press. xiii, 310 p.
[Reviewed: L.S.Baral, *India Q.* 28(3): 268-270, 1972; L.Caplan, *South Asia* no. 3: 134-135, 1973; O.Caroe, *Asian Affairs* 59: 88-90, 1972; W.Levi, *Pacific Affairs* 45: 304-305, 1972; J.Rosselli, *South Asian Review* 5(2): 159-161, 1972; R.Subba, *Regmi Research Series* 10: 146-150, 1978]

Detailed study of Nepal's relations with India, China and Tibet from the mid-eighteenth century.

503. Rose, L.E and Scholz, J.T. 1980. *Nepal: profile of a Himalayan kingdom.* Boulder, Colo., Westview Press. ix, 144 p.

Analytical overview of Nepal's history, economy, government, politics and international relations with a brief study of the British period.

504. Roychaudhuri, P.C. 1955. *Early Indo-Nepalese relations. Beng. Past Present* 74: 135-143.

Relations from the early eighteenth century to 1857 based on documents in Records Rooms around India. It traces the growth of the East India Company's interest in Nepalese trade and provides information on Logan's proposals in 1769, the Anglo-Nepalese War, the survey of the Nepal boundary following the war, and the help of the Nepalese at the time of the Indian Mutiny.

505. Sanwal, B.D. 1965. *Nepal and the East India Company.* London, Asia Publishing House. viii, 347 p.

[Reviewed: L.S.Baral, *India Q.* 22: 66-67, 1966; C.C.Davies, *Bull. Sch. Orient. Afr. Stud.* 29: 453, 1966; G.R.G.Hambly, *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 53: 86-87, 1966; G.S., *J. un. Serv. Instn India* 95: 292-293, 1965]

Detailed account of British relations with Nepal from 1767 to 1857. A number of documents and treaties are reproduced in the appendices including instructions given by the Nepal Durbar to Chandra Shekhar Upadhyaya for negotiating with the Company's agents in 1814 and Ochterlony's Convention with Amar Singh Thapa on 15 May 1815.

506. Sanwal, B.D. 1993. *Social and political history of Nepal.* New Delhi, Manohar. viii, 240 p.

Divided into two parts. The first part examines the social conditions of Nepal and includes an appendix on the history of the Gurkhas in the Indian Army. Part 2 covers the history of Nepal including the expansion and containment of the Gurkhas, the relations of Nepal with the East India Co. and the rise of the Ranas.

507. Schrader, H. 1988. *Trading patterns in the Nepal Himalayas*. Saarbrücken, Vlg Breitenbach. xii, 383 p. (Bielefeld studies on the sociology of development, Bd. 39)
[Reviewed: D.R.Dahal, *Contrib. Nepalese Stud.* 16(1): 75-78, Jan. 1989]
Examines trans-Himalayan trade with Tibet and India within the perspective of Nepal's commercially determined foreign policy. It concentrates on Nepal-Tibetan commercial relations following the Gurkha conquests and examines how disputes and wars affected this trade. Notes that Nepal's policy was always directed towards supremacy in trans-Himalayan trade and shows how this declined due to both Tibetan policy and the opening of the trade route through the Chumbi Valley by the British. Trade disputes between Nepal and Tibet continued until 1937.
508. Shastri, G.C. 1967? *Historical glimpses of modern Nepal*. Kathmandu. iii, 76 p.
History of Nepal from the rise of the Gurkha state.
509. Sen, J. 1975. Pattern of commercial exchange between India and Nepal in the nineteenth century. *Beng. Past Present* 94(179): 137-145.
Examines the traders, the mode of trade, and the prevalence of monopoly in Nepal. Also includes comments made by the British residents on the trade.
510. Sen, J. 1977. *Indo-Nepal trade in the nineteenth century*. Calcutta, Firma KLM Private. xv, 192 p.
[Reviewed: A.R.H.Kellas, *Asian Affairs* n.s. 9: 337, 1978; K.Mojumdar, *Indian hist. Rev.* 4(1): 213-215, 1977; P.Thapa, *Pacific Affairs* 52: 351-352, 1979; K.Mojumdar, *J. Indian Hist.* 62: 289-291, 1984; C.Palit, *Q. Rev. hist. Stud.* 19(3): 51-53, 1979/1980]
Account of trade between British India and Nepal, and on attempts to improve trade with Tibet and Central Asia via Nepal mainly in the nineteenth century. Includes the views of British officers on this trade and how best to promote it.
511. Sen, J. 1980. Nepal's tariff policy in the nineteenth century - its impact on her trade with India. *Proc. Indian hist. Congr.* 41: 832-842.
Account of the early commercial treaties concluded with the British and the effect of Nepal's tariff policy on trade with India and on the through trade to Tibet.
512. Sever, A. 1996. *Aspects of modern Nepalese history*. New Delhi, Vikas. xix, 232 p.
Includes chapters on the Anglo Nepalese treaties, which cover all the treaties from the Treaty of Commerce in 1792 to the Anglo-Nepalese Treaty of Friendship in 1923; missions to China with a list of the missions that went to China from 1792 to 1906; and relations with Tibet which describes the wars in 1788-1792 and 1855, the Tibetan crises of 1873 and 1883 and Nepal's support for the Younghusband Expedition in 1904.
513. Shaha, R. 1975. *An introduction to Nepal*. Kathmandu, Ratna Pustak Bhandar. ix, 374 p.
Includes an account of British relations with Nepal.

514. Shaha, R. 1990. *Modern Nepal: a political history, 1769-1955*. New Delhi, Manohar. 2 vols.
Covers the period from Prithvinarayan Shah's conquest of the Kathmandu Valley to the death of King Tribhuvan in 1955 with vol. 1 covering the years 1769 to 1885, and vol. 2, 1885-1955.
515. Shaha, R. 1998. *Heroes and builders of Nepal*. 3rd rev. & enl. ed. Delhi, Book Faith. xxxi, 105 p. [First published: 1965]
See Part II, Builders of modern Nepal. This includes biographies of Prithvinarayan Shah, Queen Rajendra Lakshmi, who was Regent for Rana Bahadur Shah, Balabhadra, the Nepali commander at Nalapani during the Anglo-Nepalese War, and Amar Singh Thapa.
516. *Sharma, K.M. 1973. *The economic theme in Nepali foreign policy: an historical analysis up to the end of the Anglo-Nepal War*. Thesis (Ph.D) University of Denver. 233 p. Source: nos 30 and 98.
Examines Nepal's trans-Himalayan trade with Tibet, China and India from the seventh to the early nineteenth century.
517. *Sharma, N.R. 1968. *Nepal's foreign trade*. Thesis (Ph.D) University of Delhi. Source: no. 98.
An historical survey (1768-1935) dealing partly with Nepal's trade with Tibet and British efforts to gain access to Tibet through Nepal.
518. *Sharma, N. 2002. *Nepal's relations with Sikkim and Bhutan, 1770-1900: primarily based on indigenous sources, published and unpublished*. Kathmandu, Himshikhar Publications. vii, 199 p. Source: Library of Congress catalogue.
519. Shrestha, D.B. and Kansakar, C.B. 1974. *The history of modern Nepal: in a nutshell with some comparative traces of foreign history*. [Kathmandu?]. 116 p.
Biographies of the rulers of Nepal from Prithvinarayan Shah.
520. Singh, Harischandra L. 1985. *Principal records of Nepal: a collection of important facts and events of Nepal in the chronological order*. 2nd ed. Lalitpur, Nepal, Satish Singh. viii, 192 p.
List of facts and events in Nepal's history and foreign relations.
521. Singh, N.K. 1996. *Nepal and the British India*. New Delhi, Anmol Publications. viii, 374 p.
Study of trade relations between Nepal and India, and the political and economic motives behind the British trade policy towards Nepal. Also examines the commercial policy of the Ranas and the impact of Anglo-Nepal trade on the economic development of Nepal.
522. Singh, S.N. 1960. A survey of internal history of Nepal 1767-1847. *J. hist. Res.* 2(2): 58-62.

Internal developments in Nepal and her relations with India in this period.

523. Smith, E.D. 1997. *Valour: a history of the Gurkhas*. Staplehurst, Spellmount. 178 p.
Includes an account of British relations with Nepal and the Anglo-Nepalese War, the raising of the Gurkha Regiments, and their participation on the North-East Frontier and with the Younghusband Mission to Tibet.
524. Sreedhar. 1988. Treaty relations between Nepal and Tibet. *China Report* 24(3): 243-288.
Reviews the Nepal-Tibet treaties signed between 1615 and 1896 to study the development of relations between Nepal and Tibet in fields such as trade and war reparations. The major treaties are reproduced in the appendices. These include the Treaty of Kyirong, 1789, Treaty of Khasa, 1790, and treaties of 1854, 1856, 1878 and 1884. They also include letters from the Chinese commander to the King of Nepal in 1792.
525. Stiller, L.F. 1972. A note on Himalayan trade. *Tribhuvan Univ. J.* 7(1): 1-34.
Historical view of Nepal's trade with Tibet and China and British efforts to increase their trade with Nepal, especially during the period when Hodgson was British Resident in Kathmandu which resulted in the signing of the Anglo-Nepal trade agreement of 1839. Also analyses the commercial policies of Jang Bahadur and his relations with Ramsay, the British Resident.
526. Stiller, L.F. 1993. *Nepal: growth of a nation*. Kathmandu, Human Resources Development Research Centre. iii, 215 p.
The history of Nepal since the rise of Prithvinarayan Shah.
527. Surendra, K.C. 1998. The Gurkha recruitment: an overview. *Voice of History* 13(1): 79-92.
528. Suzuki, C. 1962. *Chibetto o meguru Chu-In kankeishi: Juhasseiki nakagoro kara Jukyuseiki nakagoro made*. Tokyo, Hitotsubashi Shobo. 399, 22 p.
The 22 pages is a paper in English entitled 'China, Tibet and India: their early international relations', based mainly on the concluding chapter of this work. It examines relations between Tibet and China, and Nepal and India, concentrating on the 1792 and 1855/1856 wars between Nepal and Tibet and Nepal's war with the British in 1814-1816. Also examines the trade route through Ladakh and attempts by the British to define the border there in 1846.
529. Thapa, N.B. 1981. *A short history of Nepal*. Revised ed. Kathmandu, Ratna Pustak Bhandar. xi, 187 p. [1st ed. 1951]
Mainly concerned with the pre-Rana period. The appendices include useful genealogical tables of leading families in the post 1769 period, and lists of the kings, queens and prime ministers of Nepal.

530. Tucker, F.I.S. 1957. *Gorkha; the story of the Gurkhas of Nepal*. London, Constable. xv, 319 p.
History of Nepal with emphasis on the period from the conquest of the Nepal Valley by Prithvinarayan Shah.
531. Upadhyaya, S.P. 1992. *Indo-Nepal trade relations: a historical analysis of Nepal's trade with the British India*. Jaipur, Nirala Publications. xxiv, 287 p.
Trade and commerce between Nepal and India in the period 1858-1914 when trade flourished and transport and communications improved, with an historical background to this period.
532. Vaidya, T.R. 1994. *Advanced history of Nepal, 1737-1839*. New Delhi, Anmol Publications. xi, 211 p.
Survey of Nepalese history in these years with emphasis on the expansion of the Gorkha state and the political history of the Nepalese court.
533. Vansittart, E. 1915. *Gurkhas*. Revised by Major B.U. Nicolay. Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing, India. v, 231 p.
Enlarged edition of his *Notes on Gurkhas*, published in 1890, and *Notes on Nepal*, published in 1896. It contains an account of the Gurkha tribes, their history and relations with the British and Chinese, and a geographical description of Nepal.
534. Verma, V.P. 1968/1969. Indo-Nepalese relations (1767-1947). *Polit. Scient.* 5(1/2): 67-76.
535. Wheeler, J.T. 1884. *A short history of India and of the frontier states of Afghanistan, Nipal, and Burma*. London, Macmillan. xv, 744 p.
Includes an account of Nepalese history from 1767 to the Anglo-Nepalese War of 1814-16, the Anglo-Burmese War, 1824-26, and the Anglo-Bhutanese War, 1864-65.
536. White, J.C. 1920. Nepal: a little known kingdom. *Natn. geogr. Mag.* 38: 245-283.
Includes an account of the history of Nepal and her relations with the British.
537. Wilkinson-Guillemard, H. 1934. Nepal and her relations to the British Government. *Jl E. India Ass.* n.s. 25: 170-179; *Asiat. Rev.* 30: 266-275.
Nepal's relations with the British and the careers of three Nepalese leaders, Prithvinarayan Shah, Sir Jang Bahadur and Sir Chandra Shamsher.
538. Wright, D., ed. 1877. *History of Nepal*, translated from the Parbatiya by Munshi Shew Shunker Singh and Pandit Shri Gunanand: with an introductory sketch of the country and people of Nepal by the editor, Daniel Wright. Cambridge, University Press. xv, 324 p. Reprinted: Kathmandu, Nepal Antiquated Book Publishers, 1972. Reprinted with

title: *Nepal: history of the country and people*. New Delhi, Cosmo, 1986.

The translated work gives a brief account of Nepal's wars with China and Tibet in 1792 and her war with the British from the Nepalese point of view. Wright also gives an account of these events and other aspects of Nepal's early relations with Britain in his introductory sketch.

See also nos 123-4, 126, 131-2, 135, 150, 153-4, 158-9, 165-7, 175-81, 188-91, 196-9, 201, 206-7, 215, 230, 239-41, 257-8, 260, 263-4, 266, 272-3, 286-7, 333, 386, 393, 417, 563, 747, 749, 976-7, 1321, 1379, 1381, 1387, 1416-18, 1440, 1443, 1450, 1474, 1532, 1568, 1678, 1774, 1792, 1805, 1887, 1982, 1991-2, 2017, 2089, 2336, 2401, 2568, 2659, 3511.

2. TIBETAN-NEPALESE WARS 1788-1792

In 1788 the Gurkhas invaded the Tibetan territory controlled by the Panchen Lama. The immediate causes of the war were the continuous disputes over the circulation of Nepalese coins in Tibet and the duties charged on goods carried between Tibet and India through Nepal. The Panchen Lama appealed to the British for help but, having received an evasive reply from Cornwallis, began negotiations with the Gurkhas in May 1789 and a treaty was concluded soon after. One of the terms of this treaty was the payment of an indemnity by Tibet, and it was the non-payment of part of this indemnity which was the excuse for the second Nepalese invasion of Tibet in 1791. The Gurkhas captured Shigatse before the intervention of China, on behalf of Tibet, led to their defeat. The Gurkhas requested British help in this second war whilst the Chinese and Tibetan authorities also approached them requesting that they punish the Gurkhas. In the hope of armed support the Gurkhas concluded a commercial treaty with the East India Company in March 1792 opening up Nepal to British trade. Cornwallis, however, decided to send a mediator to act between the Gurkhas and the Chinese rather than send military assistance. In September 1792 Captain William Kirkpatrick was sent to Kathmandu but by the time he reached there the war was over and the Gurkhas had been forced to sign a humiliating treaty with the Chinese.

The first English mission to China led by Lord Macartney coincided with the second Tibetan-Nepalese crisis. The Chinese suspicion that the English had helped the Gurkhas in the war against the Chinese and Tibetan forces, has been given as one of the reasons for the failure of Macartney's mission.

a) The Wars

539. Biggerstaff, K. 1943-1944. Fu-k'ang-an. In: A.W. Hummel, ed. *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing period, 1644-1912*. Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office. 2 vols.

Fu-k'ang-an led the Chinese forces against the Gurkhas in 1792.

540. Bonnet Rouge. 1887. Manchu relations with Nepal, by Bonnet Rouge. *N. China Herald* 38: 39-40, Jan. 12.
Information on the wars from mainly Chinese sources.
541. Boulnois, L. 1989. Chinese maps and prints on the Tibet-Gorkha War of 1788-92. *Kailash* 15(1/2): 83-112.
Maps drawn by, or under the direction of Song Yun, a Chinese official of high rank, who served from 1794 to 1799 in Tibet. He travelled to the Nepal border in 1795 and some of his maps show the route followed by the Chinese army in the war. The article includes an account of the war and its conduct.
542. Cornwallis, C., 1st Marquis. 1859. *Correspondence of Charles, first Marquis Cornwallis*. Ed. with notes, by C. Ross. London, J. Murray. 3 vols.
Vol. 2 contains letters on Kirkpatrick's mission to Nepal and comments on the Panchen Lama's letter to Cornwallis requesting aid. Also includes information on Welsh's mission to Assam in 1792.
543. Dawson, D. 1989. A window on the past. *Tibetan Review* 24(11): 9-10.
Letter from the Panchen Lama (or his Regent) to the officials of the Gurkha Army concerning the hostilities between Tibet and Nepal, probably dated 1788 or 1789. Dawson provides a background to the dispute and the later invasion of Tibet in 1791 by the Gurkhas.
544. Dhungel, R.K. 1999. Nepal-Tibet cultural relations and the Zhva-Dmarpa (Shyamarpa) lamas of Tibet. *Contrib. Nepalese Stud.* 26(2): 183-210.
Examines the strong religious relationship between Nepal and Tibet, especially the relations of the *zhva-dmar* abbots of the *yangs-pa-can* monastery of Tibet with the people and government of Nepal. The article concentrates on the 10th Zhva-dmarpa who took political asylum in Nepal due to Chinese policy and pressure in Tibet. This became one of the causes of the Nepal invasions of Tibet. Also highlights the international rivalries at this time between China, Russia and British India.
545. Diskalkar, D.B. 1933. Tibeto-Nepalese war 1788-1793. *J. Bihar Orissa Res. Soc.* 19: 355-398.
Reprints eighteen letters that passed between the East India Company, Tibet and Nepal during the war and shows how both Nepal and Tibet unsuccessfully represented their case to the British.
546. Engelhardt, I. 2002. The closing of the gates: Tibetan-European relations at the end of the Eighteenth Century. In: *Tibet, past and present. Tibetan studies I: PIATS 2000: proceedings of the Ninth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Leiden, 2000*. Ed. by H. Blezer with the assistance of A. Zadoks. Leiden, Brill, p. 229-245.
Identifies the turning point in Tibetan-European relations when, due to both British behaviour and Chinese pressure, the Tibetans gradually adopted a policy of isolation. The major event causing this change was the British failure to respond

to Tibetan requests for support against the Nepalese invasions in 1788-1792. Their policy of non-interference destroyed the trust that had been built by Hastings, Bogle and Turner, and Cornwallis's attempt to offer mediation to both parties was a complete failure. A number of the letters written to Cornwallis by the Tibetans, and his replies, are reproduced.

547. Fu, Lo-shu, ed. 1966. *A documentary chronicle of Sino-Western relations (1644-1820)*. Tucson, University of Arizona Press. 2 vols.
Contains the translated texts of a number of Chinese documents. They include information on the war of 1792, Macartney's mission, Manning's journey to Lhasa, 1811, and the Anglo-Nepalese War, 1814-16.
548. Haenisch, E., ed. 1938. *Zwei kaiserliche Erlasse vom Ausgange der Regierung Kienlung, die Gorkha betreffend*. *Harvard J. asiat. Stud.* 3: 17-39.
Two Chinese documents concerning the War translated into German with the original texts.
549. Haenisch, E., ed. 1959. *Dokumente aus dem Jahre 1788 zur Vorgeschichte des Gorkha-Krieges*. München, Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. 46 p. + pl. (Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse. Abhandlungen, N.F. Heft 49)
[Reviewed: J.R.Krueger, *J. Am. orient. Soc.* 80: 279, 1960; *Harvard J. asiat. Stud.* 24: 310-311, 1962/1963]
Manchu, Tibetan and Chinese documents in the original, transliterated, and in German translation. The texts come from a run of documents dated 1788 entitled *Hsi-tsang tang* (Documents from Tibet) and they provide background material for the Tibetan-Nepalese Wars.
550. Imbault-Huart, C. 1878. *Histoire de la conquête du Népal par les Chinois, sous le règne de Tc'ie Long (1792), traduit du Chinois*. *J. Asiat.* 7s., 12: 348-377.
Translation of the Chinese account of the Tibetan-Nepalese War of 1792. It is an extract from the *Chen vou tçi* or 'Histoire des campagnes accomplies sous la dynastie actuelle des Ts'ing', originally published in 1842.
551. Killigrew, J.W. 1979. *Some aspects of the Sino-Nepalese War of 1792*. *J. Asian Hist.* 13: 42-63.
Background to, and conduct of, the War.
552. Kirkpatrick, W. 1811. *An account of the kingdom of Nepaul, being the substance of observations made during a mission to that country, in the year 1793*. London, W. Miller. xx, 388 p. Reprinted: New Delhi, Manjusri, 1969; New Delhi, Asian Educational Services, 1986, 1996.
[Reviewed: *Edinb. Rev.* 18: 425-435, 1811; *Q. Rev.* 5: 303-332, 1811]
Kirkpatrick outlines his route to Kathmandu, gives an historical sketch of the

country, and an account of the boundary and divisions of Nepal. The appendices contain official papers and letters relative to his mission and to the origin of the war between Nepal and Tibet, and include the correspondence of Cornwallis with Tibet during the war.

553. Kumar, S. 1963. Nepal and China. *Indian J. polit. Sci.* 24: 79-93.

Although mainly an account of modern Sino-Nepalese relations, a brief discussion of the 1792 treaty between China and Nepal is included.

554. Kunwar, M.J. 1962. China and war in the Himalayas, 1792-1793. *Engl. hist. Rev.* 77: 283-297.

The war and its background and the effect of the suspected British support of the Gurkhas on Macartney's mission to China.

555. Manandhar, V.K. 1997. The Nepalese Mission of 1789 to China and the Chinese patent of 5 March, 1790. *Rolamba* 17(2): 11-18. Reprinted in his *Cultural and political aspects of Nepal-China relations*. Delhi, Adroit Publishers, 1999, p. 11-26.

Following the treaty signed in 1789 Nepal was persuaded by Chinese officials to send a mission to China in Sept. 1789 with presents for the Chinese Emperor, Ch'ien Lung. In return the Emperor bestowed titles on Rana Bahadur Shah and the Regent, Bahadur Shah, through the patent of 1790. The patent, which also provides information on the causes of the war, is reproduced in Appendix A.

556. Martynov, A.S. 1983. Some aspects of Qing policy in Tibet at the close of the 18th Century: (pre-history of the Manzhou invasion of Nepal in 1792). In: S.L. Tikhvinsky, ed. *Manzhou rule in China*. Trans. from the Russian by D. Skirsky. Moscow, Progress Publishers, p. 216-234. Reprinted: *Rolamba* 7(3): 6-20, 1987.

Examines some aspects of Chinese domination in Tibet as shown by the conflict between Tibet and Nepal in 1792 and the background to this conflict. Also discusses the contacts between Chinese and Nepalese officials following the signing of the 1789 treaty.

557. [Martynov, A.S.] 1984. The Sa-skyia episode in the Nepal Campaign of 1791-1792, by A.S. Martinov. In L. Ligeti, ed. *Tibetan and Buddhist studies commemorating the 200th anniversary of the birth of Alexander Csoma de Kóros*. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, vol. 2, p. 153-158.

The part played by the Sa-skyia lamas in the war.

558. Mitra, K.P. 1941. Anglo-Nepalese treaty of commerce, 1792. *Beng. Past Present* 61: 15-19.

Mainly concerns the efforts of Jonathan Duncan to collect information on the trade existing between Nepal and the Company's territories preliminary to the negotiation of the treaty. Comments on the commercial treaty concluded by Knox in 1801 are also included. Based on previously unpublished information found in the record rooms of Bihar.

559. Narain, V.A. 1957. Anglo-Nepalese commercial treaty of 1792. *J. Bihar Res. Soc.* 43: 334-340.

The treaty was concluded in March 1792, mainly through the work of Duncan.

560. Narain, V.A. 1959. *Jonathan Duncan and Varanasi*. Calcutta, Mukhopadhyay. 240 p.
[Reviewed: K.A.N.Sastri, *J. Indian Hist.* 38: 452-453, 1960]

Study of the life and career of Duncan to 1795. He joined the East India Company in 1772 and was appointed British Resident in Benares in 1787. Duncan was instrumental in the arrangement of the Anglo-Nepalese treaty of 1792.

561. Nigam, A.K. 1968. Chinese claim of suzerainty over Nepal. *Mod. Rev.* 123: 570-584, 673-685.

Traces Chinese claims from 1792 and emphasises that Sino-Nepalese relations were largely determined 'by their respective positions and stakes in Tibet'. Analyses the clauses of the 1792 treaty between Nepal and China in accordance with the principles of international law, and also the basis for other Chinese claims of suzerainty over Nepal.

562. Parker, E.H. 1886. Manchu relations with Tibet or Si-Tsang. *J. China Brch R. Asiat. Soc.* n.s. 21: 289-304.

Includes a brief account of the background to the wars of 1788 and 1792.

563. Parker, E.H. 1899. Nepaul and China. *Imp. Asiat. Q. Rev.* 3s., 7: 64-82.

A detailed account of the wars drawn mainly from Chinese sources. Parker also explains the origin of existing relations between China and Nepal and gives a brief account of Sino-Nepalese relations to 1886.

564. *Poudel, B.P. 1966. Nepal's relations with Tibet, 1792-1856. Thesis (Ph.D) Indian School of International Studies, Delhi. Source: no. 97.

565. *Rajbhandari, M. 1975. Nepal Tibet war (1788). *Voice of history* 1: 89-97. Source: no. 13.

566. Regmi, D.R. 1942. The first Anglo-Nepalese trade pact. *New Rev.* 16: 130-141.

British attempts to establish relations with Nepal from the time of Kinloch's Mission which eventually resulted in the trade pact signed in 1792 and Kirkpatrick's Mission in 1793. The text of the trade pact is reproduced.

567. Regmi, D.R. 1946. The first Gurkha-Tibet war and Kirkpatrick's mission. *New Rev.* 24: 361-374.

Also includes an analysis of British interest in the war and their failure to exploit it to their advantage.

568. Rhodes, N. 1980. The development of currency in Tibet. In: *Tibetan studies in honour of Hugh Richardson. Proceedings of the International*

Seminar on Tibetan Studies, Oxford, 1979, ed. by M.V. Aris and Aung San Suu Kyi. Warminster, Aris & Phillips, p. 261-268.

Includes an account of the supply of coins by Nepal to Tibet and the part disputes over currency played in the relations between Nepal and Tibet which led to the wars of 1788-1792.

569. Richardson, H.E. 1958. The Karma-pa sect. A historical note. *Jl R. Asiat. Soc.* 1958, p. 139-164. Reprinted in his *High peaks, pure earth* (see no. 1869), p. 337-378.

Includes a brief account of the death of the Panchen Lama in Peking, the flight of the Zva-dmar-pa to Nepal, and the wars of 1788-1792.

570. Richardson, H.E. 1961/1964. The smallpox edict of 1794 at Lhasa. *J. orient. Stud.* 6: 115-124.

The Tibetan text and a translation of the edict, and also a translation of the edict from the Chinese text by R.A. Stein. The edict is an 'example of the intensification of Chinese interest in Tibetan affairs as a result of the Gorkha expedition of 1792'.

571. Richardson, H.E. 1974. *Ch'ing dynasty inscriptions at Lhasa*. Roma, Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente. viii, 104 p. (Serie Orientale Roma, vol. 47)

Translation of the edicts, many of which relate to the Gurkha invasions of Tibet in 1789-92, preceded by an account of the events leading to the invasions.

572. Sharma, P.R. 1973. Kirkpatrick's *An account of the Kingdom of Nepal*. *Contrib. Nepalese Stud.* 1(1): 96-105.

On his mission in 1793 and on the book he published (see no. 552)

573. Sperling, E. 1998. Awe and submission: a Tibetan aristocrat at the court of Qianlong. *Int. hist. Rev.* 20(2): 325-335.

Traces the career of a Tibetan official, Rdo-ring Bstan-'dzin dpal-'byor, who played a leading role in trying to placate the Gurkhas who were demanding large payments in silver in return for leaving Tibetan territory unmolested. Rdo-ring was captured by the Gurkhas and not released until 1792 when the Chinese took him to Peking. Based on Rdo-ring's autobiography published in Tibetan which contains extensive information on the Gurkha Wars and other aspects of eighteenth century Tibetan politics.

574. Whelpton, J. 1987. The ancestors of Jang Bahadur Rana: history, propaganda and legend. *Contrib. Nepalese Stud.* 14(3): 161-191.

Examines the legends concerning the family's origins and their role in the military and political history of Nepal, including the part members took in Nepal's two invasions of Tibet in 1788 and 1791 and in the Anglo-Nepalese War.

See also nos 124, 178, 201, 206, 261, 286, 288-9, 317-18, 334, 394, 427, 443-5, 450, 461, 464, 467-9, 474, 484-5, 487, 497, 505, 512, 514, 524, 528-30, 532, 538, 761, 911, 1776, 1872, 2477, 2493, 3223.

b) The Macartney Mission

575. Anderson, A. 1796. *A narrative of the British embassy to China, in the years 1792, 1793 and 1794; containing the various circumstances of the embassy; with accounts of the customs and manners of the Chinese ...* 3rd ed. London, Debrett. xxxi, 455 p. [1st ed. 1795]
576. Backhouse, E. and Bland, J.O.P. 1914. *Annals and memoirs of the court of Peking (from the 16th to the 20th century)*. London, W. Heinemann. x, 531 p.
- Translations of annals and memoirs of Chinese rulers and commentators. See Ch. XIII, 'His Majesty Ch'ien Lung'. This includes the Emperor's edict concerning Chinese suzerainty over Tibet, information on the effect of the Tibetan-Nepalese Wars on Macartney's mission, and Ch'ien Lung's letters to George III, including one in 1796 on the war with Nepal.
577. Barrow, J. 1807. *Some account of the public life, and a selection from the unpublished writings, of the Earl of Macartney*. London, T. Cadell and W. Davies. 2 vols.
- Vol. 2 includes Macartney's 'A journal of an embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China in the years 1792, 1793 and 1794'.
578. Bickers, R.A., ed. 1993. *Ritual and diplomacy: the Macartney Mission to China 1792-1794: papers presented at the 1992 Conference of the British Association for Chinese Studies marking the bicentenary of the Macartney Mission to China*. London, Wellsweep. 93 p.
579. Bose, S.K. 1961. Notes on the causes of the failure of the Macartney Mission to China. *Proc. Indian hist. Congr.* 24: 206-208.
- The war with Nepal and the misrepresentation by the Chinese commander Fu-K'ang-an of British support of the Gurkhas, is given as a reason for the failure. Also the governor-general's 'proposal to mediate between Nepal and China could hardly have failed to embitter the Chinese'.
580. Cranmer-Byng, J.L. 1957/1958. Lord Macartney's embassy to Peking in 1793; from official Chinese documents. *J. orient. Stud.* 4: 117-187.
- Detailed account of Chinese reactions to the Embassy. Includes a brief mention of the Nepal War.
581. Eames, J.B. 1909. *The English in China; being an account of the intercourse and relations between England and China from the year 1600 to the year 1843, and a summary of later developments*. London, Pitman. xi, 622 p.
- Includes information on Chinese reactions to British relations with Tibet through the missions of Bogle and Turner, to Macartney's mission and their belief that Britain had helped the Nepalese in their war with Tibet, and to the Anglo-Nepalese War of 1814-16.

582. Hevia, J.L. 1995. *Cherishing men from afar: Qing guest ritual and the Macartney Embassy of 1793*. Durham, Duke University Press. x, 292 p.
Includes brief discussion of the effects of the wars on the Mission.
583. Macartney, G. 1962. *An embassy to China; being the journal kept by Lord Macartney during the embassy to the Emperor Chi'en-lung, 1793-1794*. Ed. by J.L. Cranmer-Byng. London, Longmans. 421 p.
584. Morse, H.B. 1926. *The chronicles of the East India Company trading to China, 1635-1834*. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 4 vols.
Vol. 2 contains an account of the Cathcart and Macartney Missions to China. The account of the Macartney Mission includes references to Chinese suspicion of English participation in the Tibetan-Nepalese War.
585. Parker, E.H. 1896. From the Emperor of China to King George the Third (translated from the *Tung-hwa Luh*, or published court records of the now reigning Manchu dynasty). *Nineteenth Century* 40: 45-55.
Reproduces the letter sent to George III via Lord Macartney in 1793, and also one written in 1796, in which Ch'ien Lung admits that the British probably had not helped the Gurkhas in the Tibetan-Nepalese War.
586. Pelham, C. 1806-1808. *The world: or the present state of the universe. Being a general and complete collection of modern voyages and travels*. London, J. Stratford. 2 vols.
Vol. 1 contains 'An account of the Earl of Macartney's embassy from the King of Great Britain, to the Emperor of China', by G. Staunton.
587. Peyrefitte, A. 1992. *The immobile empire*. New York, Alfred A. Knopf. xxvii, 630 p. Also published with title: *The collision of two civilisations: the British expedition to China in 1792-4*. London, Harvill, 1993.
Detailed account of the Macartney Mission. It includes a brief account of the rumours spread by Fu Kang'an that the British may have helped the Gurkhas in the war with Tibet.
588. Pritchard, E.H. 1929. *Anglo-Chinese relations during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*. Urbana, University of Illinois. 244 p. Reprinted: New York, Octagon Books, 1970.
Includes an account of the Macartney Mission and a brief mention of the effect of the supposed British help for the Gurkhas on the results of the mission.
589. Pritchard, E.H. 1938. The instructions of the East India Company to Lord Macartney on his embassy to China and his reports to the Company, 1792-4. *Jl R. Asiat. Soc.* 1938 p. 201-230, 375-396, 493-509.
Divided into three parts: Pt 1 contains the original instructions from the Company. Pt 2, letter to the Viceroy and first report of Macartney to the Company, in which he mentions the Chinese suspicion that the English had helped the Gurkhas against Tibet, and his receipt of copies of correspondence between the Governor-General

of Bengal and the 'Rajas of Napaul and Lassa and the commander of the Chinese forces in Thibet'. Pt 3 contains Macartney's later reports.

590. Robbins, H.H. 1908. *Our first ambassador to China. An account of the life of George, Earl of Macartney, with extracts from his letters, and the narrative of his experiences in China, as told by himself, 1737-1806, from hitherto unpublished correspondence and documents.* London, J. Murray. xx, 479 p.

Includes a brief mention of the Chinese suspicion that a British force took part in the Tibetan-Nepalese War.

591. Staunton, G.L. 1797. *An authentic account of an embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China; including cursory observations made, and information obtained, in travelling through that ancient empire...* Taken chiefly from the papers of His Excellency the Earl of Macartney. London, G. Nicol. 2 vols.

The official account of the Macartney Mission. It includes an account of Nepal's war with Tibet and the Chinese suspicion that the English had helped the Gurkhas.

See also nos 399, 547, 554, 1909.

3. ANGLO-NEPALESE RELATIONS 1793-1813

In 1795 a commercial mission headed by Abdul Kadir Khan, a Moslem holy man, was sent to Nepal to report on the opportunities of improving trade with Nepal and Tibet. He reported positively on the possibilities of trade and noted that it was mainly the Gurkhas who were impeding trade with Tibet. In 1800 the Raja of Nepal, Rana Bahadur Shah abdicated and went into exile in Benares in India. The Company took advantage of this crisis in Nepalese politics to press for a new treaty and the establishment of a British resident in Nepal. Captain Knox was appointed and in 1801 a treaty was concluded. Worsening relations forced Knox to leave Nepal in 1803, and in the following year Lord Wellesley, the Governor-General, dissolved the existing treaties with Nepal. In 1806 Bhimsen Thapa became Prime Minister of Nepal and was to remain in power for the next thirty years. He continued the expansionist policy of previous rulers especially to the west in Kumaon and Garhwal which eventually brought Nepal into conflict with the British.

592. Acharya, B. 1972. *General Bhimsen Thapa and the Samar Jung Company. Regmi Research Series 4(9): 161-167.*

Rana Bahadur Shah established the Company in 1796 to guard the Royal Palace. Examines the foundation of the Company and the rise to power of one of its members. Bhimsen Thapa, and his rule of Nepal.

593. Amatya, S. 1969. *Indo-Nepalese relations in the beginning of the 19th Century (1799-1801). Ancient Nepal no. 7: 45-49, April.*

On the background to the exile of Rana Bahadur Shah in Benares, on contacts with the British and the Anglo-Nepalese Treaty of 1801.

594. Amatya, S. 1978. The failure of Captain Knox's mission to Nepal. *Ancient Nepal* nos 46-48: 9-17, June-Nov.
595. Amatya, S. 1984. The dress rehearsal of Anglo-Nepal War of 1814. *Ancient Nepal* no. 82: 1-9.
Examines Nepal's policy of aggressive militarism in the west and her encroachment on British territory which was to lead to war.
596. Bakshi, S.R. 1971. *British diplomacy and administration in India 1807-13*. New Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal. xi, 228 p.
A study of the governor-generalship of the first Lord Minto. It includes an account of the territorial disputes between the East India Company and Nepal which were eventually to lead to the Anglo-Nepalese War in 1814.
597. Buchanan, F. Hamilton. 1819. *An account of the Kingdom of Nepal, and of the territories annexed to this dominion by the house of Gorkha*, by Francis Hamilton (formerly Buchanan). Edinburgh, Constable. vii, 364 p. Reprinted: New Delhi, Manjusri, 1971; New Delhi, Asian Educational Service, 1986.
Buchanan accompanied Knox to Nepal and later spent two years on the Nepalese frontier collecting information. He describes Nepal during this period and also gives a brief account of the history, geography, government etc. of Sikkim (see also no. 607)
598. Buchanan, W.J. 1915. Francis Buchanan-Hamilton. *Beng. Past Present* 10: 190-194.
599. [Chakravarti, B.] 1943. Maulavi Qader's Nepal embassy, 1795 - a forgotten episode, by B. Chakravarti. *Calcutta Rev.* [3s.], 86: 43-49, Jan.
Based on records in the custody of the Imperial Record Department.
600. Chakravarti, B. 1946. Maulavi 'Abdul-Qadir's report on Nepal. *Islamic Culture* 20: 362-366.
The report was submitted following his commercial mission to Nepal in 1795. It mainly concerns the trade and commerce of Nepal with India and Tibet.
601. Choudhury, T.K.R. 1990-1991. The Eastern Morung: a disputed territory in Anglo-Nepalese relations (1770-1816). *Indian hist. Rev.* 17(1-2): 207-220.
Eastern Morung, a small strip of land at the northern end of West Bengal and on the eastern borders of Nepal, was the object of contention between Nepal, Sikkim, and British India in the late eighteenth century as all trade routes to Darjeeling and Sikkim lay through this region. This study examines attempts by Prithvinarayan Shah to extend Nepal's frontier in the east and conflicts between Nepal and Sikkim which led to the occupation of Morung by the British during the Anglo-Nepalese

War. After the war the British gave the area to Sikkim in the hope of the guarantee of British trade through Sikkim to Tibet.

602. Dabara, S.P. 1987. From the Yamuna to the Sutlej. *Regmi Research Series* 19: 50-54.

On the conquest of the hill principalities to the west following the return of Rana Bahadur Shah from Benares.

603. Dabara, S.P. 1987. The struggle for Kangra Fort. *Regmi Research Series* 19: 63-69, 79-83.

On the Gorkha campaigns in the west from 1805 and the attempts by Amar Singh Thapa to capture the Kangra Fort from Sansar Chand. Also discusses the reaction of the British to Nepal's expansion and the meeting of Amar Singh Thapa and Ochterlony in 1813.

604. Datta, K.K. 1939. Some unpublished letters relating to Anglo-Nepalese relations in the beginning of the 19th century. *J. Bihar Orissa Res. Soc.* 25: 118-124, 138-152.

The letters give details of Anglo-Nepalese relations during Captain Knox's term as Company resident in Nepal.

605. Datta, K.K., ed. 1954. *Selections from unpublished correspondence of the judge-magistrate and the judge of Patna 1790-1857*. Bihar, Superintendent of Government Printing. 422 p.

Includes correspondence relating to Anglo-Nepalese relations in this period.

606. Gurung, H. 1996. Nepal to Nepal: place-names in two early accounts. *Contrib. Nepalese Stud.* 23(1): 47-64.

Compares the place-names in Kirkpatrick and Buchanan Hamilton's early works on Nepal (see nos. 552 and 597) and provides a table with a list of the place-names and attempts to identify the names or terms appearing in the accounts.

607. Lecomte-Tilouine, M. 1998. On Francis Buchanan Hamilton's Account of the Kingdom of Nepal. *European Bull. Himalayan Res.* 14: 46-75.

On the first draft of his work entitled 'Some observations on Nepal' which he wrote soon after his trip to Nepal in 1802-1803, and information on how it differs from his published account (see no. 597). Also comments on the new data this unpublished work provides on Nepal at this time. Notes that in 1818 Francis Buchanan adopted his mother's name, Hamilton, for inheritance purposes.

608. Manandhar, V.K. 1999. Nepalese quinquennial missions of 1802 and 1807 to China. *Rolamba* 19(1): 3-11.

609. Manandhar, V.K. 1999. Nepalese quinquennial missions of 1812 and 1817 to China. *Rolamba* 19(2): 3-9.

610. Mitra, K.P. 1942. Anglo-Nepalese relations in the last decade of the eighteenth century. *Proc. Indian hist. Rec. Comm.* 18(2): 153-163.

Activities of the Gurkhas on the Nepal frontier in this period, mainly in the Morung area. Includes quotes from several letters from the Collector of Purnea regarding the Gurkha encroachments.

611. Pant, M.R. 1981/1982. Nepal and the Wazi Ali affair. *J. Nepal Res. Cent.* 5/6: 155-175.

Wazir Ali succeeded to the throne of Oudh in 1797 but was deposed by his uncle, Sadaat Ali, who was supported by the British, in the following year. Describes Wazir Ali's attempts to raise troops against the British and to gain asylum from Rana Bahadur Shah in Nepal.

612. Prain, D. 1905. *A sketch of the life of Francis Hamilton (once Buchanan), sometime Superintendent of the Honourable Company's Botanic Gardens, Calcutta.* Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press. lxxv p.

Based on Buchanan's letters preserved in the library of the Royal Botanic Gardens at Calcutta. It includes extracts from letters sent when he was in Nepal with Knox.

613. Rathaur, K.R.S. 1977. Bahadur Shah, his relation with Nepal during his exile. *Voice of History* 3: 23-30.

614. Regmi, M.C. 1979-1980. The Katmandu Valley entrepot trade. *Regmi Research Series* 11: 185-192; 12: 1-5.

For many years much of the commerce between India and Tibet was channelled through the Kathmandu Valley. Examines the traders who conducted the trade, the trade routes, and the goods exported and imported.

615. Regmi Research (Private) Ltd. 1978. Nepali officials in Lhasa. *Regmi Research Series* 10(1): 6-8.

On officials in Lhasa in 1810.

616. Saletore, G.N., ed. 1955. *Henry Wellesley's correspondence (1801-1803).* Allahabad, Government Central Record Office, U.P. vii, 151 p. (Uttar Pradesh. State Records series. Selections from English records no. 2)

Pt I includes letters from the Collector at Gorakhpur to Wellesley which refer to the annual gathering of merchants from Nepal, Bhutan and Tibet at the town of Bootwal to trade, and emphasises the need to encourage these merchants.

617. Saletore, G.N. 1956. Indian trade delegation to Kathmandu 1795. *Proc. Indian hist. Rec. Comm.* 32(2): 10-12.

On Abdul Kadir Khan's mission to Nepal. His despatches contain useful information on the trade of Nepal with Tibet at this time, and on the political conditions of Nepal.

618. Shaha, R. 1985. The Rana Bahadur era (1794-1806). *Rolamba* 5(3): 9-20; 5(4): 2-15.

Includes information on Abdul Kadir's mission, the objectives of Knox's mission, and the circumstances leading to the conclusion of the Treaty of 1801. Also

examines the return to Nepal of Rana Bahadur Shah in 1804 claiming full credit for the dissolution of the treaty.

619. Stiller, L.F. 1971. Did Aitchison err? *Tribhuvan Univ. J.* 6: 1-6.

Argues that the text of the Anglo-Nepal Treaty of 26 October 1801 which was published in Aitchison's *Treaties* (see no. 124) was a draft and not the final text of the treaty. The final version of the treaty, which was shorter and differed in a vital respect, is included at the end of the article.

620. Teignmouth, J.S., Baron. 1933. *The private record of an Indian Governor-Generalship; the correspondence of Sir John Shore, Governor-General, with Henry Dundas, President of the Board of Control, 1793-1798*. Ed. by H. Furber. Cambridge, Harvard University Press. ix, 206 p.

Sir John Shore (1st Baron Teignmouth) was Governor-General from 1793-1798. His letters include several references to attempts to establish commercial relations with Nepal during this period.

621. Thapa, C.B. 1986. Instruction given to the Knox mission, the representative in Nepal. *Voice of History* 9-11(1): 51-54.

The commercial and political instructions provided to Knox.

622. Vaidya, T.R. 1995. Rana Bahadur Shah's propositions to Company's government 1801. *Rolamba* 15(2): 10-15.

On the seven propositions made by Rana Bahadur to the East India Company through Knox on October 5, 1801.

623. Vicziány, M. 1986. Imperialism, botany and statistics in early nineteenth century India: the surveys of Francis Buchanan (1762-1829). *Mod. Asian Stud.* 20(4): 625-660.

Includes a brief account of his trip to Nepal with Knox.

624. Wellesley, R.C., Marquess. 1836-1837. *The despatches, minutes, and correspondence, of the Marquess Wellesley, K.G. during his administration in India*. Ed. by Montgomery Martin. London, J. Murray. 5 vols.

Vol. 2, App. F. contains a copy of the Anglo-Nepalese treaty of 1801. Vol. 4 includes information on Raja Rana Bahadur of Nepal who took up residence in Benares in 1801.

See also nos 124, 178, 201, 206, 235, 289, 317-18, 327, 333-4, 339-40, 373, 394, 438, 444, 450, 459, 461, 464, 467-9, 483-4, 486-7, 491, 495-501, 504-8, 511-15, 519, 526, 528-9, 532, 535, 558, 626, 647-8, 657, 669, 678, 683, 686-8, 691, 694, 703-4, 707, 777, 797, 853, 947-50, 961.

4. ANGLO-NEPALESE WAR 1814-1816

The territorial incursions by the Gurkhas into British protected states to the west of Nepal led to a series of border conflicts especially in the areas of Butwal and Sheoraj. These conflicts, after some unsatisfactory negotiations, led to war in 1814. After fierce fighting victory went to the British and, by the 1816 Treaty of Segauli, large areas of territory, including Kumaon and Garhwal, were ceded to the British.

a) Accounts by participants

625. Anon. 1815. East Indies [war with Nepal]. *Examiner* no. 404: 612-614, Sept. 24.

Account of the war written by 'an intelligent officer' of Ochterlony's army in two letters from the field, dated March 1815. He gives reasons for what he calls the 'total failure of this campaign' and says that 'the Indian army never met such a foe as the Nepaulese'.

626. Anon. 1816. An account of the war in Nipal; contained in a letter from an officer on the staff of the Bengal Army. *Asiat. J.* 1: 425-429.

Background to the war, and the difficulties encountered in waging a war in Nepal.

627. Anon. 1822. *Military sketches of the Goorka War, in India, in the years 1814, 1815, 1816.* Woodbridge, Printed by J. Loder for R. Hunter, London. xvii, 56 p.

Mainly concerns the operations under General Ochterlony during the war, to which the author was either an eyewitness or else 'obtained authentic information on the spot'. There is a map of the 'North-West part of India between Catmandu and Lodiana' to illustrate the account.

628. Cadell, P. 1959. The autobiography of an Indian soldier. *J. Soc. Army hist. Res.* 37: 3-11.

Autobiography of Sita Ram Pandey (see no. 636). It includes an account of his participation in the Nepal War.

629. Chepmell, C. and Sherwood, H. 1916. The 53rd Regiment in the Nepal War. *Jl R. un. Serv. Instn* 61: 642-659.

Compiled from the diaries of two officers. The section by Chepmell covers the period Oct. 14, 1814 to Apr. 19, 1815, and the section by Sherwood Apr. 19, 1815 to May 21, 1815.

630. Datta, K.K. 1958. Correspondence of Edward Roughsedge relating to the Nepal War, 1814-1876 [sic]. *Proc. Indian hist. Rec. Comm.* 34(2); 1-11.

Letters written by Major Roughsedge who commanded the Ramghur Battalion during the war, dated from Sept. 1814 to March 1815. They concern British military activities on the Saran frontier.

631. Haythornthwaite, P.J. 1973. The storming of Kalunga, 1814. *J. Soc. Army hist. Res.* 51(206): 105-114.

Account of the unsuccessful attack on the Gurkha fortress of Kalunga on 31 Oct. 1814 in which Sir Rollo Gillespie was killed, and subsequent events leading to the fall of the fortress on 30 Nov. 1814. The account is mainly derived from a letter written by Col. Sebright Mawby, who succeeded Gillespie in command, to the Governor-General, the Earl of Moira, describing the capture of the fortress. Additional details are drawn from articles in the *London Gazette* written by Mawby and the Adjutant-General, G.H. Fagan. A list of all British casualties incurred during the assault is included.

632. [Henry, W.] 1839. *Trifles from my portfolio, or Recollections of scenes and small adventures during twenty-nine years' military service in the Peninsular War and invasion of France, the East Indies, campaign in Nepaul, St. Helena during the detention and until the death of Napoleon, and Upper and Lower Canada.* By a staff surgeon. Quebec, W. Neilson. 2 vols. New ed. with title: *Events of a military life: being recollections after service in the Peninsular War, invasion of France, the East Indies, St. Helena, Canada and elsewhere...* London, W. Pickering, 1843. 2 vols.

After service in the Peninsular, Henry was posted to the 1st Battalion in India where he took part in the Nepal campaign.

633. Henry, W. 1970. *Surgeon Henry's trifles: events of a military Life.* Ed. with an introduction and notes by P. Hayward. London, Chatto & Windus. vi, 281 p.

Edited edition of no. 632.

634. 'Macdoon Sharp-shooter'. 1834, 1835. Some account of the 15th, now 30th and 31st Regiments of Bengal Native Infantry, by Macdoon Sharp-shooter [pseud.]. *E. Indian un. Serv. J.* 3: 95-111, 242-252, Aug., Sept.; 4: 65-80, Jan.

Extracts from an officer's diary. The second and third parts of this article give an account of his regiment's participation in the Nepal War.

635. Nicolls, J. 1835. Capture of Almorah. Reclamation of Sir Jasper Nicolls [letter]. *Asiat. J.* n.s. 18: 183-184, Sept./Dec.

Gives the facts concerning the capture of Almora during the war in order to refute a note appended by Hearsey to Gholaum Hyder Khan's journal (see no. 1015) which gave the credit of the capture to Lt. Col. Leys instead of Nicolls.

636. Pandey, Sita Ram. 1970. *From Sepoy to Subedar, being the life and adventures of Subedar Sita Ram a native officer of the Bengal Army, written and related by himself.* Ed. by J. Lunt. Translated and first published by Lt. Col. Norgate... Lahore, 1873. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul. xxix, 186 p. Reprinted: London, Macmillan, 1988.

Includes an account of his participation in the war.

637. Pant, M.R. 1978. The Battle of Nalapani. *Regmi Research Series* 10: 167-170, 187-194.
Account derived from Nepalese sources. It includes a letter from Ripumardana Thapa, written from Srinagar after he had been wounded in the battle, which gives a detailed account of the battle from the Nepalese perspective.
638. Pant, M.R. 1979. More documentation on the Battle of Nalapani. *Regmi Research Series* 11: 11-15, 23-32.
Six more letters concerning the battle written by Nepali participants with background information about the letters.
639. Parry, [Mr.] 1836. Single combats [letter]. *E. Indian un. Serv. J.* 8: 273-276, April.
Includes a description of the Gurkha habit of singling out British officers for man to man contests and deplors the British lack of proficiency with the sword at close quarters.
640. Shipp, J. 1830. *Memoirs of the extraordinary military career of John Shipp, late a lieutenant in His Majesty's 87th Regiment, written by himself.* 2nd ed. London, Hurst, Chance. 3 vols. [1st ed. 1829]
Includes a detailed account of his participation in the Nepal War in vol. 2.
641. Shipp, J. 1969. *The path of glory: being the memoirs of the extraordinary military career of John Shipp, written by himself.* Ed. by C.J. Stranks. London, Chatto & Windus. xiv, 247 p.
Abbreviated account of no. 640.
642. [Vignola, F.] 1981. *A postal history of the Anglo-Nepalese War of 1814-1816.* Santa Monica, George Alevizos. [132 p.]
Reproduction of despatches and letters from both the British and Nepalese sides of the war. Brief translations of the Nepalese despatches are included. See also no. 716.
- See also nos 939, 1027, 1052.

b) Other Accounts

643. Anon. 1816. Nipaul campaign. *Asiat. J.* 2: 400-411.
Progress of the war and the treaty of peace.
644. Anon. 1816. Campaign in Nipal. *Asiat. J.* 2: 618-619.
State of the war in 1816.
645. Anon. 1817. [Lord Amherst's embassy]. *Q. Rev.* 16: 407-416, Jan.

Includes speculation on whether the Nepal War influenced the result of his embassy to Peking in 1816.

646. Anon. 1818. On the Nepaul war. *Asiat. J.* 6: 23-31.

The reasons for the war, its progress, and the benefits the British have acquired from its successful conclusion.

647. Anon. 1836. Sketches of the later history of British India. Nos vi, vii, viii. The Nepaul War. *Asiat, J.* n.s. 21: 1-14, 116-130, 169-183.

The background and conduct of the war.

648. *Anon. 1961. Genesis of the Nepal War in the light of pre-mutiny records preserved in the Central Records Office at Allahabad. *J. Allahabad hist. Soc.* July, 1961. Abstract: *N. Sen, Q. Rev. hist. Stud.* 2: 97, 1962/1963.

Information on the border disputes which preceded the outbreak of war.

649. Archer, M. and Falk, T. 1989. *India revealed: the art and adventures of James and William Fraser 1801-35.* London, Cassell. 144 p.

Based on recently discovered papers of the Fraser family which included letters from James and William Fraser and also the diary of James during his time in India. They give details of the Nepal War when William was attached to the Army as Political Agent. James visited William during the war and there are reproductions of some of his paintings of scenes from the war and of the Himalayas. It also includes information on the tours of the Himalayas made by William after he was appointed Commissioner for the affairs of Garhwal in 1815.

650. Bishop, E. 1976. *Better to die: the story of the Gurkhas.* London, New English Library. 157 p.

Includes a chapter on the Anglo-Nepalese War.

651. Cadell, P. 1947. "From sepoy to subedar" - fact or fiction? *J. un. Serv. Instn India* 77: 265-272.

See no. 636. Cadell reaches the conclusion that the account was genuine but embroidered.

652. Caplan, L. 1991. 'Bravest of the brave': representations of 'the Gurkha' in British military writings. *Mod. Asian Stud.* 25: 571-597.

Includes a section on the war and the 'discovery' of the Gurkhas, and examines how the war has been presented by British writers.

653. Caplan, L. 1995. *Warrior Gentleman: "Gurkhas" in the western imagination.* Providence, Berghahn Books. ix, 181 p.

Includes an analysis of the place the war played in determining the western impression of the military and other qualities of the Gurkhas.

654. Cardew, F.G. 1931. Major-General Sir David Ochterlony, Bart., G.C.B. 1758-1825. *J. Soc. Army hist. Res.* 10: 40-63.

Concerns Ochterlony's Indian career. Prior to the war with Nepal in 1814 he was made 'Agent for Gurkha Affairs' between the Jumna and the Sutlej, and when war broke out he commanded one of the columns of the field army. There is an outline of the war with special reference to the major part he played in the operations.

655. 'Carnaticus'. 1821. General view of our Indian army, by Carnaticus. *Asiat. J.* 11: 429-439, May.

Emphasises the unreliability of Indian troops in war, using as one of his examples their performance in the Nepal War.

656. [Clarke, H.M.] 1837/1838. Notices relating to the British war with Nipal and the communications which passed between the British and Chinese functionaries on that occasion. From a correspondent. *Chin. Repos.* 6: 486-494.

The reaction of the Chinese to Nepalese requests for Chinese help during the war and British correspondence with them giving reasons for the war.

657. Coleman, A.P. 1999. *A special corps: the beginnings of Gorkha Service with the British*. Edinburgh, Pentland Press. xxxiii, 317 p. [Reviewed: D.F.Harding, *Mod. Asian Stud.* 35: 1015-1016, 2001]

Detailed account of the background to, and the conduct of, the War, followed by a description of the formation of the first British Gurkha Battalions and the subsequent recruitment of the Gurkhas.

658. [Daniell, W. and Caunter, H.] 1834-1840. *The Oriental annual, or, Scenes in India; comprising engravings from original drawings by William Daniell R.A. and a descriptive account by the Rev. Hobart Caunter, B.D.* London, Bull & Churton.

A description of the Gurkhas and their defence of Kalanga during the war are contained in the 1835 volume.

659. [Datta, K.K.] 1972. Some unpublished records of the Anglo-Nepalese War (1814-1816), by K.K. Dutta. *Beng. Past Present* 91(2): 111-121.

The records concern the part played on the Saran frontier by Company troops stationed in Bihar under the command of General Marley and Major-General G. Wood.

660. East India Company (English). 1824. *Papers respecting the Nepaul War*. London, J.L. Cox. xxi, 998 p. (Papers regarding the administration of the Marquis of Hastings in India, vol. 1). Reprinted with title: *Military history of Nepal*. New Delhi, Bimla Pub. House, 1983.

Official correspondence and documents concerning the war.

661. Edwardes, M. 1968. *Glorious sahibs; the romantic as empire builder 1799-1838*. London, Eyre & Spottiswoode. 248 p.

Includes a chapter on the war.

662. Fortescue, J.W. 1899-1930. *A history of the British army*. London, Macmillan. 13 vols in 14.

See vol. XI which contains detailed accounts of the Nepal War and the first Burmese War of 1824-26.

663. Fraser, J.B. 1820. *Journal of a tour through part of the snowy range of the Himālā mountains and to the sources of the Rivers Jumna and Ganges*. London, Rodwell. & Martin. xx, 548 p. Reprinted with title: *The Himala mountains*. Delhi, Neeraj Pub. House, 1982.

[Reviewed: *Asiat J.* 13: 353-366, 1822; *Q. Rev.* 24: 102-130, 1820/1821]

Part I contains 'Historical sketches of Nepal and of the Ghoorka conquest, with a concise view of the rise, progress, and termination of our war with that government'. This account is followed by a description of his journey to the Sutlej and Jumna Rivers and to Gangotree, which he was the first European to reach.

664. George IV, King of Great Britain. 1938. *The letters of King George IV, 1812-1830*. Ed. by A. Aspinall. Cambridge, University Press. 3 vols.

Includes letters from Hastings to the Prince Regent and Colonel McMahon concerning the Nepal War.

665. 'Goorkha'. 1871. Notes on the Goorkhas, by Goorkha. *Proc. un. Serv. Instn India* 1(4): 17-32.

Includes a brief account of the war.

666. Gordon, I. 2001. *Soldier of the Raj: the life of Richard Purvis, 1789-1868: soldier, sailor and parson*. Barnsley, S. Yorkshire, Leo Cooper. 319 p.

Based on an extensive collection of previously unpublished contemporary letters, this life of Purvis includes an account of his service in the Bengal Army and participation in the Anglo-Nepalese War.

667. Gould, T. 1999. *Imperial warriors: Britain and the Gurkhas*. London, Granta. xv, 480 p.

Includes an account of the war and British relations with Nepal following its conclusion as a background to the recruitment of Gurkhas in the British Army. Also includes information on their participation in the Younghusband Mission.

668. Grant, J. 1879? *Cassell's illustrated history of India*. London, Cassell, Petter & Galpin. 2 vols.

Contains accounts of the Nepal War, first Burmese War and the Bhutan war, 1864-65.

669. Great Britain. 1817. *Papers relating to East India affairs. Origin, continuance, and termination of the late war with the State of Nepaul*. London. 10 p. (Parliament, 1817. House of Commons. Reports and papers, 2). In: *H. of C. Parl. Pap.* XI: 389-398, 1817.

Official documents concerning the Nepal War. Includes a document giving the

causes of the war by J. Adam, Secretary to the Government, and a copy of the Treaty of Peace signed at 'Segowley' on Dec. 2, 1815.

670. Great Britain. Parliament. House of Commons. Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company. 1832. *Report...; with minutes of evidence in six parts, and an appendix and index to each*. London. 7 vols. (Parliament, 1831-32. House of Commons. Reports and papers, 734, 735 I-VI). In: *H. of C. Parl. Pap.* VIII-XIV, 1831/1832.
- See General appendix II of the report, 'The Marquis of Hastings, summary of the operations in India with their results; from the 30th April 1814 to the 31st January 1823' which includes comments on the war. There are also references to Nepal and the war in pt VI of the minutes of evidence.
671. Hamilton, W.G. 1903. The campaign in Kumaon: an episode of the Nepal War. *J. un. Serv. Instn India* 32: 285-299.
- The successful campaigns of Gardner and Nicolls in Kumaon, with sketch maps to illustrate the battles.
672. Hamilton, W.G. 1912. Ochterlony's campaign in the Simla Hills, 1814-15. *J. un. Serv. Instn India* 41: 137-156.
- Ochterlony's career and character, the forces under his command and their equipment, and his operations against the Nepalese to the Battle of Malaun in April 1815.
673. Hastings, F.R., 1st Marquis. 1824. Summary of the administration of the Indian Government from October 1813, to January 1823, by the Marquess of Hastings, Governor-General. *Pamphleteer* 24(48): 287-334.
- Includes comments on the war. A sketch of the expenses occasioned by the war is given in Appendix A.
674. Hastings, F.R., 1st Marquis. 1858. *The private journals of the Marquess of Hastings*. Ed. by the Marchioness of Bute. London, Saunders & Otley. 2 vols.
- His diary entries for 1814-16 contain scattered references to the war.
675. Hough, W. 1853. *Political and military events in British India from the years 1756 to 1849*. London, W.H. Allen. 2 vols.
- Includes chapters on the Nepal War and the first Burmese War.
676. James, H. 2002. *A house in Kathmandu*. London, Janus. 226 p. [First published: 1997]
- The final section of this book contains a detailed account of the war interspersed with descriptions of the attempts made by James to find the old battlefields.
677. Jenkins, L.H. 1923. *General Frederick Young, first commandant of Sirmur Battalion (Second Gurkha Rifles)*. London, G. Routledge. xi, 268 p.

Includes an account of his participation in the war which began when he fought with Gillespie at Kalanga.

678. Joshi, G.C. 1966. Some factors leading to the Anglo-Nepal War (1814-1816) (summary). *Proc. Indian hist. Congr.* 28: 535-536.

Examines the ulterior as well as the immediate causes of the war e.g. British interest in Chinese commerce and the mineral resources of Kumaon and Garhwal. Finally a dispute over Butwal and Sheoraj led to war.

679. Kaye, J.W. 1854. *The life and correspondence of Charles, Lord Metcalfe...from unpublished letters and journals preserved by himself, his family and his friends.* London, R. Bentley. 2 vols.

Includes his comments on the Nepal War. Metcalfe corresponded with Ochterlony, Gardner and other major participants in the war.

680. Lyall, A.C. 1916. *The rise and expansion of the British Dominion in India.* 5th ed. London, J. Murray. xix, 397 p. Reprinted: New York, H. Fertig, 1968. [1st ed. 1894]

Includes brief accounts of the Nepal War, first Burmese War, and Bhutan War.

681. [Macfarlane, C.] 1869? *The great battles of the British Army. A new edition including the Indian Mutiny and the Abyssinian War.* London, G. Routledge. vii, 565 p.

Includes an account of the Battle of Mukwanpoor in the Nepal War.

682. MacMunn, G. 1933. *The martial races of India.* London, Sampson Low, Marston. xii, 368 p.

Includes a chapter on the Gurkhas which contains a brief account of the war.

683. Malcolm, J. 1826. *The political history of India from 1784 to 1823.* London, J. Murray. 2 vols. Reprinted: New Delhi, Associated Publishing House, 1970.

Malcolm was an officer of the East India Company from 1783 to 1830. His history contains an account of the war and also reproduces in Appendix VII, 'Proclamation previous to the Nepalese War' signed by J. Adam, Lucknow, Nov. 1, 1814, which gives a detailed account of the reasons for the war.

684. Marshall, J.G. 1989. The seals of Amar Singh Thapa. *Postal Himal* no. 58: 21-23.

There were two Nepalese military commanders called Amar Singh Thapa which has caused confusion. General Amar Singh Thapa was Governor of Palpa from 1806, and died in 1814 just before the outbreak of the war. Kazi Amar Singh Thapa was Commander-in-Chief of the Nepalese Army and led the military expansion of Nepal's territory to the west from 1804. He also commanded the Nepalese troops against Ochterlony during the war.

685. Marshman, J.C. 1871. *The history of India, from the earliest period to the*

close of Lord Dalhousie's administration. London, Longmans, Green, Reader & Dyer. 3 vols.

Includes an account of the Nepal War and Gulab Singh's expeditions in Ladakh and Tibet.

686. Michael, B.A. 1999. Statemaking and space on the margins of Empire: rethinking the Anglo-Gorkha War of 1814-1816. *Studies Nepali Hist. Soc.* 4(2): 247-294.
- Examines some of the disputes over territory and revenue administration that broke out on the Anglo-Gurkha frontier prior to the war.
687. *Michael, B.A. 2001. Separating the yam from the boulder: statemaking, space, and the causes of the Anglo-Gorkha War of 1814-1816. Thesis (Ph.D) University of Hawaii. 647 p. Source: no. 30.
688. Nevill, H.R. 1909. *Gorakhpur: a gazetteer.* Allahabad, Government Press, United Provinces. 308, lv, viii p. (District gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, vol. XXI)
- General account of the district, its people, history etc. Gorakhpur was situated on the southern border of Nepal and it was disputes over the territory of Sheoraj and Butwal in the Gorakhpur district, which were one of the causes of the Nepal War. The border disputes are described in the 'History' section of the work, and an account given of the part played in the war by the column commanded by General J.S. Wood, which was based at Gorakhpur. A large-scale map of the district is included.
689. Noel, E. 1912/1913. The Marquess of Hastings and the Nipal War of 1814-1816. *Un. serv. Mag.* n.s. 46: 649-658.
- The strategy behind the first campaigns of the war.
690. Pant, M.R. 1978. Nepal's defeat in the Nepal-British War. *Regmi Research Series* 10(10): 150-159.
- Translated from *Purnima* vol. 1, no. 1, Apr. 1964, p. 47-58, it provides an account of the war based on Nepalese sources.
691. Pemble, J. 1971. *The invasion of Nepal; John Company at war.* Oxford, Clarendon Press. xii, 389 p.
- [Reviewed: B.Bond, *Asia Major* 17: 119-120, 1971; M.O.St.Martin, *Bull. Sch. Orient. Afr. Stud.* 34: 616-617, 1971; S.P.Varma, *South Asian Studies* 6(2): 105-112, 1971; P.Mehra, *India Q.* 28(2): 162-163, 1972; K.Sharma, *Pacific Affairs* 45: 134-135, 1972; N.K.Sinha, *Beng. Past Present* 91: 94-96, 1972; J.Rosselli, *South Asian Review* 5(2): 159-161, 1972; G.Alder, *Jl R. Asiat. Soc.* 1: 84, 1974]
- A detailed account of the war and its background, the treaty concluded and its aftermath.
692. Powell-Price, J.C. 1926. The operations leading to the capture of Almora in 1815. *J. Indian Hist.* 4(1): 101-110.
- The war in Kumaon and the campaigns of the forces under Gardner and Nicolls.

693. Prinsep, H.T. 1820. *A narrative of the political and military transactions of British India under the administration of the Marquess of Hastings, 1813 to 1818*. London, J. Murray. xxvi, 468 p.
694. Prinsep, H.T. 1825. *History of the political and military transactions in India during the administration of the Marquess of Hastings, 1813-1823*. Enlarged from the *Narrative* published in 1820. London, Kingsbury, Parbury and Allen. 2 vols. Reprinted: Shannon, Irish University Press, 1972.
- Vol. 1 contains a detailed account of the war, its causes and the peace negotiations. An appendix gives a translation of the letter from Umar Singh [Amar Singh Thapa] and his sons to the Raja of Nepal dated 2nd March 1815 in which they urge him not to sue for peace and recommend writing to China and Tibet for help. A large-scale map of the area showing the operations against the Nepalese is also included.
695. Rana, N.R.L. 1970. *The Anglo-Gorkha war, 1814-1816*. Kathmandu, the Author. v, 133, v p.
696. Rathaur, K.R.S. 1987. *The British and the brave: a history of the Gurkha recruitment in the British Indian Army*. Jaipur, Nirala Publications. 110 p. 2nd ed. entitled: *The Gurkhas: a history of the recruitment in the British Indian Army*. Jaipur, Nirala Publications, 1995. 124 p.
- On the early recruitment during the Anglo-Nepalese War and subsequent relations between Nepal and Britain concerning the Gurkhas in the British Army.
697. Richardson, H.E. 1973. A Ch'ing missive to Tibet. *Asia Major* 18(1): 79-87. Reprinted in his *High peaks, pure earth* (see no. 1869), p. 399-408.
- Letter from the Chinese Grand Council in 1816 to the Ambans at Lhasa for communication to the Tibetan authorities concerning the complicated relations between Nepal, Britain and China following the Anglo-Nepalese War. Richardson also describes the relations between the three countries during and after the war, and the despatches that passed between them.
698. Rose, L.E. 1961. China and the Anglo-Nepal War: 1814-1816. *Proc. Indian hist. Congr.* 24: 208-216.
- The Chinese desire to preserve the status quo and not to interfere south of the Himalayas at this time is illustrated by extracts from letters which passed between the Nepalese, British and Chinese during the war.
699. Ross-of-Bladensburg, J.F.G. 1893. *The Marquess of Hastings, K.G.* Oxford, Clarendon Press. 226 p.
- Includes a chapter on the war.
700. Roy, P.C. 1961. British policy of non-intervention in Sino-Nepalese affairs. *Proc. Indian hist. Rec. Comm.* 36(2): 143-149.
- Relations between Britain, China and Nepal during the war, and Britain's determination not to interfere in the Sino-Nepalese negotiations which took place following its conclusion.

701. Saksena, B.P., ed. 1956. *Historical papers relating to Kumaun, 1809-1842*. Allahabad, Government Central Record Office. ii, 23, 280, viii p. (Uttar Pradesh State Records series. Selections from English records, no. 3)

Divided into two sections. The first and main section contains documents relating to Anglo-Nepalese relations in 1814-16. The second contains papers relating to revenue administration in Kumaon and Garhwal. In the introduction Saksena gives a background to the documents, and reviews the history of Kumaon and British relations with Nepal. Also comments on British interest in the mineral resources of Garhwal and that direct contact could be established with Tibet through Kumaon.

702. Shaha, R. 1983, 1984. Historic battles in the Nepal-British War of 1814-16. *Rolamba* 3(3): 21-24; 3(4): 2-6; 4(1): 2-5.

Describes the major battles of the war including the capture of Deothal by the British and the attempts by the Gurkhas to regain it. Also provides an account of the failed peace negotiations and the battle of Makwanpur which followed their break down.

703. Shaha, R. 1986, 1987. The rise and fall of Bhimsen Thapa: the war of 1814-16 with British India and its aftermath. *Rolamba* 6(1): 2-7; 6(2): 2-8; 6(3): 3-9; 6(4): 28-33; 7(1): 3-12; 7(2) 22-31.

Examines Bhimsen Thapa's influence in Nepal to 1837. It includes the extension of Gurkha rule under Amar Singh Thapa and the background to the outbreak of the war, an analysis of the strength and weaknesses of the Gurkha and British armies, and an account of the war and the peace treaty which ended it. Also discusses Nepal's international status following the war including Chinese reaction to it.

704. Shakespear, L.W. 1913. The war with Nepal. Operations in Sirmoor, 1814-1815. *J. un. Serv. Instn India* 42: 369-379.

Background to the war, and an account of the operations of General Gillespie's forces in Sirmoor culminating in the Battle of Kalanga.

705. Simpson, H.C.C.D. 1890/1891. Notes on the equipment and services of our mountain artillery, from the Pyrenean campaign, 1813-14, to the Abyssinian expedition, 1867-68. *Minut. Proc. R. Artill.* 18: 187-204.

Includes sections on the Nepal War and the Bhutan War.

706. Smith, T. 1852. *Narrative of a five years' residence at Nepaul...from 1841 to 1845*. London, Colburn. 2 vols. [Reviewed: *Blackwood's Edinb. Mag.* 72: 86-98, 1852]

Smith served in Kathmandu as commander of the residency escort and as Assistant Resident under Hodgson and Lawrence during this period. His narrative consists mainly of a detailed history of Nepal with emphasis on the Anglo-Nepalese War. It also contains a biography of Sir David Ochterlony and a chapter on the Nepalese mission to England in 1850.

707. Stiller, L.F. 1969. Prinsep and the causes of the Anglo-Nepal War. *Tribhuvan Univ. J.* 4: 31-36, March.

Prinsep served in the secret section of the Calcutta Government during the time of the Marquess of Hastings so had access to much valuable information on the war and his work (see no. 694) has been one of the major sources of information for all authors, both foreign and Nepali. Stillier outlines the position taken by Prinsep in his discussion of the causes of the war.

708. Suri, V.S. 1958. British campaign against the Gurkhas in the Simla Hill States. *Proc. Indian hist. Rec. Comm.* 34(2): 12-16.
A description of 'a huge bundle of papers written in Persian recently salvaged from the Office of the Commissioner, Ambala'. The documents provide a contemporary record about the planning, execution and aftermath of the campaign.
709. Thompson, E. 1937. *The life of Charles, Lord Metcalfe*. London, Faber & Faber. xv, 439 p.
Includes a chapter on the war.
710. Thompson, E. 1943. *The making of the Indian princes*. London, Oxford University Press. xii, 304 p.
Includes a chapter on the war.
711. Thompson, E. and Garratt, G.T. 1966. *Rise and fulfilment of British rule in India*. Allahabad, Central Book Depot. xii, 690 p. [1st ed., 1934]
Chapters are included on the Nepal War and 'the frontier of Tibet'. The latter includes an account of the Younghusband Mission and the Anglo-Russian Convention.
712. [Thorn, W.] 1816. *A memoir of Major-General Sir R.R. Gillespie*. London, T. Egerton. 256 p.
Gillespie was in charge of one of the army divisions attacking the Nepalese forces in Garhwal. He was killed at the Battle of Kalanga.
713. Thornton, E. 1841-1845. *History of the British Empire in India*. London, W.H. Allen. 6 vols.
Vol. 4 contains a detailed account of the war.
714. Tiwari, S.N. 1958. The battle of Kalanga. *J. un. Serv. Instn India* 88: 27-33.
'One of the most keenly contested battles which the East India Company had to fight in order to establish British supremacy in India'. An account of the three battles of Kalanga is given with a map illustrating the first battle in which Gillespie was killed.
715. Tucker, F. 1961. *The yellow scarf; the story of the life of Thuggee Sleeman or Major-General Sir William Henry Sleeman, K.C.B., 1788-1856 of the Indian Political Service*. London, J.M. Dent. xvi, 211 p.
Includes an account of Sleeman's participation in the Nepal War.

716. Vignola, F. and Sanford, O.R. Jr. 1981. *A philatelic view of the Anglo-Nepalese War of 1814-1816*. Santa Monica, George Alevizos. 25 p.
Account of the war illustrated by reproductions of some of the despatches of the Nepalese and British commanders.
717. Wakeham, E. 1937. *The bravest soldier, Sir Rollo Gillespie 1766-1814; a historical, military sketch*. Edinburgh, Blackwood. xvi, 292 p.
The final chapter and Appendix A give an account of events leading to the war and the part played by Gillespie till his death at Kalanga.
718. White, A. 1822. *Considerations on the state of British India: embracing the subjects of colonization; missionaries; the state of the press; the Nepaul and Mahrattah wars; the civil government; and the Indian army*. Edinburgh, Bell & Bradfute etc.. xii, 437 p.
719. Whitehead, J.G.O. 1939. Kalunga, 1814. *J. un. Serv. Instn India* 69: 485-492.
720. Wilson, H.H. 1848. *The history of British India from 1805 to 1835*. London, J. Madden. 3 vols.
Vol. 2 (1813-1823) includes a description of the Nepal War; vol. 3 (1823-1835) includes an account of the Burmese War.

See also nos 124, 130, 138, 140, 147, 150, 178, 189, 201, 206, 235, 238, 247-8, 339, 354, 433, 437, 441-2, 444-6, 450, 452, 459, 461, 464, 478, 484, 497, 504-6, 508, 512, 514-15, 523, 526, 529-30, 532-5, 538, 547, 574, 581, 592, 761, 771, 773, 777, 780, 797, 938-9, 949, 967, 1634, 2192, 2205.

c) Regimental Histories

The following works include an account of the regiment's participation in the war.

721. Atkinson, C.T. 1937. *The South Wales Borderers 24th Foot 1689-1937*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. xvii, 601 p.
722. Buckle, E. 1852. *Memoir of the services of the Bengal Artillery, from the formation of the corps to the present time, with some account of its internal organization*. Ed. by J.W. Kaye. London, W.H. Allen. xvi, 592 p.
Also includes an account of their participation in the first Burmese War.
723. Cannon, R. 1844. *Historical record of the Eighth, or, the King's Royal Irish Regiment of Hussars: containing an account of the formation of the Regiment in 1693 and of its subsequent services to 1843*. London, J.W. Parker. viii, 134 p.

724. Cannon, R. 1849. *Historical record of the Fifty-Third, or the Shropshire Regiment of Foot, containing an account of the formation of the Regiment in 1755 and of its subsequent services to 1848*. London, Parker, Furnivall & Parker. xxxv, 69 p.
725. Cannon, R. 1853. *Historical record of the Eighty-Seventh Regiment, or the Royal Irish Fusiliers containing an account of the formation of the Regiment in 1793 and of its subsequent services to 1853*. London, Parker, Furnivall & Parker. xii, 100 p.
Also includes an account of their participation in the first Burmese War.
726. Christino, A. 1836. The Fiftieth Regiment of Native Infantry. *E. Indian un. Serv. J.* 9: 57-109, Aug.
727. Hughes, B.P. 1971. *The Bengal Horse Artillery, 1800-1861. The "Red Men" - a nineteenth century corps d'élite*. London, Arms & Armour Press. 184 p.
Also includes an account of their participation in the first Burmese War.
728. King's Shropshire Light Infantry. 1966. *The history of the corps of the King's Shropshire Light Infantry. Vol. 1. The 53rd (Shropshire) Regiment, 1755-1881*. Shrewsbury. xv, 166 p.
729. Murray, R.H. 1928. *The history of the VIII King's Royal Irish Hussars 1693-1927*. Cambridge, W. Heffer. 2 vols.
730. Petre, F.L. 1925. *The 1st King George's Own Gurkha Rifles: the Malaun Regiment*. London, Royal United Service Institution. xii, 260 p.
Also includes an account of their participation in the Anglo-Bhutanese War, 1864-1865, and the Sikkim Expedition, 1888-1889.
731. Petre, F.L. 1925. *The Royal Berkshire Regiment (Princess Charlotte of Wales's)*. Reading, the Barracks. 2 vols.
732. Qureshi, M.I. 1958. *The first Punjabis. History of the First Punjab Regiment 1759-1956*. Aldershot, Gale & Polden. xix, 484 p.
Also includes an account of their participation in the first Burmese War.
733. Rawlinson, H.G. 1941. *The history of the 3rd Battalion 7th Rajput Regiment (Duke of Connaught's Own)*. London, Oxford University Press. x, 223 p.
734. Rogerson, W. 1890. *Historical records of the 53rd (Shropshire) Regiment, now the 1st Battalion the King's (Shropshire L.I.) from the formation of the Regiment in 1755 down to 1889*. London, Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent. xxi, 248 p.

735. Stubbs, F.W. 1877. *History of the organization, equipment and war services of the regiment of Bengal Artillery, compiled from published works, official records, and various private sources.* London, H.S. King. 3 vols.

Also contains an account of their participation in the first Burmese War.

736. Webb, E.A.H. 1912. *A history of the services of the 17th (the Leicestershire) Regiment.* 2nd ed. London, Vacher. xxvii, 336 p.

737. Woodyatt, N.G. 1929. *The regimental history of the 3rd Queen Alexandra's Own Gurkha Rifles from April 1815 to December 1927.* London, P. Allan. xii, 441 p.

Also includes an account of their participation in the Anglo-Bhutanese War of 1864-65.

5. BRITISH RELATIONS WITH NEPAL 1816-1846

The Nepalese were forced to accept a British resident in Kathmandu by the Treaty of Segauli. Bhimsen Thapa, Prime Minister of Nepal until his fall from power in 1837, tried to restrict the power of the Residents but the British gradually increased their influence during Brian Haughton Hodgson's period as Resident or Acting Resident from 1829 to 1843. British policy during this time was to maintain peaceful relations with Nepal despite the attempts of the Nepalese rulers to gain the support of China and various Indian States against them. These intrigues reached their peak in the late 1830's, especially with the Sikhs and Chinese.

Internal instability marked the period following the overthrow of Bhimsen Thapa. This culminated in the Kot Massacre in September 1846 which resulted in the murder of most of the major leaders of Nepal.

738. Adhikari, K.K. 1977. Particulars relating to the massacre that occurred in Kathmandu between the 14th and 15th of September 1846. *Voice of History* 3: 31-39.

A report sent by the British Resident, C. Thoresby, to the Indian Government on 18 March 1847 concerning the Kot massacre.

739. Aikin, A. 1836. Report of the Society of Arts on specimens of rice, wool, etc. from Nepal and Assam. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 5: 365-371.

Report on articles sent to London by the East India Company. The wool sent from Nepal was from the Hooniah sheep of Tibet.

740. Banerjee, H.K. 1967. A short survey of the relations of the East India Company with Nepal from the conclusion of the Treaty of Sagauli (4 March 1816) to 1828. *Proc. Indian hist. Congr.* 29(2): 71.

Account of the Nepalese policy of Hastings following the war.

741. Banerjee, I. 1945. *Nau Nihal Singh and the Nepalese mission to Lahore. Proc. Indian hist. Rec. Comm.* 22(2): 17-18.
Discusses and reproduces part of a letter to H. Maddock, Secretary to the Government of India, from Col. Wade, the Political Agent at Ludhiana, dated March 17, 1840, concerning negotiations between Nepal and the court of Lahore.
742. Chowdhury, R.N. 1960. *Anglo Nepalese relations, 1816-1858 (summary). Proc. Indian hist. Congr.* 23(2): 121.
The status of British residents in Kathmandu during this period, and Nepalese letters to China, Ranjit Singh and the Rajput rulers seeking assistance to have them expelled from Nepal.
743. Cocker, M. and Inskipp, C. 1988. *A Himalayan ornithologist: the life and work of Brian Houghton Hodgson.* Oxford, Oxford University Press. xii, 87 p.
Account of Hodgson's early life and his time in Nepal as a background to his research on Nepal and its natural history.
744. Diver, M. 1936. *Honorina Lawrence: a fragment of Indian history.* Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co. 524 p.
Includes an account of the stay of Henry and Honorina Lawrence in Nepal from 1843-1845.
745. Edwardes, H.B. and Merivale, H. 1872. *Life of Sir Henry Lawrence.* London, Smith, Elder. 2 vols.
Lawrence succeeded Hodgson as British resident in Kathmandu in 1843. There is an account of the history of Nepal and of events during his residency which ended in 1845.
746. Edwards, D.W. 1975. *Nepal on the eve of the Rana ascendancy. Contrib. Nepalese Stud.* 2(1): 99-118.
The pre-Rana administration based partly on selections from the private papers of Hodgson.
747. Fisher, M.H. 1991. *Indirect rule in India: residents and residency system, 1764-1858.* Delhi, Oxford University Press. xv, 516 p.
[Reviewed: K.S.S.Seshan, *Indian hist. Rev.* 23(1-2): 191-192, 1996/1997]
Examines the role of the resident in the British expansion in India during this period. Nepal differed from other states by remaining within the residency system but outside indirect rule. Fisher analyses the strategies followed by the Nepal Court such as its continued independent communications with other states and its insistence on isolating Nepal – both the Court and the country – from the influence of the East India Company's Resident. The Company could not therefore establish either exclusive or effective control, two of the prime features of indirect rule.
748. Gupta, H.R. 1954. *Sikh-Nepal relations, 1839-1840. Proc. Indian hist. Rec. Comm.* 30(2): 52-56.

Contact between Lahore and Nepal in the 1830's with emphasis on the period 1839-1840. The terms of the proposed treaty between them is given but the British intervened before it could be concluded.

749. Hellrigl, W.C. 1991. *Nepal postal history. The British-Indian Post Office in Nepal*. Turin, Giulio Bolaffi Editore. 200 p.
Includes a history of the British residency in Nepal and of the British-Indian Post Office and the background to its establishment following the Anglo-Nepalese War. It also includes a list of British Residents from 1802.
750. Hodgson, B.H. 1830. [An account of a journey from Nepal to Tazedo on the frontier of China, by a Cashmeero-Bhotiah interpreter to the traders on that route. Communicated by B.H.Hodgson]. *Asiat. J.* n.s. 1: 245-249.
751. Hodgson, B.H. 1832. Route from Cathmandu, in Nepal, to Tazedo, on the Chinese frontier, with some occasional allusions to the manners and customs of the Bhotiahs, by Amir, a Cashmiro-Bhotiah by birth, and by vocation an interpreter to the traders on the route described. Communicated by B.H. Hodgson. *Asiat. Res.* 17: 513-534.
752. Hodgson, B.H. 1848. Route from Kathmandu, the capital of Nepal, to Darjeling in Sikim, interspersed with remarks on the people and country. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 17(2): 634-646.
753. Hodgson, B.H. 1856. Route of two Nepalese embassies to Peking with remarks on the water-shed and plateau of Tibet. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 25: 473-497.
Description of the routes taken by the quinquennial tribute missions sent by Nepal to China in 1817 and 1822-1823, obtained from papers presented to Hodgson by the Maharaja of Nepal in 1843.
754. Hodgson, B.H. 1880. *Miscellaneous essays relating to Indian subjects*. London, Trübner. 2 vols.
Includes nos 752 and 753.
755. [Hunter, W.W.] 1883. *Notes of the services of B.H. Hodgson, Esq...late British minister at the court of Nepal*. Collected by a friend. [Privately printed]. 103 p.
Reviews all aspects of Hodgson's career.
756. Hunter, W.W. 1896. *Life of Brian Houghton Hodgson, British resident at the court of Nepal*. London, J. Murray. ix, 390 p.
[Reviewed: *Calcutta Rev.* 104: 332-349, 1897; L.Feer, *J. Asiat.* 9s., 11: 539-542, 1898]
Hodgson's career in Kumaon in 1819-1820 and his years in Nepal where he served almost continuously from 1820 to 1843. A substantial section of the work is devoted to Hodgson's work as a scholar on the Himalayan region.

757. [Hunter, W.W.] 1981. Nepal during 1816-1846 (excerpts from Hunter's life of B.H. Hodgson). *Nepal-Antiquary* nos 36-40: 1-92.

The important events that occurred in Nepal in this period listed under concise headings.

758. Hutt, M. 1995. Hodgson and the Hanuman Dhoka. *Jl R. Asiat. Soc.* 3rd ser., 5(1): 1-10.

Hodgson rarely mentioned buildings or architecture in his published works. Hutt describes the old palace area in Kathmandu known as the Hanuman Dhoka, outlines its history and architecture, and surmises why Hodgson never described the complex. Also comments on communications between the British Resident and the Kathmandu Durbar during Hodgson's time in Nepal.

759. *Imbault-Huart, C. 1887. Un épisode des relations diplomatiques de la Chine avec le Nepal en 1842. *Revue Extr. Orient* 3: 1-23. Source: no. 15.

On Sino-Nepalese tributary relations.

760. Kvaerne, P. 1979. The visit of Prince Waldemar of Prussia to Nepal in February and March 1845. Translated by P. Kvaerne. *Kailash* 7(1): 35-50 + plates.

Translated from Waldemar's diary, it contains an account of his trip to Nepal accompanied by Henry Lawrence, the British Resident. Waldemar describes the country, its people, and its army, and his meetings with the Maharaja. He also travelled to the interior of Nepal with an English officer, Captain Ottley, but he was unable to obtain permission to visit Tibet. The article is illustrated by a number of Waldemar's plates of Nepal.

761. Labh, K. 1977. China as a factor in the policy of British India towards Nepal. *J. Indian Hist.* 55(3): 177-188.

British relations with Nepal until the latter half of the nineteenth century were mainly governed by concern for trade with China. This was shown by their actions during the Sino-Nepalese Wars of 1788-1792, the Anglo Nepalese War and subsequent relations with Nepal. From the end of the nineteenth century British policy was influenced more by Chinese activity in Tibet and, as Chinese power declined, Nepal was brought more under their dominance.

762. Lawrence, H. 1980. *The journals of Honoria Lawrence: India observed, 1837-1854*. Ed. by J. Lawrence and A. Woodiwiss. London, Hodder & Stoughton. 253 p.

Includes an account of her time in Nepal with her husband, Henry Lawrence, who was British Resident from 1843-1845. She was the first European woman to live in Nepal.

763. Lawrence, J. 1990. *Lawrence of Lucknow: a story of love*. Ed. by A. Woodiwiss. London, Hodder & Stoughton. xx, 275 p.

Biography of Henry Lawrence. Includes an account of his time in Nepal, and also his contacts with Gulab Singh when Lawrence was Resident in the Punjab in 1846.

764. Lee, H. 2002. *Brothers in the Raj: the lives of John and Henry Lawrence*. Oxford, Oxford University Press. xii, 437 p.
Includes a chapter 'Kathmandu and Delhi, 1843-1845' which examines Henry Lawrence's time as Resident in Nepal. It also examines his contacts with Gulab Singh in the Punjab.
765. Manandhar, T. 1975. Two letters from Ranga Nath Pandit to B.H. Hodgson. *Kailash* 3(1): 77-82.
Pandit was Prime Minister on two occasions in 1837-1838 but was forced to flee to Benares where these letters were written. They show that he was in favour of establishing friendly relations with the British.
766. Manandhar, T.R. 1984. A new light on the Kot massacre. *Rolamba* 4(2): 19-26.
Information based on a letter which provides Queen Laxmi Devi's version of the Kot massacre, together with background details of the massacre.
767. Manandhar, V.K. 1999. The Nepalese quinquennial missions of 1822 and 1827 to China. *Rolamba* 19(3): 3-11.
768. Manandhar, V.K. 2000. Kazi Jagat Bam Pande's mission of 1842 to China. *Rolamba* 20(1-2): 56-66.
The 11th quinquennial mission to China.
769. Mishra, S.G. 1973/1974. The Kot massacre (1846) in Nepal. *Q. Rev. hist. Stud.* 13(1): 18-22.
Account of the massacre including attempts to contact the British resident during the affair.
770. Mishra, S.G. 1977. Role of Maharani Lakshmi Devi in the administrative history of Nepal. *Proc. Indian hist. Congr.* 38: 609-613.
Her role in the events leading to the Kot massacre and the rise of Jang Bahadur.
771. Mojumdar, K. 1963. Recruitment of the Gurkhas in the Indian army, 1814-1877. *J. un. Serv. Instn India* 93: 143-157.
Gurkhas were first enlisted in the Indian army during the Anglo-Nepalese War. This article examines the gradual increase in the number of Gurkhas serving in the Indian army and the attitude of the Nepalese Government to this development.
772. Mojumdar, K. 1967. A note on Anglo-Nepalese relations in 1838. *Beng. Past Present* 86(1): 1-9.
Based on a document found in the Nepalese Foreign Office, Kathmandu, which concerns Nepal's contacts and negotiations with the Sikhs, and her poor relations with Britain at this time.
773. Palit, C. 1986. British economic penetration into north eastern hills: overland trade and allied questions 1800-1850. In: N.R. Ray, ed.

Himalaya frontier in historical perspective. Calcutta, Institute of Historical Studies, p. 102-112.

Mainly concerns British relations with Nepal with emphasis on the time when Hodgson was British resident in Kathmandu, and his attempts to promote trade and British colonisation of the hill areas. Also covers the policies pursued by Campbell in Sikkim and the acquisition of Darjeeling.

774. Pels, P. 1994. The politics of aboriginality: Brian Houghton Hodgson and the making of an ethnology of India. *IIAS Yearbook* 1994, p. 147-168.

Includes biographical details and information on Hodgson whilst in Kumaon and Nepal as well as analysing his work on ethnology.

775. Pradhan, K.L. 1994. Brian Hodgson at the Kathmandu Darbar (1825-1843). *Q. Rev. hist. Stud.* 34(1-2): 78-85.

Examines the career and policies of Hodgson in Nepal. Although Nepal was not a protectorate of the British Hodgson refused to accept Nepal's independence, and the consequences of his interference in Nepal's internal affairs are analysed.

776. Pradhan, K.L. 2001. *Brian Hodgson at the Kathmandu residency, 1825-1843*. Guwahati, Spectrum Publications. xv, 274 p.

Account of the relations of Nepal with British India and the policies of Hodgson from the time he became Assistant Resident in 1825 to his recall in 1843. It covers his interest in Gurkha recruitment, his attempts to develop trans-Himalayan trade, analysis of his relations with Bhimsen Thapa, and his involvement in the internal politics of Nepal. In an epilogue Pradhan evaluates Hodgson's contribution to Nepal.

777. Ramakant. 1968. *Indo-Nepalese relations, 1816 to 1877*. Delhi, S. Chand. x, 390 p.

Chronological treatment of events from the end of the Anglo-Nepalese War to the death of Jang Bahadur. Also includes an introductory chapter on British relations with Nepal prior to the Anglo Nepalese War and a detailed discussion of the Treaty of Segauli.

778. Rana, R. 1988. B.H. Hodgson as a factor in the fall of Bhimsen Thapa. *Ancient Nepal* no. 105: 13-20.

Argues that Hodgson's attempts to increase British influence in Nepal and to interfere in its internal politics contributed to the fall of Bhimsen Thapa.

779. Sinha, N.K. 1942. Ranjit Singh's relations with some Indian powers and with Burma. *Proc. Indian hist. Rec. Comm.* 18(2): 82-84.

Includes his relations with the Gurkhas.

780. Stiller, L.F. 1976. *The silent cry: the people of Nepal, 1816-1839*. Tripureshwar, Kathmandu, Sahayogi Prakashan. v, 344 p.

Analyses the situation in Nepal at the time of the Treaty of Segauli in 1816 and traces developments up to the death of Bhimsen Thapa in 1839.

781. Stiller, L.F., ed. 1981. *Letters from Kathmandu: the Kot massacre*. Kirtipur, Research Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University. xvii, 388 p.

A selection of letters mainly from the British Residency in Kathmandu. They describe the political history of Nepal from the appointment of Ranjung Pandey as chief minister in 1840 to the British recognition of Surendra Bikram Shah as King of Nepal in Sept. 1847, as observed and interpreted by the British Residents, especially Hodgson. It also reveals the unsuccessful attempts made by Hodgson to remain as British Resident in Kathmandu during the latter part of this period.

782. Wheeler, J.T. 1878. *Diary of events in Nipal, 1841 to 1846*. Calcutta, Government Central Branch Press. 73 p. New ed. edited by B.R. Bajracharya. New Delhi, Anmol Publications, 1996. x, 121 p.

The diaries of the British Residents in Nepal which recorded life at the court of Kathmandu and the intrigues for power there in this period. The new edition includes an introduction by Bajracharya which provides the background to, and an account of, the events described in the diaries.

783. Whelpton, J. 1991. *Kings, soldiers, and priests: Nepalese politics and the rise of Jang Bahadur Rana, 1830-1857*. New Delhi, Manohar Publications. xi, 315 p.

Detailed study of the internal politics of Nepal from the decline of Bhimsen Thapa to the Kot massacre and the establishment of Jang Bahadur's rule. Also examines in detail the role played by the British residents, especially Hodgson, and the crisis in Nepali-British relations at the end of the 1830s. The appendices include information on Jang Bahadur and his trip to Europe and on alternative accounts of the Kot Massacre. There are also family trees of the major Nepalese families.

See also nos 124, 214, 238, 265, 383, 435, 441, 444, 452, 461, 464, 467-9, 472, 482, 486, 491, 495, 504-8, 511-12, 514, 519, 525-7, 667, 696-7, 700, 703, 706, 797, 844-5, 923, 1530, 1915, 4018.

6. POST 1846 RELATIONS: THE RANA PERIOD

The internal instability which marked the period 1841 to 1846 in Nepal culminated in the establishment of the Rana regime led by Jang Bahadur, who was the only survivor of the Kot Massacre with significant political power. Under his prime ministership a policy of cooperation was developed with the British. This change of policy was due partly to political considerations since, by 1846, all of Nepal's possible allies in India had come under British control or influence whilst China was still suffering from her defeat by Britain in the first Opium War. In 1850 the ties between the two countries were consolidated by a visit to India and England by Jang Bahadur.

By the middle of the nineteenth century Chinese control of Tibet had weakened due to internal strife in China. Nepal took advantage of the situation to invade Tibet in 1855. This followed a number of minor border disputes

between Nepal and Tibet since the wars of 1788-1792 and the mistreatment of Nepalese merchants in Lhasa. Peace was concluded in 1856, but crises between the two countries continued to occur for the rest of the century.

784. Anon. 1852. Jung Bahadar. *New mon. Mag.* 95: 471-483.

Reviews British relations with Nepal and the career of Jang Bahadur up to his visit to England in 1850.

785. Anon. 1896. News of the week: [Nepal and Thibet]. *Spectator* 76: 502.

On Nepal's threat to invade Tibet in 1896 unless she obtained redress for the burning of the Gurkha bazaar in Lhasa. The *Spectator* felt that the British Government, which had previously restrained the Nepalese, would not interfere this time.

786. Anon. 1930. H.H. Maharaja Sir Chandra Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana, Prime Minister and Marshall of Nepal (1863-1929) [obituary]. *Himalayan J.* 2: 128-129.

Account of his life which emphasises his friendship with the British.

787. Adhikari, K.K. 1975. A brief survey of Nepal's trade with British India during the latter half of the nineteenth century. *Contrib. Nepalese Stud.* 2(1): 187-196.

788. Adhikari, K.K. 1984. *Nepal under Jang Bahadur, 1846-1877.* Kathmandu, Buku. xiii, 364 p.

Describes the rise to power of Jang Bahadur and provides a comprehensive account of the administration of Nepal under his rule including chapters on the central government, the army, and the legal system. The original Nepali texts of some of the key documents are included in the appendices.

789. Ballantine, H. 1895. *On India's frontier; or, Nepal, the Gurkhas' mysterious land.* New York, J.S. Tait. 192 p. Reprinted: Delhi, Daya Publishing House, 1985.

Account of his journey to Kathmandu in 1885 at the time of the assassination of Maharaja Ranoddip Singh. He describes the political situation in Nepal and criticises the lack of British efforts to encourage trade.

790. Cavenagh, O. 1851. *Rough notes on the state of Nepal, its government, army, and resources.* Calcutta, Military Orphan Press. iv, 264, xix p. [Reviewed: *Blackood's Edinb. Mag.* 72: 86-98, 1852]

General account of Nepal which includes details of her political relations with China, the quinquennial Nepalese missions to Peking, and her trade contacts with the north. He recommends that England cultivate friendship with Nepal as 'a route may perhaps be opened by which our commerce could be extended to the very heart of China and Thibet'.

791. Cavenagh, O. 1884. *Reminiscences of an Indian official.* London, W.H. Allen. xi, 372 p.

Includes a detailed account of the Nepalese embassy to Britain, led by Jang Bahadur, in 1850, which Cavenagh accompanied as liaison officer.

792. Chacraverti, S. 1972/1973. *British resident in Nepal: a caged lion, 1877-1885*. *J. orient. Soc. Aust.* 9(1/2): 51-73.
- Problems experienced by British residents in Nepal with emphasis on the period when Ranoddip Singh was Prime Minister of Nepal. Describes in detail the efforts of British residents, F. Henvey and C. Girdlestone to improve the conditions under which the residents operated.
793. Digby, W. 1890. *A friend in need, 1857, friendship forgotten, 1887; an episode in Indian Foreign Office administration*. London, Indian Political Agency. 148 p. Reprinted: New Delhi, Asian Educational Services, 1993.
- Includes an outline of pre-1857 relations between Nepal and India. An article from the *Indian daily news* of Oct. 16, 1889, entitled 'Nepal and China: a possible peril' is reprinted in the appendix.
794. Egerton, F. 1852. *Journal of a winter's tour in India; with a visit to the Court of Nepaul*. London, J. Murray. 2 vols.
- Vol. 1 includes an account of his visit to Kathmandu in Jan.-Feb. 1851 where he stayed with the British Resident, J.C. Erskine. His visit was made at the invitation of Jang Bahadur who was then returning from his visit to Europe. He describes the preparations being made to greet Jang Bahadur on his return and his meetings with the Raja and other Nepalese officials.
795. Gimlette, G.H.D. 1928. *Nepal and the Nepalese*. London, Witherby. 261 p. Reprinted: New Delhi, Anmol Publications, 1993.
- Historical, geographical, and social account of Nepal, mainly compiled while Gimlette was surgeon at the British residency in Kathmandu from 1883 to 1887.
796. Hope, T. 1983. "State parties in Nepal": a note by Captain T. Hope. In: T.R. Manandhar. *Some aspects of Rana rule in Nepal*. Kathmandu, Purna Devi Manandhar, p. 117-126.
- Hope was Under-Secretary in the Foreign Dept of India. The note, dated 14 July 1881, prepared for the Governor-General, Lord Ripon, was based on 11 letters written by Charles Girdlestone, the then British Resident in Kathmandu. It deals with the internal situation in Nepal in 1881.
797. Husain, A. 1970. *British India's relations with the Kingdom of Nepal, 1857-1947: a diplomatic history of Nepal*. London, Allen and Unwin. 408 p.
- [Reviewed: M.O.St.Martin, *Bull. Sch. Orient. Afr. Stud.* 34: 420, 1971; K.Mojumdar, *India Q.* 27(2): 161-162, 1971; J.Rosselli, *South Asian Review* 5(2): 159-161, 1972; B.K.Jha, *J. Bihar Res. Soc.* 59: 259-261, 1973]
- Also includes an account of their relations from 1767 to 1857. The major treaties concluded between Nepal and Britain, and Nepal and Tibet, are included in the appendices.

798. Ikbal Ali Shah, Sirdar. 1940. The value of Anglo-Nepalese friendship. *Gt Br. East* 54: 103, Feb. 15.

Friendship between the two countries since 1857.

799. Jain, M.S. 1967. The British Government and recognition of King Surendra Bikram of Nepal - 1847. *Proc. Indian hist. Congr.* 29(2): 278-283.

'The delay by the British in recognising King Surendra, despite its advocacy by the Resident ... goes a long way to prove that the British persevered in their non-interfering attitude and policy in Nepal.'

800. Jain, M.S. 1972. *Emergence of a new aristocracy in Nepal (1837-58)*. Agra, Sri Ram Mehra & Co. 220 p.
[Reviewed: M.C.Regmi, *South Asia* no. 4: 118-121, 1974; L.S.Baral, *India Q.* 30(2): 163-165, 1974]

Study of the rise to power of Jang Bahadur and the change in attitude of the Nepal Government to the British under his leadership. Also examines the role of Hodgson during his period as British resident in Kathmandu.

801. Khan, D.S. 1987. Nepal's relations with British India. *Regional Studies* 5(3): 56-85.

Examines Anglo-Nepalese relations from the closing years of the nineteenth century to the early 1920s especially Bir Shamsher's relations with Britain and China during a time of great power rivalry. Also analyses the role of the British residents in Kathmandu and British policy during the Nepal-Tibet conflicts in the 1890s.

802. Kumar, S. 1967. *Rana polity in Nepal; origin and growth*. London, Asia Publishing House. 195 p.
[Reviewed: K.M.Sharma, *Pacific Affairs* 42: 261-262, 1969]

The rise of the Gurkhas and their relations with the British is treated before examining the policies of the Ranas.

803. Lohani, S.C. 1969. The birth of Rana feudalism in Nepal. *Ancient Nepal* no. 8: 46-49, July.

On the character of Jang Bahadur, his rise to power and his relations with the British.

804. Losty, J.P. 1992. Clarence Comyn Taylor (1830-79): the first photographer in Udaipur and Nepal. *History of Photography* 16(4): 318-335.

On the recent acquisition by the India Office of an album of early photos of Nepal taken by Taylor who was Assistant Resident in Nepal from 1863 to 1865. The photos were taken at the request of the Governor General, Lord Canning. They include photos of Maharaja Jang Bahadur with his family, King Surendra Bikram Shah, the British resident G. Ramsay, and officials of the Nepalese Court as well as scenes of Nepal and of some of the hill tribes.

805. Mainali, K.K. 2000. *Political dimensions of Nepal (1885-1901 A.D.)*. Kathmandu, Radhika Mainali. 275 p.
Covers the rule of Maharaja Bir Shamsher as Prime Minister – his rise to power, reforms, and foreign relations with Sikkim, Tibet, China and British India. Also covers the quinquennial missions sent to China during this period, the Chinese Mission to Nepal in 1889, and Gurkha recruitment by the British and the supply of arms to Nepal.
806. Manandhar, T.R. 1977. Crisis with Tibet (1883-84). *Voice of History* 3: 7-18.
Analyses the crisis which led to the deterioration of Nepal's commercial supremacy in Tibet. After monks plundered Nepalese shops in Lhasa Nepal threatened war unless compensation was paid. Although agreement was reached in Nepal's favour the importance of Kathmandu as a trade route between Tibet and India decreased as the major route became the recently opened Sikkim-Chumbi Valley route
807. Manandhar, T.R. 1978-1980. "Note on our position with regard to Nepal". A report by H. Wylie dated 19 March, 1894. *Voice of History* 4-6: 38-44.
Wylie was British Resident in Nepal from 1891 to 1899.
808. Manandhar, T.R. 1981. The Khadga Shamsher conspiracy 1887? *Voice of History* 7(1): 42-51.
Examines the different aspects of the alleged conspiracy by Khadga Shamsher against Bir Shamsher and on contacts with the British Resident at this time.
809. Manandhar, T.R. 1983. *Some aspects of Rana rule in Nepal*. Kathmandu, Purna Devi Manandhar. viii, 160 p.
A collection of papers on Rana administration, mainly based on Nepalese sources, and covering the years 1846-1901. The years following the Nepal-Tibet War of 1855-1856 were marked by dissention and three of the papers cover Nepal-Tibet relations: 'Position of Nepal Vakil at Lhasa (1856-1912)' p. 3-31, 'Crisis with Tibet (1873-1875)' p. 32-39 which led to the withdrawal of the Nepal Vakil from Lhasa after his reported ill treatment, and 'Salt dispute with Tibet (1891-1898)' p. 40-49.
810. Manandhar, T.R. 1985. Some documents on Nepal-Tibet War (1855-56). *Rolamba* 5(2): 8-12.
Nepali documents found in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kathmandu, which provide information on the immediate causes of the war, Nepal's attitude towards China, and Jang Bahadur's way of mobilizing the nation in war. The documents are reproduced in the appendices.
811. Manandhar, T.R. 1986. *Nepal: the years of trouble, 1877-85*. Kathmandu, Purna Devi Manandhar. 296 p.
Provides a detailed study of internal politics and foreign relations under Maharaja Ranodip Singh Rana who succeeded Jang Bahadur in 1877 but was assassinated in 1885, and the effect on Nepal's relations with Britain and Tibet. It includes an account of the Nepal-Tibet crisis of 1883.

812. Manandhar, T.R. and Mishra, T.P. 1983. Cavenagh and Rose on Nepal's Mission to China. *Rolamba* 3(1): 45-49.

Examines Nepal's quinquennial missions to China concentrating on the 1847 mission and indicates errors made by Cavenagh and Rose (see nos 502 and 790) concerning this mission.

813. Manandhar, V.K. 1999. *Cultural and political aspects of Nepal-China relations*. Delhi, Adroit Publishers. xv, 168 p.

Ten previously published articles on aspects of Nepal's relations with Tibet and China and two unpublished papers - 'The patent of 5 July 1870 and China's claims to suzerainty over Nepal' p. 27-44, and 'The opium trade and the Nepalese quinquennial missions to China' p. 69-88. The first paper documents attempts by China to increase its influence in Nepal following the Nepal-Tibet Treaty of 1856 and Nepal's growing cooperation with the British. The patent, which is reproduced in an appendix, conferred a new Chinese title on Jang Bahadur. The other paper describes the involvement of the Rana family in the use of the quinquennial missions to China to trade in opium.

814. Manandhar, V.K. 1999. Surath Singh Pantha's mission of 1847 to China. *Rolamba* 19(4): 3-5.

Based on unpublished Nepalese archival documents it describes the 1847 quinquennial mission to China.

815. Mishra, T.P. 2003. A critical assessment of the Nepal-Tibet treaty of 1856. In: A. McKay, ed. *Tibet and her neighbours: a history*. London, Edition Hansjörg Mayer, p. 137-146.

Analyses the main clauses of the treaty, which was to govern Nepal-Tibet relations for almost a century, and examines the treaty from the Nepalese and Tibetan viewpoints, and how these were affected by the policy of the British and Chinese.

816. Mojumdar, K. 1964. Nepal-Tibet War, 1855-56. *J. un. Serv. Instn India* 94: 175-194.

The war, its background, and British reactions to it - disapproval, distrust and a policy of non-interference. The war revealed the waning power of China in Tibet.

817. Mojumdar, K. 1966. Nepal and the Indian Mutiny, 1857-58. *Beng. Past Present* 85: 13-39.

The Mutiny was a landmark in British-Nepalese relations as it was the first time that the British accepted military assistance from Nepal.

818. [Mojumdar, K.] 1971. British impact on Nepal, by K. Majumdar. *Beng. Past Present* 90: 1-29.

Concentrates on British impact on Nepal during the Rana period.

819. Mojumdar, K. 1973. *Political relations between India and Nepal 1877-1923*. New Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal. xv, 331 p.
[Reviewed: N.M.Khilnani, *India Q.* 29(3): 269-270, 1973; R.Kant, *Indian*

Archives 22(1/2): 125-128, 1973; O.Caroe, *Asian Affairs* 62: 340-342, 1975; S.D.Muni, *Int. Stud.* 14(2): 332-333, 1975]

Includes chapters on 'Anglo-Nepalese relations 1767-1877', 'British attitudes towards Nepal's relations with China and Tibet', 'Ranuddip Singh and Nepal's policy of exclusion', 'Gurkha recruitment and arms supply to Nepal', 'Nepal and the Younghusband Mission to Tibet 1903-04', 'Nepal, China, Tibet 1904-14' and 'British impact on Nepal'.

820. Oldfield, H.A. 1880. *Sketches from Nipal, historical and descriptive, with anecdotes of the court life and wild sports of the country in the time of Maharaja Jang Bahadur...* London, W.H. Allen. 2 vols.

Oldfield was surgeon to the British Residency in Nepal from 1850-1863 and became a personal friend of Jang Bahadur. His work gives a geographical, historical and ethnological account of Nepal.

821. Oliphant, L. 1852. *A journey to Katmandu (the capital of Nepaul), with the camp of Jung Bahadur; including a sketch of the Nepalese ambassador at home.* London, J. Murray. x, 214 p.
[Reviewed: *Blackwood's Edinb. Mag.* 72: 86-98, 1852]

Oliphant accompanied Jang Bahadur on his return to Nepal in 1851 after his visit to England. He describes his journey, provides comments on Jang and other members of their party, and includes a chapter on the trade of Nepal at this time.

822. Onta, P. 1998. A suggestive history of the first century of photographic consumption in Kathmandu. *Studies Nepali Hist. Soc.* 3(1): 181-212.

Includes a description of the first photographers in Nepal such as Clarence Comyn Taylor who photographed Nepali tribesmen and scenery in 1863 at the request of the Governor-General and Ramsay, the British Resident in Kathmandu.

823. Pandey, M.R. 1973. How Jang Bahadur established Rana rule in Nepal. *Contrib. Nepalese Stud.* 1(1): 50-63.

Describes his rise to power, his offer of help to the British during the Indian Mutiny, and other events connected with his life and times including his visit to Europe.

824. Pathak, Sunitikumar. 1960. British activities in India during the Gorkha-Tibetan War II (1854-56) (summary). *Proc. Indian hist. Congr.* 23(2): 121-122.

Both Tibet and China felt that the British had 'instigated' the Gurkha attack on Tibet, and it made the Tibetans even more determined to make their country inaccessible to foreigners.

825. Rana, Pramode Shamshere. 1978. *Rana Nepal: an insider's view.* Kathmandu, R. Rana. 175 p.

Account of the period of Rana rule from 1846.

826. Rana, Pramode Shamshere. 1995. *Rana intrigues.* Kathmandu, R. Rana. vii, 212, [12] p.

Detailed account of Rana rule in Nepal including the many family intrigues, coups and assassinations. It also contains details of their lifestyle and entertainments and photos of many of the Rana leaders.

827. Rana, Pramode Shamshere. 1999. *A chronicle of Rana rule*. Kathmandu, R. Rana. xi, 186 p.
Further account of Rana rule in Nepal and their relations with the British.
828. Rana, Pudma Jung Bahadur. 1909. *Life of Maharaja Sir Jung Bahadur Rana of Nepal*. Ed. by A.C. Mukerji. Allahabad, Pioneer Press. xiv, 314 p. Reprinted: Kathmandu, Ratna Pustak Bhandar, 1974 and 1980.
Biography by his son. Includes a detailed account of the Nepalese-Tibetan War, 1855-56.
829. Rathaur, K.R.S. 1878-1980. Gurkha recruitment during Jang Bahadur's Prime Ministership. *Voice of History* 4-6: 32-37.
On his opposition to Gurkha recruitment and the reasons for this.
830. Regmi, D.R. 1958. *A century of family autocracy in Nepal. (Being the account of the condition and history of Nepal during the last hundred years of Rana autocracy, 1846-1949)*. Kathmandu, Nepali National Congress. 2nd ed. viii, 267, ix p. [1st ed. 1950]
Includes an account of Rana relations with the British.
831. Regmi, M.C. 1988. *An economic history of Nepal, 1846-1901*. Varanasi, Nath Publishing House. viii, 284 p.
Includes an examination of Nepal's nineteenth century trade with Tibet and India, and the effect of the opening of a trade route through Sikkim and the Chumbi Valley to Tibet by the British on the traditional route through Kathmandu.
832. Regmi Research (Private) Ltd. 1977. Recruitment of troops and auxiliaries during the Nepal-Tibet War. *Regmi Research Series* 9(8): 114-118, Aug. 1.
On the recruitment of troops for the 1855 war with Tibet.
833. Regmi Research (Private) Ltd. 1984. The salt trade during the Nepal-Tibet War. *Regmi Research Series* 16: 17-18.
During the Nepal-Tibet War of 1855-1856 regulations prohibited the exchange of food grains for Tibetan salt. The aim was to stop any food grains reaching Tibet though the grains had to be transported to the Nepalese Army. The dislocation of the salt trade led to a shortage in Kathmandu.
834. Regmi Research (Private) Ltd. 1989. Trade between British India and Nepal. *Regmi Research Series* 21: 20-26, 53-57, 86-90, 99-105, 116-120, 122-129, 140-146, 160-165.
Information on nineteenth century trade drawn from a number of sources including the reports of British Residents such as Girdlestone.

835. Sen, J. 1971. India's trade with Central Asia via Nepal. *Bull. Tibetol.* 8(2): 21-40.

British attempts to establish trade links with Tibet through Nepal and Sikkim, mainly in the nineteenth century. Despite diplomatic and military efforts most reports indicated that the possibilities for trade with Tibet were limited. Includes information on the conference held at Fyzabad in 1880 to discuss ways of developing trade with Nepal and Tibet; and on the proposal to extend the Darjeeling-Himalayan railway in 1889 to the Arun Valley in Nepal.

836. Sen, J. 1976. Land routes of Indo-Nepalese trade in the nineteenth century. *J. Indian Hist.* 54(3): 687-711.

Discusses the development of trade routes from north Indian markets to Nepal by the building of strategic roads and bridges.

837. Sen, J. 1980. Arms deal between India and Nepal - genesis of Gurkha recruitment in the British army. *Calcutta hist. J.* 4(2): 63-76.

Discusses the Indian Arms Act of 1878 which placed restrictions on the traffic of arms and ammunition to Nepal and other states, and led to a large-scale clandestine traffic in arms between India and Nepal in the early 1880s which the British Resident in Kathmandu, C.E.R. Girdlestone, tried to stop. Examines the reasons for the change of policy in 1884 following the request for arms by the Nepalese Government due to the possibility of war between Nepal and Tibet, and the benefits which the British gained through the recruiting of more Gurkhas for their army.

838. Sen, J. 1991. *Essays in Indo-Nepal trade: a nineteenth century study.* Calcutta, K.P. Bagchi & Co. xv, 152 p.

[Reviewed: G.P.Bhattacharjee, *Calcutta hist. J.* 16(1): 167-169, 1994]

Examines different aspects of Indo-Nepal trade mainly in the Rana period. Four essays deal with Nepal's tariff policy and the difficulties the British faced in developing commercial relations with Nepal, whilst the other essays concentrate on India's trade with Nepal with reference to opium, arms and timber, and on attempts to export Indian tea to Tibet. See also no. 510.

839. Sever, A. 1993. *Nepal under the Ranas.* Sittingbourne, Asia Publishing House. x, 506 p.

[Reviewed: P.R.Onta, *Indian econ. soc. Hist. Rev.* 31(4): 540-541, 1994; A.P.Shrestha, *Contrib. Nepalese Stud.* 20(1): 145-148, 1993]

Detailed account of the history and politics of Nepal from the rise of Prithvinarayan Shah, concentrating on the period of Rana rule from 1845. The appendices include biographical notes on all the major Nepali generals and rulers, a genealogy of the Shah and Rana families, and charts showing the organisational structure of the Rana administration.

840. Shaha, R. 1983. Jang Bahadur in Britain and France. *Rolamba* 3(2): 18-27.

Based on no. 847.

841. Shreshta, P.P., ed. 1986. *Nepal rediscovered: the Rana court, 1846-1951: photographs from the archives of the Nepal Kingdom Foundation*. London, Serindia. iv, 17 p. + plates.

Interesting collection of photos dating from 1870 of the Rana family including photos of Maharaja Jang Bahadur Rana. It also includes 'Rana Nepal: a political history', by John Whelpton.

842. Singh, S.N. 1959. Jang Bahadur's visit to England. *J. hist. Res.* 2(1): 46-50.

843. Turkin, V.N. 1965. Anglo-Nepalese relations, 1914-1923. *Central Asian Rev.* 13(2): 157-163.

Abridgment of an article by V.N. Turkin in *Kratkie Soobshcheniia Instituta Narodov Azii* no. 75, 1964, with comments by Colonel N. Eustace, formerly of the 6th Gurkha Rifles. Turkin attacks and Eustace defends British use of Gurkha troops and British relations with the Rana family. Although mainly concerned with twentieth century relations there are some historical comments on earlier events.

844. Tyagi, S. 1974. *Indo-Nepalese relations (1858-1914)*. Delhi, D.K. Publishing. 283 p.

[Reviewed: S.D.Muni, *Indian J. int. Law* 15(3): 446-447, 1975; T.Banerjee, *Q. Rev. hist. Stud.* 18(2): 126-127, 1978-1979]

Also includes a detailed account of early Nepalese history and of Nepal's relations with the British prior to 1858.

845. Uprety, P.R. 1980. *Nepal-Tibet relations, 1850-1930: years of hopes, challenges and frustrations*. Kathmandu, Puga Nara. xii, 250 p.

An account of early relations precedes a detailed analysis of the economic and political relations of Nepal and Tibet from the Nepal-Tibet war of 1855-56 to disputes concerning the Tibetan government's jurisdiction over alleged Nepalese subjects in Tibet in the 1920s. These included the arrest of Sherpa Gyalpo in Lhasa in 1928, the problems of the Khacharas (half breeds), and disputes over the Nepal-Tibet border. Also covers trans-Himalayan trade, Sino-British attitudes to the political status of Tibet, and Nepalese attempts to mediate between China and Tibet from 1908 by the Nepalese Vakil in Lhasa.

846. Wheeler, J.T. 1868. *Summary of affairs of the Government of India in the Foreign Department from 1864 to 1869* [sic]. Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing. xxiv, 518 p.

See Pt 2, chapter 2, Kingdom of Nipal. This covers the relations of Britain with Nepal, including an account of Nepal's intervention with the Tibetan Government on behalf of the French missionaries in East Tibet which was encouraged by the British (see chapter VIII.5). See also Pt 3, chapter 4, for Eden's mission to Bhutan and the Bhutan War and for British relations with the Abors during this period.

847. Whelpton, J. 1983. *Jang Bahadur in Europe: the first Nepalese mission to the west*. Introduction by R. Shaha. Tripureshwar, Kathmandu, Sahayogi Press. ix, 320 p.

Translation, with commentary, of *Jang Bahadurko Belait-Yatra*. This was an account by a travelling companion of Jang Bahadur Rana of his journey to Britain and France in 1850. A detailed account of events leading to the rise of Jang Bahadur and the background to the 1850 Mission precedes the translation. Also includes comments on how the visit was reported in the European press, with extracts from the British and French newspaper coverage of the visit.

848. Wright, D. 1872. *Sketch of the portion of the country of Nepal open to Europeans*. Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 30 p.

Wright was Residency Surgeon in Kathmandu from 1863 to 1876. He provides general information on Nepal together with a table of the imports and exports from Nepal to and from India and Tibet.

See also nos 124, 131-2, 178, 199, 261, 433, 435-6, 439, 442, 444, 450, 452, 459, 461, 463-4, 467-9, 486, 490, 504-8, 511-12, 514, 519, 521, 524-6, 528, 531, 537, 696, 706, 749, 761, 771, 777, 783, 849, 1176, 1571, 1970-1, 1977, 1979, 2026-33, 2409, 2657, 2813, 2924, 4019.

Chapter V

WESTERN TIBET AND THE WESTERN HIMALAYAN AREA 1800-1903

The acquisition of Kumaon and Garhwal following the Anglo-Nepalese War gave Britain a direct border with Tibet for the first time. These territories, and the adjacent kingdom of Ladakh, and its dependencies, Lahul and Spiti, had close commercial, cultural, and some political ties with Tibet. Ladakh, for example, sent regular commercial and diplomatic missions to Lhasa and had close commercial contact with Western Tibet. Pashm, or shawl wool, the fine undercoat of Tibetan sheep and goats, was the major article of trade of this region and was used to make the famous Kashmiri shawls. The economies of both Ladakh and Kashmir were largely dependent on the trade in shawl wool. The East India Company had been interested in the shawl wool trade of Western Tibet for some time, and it was one of the factors that led to their decision to acquire Kumaon and Garhwal following the war with Nepal, and to bring other hill states, such as Bashahr, under their protection. They also hoped that these states would create a buffer area between Nepal and the Sikh State and deter future Gurkha aggression.

In 1812 William Moorcroft crossed the Niti Pass and reached Gartok, the capital of Western Tibet. There he managed to purchase a small quantity of pashm and to acquire much information about the shawl wool trade. This trade, due to a number of factors such as the Sikh conquest of Kashmir in 1819, rapidly increased in importance in the British protected area. The Sikhs, under Ranjit Singh, and the Dogras, under Gulab Singh, were also interested in the commercial possibilities of Ladakh and Western Tibet, and, like the British, tried to divert the flow of the wool trade into areas under their control.

Gulab Singh's forces under the leadership of Zorawar Singh successfully invaded Ladakh in 1834 and Western Tibet in 1841. This effectively stopped most of the trade between Tibet and British territory. A large Tibetan and Chinese force, however, defeated the Dogras in December, 1841, and a treaty was concluded between them in September 1842.

When the Anglo-Sikh War broke out in 1845 Gulab Singh remained neutral. In gratitude the British recognised him as Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, an area which included Ladakh, by a treaty signed at Amritsar following the war. This treaty placed the new state under British protection and also provided that its boundaries with Tibet were to be determined by a joint frontier commission. Thus the British appointed commissioners in 1846 and 1847 in the hope of reaching a joint agreement with the Chinese and Tibetans over the boundary and also an agreement over trade. Although the attempt was abandoned in 1848 due to the non-appearance of Chinese Commissioners, this was the first British attempt to define the border between their territory and Tibet.

The next attempt to encourage trade between India and Tibet was the start on

the construction of a road from the Indian plains to Simla and from there to the Tibetan border by way of Chini. This road later became known as the Hindustan-Tibet Road. Attempts were also made to establish trade fairs, and in 1867 the first British agent in Ladakh was appointed.

Exploration in the Western Himalayan region occurred throughout the nineteenth century and many attempts were made by British travellers to enter Tibet. This culminated in extensive exploration of Western Tibet, firstly by the 'pundits' of the Survey of India [see chapter VIII.6], and later by a number of Europeans in the 1890's, some of whom were accompanied by surveyors of the Survey of India.

1. GENERAL - LADAKH

849. Anon. 1856. Ladak and Tibet. *Fraser's Mag.* 53: 166-172.

Mainly a review of Cunningham's *Ladak* (see no. 860), but it also contains comments on Nepal's invasion of Tibet at this time.

850. Ahmad, Z. 1960. The ancient frontier of Ladakh. *Wld Today* 16: 313-318.

Traces the history of the frontier from the ninth century to 1947.

851. Ahmad, Z. 1963. Tibet and Ladakh: a history. *St Antony's Pap.* no. 14: 23-58.

History of Ladakh from earliest times to the creation of the state of Jammu and Kashmir 'under the paramountcy of the crown of England' in 1846, of which Ladakh formed a part.

852. Allen, C. 1982. *A mountain in Tibet: the search for Mount Kailas and the sources of the great rivers of India*. London, Andre Deutsch. 255 p.
Reprinted: London, Warner, 1993. London, Abacus, 2003.

[Reviewed: D.Murphy, *Asian Affairs* 14: 188-189, 1983; G.Woodcock, *Pacific Affairs* 56: 574-575, 1983; *J. un. Serv. Instn India* 116(485): 296-298, 1986]

Relates the story of mainly European exploration of Western Tibet and the Tibetan plateau from the time of the Jesuit missionaries through to the Indian pundits and Sven Hedin, including a discussion of the controversy over Hedin's 'discoveries' in Western Tibet. It also covers the exploration of Upper Assam and of the Tsang-po Gorge, and relations with the hill tribes.

853. Bajpai, S.C. 1981. *Kinnaur in the Himalayas*. New Delhi, Concept Publishing Co. xii, 247 p.

[Reviewed: P.Mehra, *Indian hist. Rev.* 11(1-2): 302-303, 1984/1985]

Kinnaur, situated on the borders of Tibet, was formerly part of the native state of Bashahr. This work includes an account of its trade with Tibet and Ladakh and its history, including its occupation by the Gurkhas.

854. Bajpai, S.C. 1991. *Kinnaur, a restricted land in the Himalaya*. New Delhi, Indus Publishing Co. 240 p.

855. Bamzai, P.N.K. 1962. *A history of Kashmir; political, social, cultural, from the earliest times to the present day*. Delhi, Metropolitan Book Co. xx, 771 p.

Includes an account of Moorcroft's activities in Ladakh, the rise of Gulab Singh, and his conquest of Ladakh and invasion of Tibet, and the Boundary Commissions.

856. Bates, C.E. 1873. *A gazetteer of Kashmir, and the adjacent districts of Kishtwár, Badrawár, Jamú, Naoshera, Púnch, and the valley of Kishen Ganga*. Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing. ii, 560 p. (Central Asia. Pt VII, sect. I). Reprinted: Petersfield, Barbican Publishing Co., 1995.

The introduction includes a report on the geography, history, products and trade of Kashmir. There are a number of appendices which contain the texts of major British agreements with Kashmir, including the treaty with Gulab Singh in 1846.

857. Bray, J. 1990. The Lapchak mission from Ladakh to Lhasa in British foreign policy. *Tibet J.* 15(4): 75-96.

The Lapchak mission went to Lhasa every three years until 1944, combining a trade mission with the presentation of gifts to the Dalai Lama's treasurer. The origins of the mission are discussed and the British interpretation of their significance in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century analysed. Accounts of the mission by British officials are also included.

858. Bray, J. 1991. Ladakhi history and Indian nationhood. *South Asia Research* 11(2): 115-133.

Examines the changing political, economic, and cultural position of Ladakh including a section on the Dogra-British period (1834-1947).

859. Charak, S.S. 1978-1979. *History and culture of the Himalayan states: Himachal Pradesh*. New Delhi, Light & Life Publishers. 3 vols.

Vol. 1 includes the history of Kangra and the Simla Hill States, and vol. 2 Kulu, Lahul, Spiti and Chamba.

860. Cunningham, A. 1854. *Ladak, physical, statistical, and historical; with notices of the surrounding countries*. London, W.H. Allen. xiv, 485 p. Reprinted: New Delhi, Sagar, 1970; New Delhi, Asian Educational Services, 1998.

[Reviewed: *Br. Q. Rev.* 39: 120-144, 1864; *Fraser's Mag.* 53: 166-172, 1856]

A major work on Ladakh. It covers in great detail its history, geography, trade, government, inhabitants etc. There is a large scale map of Ladakh and the surrounding countries.

861. Dahia, G.S. 1970. British interference in Ladakh. *Proc. Punjab Hist. Conf.* 5: 179-184.

British interference was motivated by their desire to develop trade with Central Asia and to promote the shawl wool trade. It was also influenced by fear of Russia and the British desire to play a political role in Central Asian politics.

862. Dainelli, G. 1934. *La esplorazione della regione fra l'Himàlaja occidentale e il Caracorùm*. Bologna, N. Zanichelli. xi, 434 p. (Spedizione Italiana de Filippi nell' Himàlaja, Caracorùm e Turchestàn Cinese (1913-1914). Relazioni scientifiche. Serie II. Risultati geologici e geografici, vol. 1)

A detailed history of European travel and exploration in Western Tibet, Ladakh, the Karakorum and Central Asian regions from the seventeenth century to about 1930. Separate sketch maps illustrate the routes of major explorers such as Moorcroft, A. Cunningham, H. Strachey and the Schlagintweits.

863. Datta, C.L. 1971. Ladakh's relations with surrounding states. *Proc. Punjab Hist. Conf.* no. 6: 228-249. Also published: T.K. Ravindran, ed. *Journal of Indian history: golden jubilee volume*. Trivandrum, Dept of History, University of Kerala, 1973, p. 723-744.

Mainly concerns Ladakh's relations with Tibet from earliest times to the 1830's.

864. Datta, C.L. 1986. Ladakh's relations with the Sikhs and the British in the first half of the nineteenth century. In: N.R. Ray, ed. *Himalaya frontier in historical perspective*. Calcutta, Institute of Historical Studies, p. 193-208.

Ladakh's relations with the British were determined by strategic and commercial considerations. The journeys of Moorcroft to Ladakh are examined as well as the rise to power of Ranjit Singh and the conquests of Gulab Singh.

865. De Bourbel, R. 1897. *Routes in Jammu and Kashmir arranged topographically with descriptions of routes; distances by stages; and information as to supplies and transport*. Calcutta, Thacker, Spink. xvii, 396 p.

Includes details on routes to Leh, and from Leh to Rudok and Gartok in Western Tibet.

866. Dhondup, K. 1977. Tibet's influence in Ladakh and Bhutan. *Tibet J.* 2(2): 58-73.

Outlines the effect of Tibetan culture on Ladakh and Bhutan.

867. Drew, F. 1875. *The Jummoo and Kashmir territories; a geographical account*. London, E. Stanford. xv, 568 p. Reprinted: Delhi, Oriental Publishers, 1971; New Delhi, Cosmo Publications, 1976; Karachi, Indus, 1980.

A detailed account of the territories which included Ladakh. A number of maps are included in the work and information is given about the boundaries shown on the maps.

868. Drew, F. 1877. *The northern barrier of India. A popular account of the Jummoo and Kashmir territories*. London, E. Stanford. xi, 336 p. Reprinted: Jammu, Light & Life Publishers, 1971.

Selections from no. 867.

869. Fisher, M.W., Rose, L.E. and Huttenback, R.A. 1963. *Himalayan battleground; Sino-Indian rivalry in Ladakh*. London, Pall Mall Press. viii, 205 p.
[Reviewed: O.Caroe, *Geogr. J.* 130: 273-275, 1964; O.Caroe, *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 51: 62-63, 1964; R.B.Ekval, *J. Asian Stud.* 23: 313-314, 1963/64; G.Patterson, *China Q, Lond.* no. 18. 221-225, 1964]
- Examines the history of Ladakh emphasising the strategic factors that have caused the region to be fought over since earliest times. In an appendix there is an English translation from the Chinese of reports and memorials concerning the Dogra-Tibetan War contained in *Hsi-Tsang Tsou-Shu* (Tibetan memorials and reports). This was compiled by Meng Pao, Chinese Resident at Lhasa from 1839 to 1844.
870. Francke, A.H. 1907. *A history of Western Tibet, one of the unknown empires*. London, S.W. Partridge. xiv, 191 p. Reprinted: New Delhi, Asian Educational Services, 1995. Reprinted with titles: *Ladakh: the mysterious land (history of Western Himalayas)*. New Delhi, Cosmo, 1978, and *Baltistan and Ladakh: a history*. Islamabad, Lok Virsa Publishing House, 1986. Revised ed. with title: *A history of Ladakh*, with critical introduction and annotations by S.S. Gergan & F.M. Hassnain. New Delhi, Sterling Publishers, 1977.
[Reviewed: W.Broadfoot, *Geogr. J.* 31: 320-321, 1908; R.K.Kaul, *Q. Rev. hist. Stud.* 20(1): 47-48, 1980/1981]
- Detailed history of Ladakh from the seventh century to the Dogra-Tibetan War of 1841-1842.
871. Francke, A.H. 1914-1926. *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*. Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing. 2 vols. (Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, vols 38, 50). Reprinted: New Delhi, S. Chand, 1972; New Delhi, Asian Educational Services, 1992.
[Reviewed: F.de F., *J. cent. Asian Soc.* 15: 115-119, 1928]
- Vol. 1 contains an account of the survey made by Francke in 1909 at the request of the Indian Government of the districts 'which once formed the kingdom of Western Tibet'. Vol. 2 contains the inscriptions and chronicles collected in the course of his survey. They include the first translation of the *Chronicles of Ladakh* which covered the history of Ladakh to 1842, and gave an account of the Dogra wars against Ladakh and Tibet.
872. Gaborieau, M. 2000. Kashmiri Muslim merchants in Tibet, Nepal and Northern India. In: D. Lombard and J. Aubin, eds. *Asian merchants and businessmen in the Indian Ocean and the China Sea*. New Delhi, Oxford University Press, p. 193-196.
- On the trans-Himalayan trade conducted by the Kashmiri merchants.
873. Gompertz, M.L.A. 1928. *Magic Ladakh: an intimate picture of a land of topsy-turvy customs and great natural beauty, by 'Ganpat'*. London, Seeley Service. 291 p.
[Reviewed: B.F.K., *Geogr. J.* 71: 599, 1928; B.F.K., *J. cent. Asian Soc.* 15: 243-244, 1928; S.G.D., *Himalayan J.* 1: 120-122, 1929]

General account of Ladakh with chapters on its history and the Central Asian trade route.

874. Harcourt, A.F.P. 1871. *The Himalayan districts of Kooloo, Lahoul and Spiti*. London, W.H. Allen. viii, 381 p. Reprinted: Delhi, Vivek Publishing House, 1972.

Harcourt was Assistant Commissioner of Kulu in the 1860's. Spiti and Lahul formed southern districts of Ladakh until 1846 when the British annexed them. A detailed geographical and ethnological account is given of the districts in this work, and there is also a large sketch map of the area.

875. Harcourt, A.F.P. 1871. On the Himalayan valleys: Kooloo, Lahoul, and Spiti. *Jl R. geogr. Soc.* 41: 245-257. Abstract: *Proc. R. geogr. Soc.* 15: 336-343, 1870/1871.

A description of the valleys and their inhabitants, with a few remarks on the geographical and commercial importance of these areas. Two maps accompany the article - one of the area and the other of the passes from India to Eastern Turkestan.

876. Hassnain, F.M., Oki, M., and Sumi, T.D. 1977. *Ladakh: the moonland*. 2nd rev. ed. New Delhi, Light & Life Publishers. xv, 127 p. [First published 1975]

Includes sections on the history of Ladakh and on travellers who have visited the area including Cunningham and Hedin.

877. Hay, W.C. 1850. Report on the valley of Spiti; and facts collected with a view to a future revenue settlement. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 19: 429-448.

General report on Spiti. Includes a description of the passes from Spiti to the British territories and to Kunawar, its boundaries, and its trade with Tibet, Bashahr and Ladakh. It also comments on Chinese demands for revenue from Spiti.

878. Hoffmann, S.A. 1987. Ambiguity and India's claims to the Aksai Chin. *Central Asian Survey* 6(3): 37-60.

Reevaluates the claims of India and China to the Aksai Chin. The ambiguity of the claims results from both conflicting historical data and geographical features. The British formulated three alternative boundary lines for Ladakh, which were never formally agreed to by the Chinese. These were the Ardagh-Johnson Line which included the Aksai Chin within the area of British Indian control, the Macartney-MacDonald Line which placed most of the area in Sinkiang, and a frontier lying along the Karakorum Mountain range.

879. Hudson, G.F. 1963. The Aksai Chin. *St Antony's Pap.* no. 14: 9-22.

Relations of China and Ladakh with the area known as the Aksai Chin in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

880. Hügel, C.A.A. von. 1845. *Travels in Kashmir and the Panjab, containing a particular account of the government and character of the Sikhs...* with notes by T.B. Jervis. London, J. Petheram. xvi, 423 p.

Translation of pts 1 and 3 of the German original, *Kaschmir und das Reich der*

Siek. The introduction includes an account of the journeys of previous travellers to the area, including those of Moorcroft.

881. Hutchison, John and Vogel, J.P. 1914/1915. *The Panjab Hill States. J. Panjab hist. Soc.* 3: 86-126.
882. Hutchison, John and Vogel, J.P. 1918/1919. *History of Kulu State. J. Panjab hist. Soc.* 7: 130-176.
883. Hutchison, John and Vogel, J.P. 1920/1921. *History of Jammu State. J. Panjab hist. Soc.* 8: 103-151.
884. Hutchison, John and Vogel, J.P. 1920/1921. *History of Kangra State. J. Panjab hist. Soc.* 8: 12-84.
885. Hutchison, John and Vogel, J.P. 1920/1921. *History of Lahul. J. Panjab hist. Soc.* 8: 162-166.
886. Hutchison, John and Vogel, J.P. 1920/1921. *History of Spiti. J. Panjab hist. Soc.* 8: 159-161.
887. Hutchison, John and Vogel, J.P. 1929. *History of Chamba State. J. Panjab. hist. Soc.* 10(2): 5-70.
888. Hutchison, John and Vogel, J.P. 1933. *History of the Panjab Hill States.* Lahore, Superintendent of Government Printing, Punjab. 2 vols. Reprinted: Simla, Dept of Languages and Culture, Himachal Pradesh, 1982.
Includes nos 881-887.
889. India. Quarter Master General's Department. Intelligence Branch. 1890. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladák; together with routes in the territories of the Maharaja of Jamú and Kashmir.* Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing. 871, 218 p. Reprinted: Delhi, Vivek Publishing House, 1974.
Very detailed work compiled from published accounts and reports and letters in the Foreign Dept of the Government of India and of the Punjab Government.
890. [Inglis, R.] 1836. *Notices of modern China: Mohammedan states on the western frontier of the empire; Ladakh, Iskardo, Kunduz, Bokhara, Kohan etc.* By R.I. *Chin. Repos.* 5: 267-274, Oct.
Mentions Chinese fears of Kashmir becoming a British province and that this would open a new channel for British commerce to Tibet.
891. Jina, P.S. 1995. *Famous western explorers to Ladakh.* New Delhi, Indus Publishing. 152 p.
Information on European explorers to Ladakh such as Moorcroft, Fraser and A. Cunningham with details of their routes, and quotes from their writings. Emphasis is on explorers in the nineteenth century.

892. Jina, P.S., ed. 2000. *Ladakh: past and present*. New Delhi, Gyan Publishing House. 416 p.
Collection of articles on social, cultural and historical aspects of Ladakh. It includes a large section by Jina on trade and trade routes with Central Asia and Tibet.
893. Kapur, T.B. 1987. *Ladakh the wonderland: a geographical, historical and sociological study*. New Delhi, Mittal. ix, 175 p.
General work which includes an account of Zorawar Singh's invasion of Ladakh.
894. Kennion, R.L. 1903. Lapchak. *Blackwood's Edinb. Mag.* 174: 372-380.
Account of the triennial missions sent from Ladakh to Lhasa and information on the articles of commerce taken and brought back by the missions.
895. Kennion, R.L. 1910. *Sport and life in the further Himalaya*. Edinburgh, Blackwood. xii, 330 p.
A number of articles by Kennion, some of which had been previously published. Includes no. 894, articles on Leh, and his experiences when hunting in the area of Lake Pangong on the border of Ladakh and Tibet.
896. Koul, A. 1913. *Geography of the Jammu and Kashmir State*. Calcutta, Thacker, Spink. x, 88 p.
Includes a section on frontier districts and Ladakh.
897. Lafont, J.M. 2000. The commerce of Punjab and Kashmir in 1832: C.M. Wade's report to the East India Company. In her *Indika: essays in Indo-French relations 1630-1976*. New Delhi, Manohar, p. 343-382.
Describes economic conditions in the Punjab and Kashmir as related by British resident C.M. Wade and examines the background to the report.
898. Lall, J. 1989. *Aksaichin and Sino-Indian conflict*. Ahmedabad, Allied Publishers Private. xvi, 356 p.
[Reviewed: A.Lamb, *Int. Aff.* 66(1): 209, 1990; P.Mehra, *China Report* 27(2): 147-154, 1991; S.Sandahl, *Pacific Affairs* 63: 86-87, 1990/1991]
Detailed study of how the western frontier evolved under the British, including analysis of the Dogra conquests, boundary commissions, Vans Agnew's memo on the boundary, W.H. Johnson's survey and map on which India based its claim to the Aksai Chin, Ardagh's memorandum on the northern frontier, and MacDonald's despatch of 1899. Also covers the Younghusband Mission and information relating to the McMahon Line in the East. Most of the major treaties and memos are included in the appendices.
899. Le Calloc'h, B. 1989. A Ladakhi statesman: Tsewang Dhondup, the last prime minister of independent Ladakh. *Tibet J.* 14(4): 45-66.
Dhondup was prime minister for 30 years from 1795. His influence on the fortunes of Ladakh is analysed and his negotiations with Moorcroft and meetings with Csomo de Koros described.

900. Maisey, F. 1878. *A contribution towards the better knowledge of the topography, ethnology, resources, and history of Ladak*. Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing. vii, 143 p. (Central Asia. Pt VII, sect. II)
- Mainly a gazetteer but information is also included on the history, government, military resources etc. of Ladakh, and details of its trade with Tibet.
901. Marks, T.A. 1977. History and religion in the Ladakhi Kingdom. *Tibet J.* 2(2): 38-56.
- Includes an account of Ladakh's relations with the Sikhs and the British.
902. Mason, K. 1956. Great figures of nineteenth century Himalayan exploration. *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 43: 167-175.
- Journeys of Moorcroft, Cunningham, Strachey and Thomson in Ladakh, and the surveys of Montgomerie, Godwin-Austen, and the pundits of the Survey of India.
903. Montgomerie, T.G. 1874. *Routes in the Western-Himalayas, Kashmir etc. with additions from Major C.E. Bates's Gazetteer and other sources*. Dehra Doon, Superintendent of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India. 34 p. [3rd ed. rev. and corrected: Dehra Dun, 1909, viii, 120 p.]
- A large number of routes in the area are described including the route from Simla to Chini by the Hindustan-Tibet road.
904. Morgan, G. 1973. Myth and reality in the Great Game. *Asian Affairs* 60: 55-65.
- Examines British methods for obtaining intelligence information about Central Asia in the nineteenth century. Some comments on the pundits of the Survey of India and William Moorcroft are included.
905. Petech, L. 1977. *The kingdom of Ladakh: c. 950-1842 A.D.* Roma, Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente. xii, 191 p. (Serie orientale Roma; 51)
- [Reviewed: Nawang Tsering, *Tibet J.* 4(2): 61-62, 1979; J.Kolmas, *Archiv Orient.* 50: 76-77, 1982]
- The political history of Ladakh from its origins to the Dogra conquests based on Ladakhi and Tibetan sources.
906. Powell, B.H. 1868. *Hand-book of the economic products of the Punjab. Vol. 1. Economic raw produce*. Roorkee, Thomason Civil Engineering College Press.
- The section on wool contains a description of pashm and details of the wool trade between Punjab and Tibet.
907. Punjab. *Gazetteer of the Kangra District, 1883-84*. Calcutta, Calcutta Central Press, n.d. 2 vols.
- Describes the geography, history, people, products and administration of Kangra proper in vol. 1 and Kulu, Lahul and Spiti in vol. 2.

908. Punjab. 1918. *Punjab district gazetteers. Vol. XXXA. Kangra District. Pt II. Kulu and Saraj. Pt III. Lahul. Pt IV. Spiti, 1917.* Lahore, Superintendent of Government Printing, Punjab. iii, 308, viii p.
909. Punjab. *Report on the administration of the Punjab and its dependencies. 1849/1850-1850/1851 - .* Lahore, Government Press. Title varies.
Includes information on the trade of the Punjab with Ladakh and Tibet.
910. *Punjab. Directorate of Land Records. *Report on the external land trade of the Punjab. 1879/1880 - .* Lahore, Government Press. Preceded by *Note on the trade statistics of the Punjab, 1869/1870 - 1875/1876;* and *Punjab trade report, 1876/1877 - 1878/1879.* Source: no. 17.
Includes details of the Punjab's trade with Ladakh and Tibet.
911. Rahul, R. 1961/1962. Kashmiri Muslims in Tibet. *Int. Stud.* 3: 181-183.
Traces the historical connection between the Kashmiris and Tibet. Most Muslims from Kashmir and Ladakh in Tibet were engaged in trade and figured prominently in Tibet's commerce and economy acting as middlemen. They were also occasionally used by Tibet in diplomatic missions e.g. in 1788 the Panchen Lama sent two Kashmiri merchants to Calcutta to request British aid against Nepal.
912. Rahul, R. 1976. India's other border areas: Arunachal and Ladakh. *Int. Stud.* 15(1): 53-68.
Concise historical survey of these borders.
913. Ramsay, H. 1890. *Western Tibet: a practical dictionary of the language and customs of the districts included in the Ladak Wazarat.* Lahore, W. Ball. 190 p.
Gives the meaning of words such as 'chaba' and 'lapchak' and a history and description of these missions.
914. Rizvi, J. 1983. *Ladakh, crossroads of high Asia.* Delhi, Oxford University Press. xii, 224 p. 2nd rev. ed. 1998.
[Reviewed: H.Nayyar, *Indian foreign Rev.* 21(10): 30, 1984]
Includes information on the Dogra invasions, British interest in the area, and the importance of trade.
915. Rizvi, J. 1999. *Trans-Himalayan caravans: merchant princes and peasant traders in Ladakh.* New Delhi, Oxford University Press. xxiv, 359 p.
[Reviewed: P.A.Speed, *Asian Affairs* 32: 79-80, 2001; S.K.Khanna, *J. interdisc. Hist.* 32(2): 346-347, 2001]
Documents the different trade routes, the products that were traded and the changing political significance of the trade. There are detailed chapters on the pashm trade and the trade between Leh and Lhasa.
916. Rosny, L. de. 1860. Le Ladak d'après la relation anglaise du Major Alexander Cunningham. *Nouv. Annales Voyag.* 6s., 6: 204-212.

General account of Ladakh based on Cunningham's work (see no. 860)

917. Saward, M.H. 1878. *Routes in Asia. Sect. V: being a compilation, from all available sources, of routes in the territories of the Maharaja of Jummoo and Kashmir, and adjacent countries.* Simla, Government Central Branch Press. 379 p.
- Detailed information on the routes in the territories which included Ladakh, Lahul and Spiti. There are also sections dealing with the boundaries, military resources, products etc. of the region.
918. Schneider, H.G. 1891. *Working and waiting for Tibet; a sketch of the Moravian Mission in the Western Himalayas.* London, Morgan & Scott. 95 p.
- History of the work of the mission in Lahul, Kunawar and Ladakh, and the attempts by the missionaries to enter Tibet.
919. Schofield, V. 1996. *Kashmir in the crossfire.* London, I.B. Tauris. xiii, 354 p.
- History of Kashmir from earliest times with a section on the Sikh conquest, the power of the Dogras and their expansion, and the Treaty of Amritsar.
920. Searight, S. 1976. Ladakh – barrier or entrepôt. *History Today* 26: 256-261.
- Account of Ladakh's importance in the first half of the nineteenth century due to the trade route which ran through its territory from the shawl wool producing areas of Western Tibet. Traces the importance of this trade, the travels of Moorcroft, and attempts by the British to settle the boundary of Ladakh.
921. Sharma, U., ed. 1996. *Heritage of Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh.* New Delhi, Radha Publications. 5 vols.
- The history, geography, travels, political development and economic life of these areas extracted from a number of sources. Vols 1 and 2 include extracts from the works of J.D. Cunningham, Alexander Cunningham and Frederic Drew.
922. Shawe, F.B. 1898. Western Tibet. *J. Manchr geogr. Soc.* 14: 1-23.
- General account of Ladakh.
923. Sinha, N.K. 1933. *Ranjit Singh.* Calcutta, University of Calcutta Press. xi, 216 p.
- Biography of Ranjit Singh which includes an account of his relations with Nepal and Ladakh. Also contains a brief account of Moorcroft's travels.
924. Snelling, J. 1983. *The sacred mountain: travellers and pilgrims at Mount Kailas in Western Tibet, and the great universal system of the sacred mountain.* London, East-West Publications. xi, 241 p. New ed. rev. and enl. 1991. xvii, 457 p.
- Detailed account of travellers and pilgrims who visited Mt Kailas. They included

Moorcroft, Henry Strachey, the visit of Webber, Smyth, Hodgson and Drummond in 1864, Smith and Harrison in 1865, Landor, exploration following the Younghusband Mission, Sherring in 1905, Hedin 1906, and also the travels of Kawaguchi.

925. Thornton, E. 1844. *A gazetteer of the countries adjacent to India on the North-West; including Sindh, Afghanistan, Beloochistan, the Punjab, and the neighbouring states*. London, W.H. Allen. 2 vols.
Compiled by the authority of the East India Company and chiefly from documents in their possession. Includes entries for Ladakh, Leh, Kulu etc., while areas such as Spiti and Kunawar are included in the large entry 'Punjab'.
926. Tobdan. 1983. Lahul - an outline history. *J. Indian Hist.* 61: 261-271.
927. Tobdan. 1990. Kinnaur – a historical survey. *Himalaya Past and Present* 1: 113-136.
The early history of the area with some comments on the Gurkha invasion and the establishment of the Moravian Mission at Poo.
928. Tobdan. 1991/1992. Spiti – a historical survey. *Himalaya Past and Present* 2: 303-318.
Includes brief information on British travellers to the area and the impact of the Dogras.
929. Vohra, S. 1986. Sinkiang and Ladakh. *J. un. Serv. Instn India* 116(484): 116-126.
Traces the political rivalry between Russia and Britain in the latter half of the nineteenth century and the role of the Sikhs and the Dogras who conquered Ladakh in the 1830's and 1840's, as a background to India's claims in the area.
930. Walravens, H. 1992. The Moravian mission and its research on the language and culture of Western Tibet. *Oriens Extremus* 35(1-2): 159-169.
History of the Moravian Mission in Ladakh and Lahul with emphasis on the work and publications of August Francke who wrote on the history, literature and religion of Tibet and Ladakh from 1895 to 1914. He also published the first Tibetan newspaper in Ladakh.
931. Warikoo, K. 1989. *Central Asia and Kashmir: a study in the context of Anglo-Russian rivalry*. New Delhi, Gian Publishing House. x, 264 p. [Reviewed: J. Bray, *Asian Affairs* 22: 79-80, 1991]
Includes an examination of the importance of Kashmir and Ladakh in the context of Anglo-Russian rivalry in Central Asia.
932. Warikoo, K. 1995. Gateway to Central Asia: the Transhimalayan trade of Ladakh 1846-1947. In: *Recent research on Ladakh 4 & 5: proceedings of the Fourth and Fifth International Colloquia on Ladakh*. Ed. by H. Osmaston and P. Denwood. London, School of Oriental & African Studies, University of London, p. 235-247.

Analyses the extent and pattern of the trade with Chinese Turkestan and Tibet and assesses the impact of this trade on the society and culture of Ladakh.

933. Younghusband, F. 1909. *Kashmir*. London, A. & C. Black. 283 p.

A popular general account of the area.

See also nos 146, 150, 153, 171, 175, 179-81, 188, 191, 201, 203, 206-7, 227, 235, 239-40, 266, 269, 273, 279, 528, 1184, 1207, 1210, 1344, 1532, 1807, 2406-7, 2568.

2. GENERAL - KUMAON AND GARHWAL

934. Anon. 1839. *Geographical, statistical and historical accounts of the following countries, viz. countries adjacent to Hindostan. Baloochistan, Afghanistan, the kingdom of Cabool, and province of Candahar. Northern Hindostan. The country between the Sutulege and Jumna, Gurwal, or Serinagur, and Kumaon*. Calcutta, Oriental Press. 135, ii p.

Historical and geographical account of the areas listed. Some of the geographical information is in the form of a gazetteer and includes details of the early exploration of the Garhwal and Kumaon areas.

935. Anon. 1873. Tea-growing in the Himalayas. *Ill. Travels* 5: 215-221.

On tea growing in Kumaon and Garhwal and the hope that eventually the tea will find a market in Tibet and perhaps even China.

936. Arora, A. 1996. *Administrative history of Uttarakhand (Kumaon and Garhwal) during the rule of the East India Company (1815-1857)*. Delhi, Eastern Book Linkers. viii, 142 p.

Includes an account of the economic life of the people of Kumaon and Garhwal including their trade with Tibet.

937. Atkinson, E.T. 1877. *Kumaon and Garhwal*. n.p. 43, 32p.

Includes information on the geography, history, resources and trade of each state, accompanied by a large scale map of each area.

938. Atkinson, E.T. 1882-1886. *The Himalayan districts of the North-Western Provinces of India*. Allahabad, North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press. 3 vols. (These vols form v. 10-12 of the Gazetteer, N-W Provinces and v. 10-12 of the *Statistical, descriptive and historical account of the North-Western Provinces of India*). Vols 1-2 reprinted with title: *The Himalayan gazetteer*. Delhi, Cosmo Publications, 1973 and 1980-1981.

Vols 1 and 2 contain details of 'all matters affecting the entire Himalayan tract in the North Western Provinces as a whole' including the exploration of the areas.

Vol. 3 forms a gazetteer to the first two vols providing topographical, statistical and other information on each important place in Kumaon, Garhwal, Dehra Dun etc. A number of maps of the area are included.

939. Atkinson, E.T. 1884. *Notes on the history of the Himalayan districts of the N.-W.P., India*. [Allahabad]. ii, 84, 91, 54, 110, 91 p.
Information obtained from vol. 2 of no. 938. It gives a detailed history of Kumaon and Garhwal up to their annexation by the British following the Anglo-Nepalese War. The appendix contains two letters intercepted during the Nepal War. The first is from Amar Singh Thapa to the Raja of Nepal in March 1815, and the second is a translation of a petition which was to be sent to the Chinese by Nepal, asking for their help against the British.
940. Atkinson, E.T. 1974. *Kumaun Hills: its history, geography and anthropology with reference to Garhwal and Nepal*. Delhi, Cosmo Publications, p. 267-697, 935-964. Reprinted: 1980.
Offprint of chapters III-VII from Vol. 2 of *The Himalayan gazetteer* (see no. 938) which concern the history of the area.
941. Bajpai, S.C. 1970. *The northern frontier of India; central and western sector*. Bombay, Allied Publishers. xv, 223 p.
[Reviewed: *India Q.* 27: 232-237, 1971; J.B.Bhattacharjee, *Q. Rev. hist. Stud.* 17(4): 245-246, 1977-1978]
Traces the history of Kumaon, Garhwal, Ladakh and Kashmir, and British contact with them till 1900. Highlights border encroachments by Tibetans in these areas and argues that the British, in their attempts to define the borders, did not comply with the traditional frontiers. A number of treaties and documents are reprinted in the appendices.
942. Batten, J.H., ed. 1851. *Official reports on the province of Kumaon*. Agra, Secundra Orphan Press. xi, 469 p.
A number of articles by various authors, some previously published, are contained in this work. They include nos 974-975, and papers on the settlement and resources of Kumaon.
943. Brown, C.W. 1991/1992. "What we call 'Bhotias' are in reality not Bhotiyas": perspective of British colonial conceptions. *Himalaya Past and Present* 2: 147-172.
Outlines the situation in Kumaon and Garhwal at the time when Atkinson was writing his gazetteers and examines the 'Bhotiya' trade and British-Tibetan politics at this time. Also emphasises the importance of the shawl wool trade in determining British attitudes to events such as the Dogra invasion of Ladakh and Western Tibet which brought the Bhotiya trade to a standstill, and suggests that it was one of the reasons that Gartok was opened as a trade agency following the Younghusband Mission.
944. Brown, C.W. 1992/1993. Salt, barley, pashmina and tincal – contexts of being Bhotiya in Traill's Kumaon. *Himalaya Past and Present* 3: 215-258.
On the importance of trade with Tibet for the Bhotiyas, especially the trade in borax (tincal) and pashm. Also examines the early British travellers to Kumaon and Garhwal and their writings on the Bhotiyas and their trade, and provides a

detailed account of the politics of Gnari, its system of administering the trade and the taxes levied. Gnari was the province in Western Tibet directly to the north of Kumaon.

945. Chandola, K. 1987. *Across the Himalayas through the ages: a study of relations between Central Himalayas and Western Tibet*. New Delhi, Patriot Publishers. xii, 116 p. + plates.
- Mainly concerns the relations of the people of Kumaon and Garhwal with Western Tibet. Examines the trade between these areas, especially the trade in pashm, but also in gold, borax, salt and tea, and the early contacts with the British. The trade patterns between China and Tibet and how these differed to trade with the Himalayan states are also examined.
946. Chinn, B. 1993/1994. Rulers, reconstructions and responses: Kumaon under British rule. *Himalaya Past and Present* 4: 173-207.
- Examines the consequences of British administration of Kumaon, such as her attempts to exploit Kumaon's resources and initiate commercial activities, and the growth of local resentment to British rule.
947. Dabara, S.P. 1986. Gorkhali rule in Kumaon. *Regmi Research Series* 18: 113-117.
- On the oppression of Gorkha rule in Kumaon and Garhwal.
948. Dabara, S.P. 1987. The rape of Garhwal. *Regmi Research Series* 19: 1-6, 25-29, 37-40.
- Events that occurred in Garhwal after the Gurkhas established control.
949. Dabara, S.P. 1987. Gorkhali rule in Garhwal. *Regmi Research Series* 19: 115-120, 143-150, 152-156.
- On the military rule and administration of Garhwal from 1803 to 1815 partly derived from Gurkha documents. Also examines the leadership of Amar Singh Thapa and the border conflicts with the British which were to lead to the Anglo-Nepalese War. The journey of Moorcroft and Hearsey through Kumaon and Garhwal in 1812 is also reported.
950. Dabara, S.P. 1988. Gorkhali administration in Garhwal. *Regmi Research Series* 20: 16-20, 39-45, 54-56, 72-75, 98-105, 130-135.
- Detailed account of the Gurkha administration of Garhwal from 1803-1815.
951. Datta, C.L. 1976. The Simla hill states under British rule 1816-1856, and construction of roads and the Begar. *Proc. Punjab Hist. Conf.* 10: 281-288.
- Britain gained control of the hill states following the Anglo Nepalese War in 1816. This led to a period of activity in Himalayan exploration. The problems of the construction of roads and the labour involved are also discussed.
952. Joshi, M.P. 1992. *Uttaranchal (Kumaon-Garhwal) Himalaya: an essay in*

historical anthropology. Almora, Shree Almora Book Depot. xix, 140 p. (Association of Studies on Himalaya. Monograph series no. 1)

Includes a brief account of the advent of the British in Kumaon and Garhwal.

953. Joshi, M.P. and Brown, C.W. 1986. Some dynamics of Indo-Tibetan trade through Kumaon-Garhwal. In: L.P. Vidyarthi and M. Jha, eds. *Ecology, economy, and religion of Himalayas*. Delhi, Orient Publications, p. 59-71.

Historical account of trade between India and Tibet which was so important to the economic history of Kumaon, and the part played in this trade by the Bhotiyas and trade marts.

954. Joshi, M.P. and Brown, C.W. 1987. Some dynamics of Indo-Tibetan trade through Uttarakhand (Kumaon-Garhwal), India. *J. econ. social Hist. Orient* 30(3): 303-17.

Historical survey of the trade between India and Tibet through this region to the nineteenth century with emphasis on the trade in gold, borax and salt.

955. Kennedy, J. 1884. *Life and work in Benares and Kumaon 1839-1877*. London, Fisher Unwin. xxiii, 392 p.

Kennedy was a missionary who was stationed in Kumaon from 1868 to 1877. He gives a general account of Kumaon and its history under both Gurkha and British rule, and also a good description of the annual Bageswar fair, held near one of the passes into Tibet, which was attended by Bhotias, Tibetans and the British.

956. Mittal, A. K. 1984. Economic life of the people of Kumaon during British rule, 1815-1947. *Q. Rev. hist. Stud.* 24(3): 37-46.

957. Mittal, A.K. 1985. Trans-Himalayan trade with Tibet during the British rule (with special reference to Kumaon). *J. Indian Hist.* 63: 63-82.

Examines the trade and trade marts in the region, the nature, composition and volume of the trade, and the importance of this trade in enabling the British to keep an eye on events in Tibet.

958. Mittal, A.K. 1986. *British administration in Kumaon Himalayas (a historical study - 1815-1847)*. Delhi, Mittal Publications. xiii, 249 p. [Reviewed: P.K.Chatterji, *Q. Rev. hist. Stud.* 31(4): 62-63, 1992]

959. Mittal, A.K. 1988. Kumaon during Gorkha and British rule. In: K.S. Valdiya, ed. *Kumaon, land and people*. Nainital, Gyanodaya Prakashan, p. 87-95.

960. Mittal, A.K. 1990. Some aspects of economic history of Kumaon under the British rule. *Himalaya Past and Present* 1: 299-323.

Includes an examination of trade with Tibet.

961. Pande, B.D. 1993. *History of Kumaon: English version of "Kumaon ka*

itihas". Translated by C.M. Agrawal. Almora, Shyam Prakashan, Shree Almora Book Depot. 2 vols.

Vol. 2 covers the Gorkha rule of Kumaon until 1815 and the subsequent administration of the British.

962. Pranavananda, S. 1939. *Exploration in Tibet*. Calcutta, University of Calcutta Press. xx, 160 p. 2nd ed., 1950. xxxii, 302 p.
- Concerns the Kailas-Manasarovar region of west Tibet which the author first visited in 1928. He gives a general description of the area and an account of its administration and history. He also examines the question of the sources of the four great rivers, Brahmaputra, Sutlej, Indus and Karnali.
963. Pranavananda, S. 1939. The sources of the Brahmaputra, Indus, Sutlej and Karnali: with notes on Manasarowar and Rakas Tal. *Geogr. J.* 93: 126-135.
- Examines the question of the sources of these rivers in the light of previous exploration and from his own observations.
964. Pranavananda, S. 1949. *Kailas-Manasarovar*. Calcutta, S.P. League. xxiii, 242 p. Reprinted: Delhi, Pranavananda, 1983.
- Comprehensive work on the region. Includes some historical comments on the British trade agents, Zorawar Singh, and the Lapchak missions. A number of maps accompany the work including one showing the various routes to the area.
965. *Ram, P. 1916. *Garhwal: ancient and modern*, by Rai Pati Ram Bahadur. Simla, Army Press. v, iii, 241 p. Source: Library of Congress Catalogue. Reprinted: Gurgaon, Vintage Book, 1992.
966. Rawat, A.S. 1989. *History of Garhwal 1358-1947: an erstwhile kingdom in the Himalayas*. New Delhi, Indus Publishing Co. 222 p.
967. Saklani, A. 1987. *The history of a Himalayan princely state: change, conflicts and awakening: (An interpretive history of princely state of Tehri Garhwal, U.P.) (A.D. 1815 to 1949 A.D.)*. Delhi, Durga Publications. xvi, 256 p.
- Includes an account of the Anglo-Nepalese War in Garhwal and the acquisition of Garhwal by the British following the War.
968. Strachey, J. 1851. On the inhabitants of Kumaon and Garhwal. *Rep. Br. Ass. Advmt Sci.* 21(2): 94-95.
- Abstract of his paper on the Khasias and Bhotias. The Bhotias inhabited the Tibetan frontier region and their main business occupation was the carrying of trade between Tibet and the Cis-Himalayan states.
969. Strachey, R. 1851. On the physical geography of the provinces of Kumáon and Garhwál in the Himalaya mountains and of the adjoining parts of Tibet. *Jl R. geogr. Soc.* 21: 57-85.

970. Strachey, R. 1851. On the geography of Kumaon and Garhwal in the Himalaya mountains. *Rep. Br. Ass. Admt Sci.* 21(2): 92-94.
Abstract of his paper which also included a brief account of his journey with J.E. Winterbottom to Lakes Rakas Tal and Manasarovar in 1848.
971. Tewary, D.D. 1923. *Historical and political notes on Kumaon*. Lucknow, Anglo-Arabic Press. x, 99 p.
An historical account of Kumaon with emphasis on the period when it was annexed by the East India Company. Includes a report by Capt. Hearsey in 1814 to the Governor-General.
972. Tolia, R.S. 1994. *British Kumaon-Garhwal: an administrative history of a non-regulation hill province: Gardner and Traill years (1815 A.D.-1835 A.D.)*. Almora, Shree Almora Book Depot. xvi, 116 p. (Association of Studies on Himalaya. Monograph series no. 2)
Detailed account of the early British administration including the determination of the boundary of Kumaon.
973. Tolia, R.S. 1996. *British Kumaon-Garhwal: an administrative history of a non-regulation hill province: Gowan, Lushington and Batten years (1836 A.D.-1856 A.D.)*. Almora, Shree Almora Book Depot. x, 256 p. (Association of Studies on Himalaya. Monograph series no. 3)
974. Traill, G.W. 1828. Statistical sketch of Kamaon. *Asiat. Res.* 16: 137-234. Reprinted: *Himalaya Past and Present 2*: 1-97, 1991/1992.
Traill was Commissioner for Kumaon at this time. He describes the Kumaon-Tibetan frontier and the passes to Tibet, and also gives information on the roads, rivers, minerals, trade etc. of Kumaon.
975. Traill, G.W. 1832. Statistical report on the Bhotia Mehals of Kamaon. *Asiat. Res.* 17: 1-50. Reprinted: *Himalaya Past and Present 2*: 99-145, 1991/1992.
The Bhotia Mehals was the section of the Himalayas which once formed part of the Tibetan province of Bhot. 'About three centuries ago' it was annexed to the states of Kumaon and Garhwal. Its inhabitants resemble the Tibetans in most respects and they mainly conduct the trade between 'Hindustan and Tartary'. The article includes much information on trans-Himalayan trade.
976. United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. *Report on the administration of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. 1877/1878 - .* Allahabad, Government Press. Title varies: 1877/1878 – 1900-1901, *Report on the administration of the N.-W. Provinces and Oudh*.
The United Provinces included Garhwal and Kumaon. The reports give details of the trade of the Provinces with Tibet and Nepal.
977. United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. Dept of Land Records and Revenue. *Annual report on the foreign trade. 1877-1878 - .* Allahabad,

Government Press. Title varies: 1877/1878 - 1901, *Annual report on the foreign trade of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*.

Detailed account of the trade of the Provinces with Tibet and Nepal. Maps illustrating trade routes appear in some of the reports.

978. Walton, H.G. 1910. *British Garhwal: a gazetteer*. Allahabad, Government Press. 216, xxviii, v p. (District gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, vol. XXXVI).

A revision of the parts of Atkinson's gazetteer (see no. 938) which refer to the Garhwal district. It covers the geography, trade, administration, history etc. of the area.

See also nos 150, 175, 180, 196, 201, 203, 206, 227, 235, 239-40, 254, 266, 273, 500, 701, 1052, 1054, 1192, 1321, 1341-3, 1472, 2482-3.

3. EXPLORATION IN THE WESTERN HIMALAYAN AREA TO 1845

British interest in exploring and surveying the western Himalayan area was evident before their war with Nepal and their acquisition of Kumaon and Garhwal. In 1808 surveys were conducted by Lieut. Webb and Captains Raper and Hearsey to determine the source of the Ganges River, and in 1812 Moorcroft and Hearsey reached Gartok in Western Tibet. Following the Anglo-Nepalese War many attempts were made by British travellers to enter Tibet, but Tibetan or Chinese border guards turned them back after crossing a few miles into Tibetan territory. Efforts to establish commercial contact with the Tibetans, such as that of G.W. Traill, British Commissioner for Kumaon, in 1819, also failed.

a) William Moorcroft

Moorcroft, a veterinary surgeon, was superintendent of the East India Company's stud-farm at Pusa, near Patna, when he became the first British traveller to cross the Western Himalayas into Tibet in 1812. Accompanied by Hyder Jung Hearsey, he crossed the Niti Pass and visited Lakes Manasarovar and Rakas Tal, and also reached Gartok, the capital of Western Tibet. The main objects of his travels were to collect specimens of mountain ponies and to investigate the commercial possibilities of the shawl wool trade of Western Tibet. Their return route lay through country controlled by the Gurkhas, and, after recrossing the Niti Pass, they were captured and detained by the Gurkhas for several weeks.

In 1819, accompanied by George Trebeck and George Guthrie, he again set out on an exploring expedition and spent two years in Leh, the capital of Ladakh. Here he negotiated a commercial treaty with the ruler of Ladakh but it was rejected by the East India Company. Moorcroft was interested not only in the trade possibilities of Western Tibet but also in the commerce of Central

Asia, where he was convinced Russian traders were already active. Thus after leaving Leh Moorcroft and his companions travelled to Afghanistan and from there to Bokhara which they reached in February 1825. All three travellers died on their return journey, not far from Balkh.

979. Anon. 1815/1816. [Elphinstone's *Account of Caubul*]. *Q. Rev.* 14: 152-188.
Review of Elphinstone's book, but it also includes an account of Moorcroft's journey to Tibet in 1812 and capture by the Gurkhas.
980. Anon. 1822. [William Moorcroft]. *Asiat. J.* 13: 363-366.
Account of his travels from 1819-1821. It also includes extracts from a letter of Mir Izzet Ullah from Ladakh dated June 3, 1821, which concerns the commercial agreement made by Moorcroft with the Ladakhi officials.
981. Anon. 1826. Mr Moorcroft. *Asiat. J.* 21: 609-612, 709-714, 786.
On his travels and the report of his death.
982. Anon. 1826. The late Mr Moorcroft and his companions. *Asiat. J.* 22: 596-597.
On the deaths of Moorcroft and Trebeck.
983. Anon. 1826. M. Moorcroft. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Paris* 5: 531-532.
On Moorcroft's death near Bokhara.
984. Anon. 1831. Papers of the late Mr William Moorcroft. *Jl R. geogr. Soc.* 1: 233-247.
Explains how some of his papers were acquired by the Society and gives a brief description of his journeys and death. His 'Notice on Khoten' from these papers is reproduced.
985. Anon. 1839. Messrs Moorcroft and Trebeck. *Asiat. J.* n.s. 28(2): 9-10.
Concerns the account book and map belonging to Moorcroft and Trebeck which had been recovered by Dr. Lord in 1838 (see also no. 1017), and which had now been forwarded to the Asiatic Society by the Government.
986. Anon. 1906. Moorcroft and Hearsey in Tibet. *Geogr. J.* 27: 502-503.
Their contact with the father and uncle of the Indian pundits, Kishen Singh and Nain Singh, in 1812.
987. Ahluwalia, M.L. 1958. Ladakh's relations with India - an historical study. *Proc. Indian hist. Rec. Comm.* 33(2): 1-8, March.
The views of the Raja of Ladakh on the possibility of placing his state under British protection, from documents forwarded by Moorcroft to the Indian Government during his stay in Leh from 1820-1822. Several of the Raja's letters are reproduced, and also the draft of the proposed treaty drawn up by Moorcroft, which would have placed Ladakh under British protection.

988. Alder, G.J. 1980. Standing alone: William Moorcroft plays the Great Game, 1808-1825. *Int. hist. Rev.* 2(2): 172-215.
Account of his travels, his reports on Russian traders in the areas he visited, and his warnings on the possible danger of the expansion of Russia towards India.
989. Alder, G.J. 1985. *Beyond Bokhara: the life of William Moorcroft, Asian explorer and pioneer veterinary surgeon, 1767-1825*. London, Century Publishing. xiii, 417 p.
[Reviewed: A.Hyman, *Asian Affairs* 17: 73-74, 1986]
The definitive work on Moorcroft and his travels.
990. Alder, G.J. 1987. The Asian years of William Moorcroft, 1808-1825. *Asian Affairs* 18: 3-10.
991. Bajwa, K.S. 1983. Economy of Kashmir in 1820s: evidence in William Moorcroft's travels. *Proc. Indian hist. Congr.* 44: 496-504; *Panjab Past and Present* 23(1): 87-94, 1989.
During his stay in Kashmir Moorcroft spent much time acquiring detailed information on the economy of Kashmir in general and the manufacture of shawls in particular.
992. Barber-Lomax, J.W. 1959. Moorcroft's journey into Hiundes. *Vet. Rec.* 71: 451-455, 458-460.
Account of Moorcroft's journey with Harsey in 1812 to Hiundes (Western Tibet) and their capture by Gurkhas after crossing the Niti Pass on their return journey.
993. Bethlenfalvy, G. 1978. Csoma de Körös in Ladakh. In: L. Ligeti, ed. *Proceedings of the Csoma de Körös Memorial Symposium held ... in 1976*. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, p. 7-25.
Discusses his meeting with Moorcroft in 1822 which led him to become involved in Tibetan studies. A copy of the agreement reached between Moorcroft and Csoma de Körös is reproduced at the end of the paper.
994. [Chichester, H.M.] 1917. William Moorcroft (1765?-1825). In: *The dictionary of national biography*, vol. XIII. London, Oxford University Press, p. 784-785.
995. Chopra, G.L. 1933. An autograph letter addressed by William Moorcroft to Major General Sir David Ochterlony, Bart., K.G.C.B. *J. Panjab Univ. hist. Soc.* 2: 85-94.
The letter, dated May 15, 1820, was written when Moorcroft was visiting Ranjit Singh in Lahore. It concerns his attempts to increase commercial intercourse between India and the Punjab, his interviews with Ranjit Singh, and his efforts to get permission to travel through Ranjit Singh's territories.
996. Chowdhuri, R.N. 1950. Anglo-Russian commercial rivalry in 1812 A.D. *Proc. Indian hist. Congr.* 13: 320-325. *J. Indian Hist.* 29: 15-25, 1951.

Information gained from a report by Moorcroft dated Sept. 7, 1812. It describes his journey to Tibet and reports on Russian commercial transactions in the area and further north. Moorcroft considered that the decline in English trade in the Himalayas and Tartary was due to the trade activity of the Russians and the relative cheapness of Russian and French articles (which the Russians circulated).

997. Cunningham, J.D. 1844. Notes on Moorcroft's travels in Ladakh and on Gerard's account of Kunawar, including a general description of the latter district. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 13(1): 172-253. Also published: Calcutta, Bishop's College Press, 1844. 83 p.

Notes on the people, customs, trade and revenue of Kunawar and Ladakh, and on the geography of Tibet, with extracts from the journals of Moorcroft and Gerard on these subjects, and comments from his own observations. A table on the export trade of Tibet to Rampur during the years 1837-1841 is included.

998. Das Gupta, A.C., comp. 1959. *The days of John Company; selections from Calcutta Gazette 1824-1832*. Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing, West Bengal. xxxvi, 758, vii p.

Includes extracts from Mir Izzet Ullah's journal on Leh, and on Balkh, Khulum and Kunduz. Also contains selections concerning the exploration of Lieut. Burlton in Assam and the course of the Brahmaputra River.

999. Davis, H.W.C. 1927? *The great game in Asia (1800-1844)*. London, Oxford University Press. 32 p. (British Academy. Raleigh lecture on history, 1926). Also published: *Proc. Br. Acad.* 12: 227-256, 1926.

The great game was the bid for political ascendancy in Western Asia. It examines the men who took part in the 'game' including travellers such as Moorcroft.

1000. Denwood, P. 1995. William Moorcroft: an assessment. In: *Recent research on Ladakh 4 & 5: proceedings of the Fourth and Fifth International Colloquia on Ladakh*. Ed. by H. Osmaston and P. Denwood. London, School of Oriental & African Studies, University of London, p. 39-53.

Outlines the life of Moorcroft, his expeditions in the Ladakhi Himalayas, the sources for the account of his expedition, his relationship with Csoma de Koros, and the controversy over his death.

1001. Digby, S. 1998. Travels in Ladakh 1820-21: the account of Moorcroft's Persian munshi, Hajji Sayyid 'Ali, of his travels. *Asian Affairs* 29: 299-311.

Moorcroft had three munshis (or Persian secretaries) on parts of his travels - Izzet Ullah, Ghulan Hayder Khan and Hajji Sayyid Najaf 'Ali, all of whom were paid agents of the East India Company. This article examines a manuscript by Najaf 'Ali which describes conditions in Ladakh, meetings with local authorities, and Moorcroft's attempts to extend British protection to Ladakh.

1002. Eyriès, J.B.B. 1819. Voyage au Lac Manasarovar, situé dans l'Oundès, province du Petit Tibet, fait en 1812 par MM Moorcroft et Hearsey.

Nouv. Annales Voyag. 1: 239-408.

Account translated from no. 1022.

1003. Fazy, R. 1940. Le cas Moorcroft. Un problème de l'exploration tibétaine. *T'oung Pao* 2s., 35: 155-184.

Compares and describes in detail Huc's version of Moorcroft's death with the official version, and discusses whether Moorcroft ever, as Huc asserts, visited Lhasa.

1004. Grist, N. 1995. Moorcroft's contribution to Ladakh studies. In: *Recent research on Ladakh 4 & 5: proceedings of the Fourth and Fifth International Colloquia on Ladakh*. Ed. by H. Osmaston and P. Denwood. London, School of Oriental & African Studies, University of London, p. 327-336.

On his writings on Ladakh.

1005. Guthrie, G. 1828. The late Mr Moorcroft, by Mr. Guthrie. *Asiat. J.* 25: 157-161.

Guthrie accompanied Moorcroft on his last journey. The information in this article was taken from letters written by Guthrie between 1820 and 1824. One of his letters dated Aug. 1, 1821, from Leh, reports on Russian intrigues in the area, and on the agreement Moorcroft arranged with the Ladakhi authorities to permit British merchants to trade with Ladakh.

1006. Irwin, J. 1973. *The Kashmir shawl*. London, H.M. Stationery Office. vii, 60 p + plates. (Victoria and Albert Museum. Museum monograph, no. 29)

Detailed account of the Kashmir shawl and its history with much of the information drawn from Moorcroft's writings and manuscripts. The two appendices contain an account of the shawl goods produced in 1823 compiled from the Moorcroft manuscripts and Moorcroft's proposals for the emigration of Kashmiri weavers, spinners and pattern-drawers to Britain.

1007. Izzet Ullah, Mir. 1825. Travels beyond the Himalaya. *Q. orient. Mag.* 3: 103-121, 285-302, Jan.-June; *4, July-Dec. 1825. Reprinted: *Jl R. Asiat. Soc.* 7: 283-342, 1843.

In 1812 Izzet Ullah was employed by Moorcroft to reconnoitre routes to Turkestan and Bokhara via Leh and Kashmir with a view to going there himself. He kept a detailed journal of his travels which was translated from the Persian by H.H. Wilson and is reproduced in this article.

1008. [Izzet Ullah, Mir] 1826. Account of Lei, the capital of Ladak. *Asiat. J.* 21: 471-474.

A translation of the section of his journal dealing with Leh which first appeared in no. 1007. It includes comments on the shawl wool trade passing through Leh from Tibet.

1009. Izzet Ullah, Mir. 1826. Travels in Western Tibet and Turkestan, by Mir Izzut Ullah. *Asiat. J.* 22: 168-171.
Extract from his journal which gives information about the cities of Balkh, Khulum and Kunduz. It also includes some comments on Moorcroft.
1010. Izzet Ullah, Mir. 1826. Voyage dans l'Asie Centrale en 1812. *Mag. Asiat.* 2: 1-51, 161-186.
His journey on behalf of Moorcroft to Bokhara.
1011. [Izzet Ullah, Mir] 1872. *Travels in Central Asia by Meer Izzut-Oollah in the years 1812-13*. Translated by Captain Henderson. Calcutta, Foreign Department Press. 100 p.
A day-by-day account of his journey from Aug. 5, 1812 to Dec. 16, 1813.
1012. Karpinski, C. 1963. Kashmir to Paisley. *Bull. Metrop. Mus. Art* 22(3): 116-123.
The history of the shawl industry in Kashmir, the career of Moorcroft, his interest in the industry and his attempts to exploit it for England's advantage by sending patterns etc. to England.
1013. Kaushik, D. 1967. British designs in Central Asia in the nineteenth century. *Proc. Indian hist. Congr.* 29(2): 232-243.
British expansionist aims in the area as illustrated by the activities of Moorcroft, Alexander Burnes and others. Also examines British rivalry with Russia in Central Asia.
1014. Kennion, R.L. 1929. Leh. *Blue Peter* 9: 246-248. Reprinted in his *Diversions of an Indian political*. London, Blackwood, 1932.
Includes an account of Moorcroft's visit to Leh.
1015. Khan, G.H. 1835, 1836. Mr Moorcroft's journey to Balkh and Bokhara. Journal of Gholaum Hyder Khan, ed. with notes by Major Hearsey. *Asiat. J.* n.s. 18: 106-119, 171-182, 278-288; n.s. 19: 35-42, 95-102.
Khan accompanied Moorcroft on his last journey from 1819-1825. His account gives a detailed description of their journey including their stay in Ladakh.
1016. Khurana, G. 1994. J.D. Cunningham and his report on the Province of Upper Kinnaur and the adjacent Bhottee Districts. *Proc. Punjab Hist. Conf.* 26(1): 157-158.
Cunningham's report was submitted to the Indian Government in February 1843. It describes the people of these areas and discusses the travels of Moorcroft..
1017. Lord, P.B. 1838. Memorandum regarding books and papers of the late Mr Moorcroft. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 7: 665-666.
Lord recovered the books and papers in Turkestan. Includes some comments on Moorcroft's death.

1018. Macculloch, J. 1820. On the attempts recently made to introduce the shawl goat into Britain; in a letter to the Editor. *Q. Jl Sci. Lit. Arts* 9: 330-346.

Moorcroft and Hearsey acquired the goats on their journey to Tibet. Macculloch comments on the problems encountered with the goats in Britain, and describes the conditions under which they live in Tibet and the Tibetan method of shearing the goats.

1019. Marczell, P.J. 1997. William Moorcroft's commercial pilgrimage to Manasa Sarowara in 1812. In: *Recent research on Ladakh 6: proceedings of the Sixth International Colloquium on Ladakh*. Ed. by H. Osmaston and Nawang Tsering. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, p. 161-176.

Moorcroft made an unauthorised pilgrimage to the lake in 1812. Marczell assesses the results and consequences of the trip.

1020. Marczell, P.J. 1997. William Moorcroft's pioneering memorandum to the Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal on the letters, writing, language and culture of Tibet and its vicinity. In: *Recent research on Ladakh 7: proceedings of the 7th Colloquium of the International Association of Ladakh Studies held in Bonn/Sankt Augustin, 1995*. Ed. by T. Dodin and H. Räther. Ulm, Universitat Ulm, Abt. Anthropologie, p. 271-296.

Reproduces Moorcroft's letter dated 8 Feb. 1823 which predates the work of both B.H. Hodgson and Csoma de Körös on Tibet and analyses its significance.

1021. 'Modestus'. 1816. Letter to the Editor of the Asiatic Journal, by Modestus. *Asiat. J.* 1: 318-320.

Includes comments on the shawl wool goats sent to England by Moorcroft 'where they are now living on the East India Company's farm'.

1022. Moorcroft, W. 1816. A journey to Lake Mánasaróvara in Ún-dés, a province of Little Tibet, with introductory note by H.T. Colebrooke. *Asiat. Res.* 12: 375-534. Reprinted: *Asiat. J.* 4: 443-448, 559-564, 1817; 5: 25-30, 128-134, 233-239, 343-350, 455-462, 547-554, 1818; 6: 9-16, 145-149, 250-256, 1818.

Extracts, made by Colebrooke, from Moorcroft's journal of his visit to Tibet with Hearsey in 1812 and his capture by the Gurkhas. A copy of his map of the areas he visited is included.

1023. [Moorcroft, W.] 1825. [Exploration of Ladakh.] *Asiat. J.* 20: 686-687.

A paper read by the Secretary of the Asiatic Society drawn from a communication received from Moorcroft whilst exploring Ladakh. It concerns his journey to Kangra, Lahul and Leh, where he stayed until 1822, and contains geographical comments on Ladakh and the position of Leh.

1024. Moorcroft, W. 1827. On the Pūrik sheep of Ladakh; and some other animals, principally of the sheep and goat kind: with general observations on the country of Ladakh etc. in a letter to John Fleming Esq., dated Lek,

capital of Sarrak, April 25, 1822. *Trans. R. Asiat. Soc.* 1: 49-55.

On a flock of sheep he collected, and information on methods of feeding the sheep in Ladakh in view of plans to introduce them into Britain.

1025. Moorcroft, W. 1836. Letters of the late Mr Moorcroft. *Asiat. J.* n.s. 21: 132-146, 217-218.

Four of Moorcroft's letters written to G.W. Traill in 1822-1823. They mainly concern the trade and commercial life of Ladakh and the activities of Ranjit Singh in the area. They also contain information on the shawl wool goat.

1026. Moorcroft, W. and Trebeck, G. 1838. *Travels in the Himalayan provinces of Hindustan and the Panjab; in Ladakh and Kashmir; in Peshawar, Kabul, Kunduz, and Bokhara by Mr William Moorcroft and Mr George Trebeck from 1819 to 1825*. Prepared...from original journals and correspondence by H.H. Wilson. London, J. Murray, under the authority of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta. 2 vols. Reprinted: London, J. Murray, 1841; New Delhi, Sagar Publications, 1971; Karachi, Oxford University Press, 1979 (with a new introduction by G.J. Alder).

[Reviewed: *Bibl. Univ. Genève* n.s. 20: 122-146, 1839; *Q. Rev.* 61: 96-122, 1838; *Asiat. J.* n.s. 34: 240-245, 1841; *Athenaeum* no. 695: 147-150, Feb. 20, 1841; G.B. Jackson, *Asian Affairs* 12: 204-205, 1981]

Detailed description of their journeys to Ladakh and Central Asia. Also contains much information on shawl wool manufacture and the trade of Western Tibet.

1027. Pearse, H. 1905. *The Harseys: five generations of an Anglo-Indian family*. Edinburgh, W. Blackwood. xi, 410 p.

Includes a biography of Hyder Jung Harsey who accompanied Moorcroft to Tibet in 1812, with an account of their journey compiled from Harsey's notes. An autobiography by Sir John Harsey, who took part in the Nepal War, is also included.

1028. Pearse, H. 1905. Moorcroft and Harsey's visit to Lake Manasarowar in 1812. *Geogr. J.* 26: 180-187.

A summary of Moorcroft's account of his journey (see no. 1022), with additional information obtained from Harsey's notes on their journey.

1029. Singh, S.B. 1964. Anglo-Russian commercial rivalry in Central Asia (summary). *Proc. Indian hist. Congr.* 26(2): 220-221.

Discovery by Moorcroft in 1812 of the extent of Russian trade in Central Asia, and the development of this trade in the nineteenth century.

1030. Watson, F. 1959/1960. A pioneer in the Himalayas: William Moorcroft. *Geogr. Mag. Lond.* 32: 204-214.

General account of his journeys and their motives.

See also nos 130, 139, 160, 162, 186, 201, 203, 206, 210, 220-1, 223, 225, 231, 235, 257, 279, 373, 852, 855, 862, 864, 880, 891, 899, 902, 904, 920, 923-4, 945, 949, 1034, 1040,

1064-5, 1080, 1085, 1089, 1091, 1123-4, 1144, 1210, 1253, 1325, 1813, 1879, 1924, 1926, 2000, 2407, 2986.

b) The Gerards

The brothers Alexander, James and Patrick Gerard made several exploring and surveying expeditions in Bashahr, Kunawar and Spiti in the Western Himalayan area from 1817. They crossed a number of passes and made several unsuccessful attempts to enter Tibet reaching Shipki before being turned back by the Chinese. In 1821 Alexander Gerard wrote to the Garpons of Gartok for permission to visit Lake Manasarovar but again was unsuccessful.

1031. Buchanan, W.E. 1930. In the footsteps of the Gerards. *Himalayan J.* 2: 73-80.

From 1917 to 1926 Buchanan followed some of the routes taken by the Gerards in Bashahr, Kunawar, and Spiti. He describes his journeys and quotes from the journals of the Gerards on the sections of their routes which he visited.

1032. [Chichester, H.M.] 1917. Alexander Gerard (1792-1839), James Gilbert Gerard (1795-1835), Patrick Gerard (1794-1848), by H.M.C. In: *The dictionary of national biography*, vol. VII. London, Oxford University Press, p. 1090-1091, 1100, 1103.

1033. [De Larenaudière] 1826. Voyage dans l'Himalaya. *Bull Soc. Géogr. Paris* 5: 420-437, 481-502.

Journey of the Gerards in the Sutlej Valley in 1821.

1034. Gerard, A. 1824. Journal of an excursion through the Himalayah Mountains, from Shipke to the frontiers of Chinese Tartary. *Edinb. J. Sci.* 1: 41-51, 215-224.

Journey with his brother, Patrick, in 1818. They were unable to go beyond Shipki due to the opposition of Chinese officers. A map of the area with the routes of the Gerards and of Moorcroft appears in *Edinb. J. Sci.*, vol. 2, 1825, opposite page 17.

1035. [Gerard, A.?] 1825. Himalaya country. *Asiat. J.* 19: 51.

Reproduction of a letter to the Bengal *Weekly messenger*, dated Dec. 1823 from a correspondent at Soobathoo, in which he reports that he had tried to trace the Sutlej River to its source in Lake Manasarovar but, having reached Shipki, was prevented from going farther by the Chinese.

1036. [Gerard, A.?] 1825. Route to Ludak. Extract of a letter, dated Soobathoo, Dec. 11, 1823. *Asiat. J.* 19: 629-633.

Journey to Ladakh via the Sutlej Valley through Kunawar.

1037. Gerard, A. 1826. Travels in the Himalaya country. *Asiat. J.* 21: 333-341, 457-468.

Account of his 1821 journey.

1038. Gerard, A. 1826, 1826/1827. Account of a survey of the valley of the Setlej River, in the Himalaya Mountains. *Edinb. J. Sci.* 5: 270-288; 6: 28-49.

Account of his journey in 1821 with his brother James to complete a geographical survey of the Sutlej Valley, during which they twice tried to enter Tibet. First, after crossing the Keubrang Pass (which Gerard considered the boundary between Kunawar and Tibet) and the Hukeo Pass, they were turned back by the Chinese, and then later at Shipki they received a reply from the Garpon of 'Garu' prohibiting their further progress. They then went to Spiti but were prevented from entering Ladakh.

1039. Gerard, A. 1827. On the valley of the Setlej River, in the Himalaya Mountains, from the journal of Captain A. Gerard, with remarks by H.T. Colebrooke. *Trans. R. Asiat. Soc.* 1: 343-380.

His journey in 1821 with his brother, James.

1040. Gerard, A. 1841. *Account of Koonawur, in the Himalaya, etc.* Ed. by G. Lloyd. London, J. Madden. xiii, 308, xxvi p.
[Reviewed: *Athenaeum* no. 733: 867-869, Nov. 13, 1841]

Detailed account of the trade, boundaries, passes etc, of Kunawar, Spiti, Ladakh and Western Tibet. Also included are 'Journal of a survey from Soobathoo to Rarung 1817' which Lloyd compiled from Gerard's route book, and Gerard's 'Narrative of the journey in 1818'. A large map of Kunawar compiled by Gerard, accompanies the account.

1041. Gerard, A. 1842. Narrative of a journey from Soobathoo to Shipke, in Chinese Tartary...in 1818. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 11(1): 363-391.

His diary of the journey. Although he was prevented from going beyond Shipki he found the Chinese 'tartars' pleasant people, and considered that they were forced to oppose his progress by the order of the 'Garpon of Garoo'.

1042. Gerard, A. and Gerard, P. 1823/1824. Account of part of a journey through the Himalaya Mountains. *Edinb. phil. J.* 10: 295-305.

Their journey from Soobathoo through Kunawar to Shipki.

1043. [Gerard J.G.] 1829. Letter from a correspondent in the Himalaya, by J.G.G. *Glean. Sci.* 1: 109-111.

Letter dated Subhatu, Jan. 13, 1829 concerning his journey through Kunawar and his meeting there with Csoma de Kőrös the Hungarian scholar. He notes that Chinese guards were stationed on all the passes and suggests several reasons for this.

1044. [Gerard, J.G.] 1831. [Journey through Cooloo] by Dr Gerard. *Asiat. J.* n.s. 5: 89-92.

Journey made in 1829 during which he crossed the Himalaya by the Rotang Pass to the frontier of Ladakh.

1045. Gerard, J.G. 1833. Observations on the Spiti Valley and circumjacent country within the Himalaya. *Asiat. Res.* 18(2): 238-278.

Geographical information on the Spiti Valley and on Western Tibet, and also some comments on the shawl wool goat of Tibet.

1046. [Herbert, J.D.] 1820. Description of passes in the Himalaya. *Asiat. J.* 9: 589-593.

A letter from Herbert which gives an account of his journey with Patrick Gerard over mountains between the Jumna and the Sutlej Rivers.

1047. Herbert, J.D. 1825. An account of a tour made to lay down the course and levels of the River Setlej or Sutudra, as far as traceable within the limits of the British authority, performed in 1819. *Asiat. Res.* 15: 339-428.

Patrick Gerard accompanied Herbert on this survey. They surveyed the course of the Sutlej to the Tibetan border where they were turned back by frontier officials at Shipki. Includes some information on the frontier trade, and on the main districts and marts of the Tibetan shawl wool.

1048. Le Calloc'h, B. 1994. Les frères Gerard, explorateurs de l'Himalaya. *Acta Geogr.* 100: 42-53.

On the explorations of Alexander, Patrick and James Gerard. It includes a map of the area of the Himalayas explored by the brothers.

1049. Lloyd, W. 1840. *Narrative of a journey from Caunpoor to the Boorendo Pass in the Himalaya Mountains, via Gwalior, Agra, Delhi and Sirhind. And Captain Alexander Gerard's account of an attempt to penetrate by Bekhur to Garoo and the Lake Manasarowar: with a letter from the late J.G. Gerard esq. detailing a visit to the Shatool and Boorendo Passes, for the purpose of determining the line of perpetual snow on the southern face of the Himalaya.* Ed. by G. Lloyd. London, J. Madden. 2 vols.

Vol. 1 contains Lloyd's narrative of his journey made in 1822, and the letter by J.G. Gerard written Aug, 18, 1822. Vol. 2 contains Alexander Gerard's account of his journey in 1821. Maps are included to illustrate the accounts by Lloyd and A. Gerard.

1050. Metcalfe, Mr. 1820. [Lieut. A. Gerard's journey from Soobathoo to Shipke in Chinese Tartary]. *Asiat. J.* 9: 587-588.

His journey made in 1818.

See also nos 220-1, 279, 997, 1256, 2986.

c) Other Explorations

1051. Anon. 1817. [Himalaya mountains and Lake Manasawara.] *Q. Rev.* 17: 403-441.

Detailed review of nos 1022, 1060 and 1087.

1052. Anon. 1819. A brief memoir of the services and proceedings of Captain Webb, Surveyor of Kumaon, collected from his familiar [*sic*] correspondence. *Q. Jl Sci. Lit. Arts* 7: 30-38.
- Webb took part in the Anglo-Nepalese War of 1814-16 and this account includes his impressions of the Nepalese and of the war. Soon after the war he was appointed Surveyor of Kumaon and tried to gain permission to travel as far as Lake Manasarovar in Tibet from the Chinese 'Commandant' of the area. Although permission was refused, he had an interview with the Commandant and obtained some information on this area of Tibet.
1053. Anon. 1820. Passage of the Himalaya Mountains. *Q. Rev.* 22: 415-430.
- Includes an account of Webb's journey to the Niti Pass in 1819 during which he met Traill, Commissioner for Kumaon, who was on a mission to the Tibetan frontier hoping to hold commercial talks with the 'Tartars'. Following Traill's failure Webb managed to reach the frontier in disguise and discussed the possibility of opening a trade mart with the people of Daba. He was told, however, that this must be referred to the 'Viceroy of Lassa'.
1054. Anon. 1841. District of Kumaon described in a circuit of pleasure from Almorah. *Asiat. J.* 9: 125-130.
- Account of a journey made in 1819. It includes some comments on the trade between Kumaon and Tibet.
1055. Allen, C. 1980. A forgotten pioneer of Himalayan exploration. *Asian Affairs* n.s 11: 169-177.
- The life of Hyder Jung Hearsey with emphasis on his exploration with Webb and Raper in 1808. Also examines the controversy surrounding the maps produced separately by Hearsey and Webb of their travels.
1056. Archer, E.C. 1833. *Tours in upper India and in parts of the Himalaya Mountains; with accounts of the courts of the native princes etc.* London, R. Bentley. 2 vols.
- Describes tours he made between 1827-1829 to Kulu, Bashahr, the Boorendo Pass, and the Sutlej Valley.
1057. Batten, J.H. 1838. Note of a visit to the Niti Pass of the grand Himalayan chain. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 7: 310-316.
- Account of his journey which includes some comments on trans-Himalayan trade, and on other passes into Tibet.
1058. Blacker, M. 1829. Note sur l'Himalaie. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Paris* 12: 49-54.
- His visit to the Sutlej Valley in 1824 with comments on trade then existing with Tibet and on Chinese influence there.
1059. Colebrooke, H.T. 1810. On the sources of the Ganges in the Himádri or Emodus. *Asiat. Res.* 11: 429-445.

Traces the history of exploration of the Ganges River, and theories about its source. He also gives a brief account of the journey of Webb, Raper and Hearsey in 1808 (see no. 1087).

1060. Colebrooke, H.T. 1816. On the height of the Himalaya Mountains. *Asiat. Res.* 12: 251-285.

Confirms that the Himalayas are the highest mountains in the world and reviews briefly exploration in the Himalayan area.

1061. Cotton, H.E.A. 1923. The Daniells in India. An unpublished account of their journey from Calcutta to Garhwal in 1788-1789. *Beng. Past Present* 25: 1-70.

The Daniells were artists, famous for their paintings of the Indian scene. They reached Srinagar on this journey to Garhwal. Cotton also speculates on whether they accompanied Samuel Davis to Bhutan in 1782-1783.

1062. Cunningham, A. 1841. Abstract journal of the route of Lieutenant A. Cunningham, Bengal Engineers, to the sources of the Punjab rivers. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 10(1): 105-115.

Account of his journey made in 1839 to Lahul and Chamba. He also describes the trade of these states and the effect of the Dogra conquest of Ladakh on this trade.

1063. [Cunningham, A.?] 1841. Abstract journal of the routes of Lieutenants A. Broome and A. Cunningham to the sources of the Punjab rivers. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 10(1): 1-6.

Describes their journey made in 1839 through Kulu to Lahul, the object of which was to ascertain the sources of the Punjab rivers.

1064. Duka, T. 1885. *The life and works of Alexander Csoma de Körös; a biography compiled chiefly from hitherto unpublished data.* London, Trübner. xii, 234 p. Reprinted: Delhi, Manjusri Publishing House, 1972; London, Routledge, 2000.

Csoma de Körös, a Hungarian, spent the latter part of his life studying the Tibetan language and Buddhist literature. This biography includes an account of his contact with Moorcroft, and his subsequent travels and researches on the Indian-Tibetan border in the 1820's and 1830's.

1065. Fox, E. 2001. *The Hungarian who walked to Heaven: Alexander Csoma de Koros, 1784-1842.* London, Short. 96 p.

1066. Fraser, J.B. 1819. Notice respecting the journey to the sources of the Jumna and the Ganges. Communicated by W.F. Tytler. *Edinb. phil. J.* 1: 127-129.

His journey in 1815 to Gangotri.

1067. Fraser, J.B. 1820. Account of a journey to the sources of the Jumna and Bhagirathi Rivers. *Asiat. Res.* 13: 171-249.

In 1815 he accompanied his brother, William, on a tour to the Sutlej Valley. He then travelled to the source of the Jumna, and crossed to the Bhagirathi Valley which he ascended to Gangotri, the first European to reach this place.

1068. Fraser, J.B. 1820. Notices respecting the Himalaya Mountains and the sources of the Jumna and the Ganges etc. *Edinb. phil. J.* 3: 219-230.
Extracts from no. 663. Includes his account of Jumnotri, the source of the Jumna, and of Gangotri, the source of the Ganges.
1069. Hardwicke, T. 1800? Narrative of a journey to Sirinagur. *Asiat. Res.* 6: 309-347. Abstract: *Asiat. A. Regist.* 2(Misc. tracts): 244-264, 1800.
Journey made in 1796 to Garhwal. Brief comments are included on the trade of the area with Tibet and neighbouring regions and on the fact that from 1792 the Raja of Sirinagur had been paying tribute to the Gurkhas.
1070. Hetenyi, E. 1972. Alexander Csoma de Körös, the Hungarian Bodhisattva. *Bull. Tibetol.* 9(1): 34-38.
Brief account of his life including his contacts with the British.
1071. Hodgson, J.A. 1822. Journal of a survey to the heads of the rivers, Ganges and Jumna. *Asiat. Res.* 14: 60-152. Abstract: *Annals Phil.* 20(n.s. 4): 31-52, 99-117, 1822; *Edinb. phil. J.* 8: 231-245, 1822/1823; 9: 7-19, 1823.
Account of his surveys made with J.D. Herbert in 1817 during which they reached Jumnotri and also travelled some distance beyond Gangotri.
1072. Hoffmeister, W. 1848. *Travels in Ceylon and continental India; including Nepal and other parts of the Himalayas, to the borders of Thibet with some notices of the overland route.* Edinburgh, W.P. Kennedy. xii, 527 p.
His letters to friends describing the journey on which he accompanied Prince Waldemar of Prussia as physician. They visited Nepal and the Central Himalayas and briefly visited Shipki in August 1845.
1073. Hunter, W.W. 1903. *The India of the Queen and other essays.* Ed. by Lady Hunter. London, Longmans, Green. xviii, 276 p.
See 'A pilgrim scholar' - on the life of Csoma de Körös.
1074. Hutton, T. 1837. Journal of a trip to the Burenda Pass in 1836. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 6(2): 901-936.
Hutton left Simla in Sept. 1836 with the intention of crossing the pass into Kunawar but returned just before reaching the top of the pass.
1075. Hutton, T. 1839, 1840. Journal of a trip through Kunawur, Hungrung, and Spiti, undertaken in the year 1838, under the patronage of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, for the purposes of determining the geological formation of those districts. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 8(2): 901-950; 9(1): 489-513, 555-581.

Hutton crossed briefly into 'Chinese Tartary' on his way to Spiti, and he describes his contact with the Chinese officials. He also comments on the shawl wool trade, and the annual trade fair held in Rampur.

1076. Jacquemont, V. 1834. *Letters from India; describing a journey in the British Dominions of India, Tibet, Lahore and Cashmere during the years 1828, 1829, 1830, 1831, undertaken by order of the French Government.* London, E. Churton. 2 vols. Reprinted: Karachi, Oxford University Press, 1979.

[Reviewed: R.A.Huttenback, *J. Asian Hist.* 15: 79-80, 1981]

Jacquemont was sent by the Museum of Natural History in Paris 'to investigate the natural history of India in all its branches'. He travelled extensively in the Himalayan region, and crossed twice into Tibet in August 1830. He also visited Ladakh. A map of India is included showing his routes.

1077. Jacquemont, V. 1841-1844. *Voyage dans l'Inde, pendant les années 1828 à 1832.* Paris, Firmin Didot Frères. 6 vols.

Vol. 2 includes his 'Voyage dans l'Himalaya et le Thibet'.

1078. Jacquemont, V. 1936. *Letters from India, 1829-1832; being a selection from the correspondence of Victor Jacquemont.* Translated with an introduction by C.A. Phillips. London, Macmillan. xxxii, 372 p.

1079. Johnson, C. 1834. Journey through the Himma-leh mountains to the sources of the River Jumna, and thence to the confines of Chinese Tartary; performed in April-October 1827 by Captain C. Johnson, late of the 11th Dragoons. Analysed from his MS. journal, and communicated, with remarks by W. Ainsworth. *Jl R. geogr. Soc.* 4: 41-71.

His journey to Kunawar and his meeting there with Csoma de Kőrös. He was refused permission by Lord Amherst, the Governor-General, to cross into Tibet for fear of exciting Chinese suspicions.

1080. Kara, G. 1984. Sandor Csoma de Kőrös: 1784-1842. *New Hungarian Q.* 25(94): 55-70.

Includes an account of his time on the borders of Tibet and his meeting with Moorcroft. In 1842 he hoped to visit Lhasa but died in Sikkim.

1081. Keay, J. 1977. *When men and mountains meet: the explorers of the western Himalaya 1820-75.* London, J. Murray. x, 270 p. Reprinted in his *Explorers of the western Himalayas 1820-1895.* London, J. Murray, 1996.

[Reviewed: G.Morgan, *Asian Affairs* 64: 362-363, 1977]

Account of European exploration in the western Himalayas in the 19th Century. Includes the explorations of Moorcroft and Trebeck, Godfrey Vigne, Jacquemont, Alexander Burnes, A. Cunningham, Thomson, Henry Strachey, Godwin-Austin, W.H. Johnson and information on the Boundary Commissions and the Kashmir Survey.

1082. Keay, J. 2000. *The Great Arc: the dramatic tale of how India was mapped and Everest was named*. London, HarperCollins. xxv, 182 p. [Reviewed: J.Smith, *Geogr. J.* 167: 379-380, 2001; M.Ward, *Alpine J.* 106: 312-313, 2001]
- Includes information on the early surveys of the Himalayas and the work of Webb and John Hodgson in Kumaon and Garhwal.
1083. LeCalloc'h, B. 1984. Les biographes d'Alexander Csoma de Kőrös. *J. Asiat.* 272: 403-423.
- Analyses some of the biographies that have been written about Csoma de Kőrös.
1084. Le Calloc'h, B. 1985. Alexander Csoma de Koros: the heroic philologist and founder of Tibetan studies in Europe. *Tibet J.* 10(3): 30-41.
- His life in India and on the borders of Tibet. Le Calloc'h has also written a number of articles on Csoma de Koros in *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* vol. 45 no. 1, 1991.
1085. Le Calloc'h, B. 1995. Historical background of Csoma de Kőrös's sojourn in Ladakh (Zanskar) between 1822 and 1826. In: *Recent research on Ladakh 4 & 5: proceedings of the Fourth and Fifth International Colloquia on Ladakh*. Ed. by H. Osmaston and P. Denwood. London, School of Oriental & African Studies, University of London, p. 363-382. Also published in *Tibet J.* 23(3): 50-68, 1998.
- His travels in Ladakh, Zanskar, Kuli, Mandi, Suket, Kahlur, Sabathu, Bishawar, and Spiti with a history of each area. Information on Moorcroft's travels is also included.
1086. Mukerjee, H.N. 1981. *Hermit-hero from Hungary, Alexander Csoma de Koros, the great Tibetologist*. New Delhi, Light & Life Publishers. ix, 102 p.
1087. Raper, F.V. 1810. Narrative of a survey for the purpose of discovering the sources of the Ganges. *Asiat. Res.* 11: 446-563. Reprinted: *Himalaya Past and Present* 3: 1-113, 1992/1993.
- Survey conducted by Webb, Raper and Hearsey in 1808 to determine the source of the Ganges. The expedition reached Reital but failed to reach Gangotri. Also includes information on Himalayan trade.
1088. Rawlinson, H.G. 1929. A forgotten hero; some notes on the life and work of Csoma de Kőrös, traveller and scholar (1784-1842). *J. Indian Hist.* 8: 18-26.
1089. Rawlinson, H.G. 1945. Csoma de Kőrös. *Indian Art and Letters* n.s.19: 15-20.
- His life in India and on the Tibetan border, his meeting with Moorcroft in Ladakh in 1822, and the support given him by the British Government for his Tibetan studies.

1090. Ross, E.D. 1928. The contribution of Hungary to our knowledge of Central Asia. *J. cent. Asian Soc.* 15: 456-466.

Mainly concerned with the life and work of Csoma de Körös.

1091. Shaksपो, Nawang Tsering. 1985. Alexander Csoma de Koros in Ladakh. *Tibet J.* 10(3): 42-47.

His meeting with Moorcroft and the importance of his stay in Ladakh.

1092. Shaksपो, Nawang Tsering. 1990. Alexander Csoma de Koros and contemporary Ladakh with special reference to Zanskar. *Acta Orient. Acad. Scient. Hungaricae* 44(1-2): 97-101.

1093. Skinner, T. 1832. *Excursions in India; including a walk over the Himalaya Mountains to the sources of the Jumna and the Ganges.* London, H. Colburn and R. Bentley. 2 vols.

Describes his journey to Jumnotri and Gangotri in 1828, and the Hardwar fair which was visited each year by Tibetans, Nepalese and Hindus.

1094. Stacton, D. 1954. *A ride on a tiger: the curious travels of Victor Jacquemont.* London, Museum Press. 222 p.

Popular account of his Indian journey (see nos 1076-1078)

1095. [Traill, G.W.] 1819. Letter from a gentleman proceeding on a public mission into Tartary, by G.W.T. *Q. Jl Sci. Lit. Arts* 7: 63-68.

Traill was on his way to the Tibetan frontier to establish commercial contact with the Tartars. This letter covers his journey as far as Niti and gives information on the Bhotias of the area and their trade with Tibet.

1096. Vigne, G.T. 1838. Little Tibet [letter]. *Asiat. J.* n.s. 26(2): 199-201.

The object of this letter, dated Jan. 11, 1838, was to arouse interest in Ahmad Shah, the Raja of Baltistan, as a return for his kindness to British travellers. Vigne outlines his journey through Ladakh and comments on the outrages committed by Gulab Singh in this area and the fear held of him.

1097. Vigne, G.T. 1839. Outline of a route through the Panj-áb, Kabul, Kashmír, and into Little Tibet, in the years 1834-8. *Jl R. geogr. Soc.* 9: 512-516.

Brief description of his travels which appear in detail in no. 1098.

1098. Vigne, G.T. 1842. *Travels in Kashmir, Ladak, Iskardo, the countries adjoining the mountain-course of the Indus, and the Himalaya, north of the Punjab.* London, H. Colburn. 2 vols.
[Reviewed: *Jl R. geogr. Soc.* 12: 132-136, 1842]

Vigne made extensive journeys in Kashmir, Ladakh and Baltistan in the years 1834 to 1838. Although a private traveller, he mapped the country through which he travelled, and also collected details on the shawl wool trade of Tibet.

1099. Webb, W.S. 1820. Extract of a letter from Capt. William Spencer Webb, 29th March, 1819. Communicated to the Editor by H.T. Colebrooke. *Q. Jl Sci. Lit. Arts* 9: 61-69.

Describes the separate journeys made by G.W. Traill and Webb in 1819 to the Niti Pass in an attempt to establish commercial contact with the Tibetans.

See also nos 218-21, 225, 235, 245, 265, 373, 649, 663, 852, 862, 891, 902, 924, 938, 951, 1016, 1043, 1234, 1255, 1836, 1879, 2986.

4. GULAB SINGH AND THE DOGRA-TIBETAN WAR, 1841-1842

The Dogra Raja, Gulab Singh, was a feudatory of the Sikh Kingdom led by Ranjit Singh. After being granted control of the principality of Jammu in 1822, he set about extending his territory. Although the annexations were made in the name of the Sikhs, Gulab Singh was virtually independent. His forces, under the leadership of Zorawar Singh, invaded Ladakh in 1834, Baltistan in 1839, and Western Tibet in 1841.

The British were alarmed at the Dogra successes in Tibet which had resulted in their possession of territory up to Lakes Manasarovar and Rakas Tal, and in the interruption of the shawl wool trade with India. They therefore sent Joseph D. Cunningham on a special mission to the Tibetan border to observe and report on the war and on the intentions of Zorawar Singh. In December 1841 a Chinese and Tibetan force defeated the Dogras and Zorawar Singh was killed. The Dogras now appealed to the British for help but peace was concluded with the Chinese in Leh in September 1842 without British participation.

1100. Ahluwalia, M.L. 1954. Relations of the Lahore Durbar with China. *Proc. Indian hist. Rec. Comm.* 30(2): 1-8.

The reasons for the Dogra attempt to conquer Tibet, British reactions to the successes of Zorawar Singh, and the peace treaty signed in 1842 between the Lahore Durbar and the Chinese. Also comments on British efforts to gain more of the shawl wool trade following the war.

1101. Bal, S.S. 1963. Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs*. *Beng. Past Present* 82: 112-130.

On his controversial book (see no. 1119). The article also comments on his mission to the Tibetan border.

1102. Bal, S.S. 1970. Joseph Davey Cunningham's dismissal from political service. In: K.S. Bedi and S.S. Bal, eds. *Essays in history, literature, art and culture. Presented to Dr. M.S. Randhawa on his sixtieth birthday by his friends and admirers*. New Delhi, Atma Ram, p. 120-138.

On his life and service on the frontier with a detailed account of the reasons for, and the process of, his dismissal following the publication of his book (see no. 1119)

1103. Bal, S.S. 1972. Joseph Davey Cunningham's attempts to get himself rehabilitated in the political service. *Proc. Punjab Hist. Conf.* 7: 117-136.
His dismissal which the Government claimed was due to his use of official documents without permission. Examines his unsuccessful attempts to reinstate himself and his justification for the use of the documents.
1104. Bal, S.S. 1976. Cunningham's attempt to get himself rehabilitated in the political service. In: *Punjab past and present: essays in honour of Dr Ganda Singh*. Ed. by H. Singh and N.G. Barrier. Patiala, Punjab University, p. 215-233.
1105. Bal, S.S. 1976. The first edition of J.D. Cunningham's History of the Sikhs. *Proc. Punjab Hist. Conf.* 11: 54-65.
On the controversy surrounding its publication in 1849 and subsequent opposition to attempts to reprint the first edition.
1106. Bal, S.S. 1978. Joseph Davey Cunningham. In: *Historians and historiography of the Sikhs*. Ed. by F. Singh. New Delhi, Oriental Publishers, p. 85-133.
1107. Bhatt, R.K.K. 1984. *Political and constitutional development of the Jammu and Kashmir state*. Delhi, Seema Publications. xx, 299 p.
From the founding of the state in 1846 to the present, with an historical background on the events leading to its establishment under Gulab Singh.
1108. Bonin, C.-E. 1910. La conquête du Petit-Tibet. *Revue Monde Musul.* 11: 207-231.
History of Ladakh with emphasis on its conquest by the Dogras, and the subsequent defeat of the Dogras by the Tibetans.
1109. Brahma Singh, K. 1990. *History of Jammu and Kashmir Rifles 1820-1956*. New Delhi, Lancer International. xxv, 324 p.
On the origin and history of the Jammu Army including a detailed account of the conquest of Ladakh and Baltistan, the invasion of Western Tibet by the Dogras and the Sino-Tibetan victory.
1110. Charak, S.S. 1971. The conflict of interests in Zorawar Singh's Tibetan episode [summary]. *Proc. Punjab Hist. Conf.* 6: 250-251.
The reasons for his invasion of Western Tibet and the reaction of the British who feared the invasion might result in a Sikh-Nepalese alliance and a fall in the shawl wool trade. Also examines British attempts to stop the war.
1111. Charak, S.S. 1971. Dogra conquest of Ladakh and Tibet. *Vikrant* 1(5): 9-11, Feb.
On Zorawar Singh, his abilities as a statesman, and his conquests of Ladakh and Baltistan. Also covers his invasion of Tibet where, after capturing Gartok and reaching Lake Manasarovar, he was killed in Dec. 1841.

1112. Charak, S.S. 1972. Last Tibetan campaign of General Zorawar Singh. *Vikrant* 2(9): 33-36, June.
Detailed account of the Tibetan defeat of the Dogra forces and their recovery of military posts occupied by the Dogras.
1113. Charak, S.S. 1978. *Indian conquest of the Himalayan territories: military exploits of General Zorawar Singh Dogra*. Pathankot, Ajaya Prakashan. 218 p.
Account of the military campaigns of Gulab Singh and his general, Zorawar Singh, with a detailed account of the war with Tibet and an analysis of British concerns and reactions to the Dogra conquests. A map showing the routes followed by the Dogra army is included.
1114. Charak, S.S. 1980. *History and culture of the Himalayan states. Vol. 5. Jammu Kingdom, Pt. II*. New Delhi, Light & Life Publishers. xv, 421 p.
Detailed political history of Jammu from the rise of the Dogra brothers in about 1810 to the foundation of Jammu and Kashmir state in 1846 by Gulab Singh. It includes a detailed account of the conquest of Ladakh by Zorawar Singh and the Dogra-Tibetan War.
1115. Charak, S.S. 1983. *General Zorawar Singh*. New Delhi, Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Govt. of India. vi, 130 p.
Detailed account of his life and military career. The appendix includes a translation of the treaty of peace concluded between the Chinese and the Sikhs in 1842 following the death of Zorawar Singh. Pages 61-95 of this work are reprinted in A. McKay, ed. *The history of Tibet. Vol. 2*. (see no. 211) p. 748-767.
1116. Charak, S.S. 1985. *Life and times of Maharaja Ranbir Singh (1830-1885)*. Jammu Tawi, Jay Kay Book House. xviii, 388 p.
Includes an account of British relations with Gulab Singh and his successor, Ranbir Singh.
1117. Charak, S.S. 1985. *A short history of Jammu Raj: from earliest times to 1846 A.D.* Pathankot, Ajaya Prakashan. xiv, 358 p.
Detailed account of the rise to power of Gulab Singh, the conquest of the frontier territories and the British reaction to this. Also covers his acquisition of Jammu and Kashmir in 1846. A map is included showing the conquests of Zorawar Singh and the routes followed by the Dogra armies.
1118. Chohan, A.S. 1994. *Economic conditions in the frontier territories of Jammu and Kashmir under the Dogras*. New Delhi, Atlantic Publishers. viii, 165 p.
Account of the conquest of the frontier territories with information on the resources, communications, financial system, agriculture and trade of the area. It also examines the various measures that the Dogra rulers took for improving the conditions.

1119. Cunningham, J.D. 1849. *A history of the Sikhs from the origin of the nation to the battles of the Sutlej*. London, J. Murray. xxxvi, 425 p. 2nd ed.: London, J. Murray, 1853. New and rev. ed. edited by H.L.O. Garrett. London, Oxford University Press, 1918. Reprinted: Delhi, S. Chand, 1966, 1972 and 1981; Delhi, Low Price Publications, 1994. [Reviewed: *Calcutta Rev.* 11: 523-558, 1849]

Cunningham spent the years from 1838 to 1846 in close contact with the Sikhs. His interpretation of British policy towards the Sikhs in this work led to his dismissal from the Company's service. His history includes an account of the rise of Gulab Singh, the campaigns of Zorawar Singh and the efforts of the British to restore the status quo in 1841.

1120. Datta, C.L. 1966. Zorawar Singh's conquest of Baltistan. *Proc. Punjab Hist. Conf.* no. 2: 143-148; *J. Indian Hist.* 47: 329-336, 1969.

His expeditions in Baltistan in 1839-1840 following his successes in Ladakh in 1834-1839.

1121. Datta, C.L. 1966. Zorawar Singh's invasion of Western Tibet. *J. Indian Hist.* 44: 529-536.

1122. Datta, C.L. 1968. Zorawar Singh: political mission of J.D. Cunningham, 1841-42. *Proc. Punjab Hist. Conf.* no. 3: 243-248; *Beng. Past Present* 88: 82-89, 1969.

Cunningham went up the Sutlej Valley to a point near the Tibetan frontier in Bashahr from Sept. 1841 to Sept. 1842 to report on the activities of Zorawar Singh. Datta gives the background to his mission, his instructions, and reports on observations made by Cunningham on the Dogra army, the interrelationship of the Himalayan States, and on the import and export trade of Bashahr.

1123. Datta, C.L. 1970. Significance of shawl-wool trade in western Himalayan politics. *Beng. Past Present* 89(1): 16-28.

On the wool trade and how it affected the politics of the western Himalayas in the first half of the nineteenth century as the British Indian Government, the Lahore Durbar, and Gulab Singh tried to divert the trade into areas under their control.

1124. Datta, C.L. 1973. *Ladakh and Western Himalayan politics: 1819-1848; the Dogra conquest of Ladakh, Baltistan and West Tibet and reactions of other powers*. With a foreword by P. Mehra. New Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal. xix, 239 p.

Detailed study of the rise to power of Gulab Singh and the reactions of Britain, Nepal and China to his invasions of Ladakh, Baltistan and Western Tibet. British attempts to define the Ladakh-Tibet border in 1846 and 1847 are also examined. The appendices include copies of Moorcroft's proposed agreement with Ladakh, the 1842 treaty between the Chinese and the Sikhs, and a minute by T.C. Robertson, Lt.-Gov. of the North-West, dated Sept. 28, 1841. This concerned the invasion of Western Tibet by Zorawar Singh who was then at Taklakot, his intention of reaching an agreement with the Gurkhas, and the danger of this to Kumaon.

1125. Datta, C.L. 1984. *General Zorawar Singh, his life and achievements in Ladakh, Baltistan, and Tibet*. New Delhi, Deep & Deep Publications. 129 p.
Detailed account of his life and military conquests in Ladakh and Baltistan and his campaign in Western Tibet with maps of each of these campaigns. Several letters are reproduced in the appendices including a letter from G.T. Lushington, Commissioner for Kumaon, dated 13 Jan. 1842, concerning the escape of some of Zorawar Singh's forces after their defeat by the Tibetans, and a letter from Major G. Ramsay, the British Resident in Nepal, dated 8 Dec. 1856, on his part in the liberation of Dogras taken prisoner by the Tibetans.
1126. Francke, A.H. 1910. Die Geschichte des Dogra-Krieges. Nach dem Manuskript C des Ladvags gyalrabs. *Z. dt. morgenländ. Ges.* 64: 537-552.
The Tibetan text, with a German translation, of the manuscript which concerns Gulab Singh's invasion of Ladakh and Tibet.
1127. Hasrat, B.J. 1968. *Anglo-Sikh relations 1799-1849: a reappraisal of the rise and fall of the Sikhs*. Hoshiapur, the author. ix, 412 p.
1128. Howard, N.F. 1992. The Dogra forts in Greater Ladakh, north west India. *Fort* 20: 71-86.
Provides a brief account of the Dogra Army and its conquests before describing and illustrating their distinctive forts which they built in a region where such forts had not existed before.
1129. Howard, N.[F] 1995. Military aspects of the Dogra conquest of Ladakh 1834-1839. In: *Recent research on Ladakh 4 & 5: proceedings of the Fourth and Fifth International Colloquia on Ladakh*. Ed. by H. Osmaston and P. Denwood. London, School of Oriental & African Studies, University of London, p. 349-361.
1130. Huttenback, R.A. 1961. Gulab Singh and the creation of the Dogra state of Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh. *J. Asian Stud.* 20: 477-488.
Traces the rise of Gulab Singh, his invasions of Ladakh and Tibet, and British reaction to these invasions. It also examines the attempt by the Ladakhi ruler to obtain British help against the Dogras, and British efforts to trade with Tibet.
1131. Jamwal, G.S. 1964. Trans-Himalayan campaigns of General Zorawar Singh. *J. un. Serv. Instn India* 94: 61-73.
His campaigns in Ladakh, Baltistan, and Tibet with information on the organisation, intelligence methods and administration of his army.
1132. Kapur, M.L. 1980. *History of Jammu and Kashmir state. Vol. 1. The making of the state*. Jammu, Kashmir History Publications. 280 p.
Detailed account of Gulab Singh's relations with the British. Also covers the conquests of Zorawar Singh.

1133. *Kaul, Saligram. 1923. *Biography of Maharajah Gulab Singh: founder of Jammu and Kashmir State*. Srinigar, Saligram Press. 257 p. Source: nos 31 and 111.

Examines various aspects of the character of Gulab Singh and describes his rule and policies which resulted in the expansion of his kingdom.

1134. Kaul, Shridhar and Kaul, H.N. 1992. *Ladakh through the ages: towards a new identity*. New Delhi, Indus Publishing Co. 368 p.

Includes a detailed account of the campaigns of Zorawar Singh against Ladakh, Zaskar and Tibet and the 1842 peace treaty.

1135. Khurana, G. 1981. J.D. Cunningham's account of the political conditions and military resources of the Punjab - 1844: a valuable (unpublished) source for the study of the period. *Proc. Indian hist. Cong.* 42: 433-438.

On his report which formed the basis for his *History of the Sikhs* (see no. 1119)

1136. Kirpa Ram. 1977. *Gulabnama of Diwan Kirpa Ram: a history of Maharaja Gulab Singh of Jammu & Kashmir*. Translated from Persian & annotated by S.S. Charak; foreword by Karan Singh. New Delhi, Light & Life Publishers. xxxvii, 462 p.

The first biography of Gulab Singh written from the author's personal knowledge and supplemented from contemporary resources.

1137. Menezes, S.L. 1983. Wazir Zorawar Singh's operations in western Tibet and the British reaction: 1841-42. *J. un. Serv. Instn India* 113(473): 278-282.

The British feared the operations of Zorawar Singh would affect the trade of the British protected hill states and also that the Dogras might form an alliance with Nepal. J.D. Cunningham was sent to a point near the Indian-Tibetan border to report on the activities from Sept. 1841 to Sept. 1842. He submitted detailed reports on Zorawar Singh and the impact of his operations on British interests in the region, the trade of Bashahr and the trade mart at Rampur.

1138. Mojumdar, K. 1963. Nepal and the Sikh-Tibetan War, 1841-42. *Beng. Past Present* 82: 12-25.

Nepalese and British reactions to the war.

1139. Mukherji, T.K. 1954. A note on the Sino-Sikh treaty of 1842. *Beng. Past Present* 73: 145-149.

An account of the events leading to the signing of the treaty and the reaction of the British.

1140. Mukherji, T.K. 1957. Joseph Davey Cunningham - some of his activities in India. *Beng. Past Present* 76: 116-122.

Includes comments on his mission to the Tibetan border in 1841-1842.

1141. Nath, R. 1957. General Zorawar Singh. *J. un. Serv. Instn India* 87: 221-228.

His campaigns in Ladakh, Baltistan and Tibet, with a map showing the routes he followed in these areas.

1142. Panikkar, K.M. 1930. *Gulab Singh 1792-1858, founder of Kashmir*. London, M. Hopkinson. 172 p. Reprinted: Srinagar, Gulshan Publishers, 1989. New ed. with title: *The founding of the Kashmir state; a biography of Maharajah Gulab Singh, 1792-1858*. London, G. Allen & Unwin, 1953.

Account of his rise to power, his invasions of Ladakh, Baltistan and Tibet, the part he played in the first Anglo-Sikh War, and the treaty he signed with the British at Amritsar.

1143. Pathik, J. 1980. *Cultural heritage of the Dogras*. New Delhi, Light & Life Publishers. vi, 177 p.

Includes an account of the rise to power of Gulab Singh and the career of Zorawar Singh.

1144. Rizvi, J. 1999. The trade in pashm and its impact on Ladakh's history. In: *Ladakh: culture, history and development between Himalaya and Karakoram*. Ed. by M. van Beek, K.B. Bertelsen and P. Pedersen. Aarhus, Aarhus University Press, p. 317-338. (Recent research on Ladakh, 8)

The hope of gaining control of the lucrative shawl wool trade was the main motive for the Dogra invasion of Ladakh and Tibet and also indirectly led to the establishment of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Rizvi traces the development of the trade in pashm from earliest times to its decline in importance after the 1870s and demonstrates the inseparable links between economics and politics in the region (see also no. 915).

1145. Samphel, Tsering. 1997. Zorawar Singh, Tshultim Nyima and the end of the Ladakhi monarchy. In: *Recent research on Ladakh 7: proceedings of the 7th Colloquium of the International Association of Ladakh Studies held in Bonn/Sankt Augustin, 1995*. Ed. by T. Dodin and H. Räther. Ulm, Universitat Ulm, Abt. Anthropologie, p. 421-426.

Ladakh had been independent under a single royal dynasty since 975 and was threatened for the first time in 1834. Describes their attempts between 1834 and 1842 to retain their sovereignty as they fought bitterly against Zorawar Singh. Tshultim Nyima, a Ladakhi lama, played a crucial role in negotiations between Zorawar Singh and the Raja and also advised Zorawar against invading Tibet.

1146. *Sapru, A.N. 1931. *The building of the Jammu and Kashmir State: being the achievements of Maharaja Gulab Singh*. Lahore, Supt Govt Printing. vi, 90 p. (Punjab. Government Record Office. Publications. Monograph no. 12). Source: no. 16 and Library of Congress Catalogue.

Includes a discussion of the Dogra conquest of Ladakh and invasion of Tibet.

1147. Singh, B.S. 1974. *The Jammu fox: a biography of Maharaja Gulab Singh of Kashmir, 1792-1857*. Carbondale & Edwardsville, Southern Illinois University Press. xiv, 263 p.
[Reviewed: P. van den Dungen, *South Asia* no. 5: 108-109, 1975; M.Zinkin, *Asian Affairs* 63: 338, 1976; C.P.A.Vasudevan, *J. Indian Hist.* 53: 577-578, 1975]
1148. Singh, Khushwant. 1962. *The fall of the kingdom of the Punjab*. Bombay, Orient Longmans. 172 p.
Covers the period from the death of Ranjit Singh in 1839 to the end of the second Anglo-Sikh War in 1849. It includes a brief account of, and reasons for, the Dogra invasion of Tibet.
1149. Singh, Khushwant. 1963-1966. *A history of the Sikhs*. Princeton, Princeton University Press. 2 vols. 2nd ed. of vol. 2: Oxford University Press, 1991.
[Reviewed: R.Islam, *Bull. Sch. Orient Afr. Stud.* 29: 630-631, 1966; B.N.Pandey, *Asia Major* 17: 121-123, 1971; G.Singh, *Asian Affairs* 24: 77-78, 1993]
Vol. 1: 1469-1839; vol. 2: From 1839. It includes an account of the Dogra invasion of Tibet.
1150. Singh, Kirpal. 1977. First Indian campaign to conquer Tibet. *Panjab Past and Present* 11(1): 93-95.
On Zorawar Singh's campaign.
1151. Singh, Kirpal. 1994. An Indian campaign to conquer Tibet: a forgotten chapter of post Ranjit Singh period. *Sikh Review* 42(9): 27-28.
1152. Singh, P. 2000. *The Sikhs*. New York, Alfred A. Knopf. xvii, 276 p.
Includes an account of British contact and negotiations with Gulab Singh.
1153. Thapa, D.B. 2003. *Tibet past and present*. Delhi, Kalinga. 3 vols.
Vol. 1. History, culture and society. Vol. 2. Tibet and its freedom struggle. Vol. 3. Human rights violations in Tibet. Vol. 1 concentrates on the early history of Tibet but also includes an account of the Dogra conquests from 1834-1840 and their war against Tibet in 1841-1842.
1154. Warikoo, K. 1990. Ladakh's trade relations with Tibet under the Dogras. *China Report* 26(2): 133-144. Also published in *Tibetan studies: proceedings of the 5th seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Narita 1989*. Ed. by Ihara Shoren and Yamaguchi Zuiho. Narita-shi, Chiba-ken, Japan, Naritasan Shinshoji, 1992, vol. 2, p. 853-861.
The economies of Western Tibet, Ladakh and Kashmir were closely linked especially through the shawl wool trade. This trade continued to prosper under the Dogras in the 1840's and they encouraged the continuation of the traditional Lapchak and Chabha trade missions to Tibet. The Dogras also worked to stop the direct trade of shawl wool between Tibet and British territory. Both the Dogras and Tibetans were suspicious of British moves into the Himalayan borderlands.

1155. Weller, J.A. 1843. Extract from the journal of Lieut. J.A. Weller, Executive Engineer and Officiating Junior Assistant Commissioner in Keemaon, on a trip to the Bulcha and Oonta Dhoora Passes with an eye-sketch. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 12(1): 78-102.

The article concerns a hunting trip made by Weller. It also includes information on the return to Tibet of the 'Lama of Tooling' who had taken refuge in Almorah during the invasion of Tibet by Zorawar Singh, and comments on the Dogra force.

See also nos 127, 129, 133, 150, 199, 201, 203, 206, 279, 472, 474, 685, 851, 855, 860, 864, 869-71, 893, 898, 905, 914, 919, 928-9, 941, 943, 1062, 1097, 1347, 3222.

5. THE BOUNDARY COMMISSIONS OF 1846 AND 1847

The first Anglo-Sikh War broke out in 1845 and, following their victory, the British annexed the Sikh hill possessions between the Sutlej and the Indus, including Kashmir, Jammu and Ladakh. This was legalised by the Treaty of Lahore signed on March 9, 1846. By a separate treaty, signed at Amritsar a week later, the British made over the territories of Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh to Gulab Singh, in recognition of his neutrality during the war, although the new state was to be under British protection. The British kept control, however, of Spiti and Lahul since an important trade route between Gartok in Tibet, and Rampur, the capital of Bashahr and the centre of the shawl wool trade in British territory, passed through Spiti.

One of the provisions of the Amritsar Treaty was that a joint frontier commission should determine the boundaries of the new state with Tibet. Accordingly the British appointed Captain Alexander Cunningham and Mr. P.A. Vans Agnew in July 1846 to ascertain the boundaries and to enquire into British trade with Tibet. Lord Hardinge, the Governor-General, also attempted to send letters to Lhasa, via Gartok in Western Tibet, and via China, requesting the appointment of Tibetan or Chinese commissioners to meet their British counterparts. No commissioners arrived and Cunningham and Vans Agnew spent most of 1846 establishing the boundaries of Lahul and Spiti.

In 1847 a second boundary commission was appointed which comprised Alexander Cunningham, Henry Strachey, who had recently returned from an unofficial journey to Lake Manasarovar in Tibet, and Dr Thomas Thomson. Again the non-arrival of Chinese commissioners and the uncooperative attitude of Gulab Singh meant that the British commissioners had to define the frontier unaided. However, these Boundary Commissions were the first attempts by the British to define the border of their territories with Tibet.

1156. Aggarwal, J.C. and Agrawal, S.P. 1995. *Modern history of Jammu and Kashmir: including select documents and comprehensive reference bibliography covering all aspects of Jammu and Kashmir, 1844-1994*. New Delhi, Concept Publishing Co. 2 vols.

Includes the agreement concluded between the British Government and Gulab Singh in 1846.

1157. [Cotton, J.S.] 1917. Sir Alexander Cunningham (1814-1893), by J.S.C. In: *The dictionary of national biography*, vol. XXII. London, Oxford University Press, p. 519-521.
1158. Cunningham, A. 1848. Correspondence of the Commissioners deputed to the Tibetan frontier. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 17(1): 89-132.
 Letters written by Cunningham to Lieut.-Col. H.M. Lawrence, British Resident at Lahore, dated Sept. 15, 1847 to Jan. 10, 1848, on the work of the Boundary Commission appointed in 1847, and the diary of the Commission from Aug. 29, 1847 to Jan. 10, 1848. A letter from Thomson to Cunningham, together with the diary of his journey from the Nubra Valley to Iskardo in October-November 1847, is also included.
1159. Cunningham, A. 1848. Journal of a trip through Kulu and Láhul to the Chu Mureri Lake in Ladák, during the months of August and September, 1846. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 17(1): 201-230.
 Diary of his journey with suggestions on places which could be developed as military positions, and tracks that could be made into roads by the British. He also suggests a route that, if it was developed, would avoid the heavy duties then levied by Gulab Singh on shawl wool passing through his territory.
1160. Cunningham, A. 1848. Memorandum detailing the boundary between the territories of Maharaja Gulab Singh and British India, as determined by the Commissioners, P.A.Vans Agnew Esq. and Capt. A. Cunningham, of Engineers. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 17(1): 295-297.
 The memorandum is accompanied by a map of the districts of Lahul and Spiti, which shows the boundary decided upon by the Commissioners.
1161. Edwards, W. 1866. *Reminiscences of a Bengal civilian*. London, Smith, Elder. 352 p.
 Edwards was appointed Under-Secretary to the Indian Government in 1843. Following the first Anglo-Sikh War he urged the Governor-General, Lord Hardinge, to try and open direct commercial intercourse between India and China via Tibet. One of the results of this was the appointment of the 1846 Commission which was to discuss the opening of trade with Tibet as well as decide on boundaries. After the completion of the second Anglo-Sikh War in 1849 Edwards suggested that the Simla road be extended to Tibet so as to encourage trade (see chapter V.6b).
1162. [Godwin-Austen, H.H.] 1912. Lieut.-Colonel Henry Strachey [obituary] by H.H.G.-A. *Geogr. J.* 39: 405-406.
1163. Great Britain. Parliament. 1846. *Papers respecting the late hostilities on the North-West Frontier of India [and] Further papers respecting the late hostilities on the North-West Frontier of India; and the conclusion of treaties with the Maharajah Dhuleep Sing of Lahore and Maharajah Golab Sing of Jummoo*. London. iv, 105 p. In: *H. of C. Parl. Pap.* XXXI: 161-271, 1846.

Includes an account of the negotiations with Gulab Singh and the treaty signed with him.

1164. Hardinge, H.H. 1986. *The letters of the first Viscount Hardinge of Lahore to Lady Hardinge and Sir Walter and Lady James 1844-1847*. Ed. by B.S. Singh. London, Office of the Royal Historical Society. xi, 254 p. (Camden Fourth Series vol. 32)

The letters record in detail his policy towards the Punjab and cover the first Anglo-Sikh War and his negotiations with Gulab Singh before the signing of the Treaty of Amritsar.

1165. Hasrat, B.J. 1970. *The Punjab papers: selections from the private papers of Lord Auckland, Lord Ellenborough, Viscount Hardinge and the Marquis of Dalhousie, 1836-1849, on the Sikhs*. Ed. and annotated with an introduction by B.J. Hasrat. Hoshiarpur, the Author. 288 p.

Papers include extracts concerning events leading to the 1st Sikh War and the peace settlement.

1166. Hassnain, F.M. 1974. *British policy towards Kashmir (1846-1921): Kashmir in Anglo-Russian politics*. New Delhi, Sterling Publishers. viii, 148 p.

The first section deals with the creation of the new state of Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh under Gulab Singh.

1167. Huttenback, R.A. 1968. Kashmir as an imperial factor during the reign of Gulab Singh (1846-1857). *J. Asian Hist.* 2: 77-108.

Discusses the importance of Kashmir to the British and their frustrating relations with Gulab Singh during this period. It also covers British interest in the shawl wool trade of Tibet, and gives a detailed account of the attempts made by the Boundary Commissions to define the borders of Tibet with Ladakh in 1846-1847.

1168. Kapur, M.L. 1968. *Kashmir sold and snatched*. Jammu, the Author. ix, 180 p.

Anglo-Kashmir relations from 1846 to 1889. It provides information on the provisions of the Treaty of Amritsar and justification for the sale of Kashmir to Gulab Singh by the British. It also examines the appointment of a British agent at Leh in 1867.

1169. Mehra, P.L. 1966. Lahaul and Spiti: a forgotten chapter in Panjab history. *J. Indian Hist.* 44: 255-262.

Concentrates on the period from 1846 when these states were annexed to British territory. Information is included on the British interest in the Tibetan shawl wool trade, and the Boundary Commissions.

1170. Singh, B.S. 1971. Raja Gulab Singh's role in the first Anglo-Sikh War. *Mod. Asian Stud.* 5(1): 35-59.

1171. Strachey, H. 1853. *Physical geography of Western Tibet*. *Jl R. geogr. Soc.* 23: 1-69. Also published: London, W. Clowes, 1854. viii, 69 p.
The geographical section of a report submitted to the Indian Government on his return from the Boundary Commission. It contains a detailed account of the area, the personal knowledge of which was gained from two unauthorised journeys across the Tibetan border in 1846 and 1849. There is a detailed map of Western Tibet which shows the routes taken by Strachey and other travellers in the area (see also nos 1249-1250).
1172. Sufi, G.M.D. 1974. *Kashīr: being a history of Kashmir from the earliest times to our own*. New Delhi, Light & Life Publishers. 2 vols.
Vol 2 contains chapters on Kashmir and the Sikhs (p. 699-750) and Kashmir under the Dogras (p. 751-832). The latter includes a detailed account of the ceding of Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh to Gulab Singh in 1846 by the British.
1173. Thomson, T. 1848. Scientific mission to Thibet. *Lond. J. Bot.* 7: 28-42, 97-103, 200-205, 657-671; *Hooker's J. Bot. Kew Gdn Misc.* 1: 68-81, 149-154, 176-180, 1849.
Letters from Thomson dated from July 1847 to Oct. 1848 on the progress of the Boundary Commission and the trade of the area.
1174. Thomson, T. 1849. Successful journey to the Karakorum Pass, in Central Asia. *Jl R. geogr. Soc.* 19: 25-29.
Letters from Thomson describing his journey from Leh to the Pass in 1848, whilst still a member of the Boundary Commission.
1175. Thomson, T. 1852. *Western Himalaya and Tibet; a narrative of a journey through the mountains of northern India, during the years 1847-8*. London, Reeve. xii, 501 p. Reprinted: New Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal, 2000. Reprinted with title: *Western Himalayas and Tibet: a narrative on Ladakh and mountains of northern India*. New Delhi, Cosmo Publications, 1978.
[Reviewed: *Athenaeum* no. 1300: 1031-1033, Sept. 25, 1852; *Edinb. Rev.* 103: 79-81, 1856; *New mon. Mag.* 96: 151-163, 1852]
Account of his travels as a member of the 1847 Boundary Commission.
1176. Wong, J.Y. 1983. *Anglo-Chinese relations 1839-1860: a calendar of Chinese documents in the British Foreign Office records*. Oxford, Oxford University Press for the British Academy. xv, 398 p.
Brief summaries in English of the diplomatic correspondence in Chinese between the British and Chinese authorities in these years. They include the correspondence of Sir John Davis and Ch'i-ying, the Chinese Imperial Commissioner, on the Boundary Commissions and on trade with Tibet dated Nov. 1846 to Jan. 1848. Also includes correspondence dated Jan 1855 on disagreements between Nepal and Tibet.

See also nos 145, 150, 201, 203, 206, 222, 235, 261, 279, 528, 855-6, 898, 919-20, 941, 1081, 1117, 1142, 1152, 1189, 1448, 1879, 1917.

6. RELATIONS WITH THE WESTERN HIMALAYAN AREA 1850-1903

The Boundary Commissions of 1846 and 1847 defined the Ladakh-Tibet border from the Pangong Lake to Spiti. Although a survey was undertaken of Jammu and Kashmir and the frontier regions as part of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India (see Chapter V.7) from 1855, no further official attempt was made by the British to define the boundary of their territories or that of Ladakh with Tibet until 1899. In that year Sir Claude Macdonald, the British Minister at Peking, in a note to the Chinese Foreign Office, offered some of the Aksai Chin to China in an attempt to secure an agreed Anglo-Chinese boundary from the Pamirs to Tibet. The area covered by this note became one of the major regions in dispute between India and China after the British left India. There was also a boundary dispute in 1888-1889 in the Niti-Barahoti area of Garhwal.

In 1850 work was begun on the construction of the Hindustan-Tibet Road, which was to extend from the Indian plains to Simla and from there to the Tibetan border via Chini. The main object of the road was to improve trade relations with Tibet. Although its construction was abandoned around 1858, attempts to improve British trade with Western Tibet and Central Asia continued. In 1863 P.H. Egerton, Deputy Commissioner for the Kangra District, travelled through Spiti to the Tibetan border. The aim of his journey was to develop commercial relations with Tibet and to establish a trade fair, and he unsuccessfully wrote to the Garpon of Gartok asking him to meet and discuss this. In 1867 Dr Cayley was appointed first British Commercial Agent in Ladakh to observe the operation of the tariff agreement which had been concluded with Kashmir in 1864, and to obtain as much information regarding the trade and politics of Central Asia as possible.

a) General

1177. Anon. 1889. News of the week: [Tibetans In Garhwal]. *Spectator* 63: 657.

News that the Tibetans have sent a force into Garhwal in order to tax traders crossing the Niti Pass.

1178. Alder, G.J. 1963. *British India's northern frontier, 1865-95; a study in imperial policy*. London, Longmans. xiii, 392 p.

Detailed study of British relations with Kashmir and the area to the north of this state in the period 1865-1895.

1179. Bajpai, S.C. 1964. Barahoti - on Sino-Indian border: an historical appraisal. *Parl. Stud.* 8: 12-14, May.

Mainly concerns the border disputes which occurred in the Barahoti area between the British and Tibetans from 1888.

1180. Barton, J. 1863. Report of missionary work in Thibet. *Church miss. Intell.* 14: 183-188.

Account of attempts by Moravian missionaries to establish themselves in Lahul and Tibet in the 1850's.

1181. Bray, J. 1985. A history of the Moravian Church in India. In: *The Himalayan Mission: Moravian Church Centenary, Leh, Ladakh, India 1885-1985*. Leh, Moravian Church, p. 27-75.

Background to the establishment of the Tibetan (or Himalayan) Mission by Wilhelm Heyde and Edward Pagell at Kyelang in Lahul and at Poo, and the later establishment of a mission in Leh in 1885. Includes an account of attempts by the missionaries to enter Tibet, their research on Tibetan, Lahuli and Ladakhi culture, and their medical work which resulted in Pagell being invited to Tibet in 1867 to help during a smallpox epidemic.

1182. Bray, J. 1992. Christian missionaries on the Tibetan border: the Moravian Church in Poo (Kinnaur), 1865-1924. In: *Tibetan studies: proceedings of the 5th seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Narita 1989*. Ed. by Ihara Shoren and Yamaguchi Zuiho. Narita-shi, Chiba-ken, Japan, Naritasan Shinshoji, p. 369-375.

The establishment of the Mission by Pagell and Heyde in 1856 after they failed in their attempts to enter Tibet. The reasons for the failure of missionary activity in Kinnaur and the adjacent areas of Tibet are discussed. These included social, philosophical and political reasons such as the view of the Tibetan authorities that the missionaries were agents of British expansion. Poo lies on the Upper Sutlej on the Hindustan-Tibet road and information is also provided on the cross border trade between Poo and Tibet.

1183. Gupta, K. 1981. A note on source material on the Sino-Indian border dispute - Western Sector. *China Report* 17(3): 51-55.

Reproduces references to the north and north-eastern frontier of Kashmir in the India Office Records from 1897.

1184. Hanlon, H. 1895. Two notes on Ladak. *J. Manchr geogr. Soc.* 11: 83.

Includes comments by Bishop Hanlon on British influence in Ladakh.

1185. Huttenback, R.A. 1964. A historical note on the Sino-Indian dispute over the Aksai Chin. *China Q., Lond.* no. 18: 201-207. Comments: A. Lamb, no. 21: 182, 1965; S. Gopal, no. 21: 182-183, 1965.

Macdonald's letter to the Tsungli Yamen in 1899 concerning the Aksai Chin, with a map of the area showing the boundary line described in the letter.

1186. Lall, J. 1989. Maps and traditional boundaries of Ladakh. *China Report* 25(1): 1-10.

Discusses the current boundary dispute noting problems concerning the boundary lines on maps drawn by the British during the colonial period, especially the map drawn by W.H. Johnson of the Survey of India in 1865 which showed the whole of the Aksai Chin in Ladakh.

1187. Lamb, A. 1965. On the border [letter]. *Far East econ. Rev.* 48: 350-351, May 20.

On the Western Sector of the Sino-Indian border dispute, especially the 1899 boundary proposals made by Macdonald to the Tsungli Yamen, and the Simla Convention map of 1914 which showed the Aksai Chin as Tibetan territory. The letter is illustrated by a number of maps showing the status of the Aksai Chin - 1899 Chinese, 1914 Tibetan, and in the 1950's Indian on Indian maps.

1188. Lamb, A. 1973. *The Sino-Indian border in Ladakh*. Canberra, Australian National University Press. xi, 113 p. (Asian publications series, no. 3)

Contains two papers, 'Note on a problem of boundary definition in Ladakh' and 'Aksai Chin and the Raksam crisis; boundary definition in the Karakorum, 1895-1907'. The first paper traces attempts to define the boundary of the area known as the Aksai Chin from the 1899 note of Macdonald. He also comments on problems arising from defects in the original British survey of Ladakh made by W.H. Johnson (see nos 1233, 1237, 1240, 1246). The work is illustrated by a number of clearly drawn maps showing the changing boundary lines.

1189. Lamb, A. 1991. *Kashmir: a disputed Legacy 1846-1990*. Hertingfordbury, Roxford Books. xv, 368 p.

[Reviewed: M.E.Yapp, *Asian Affairs* 23: 201-202, 1992; V.G.Kiernan, *Int. Aff.* 68(4): 783, 1992; R.H.Munro, *Orbis* 37(2): 318, 1993; P.Mehra, *Indian hist. Rev.* 22(1-2): 278-284, 1995/1996; H.Tinker, *Engl. hist. Rev.* 110(436): 529, 1995; A.Akbar, *Pakist. J. Hist. Cult.* 16(2): 125-131, 1995]

The first part examines the creation of the state of Jammu and Kashmir, the role it played in British policy, and the attempts by the British to define the boundaries of the area. There are a number of maps showing the changing positions of the Ladakh border.

1190. Mehra, P. 1992. *An "agreed" frontier: Ladakh and India's northernmost borders, 1846-1947*. Delhi, Oxford University Press. xiv, 248 p.

Historical survey of British attempts to define its northernmost borders in Ladakh.

1191. Northam, J. 1884. *Guide to Mansuri, Landaur, Dehra Dun and the hills north of Dehra. Including routes to the snows and other places of note: with chapters on Garhwal (Tehri), Hardwar, Rurki, Chakrata; together with an account of excursions into Sirmur*. Calcutta, Thacker, Spink. xii, 165 p.

The section on Garhwal includes comments on an easy route via Nilang to Chuprang in Tibet, on the Chinese garrison in Chuprang, and the trade between Nilang and Tibet.

1192. Rawat, A.S. 1986. Henry Ramsay the uncrowned king of Kumaon. In: N.R. Ray, ed. *Himalaya frontier in historical perspective*. Calcutta, Institute of Historical Studies, p. 184-189.

Ramsay served in Kumaon from 1840 to 1884 when he retired from his post as Commissioner of Kumaon.

1193. Shah, A. 1906. *Four years in Tibet*. Benares, E.J. Lazarus. 78 p.
Reprinted: New Delhi, Asian Educational Services, 1996.

Shah spent the years 1894-1897 as a medical missionary in Ladakh. His work contains general information on Tibet and a chapter on why foreigners were prevented from entering Tibet.

1194. Vohra, S. 1985. The Aksai Chin. *J. un. Serv. Instn India* 115(481): 212-229.

History from 1865 to 1907 of British exploration and surveying of the Aksai Chin and the basis for the later claims to the area by India and China. Covers the surveys of Johnson, McDonald's letter of 1899, and the discussions held between Jordan and the Chinese in 1907 on the boundaries of Tibet.

See also nos 129, 134, 145, 201, 203, 206, 222, 235, 878, 898, 941, 1116, 1169, 1577, 2406, 2647, 3239.

b) The Hindustan-Tibet Road

1195. Briggs, D. 1856. *Report on the operations connected with the Hindostan and Thibet road from 1850 to 1855*. Calcutta, 'Calcutta Gazette' Office. iii, 35, vi p. (Selections from the records of the Government of India, no. 16)

Covers all aspects of building the road and the reasons why the route from Simla was chosen. Maps of the road are included showing the section completed in 1855, and the section still under construction from near Rampur to Shipki. Reprinted in no. 1199.

1196. Cregeen, A. 1867. The Hindostan and Thibet road. *Prof. Pap. Indian Engng* 4: 373-398.

Cregeen was in charge of building part of the road. Before describing the work carried out under his direction, he outlines the reasons for the construction of the road, and the earlier work carried out on it. A detailed map of the road forms the frontispiece to vol. 5, 1868 of the journal.

1197. Dalhousie, J.A.B. Ramsay, 1st Marquis. 1856. *Minute by the most noble the Governor-General of India, dated the 28th of February, 1856*. Calcutta, 'Calcutta Gazette' Office. v, 74 p. (Selections from the records of the Government of India, no. 14)

Reviews the events of his eight years in office from 1848 to 1856, including an account of the Hindustan-Tibet Road and the hoped for benefits on its completion.

1198. Forbes, H.F.G. 1893. *The road from Simla to Shipki in Chinese Thibet and various minor routes with a few hints for travellers*. Calcutta, Thacker, Spink. 45 p.

A general description of the road together with a route guide. Forbes was prevented from entering Tibet as a guard was posted on the route just beyond Shipki. A sketch map of the area accompanies the work.

1199. Great Britain. East India (Roads). 1857. *Minutes and correspondence in reference to the project of the Hindostan and Thibet road, with reports of Major Kennedy and Lieutenant Briggs relating thereto; and, an account of the expenditure incurred in the construction of the new road between Kalka and Dugshai*. London. 93 p. (Parliament, 1857. House of Commons. Reports and Papers, 79). In: *H. of C. Parl. Pap.* XI: 203-, 1857.
- Official correspondence, minutes, reports etc. relating to the construction of the road from May 9, 1850 to June 12, 1856. It also includes the report of David Briggs (see no. 1195).
1200. Great Britain. Parliament. House of Lords. 1853. *Select Committee of the House of Lords, appointed to inquire into the operation of the Act 3 & 4 Will. 4, C. 85, for the better government of Her Majesty's Indian territories...together with the minutes of evidence, appendix and index thereto*. London. iii, 299, xii, 208 p. (Parliament, 1852-53. House of Lords. Reports and papers, 20-111, 20-Ind.). In: *H. of L. Parl. Pap.* XXX: 1-538, 1852/1853.
- See evidence of Lieut.-Col. J.P. Kennedy concerning the construction of the road, and Appendix A which contains his *Road making in the hills* (see no. 1201).
1201. Kennedy, J.P. 1850. *Road making in the hills: principles and rules having special reference to the new road from Kalka via Simla to Kunawar and Thibet*. Agra. 22 p. Reprinted in no. 1200.
1202. 'Nimrod'. 1928/1929. The Hindustan-Tibet road. *Indian St. Rlys Mag.* 2: 245-250.
- Describes a recent journey up the road. A brief account of the history of the road is also given and an extract from a letter written by Lord Dalhousie from Chini on June 30, 1850, describing the track as it was at that time.
1203. Sanan, D. and Swadi, D. 1998. *Exploring Kinnaur and Spiti in the Trans-Himalaya*. New Delhi, Indus Publishing Co. 336 p.
- Includes a chapter "Romance of the Hindustan-Tibet Road" which provides an account of its history and a map showing its route.
1204. Smith, C.M. 1867. A walking tour through the Himalayas from Hindostan to Tibet. *Alpine J.* 3: 52-68.
- Account of a tour made in 1865 up the Hindostan-Tibet road to a point not far from Shipki. He describes the road and trade with Tibet.
1205. Torrens, H.D. 1862. *Travels in Ladâk, Tartary, and Kashmir*. London, Saunders, Otley. iv, 367 p.
- Description of his recent journey from Simla to Leh and back through Kashmir. It includes a detailed account of the Hindustan and Tibet Road with a map of its route. Torrens also describes the history of Ladakh, and comments on the shawl wool trade and the route by which it reached India.

See also nos 247, 1161, 1210, 1213, 1229, 1256, 1262-3, 1693, 3066-8, 3088, 3750, 3754.

c) Trade Relations

1206. Anon. 1869. Routes across the Himalaya. *Ill. Travels* 1: 117-120.

On routes across the Western Himalaya to Tibet and Chinese Turkestan.

1207. Aitchison, J.E.T. 1874. *Handbook of the trade products of Leh, with the statistics of the trade, from 1867 to 1872 inclusive*. Calcutta, Wyman. iii, 405, ii p.

List of, and information on, the trade products, and statistical tables on their export or import to Ladakh. There are a number of appendices which include reports on Ladakhi trade by Dr Henry Cayley in 1867, 1868, 1869 and 1870, R.B. Shaw in 1871 and 1873, and J.E.T. Aitchison in 1872.

1208. Banerjee, A.C. 1948. India's trade with Turkestan (1873). *Proc. Indian hist. Rec. Comm.* 25(2): 66-72.

Reproduces a report to the Punjab Government dated September 1873 by R.B. Shaw, British Joint Commissioner on special duty in Ladakh, on the India-Turkestan trade route between Palampur and Leh.

1209. Chohan, A.S. 1983. *Historical study of society and culture in Dardistan and Ladakh*. New Delhi, Atlantic Publishers. vii, 264 p.

Reproduces in an Appendix a letter dated 8 Nov. 1899 by R.L. Kennion, Assistant to the Resident in Leh, to the Resident in Kashmir, on his visit to Rudok to enquire into a dispute between Ladakhi traders and Tibetan officials concerning grain. It includes information on his discussions with the Tibetan Jongpen and on the settlement of the dispute (see also no. 2406)

1210. Davies, R.H. 1862. *Report on the trade and resources of the countries on the north-western boundary of British India*. Lahore, Government Press. 2 vols.

A comprehensive report on trade with Central Asia. Its aim was to provide the main facts recorded by former travellers concerning trade and resources of this area, which included Ladakh and Western Tibet. There is also information on routes including the Hindustan-Tibet Road and a number of appendices that include official reports on Central Asian trade, an account of the shawl manufacture in Kashmir (from Moorcroft), route guides and tables of imports and exports etc. Vol. 2 contains a number of maps of the area.

1211. Egerton, P.H. 1864. *Journal of a tour through Spiti to the frontier of Chinese Thibet*. London, Cundall, Downes. vi, 68 p.

Account of his journey made in 1863, the aim of which was to develop commercial relations between Tibet and India through Spiti. Also includes a history of Spiti, and a description of its people, their products and trade. In an appendix he reprints his letter to the Punjab Government, dated Sept. 18, 1863, in

which he gives information on the shawl wool trade and the routes by which it reached British territory, and the state of India's commercial relations generally with Central Asia.

1212. Elgin, J.B., 8th Earl. 1872. *Letters and journals of James, Eighth Earl of Elgin*. Ed. by T. Walrond. London, J. Murray. xii, 467 p.

Elgin was Viceroy of India from 1861 to 1863. This work includes a brief account of his journey to Kulu and Lahul in 1863 to inspect tea plantations and to investigate the possibility of commercial intercourse with Ladakh and Tibet through these areas.

1213. Gill, B.G. 2000. India's trade with Tibet: early British attempts. *Tibet J.* 25(4): 78-82.

Emphasis on attempts to establish trade with Western Tibet.

1214. Great Britain. Central Asia. 1864. *Copy of Mr Davies's report on the trade of Central Asia*. London. 37 p. (Parliament, 1864. House of Commons. Reports and papers, 65). In: *H. of C. Parl. Pap.* XLII: 397-433, 1864.

See no. 1210.

1215. Great Britain. East India (Ladakh). 1868. *Copy of correspondence between the Secretary of State for India and the Governor General in Council, relating to the appointment of a commercial agent in Ladakh, and to his proceedings there*. London. 25 p. (Parliament, 1867-68. House of Commons. Reports and papers, 147). In: *H. of C. Parl. Pap.* L: 705-729, 1867/1868.

Official correspondence and reports dated Dec. 1866 to Feb. 1868 concerning the appointment of Dr H. Cayley as British Commercial Agent in Ladakh. Extracts from Cayley's letters and diary on existing conditions in Ladakh are included.

1216. Great Britain. East India (Trade routes and fairs). 1874. *Reports on trade routes and fairs on the northern frontiers of India*. London. 56 p. (Parliament. Papers by Command, C. 1002). In: *H. of C. Parl. Pap.* XLIX: 567-622, 1874.

Contains reports on the Palampur Fair in the Kangra District from 1867 to 1873; trade routes to Eastern Turkestan; trade with Tibet through Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and Tawang; and the Sadiya Fair held on the North-East Frontier of India in 1873.

1217. Klobukowski, A. 1897/1898. Le commerce des Indes anglaises avec l'Asie centrale. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. comm. Paris.* 19: 766-776.

Mainly concerned with the importance of Leh as the centre for India's trade with Central Asia and on the trade routes that pass through Leh.

1218. Rawlinson, H.C. 1868/1869. On trade routes between Turkestan and India. *Proc. R. geogr. Soc.* 13: 10-23.

Quotes from a report by Mr Forsyth, Government Commissioner appointed to superintend the trade of North India, on the trade routes between India and Central Asia. It emphasises the progress made in the years 1866-1868 on improving these routes, abolishing the tribute paid to Kashmir, and the establishment of an annual trade fair at Leh.

1219. Shaw, R.B. 1873. England and Central Asia. *J. Soc. Arts* 21: 319-329, Mar. 21.

Account of Eastern Turkestan which Shaw had recently visited, and the possibilities of trade with the area. In the discussion that followed Dr A. Campbell emphasised the importance of also extending efforts to promote trade with Tibet, and elaborated on the measures needed.

See also nos 153, 164, 188, 191-2, 231, 245, 252, 271, 873, 890, 892, 906, 910, 920, 943-5, 953-4, 957, 975-7, 1144, 1161, 1167, 1169, 1176, 1191, 1248, 1261, 2482-3.

7. EXPLORATION IN THE WESTERN HIMALAYAS AND TIBET 1846-1884

The annexation of the Punjab following the Sikh Wars opened up a large tract of country to British administration and to British surveyors. The years from 1855 saw a systematic survey of the Western Himalayan region by the surveyors of the Survey of India. One of the most famous of these men was Godwin-Austen who, in 1862 and 1863, surveyed the Upper Chang Chenmo and northern borders of the Pangong District in Eastern Ladakh up to the Tibetan frontier, and later was prominent in surveying work in Bhutan and Assam. Another of the surveyors, W.H. Johnson, travelled from Leh across the Aksai Chin to Khotan and his survey and resulting map included the Aksai Chin as part of Ladakh.

In 1861 Colonel Edmund Smyth of the Education Department in Kumaon received approval from the Government of India to lead a mission to Tibet which it was hoped would reach Lhasa. Although he failed to obtain Chinese passports or gain approval from the Tibetan authorities to proceed, he did succeed in entering Western Tibet in 1864 on a private trip with Robert Drummond, Henry Hodgson and Thomas Webber. They travelled widely in the area around Lake Manasarovar and were the first Europeans to reach one of the major sources of the Tsangpo/Brahmaputra.

Other private travellers also made important journeys of exploration. Despite opposition from Tibetan officials Lakes Manasarovar and Rakas Tal were visited by Henry Strachey in 1846, Richard Strachey and J.E. Winterbottom in 1848 and H.U. Smith and A.S. Harrison in 1863. Between 1854 and 1858 the Schlagintweit brothers, Adolphe, Hermann, and Robert, made extensive journeys in the Himalayan region and Adolphe crossed the Aksai Chin on his journey to Yarkand.

a) General

1220. Anon. 1867. Aufnahme des Pangkong-See's in Tibet. *Petermanns Mitt.* 13: 348.
Brief report on the journey made by Godwin-Austen to Lake Pangong on the Tibetan border with Ladakh.
1221. Anon. 1879. Explorations in Western Tibet, by the trans-Himalayan parties of the Indian Trigonometrical Survey. *Proc. R. geogr. Soc.* n.s. 1: 444-452.
Account of survey operations in the Western Himalayan region conducted by E.C. Ryall and T. Kinney. Summarised from nos 1234 and 1242.
1222. Adams, A.L. 1867. *Wanderings of a naturalist in India, the Western Himalayas, and Cashmere.* Edinburgh, Edmonston & Douglas. xi, 333 p. Reprinted with title: *The Western Himalayas and Kashmir.* Jammu Tawi, Jay Kay Book House, 1994.
Account of his journey to Kashmir and Ladakh in 1852. Includes comments on the effects of Gulab Singh's rule in both territories.
1223. Baldwin, A.H. 1903/1904. A visit to Thibet. *Chamb. J.* 6s., 7: 245-9, 410-413.
Account of his journey made around 1863 during which he crossed the Niti Pass into Tibet. Also describes the opposition he encountered from the Tibetans.
1224. Bennett, A. 1865/1866. Rough notes of a visit to Daba, in Thibet, in August 1865. *Proc. R. geogr. Soc.* 10: 165-169.
His visit to Daba 'the capital of that part of Tibet ... adjoining the province of British Gurhwal'. Describes the area and efforts to stop him entering the town.
1225. Cheetham, J.F. 1867. The Tibetan route from Simla to Srinagar. Notes of a Himalayan ramble in the summer and autumn of 1859. *Alpine J.* 3: 118-153.
Account of his journey to Kashmir via Kulu, the Rotang Pass, Lahul, and Leh.
1226. Godwin-Austen, H.H. 1866. Notes on the Pangong Lake district of Ladakh, from journal made in 1863. *Gen. Rep. Gt Trig. Surv. India* 1864/65: App. B, p. 1-14. Reprinted: *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 37(2): 84-117, 1868; *Sel. Rec. Govt India* no. 71: 1-24, 1869. Abstract with title: On the district of Lake Pangong, in Tibet. *Rep. Br. Ass. Advmt Sci.* 36(2): 100, 1866.
Detailed account of his route and survey of the area in 1863 in which he notes that a bay called Phursool forms the boundary between 'the Kashmir Rajah's territory and the Chinese district of Rudokh'. Also describes his meeting with the 'Zimskang of Rudok' who refused him permission to visit Tibet and, as Godwin-Austen had orders to avoid any collision with the Chinese officials, he had to abandon his plans to travel further.

1227. Godwin-Austen, H.H. 1867. Notes on the Pangong Lake district of Ladakh, from a journal made during a survey in 1863. *Jl R. geogr. Soc.* 37: 343-363. Abstract: *Proc. R. geogr. Soc.* 11: 32-33, 1866/1867.
Account differs only slightly from no. 1226.
1228. Gordon, T.E. 1876. *The roof of the world being the narrative of a journey over the high plateau of Tibet to the Russian frontier and the Oxus sources on Pamir.* Edinburgh, Edmonston and Douglas. xiv, 172 p.
Includes an account of his stay in Leh in 1873.
1229. Gore, F.St.J. 1895. *Lights and shades of hill life in the Afghan and Hindu highlands of the Punjab; a contrast.* London, J. Murray. xix, 269 p.
The section on the Hindu highlands describes a journey he made to Kulu with his brother who was in charge of a Himalayan survey party. He comments on the Hindustan-Tibet Road, trade with Tibet, and gives a brief account of British contact with the area.
1230. Hayward, G.W. 1870. Journey from Leh to Yarkand and Kashgar, and exploration of the sources of the Yarkand River. *Jl R. geogr. Soc.* 40: 33-166.
Hayward travelled to Yarkand via the Chang Chenmo route which he hoped to prove would be an easier trade route between India and Central Asia. There is a detailed map of Eastern Turkestan showing Hayward's route.
1231. Holdich, T.H. 1908. General Sir Richard Strachey, G.C.S.I., F.R.S., LL.D. [obituary]. *Geogr. J.* 31: 342-4.
1232. India. Foreign Department. 1875. *Report of a mission to Yarkund in 1873, under command of Sir T.D. Forsyth...with historical and geographical information regarding the possessions of the Ameer of Yarkund.* Calcutta, Foreign Department Press. iii, 3, 573 p.
See Ch. VII, 'Narrative of geographical explorations made by Captain Trotter R.E. and his assistants' p. 233-459. Trotter of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India accompanied the mission and routes between Ladakh and Turkestan and the surveying work done in North Ladakh on the mission are described.
1233. Johnson, W.H. 1867. Report on his journey to Ilchi, the capital of Khotan, in Chinese Tartary. *Jl R. geogr. Soc.* 37: 1-47.
Johnson made a rough survey of the Aksai Chin which he crossed on this journey to Khotan in 1865. A map of the country between Leh and Ilchi showing the route taken by Johnson accompanies the article.
1234. Kinney, T. 1879. Report on the survey of the western sources of the Ganges - particularly the Jadh Ganga or Nilang Valley - in 1878. *Gen. Rep. Ops Surv. India 1877/1878*: xiii-xix.
The aim of the survey was to sketch 'as much of the Cis-Sutlej portion of the district of Tsáparang in Hundes as was practicable without risking any collision

with or opposition from the Tibetan authorities'. He describes in detail the Nilang Valley and the trade of its inhabitants with Tibet, and briefly mentions previous visitors to the area – J.B. Fraser in 1815, J. Hodgson and J.D. Herbert in 1817, and W.H. Johnson in 1853/1854.

1235. Lambert, C. 1877. *A trip to Cashmere and Ladāk*. London, H.S. King. viii, 199 p.

Journey made in 1874 to Ladakh. The account includes information on British officials living in Leh at this time.

1236. Markham, F. 1854. *Shooting in the Himalayas. A journey of sporting adventures and travel in Chinese Tartary, Ladac, Thibet, Cashmere etc.* London, R. Bentley. xii, 375 p.

Account of sporting trips made from 1847 to 1851 mainly in Kunawar, Garhwal and Spiti. He tried to cross into Tibet at a point north of Gangotri in 1849 but was prevented by the Tibetans who were afraid of 'their masters the Chinese'.

1237. Mason, K. 1921/1922. Johnson's 'suppressed ascent' of E 61. *Alpine J.* 34: 54-62.

Johnson's journey from Leh to Khotan in 1865, his map of northeastern Ladakh and its inaccuracies, and his claim to have climbed E 61.

1238. Murray-Aynsley, H.G.M. 1879. *Our visit to Hindostan, Kashmir, and Ladakh*, by Mrs J.C. Murray-Aynsley. London, W.H. Allen. x, 326 p.

Includes an account of their travels in Ladakh, Kulu and Lahul from 1875-1877 and comments on the exclusion of Europeans from Tibet.

1239. Murray-Aynsley, H.G.M. 1882. *An account of a three months' tour from Simla through Bussahir, Kunowar and Spiti, to Lahoul*, by Mrs J.C. Murray-Aynsley. Calcutta, Thacker, Spink. 83 p.

Tour made in 1881. It includes some comments on Tibetan influence in the area.

1240. Phillimore, R.H. 1959/1960. Survey of Kashmir and Jammu, 1855 to 1865. *Himalayan J.* 22: 95-102.

The survey was conducted under the direction of T.G. Montgomerie. The article includes an account of Johnson's survey of the northeastern borders of Ladakh, during which he crossed the frontier and visited Ilchi in Khotan.

1241. Ryall, E.C. 1878. Extract from the narrative report, dated November 28th 1877, of E.C. Ryall, Esq. in charge Kumaon and Garhwal Party. *Gen. Rep. Ops Gt Trig. Surv. India 1876/77*: 29a-33a.

Survey of the area north-east of Almorah, and of Hundes, a district of Tibet which Ryall entered despite the protests of Tibetan officials.

1242. Ryall, E.C. 1879. Report on the trans-Himalayan operations (trigonometrical) conducted in Hundes - part of Chinese Tibet - during 1877, with a map of Hundes and of parts of the surrounding districts.

Gen. Rep. Ops Surv. India 1877/1878: i-xiii.

Hundes is the southwestern area of Tibet which includes Lakes Manasarovar and Rakas Tal. Most of this survey was conducted on the frontier of Hundes, but Ryall did cross the border and his operations, according to Kinney (see no. 1234), 'drew down the displeasure of the Gartok authorities on the...Governors of Daba and Tsáparang'.

1243. Sanders, C.R. 1953. *The Strachey family 1588-1932: their writings and literary associations*. Durham, N.C., Duke University Press. xi, 337 p.
Includes a section on the travel and writings of Richard and Henry Strachey in India, the Himalayas and Western Tibet.
1244. Shaw, W.N. 1908. Sir Richard Strachey, G.C.S.I., F.R.S. [obituary]. *Nature* 77: 395-397, Feb. 27.
1245. Smith, H.U. 1866/1867. A trip to Thibet, Kylas, source of the Sutluj, and the Mansurwur and Rakhas Lakes. *Proc. R. geogr. Soc.* 11: 119-122.
Mainly a sporting trip made in 1865 with A.S. Harrison during which they managed to evade the Chinese guards and reach Lakes Rakas Tal and Manasarovar.
1246. Stein, A. 1921/1922. Johnson's map and the topography of the K'un-lun, south of Khotan. *Alpine J.* 34: 62-68.
His survey of North-East Ladakh, his map of the area, and its inaccuracies.
1247. Stewart, J.L. 1868/1870. Notes of a botanical tour in Ladak or Western Tibet. *Trans. bot. Soc. Edinb.* 10: 207-239.
Tour made in 1868 through Lahul to Leh and then to Eastern Ladakh. He crossed briefly into Tibet near Lake Pangong.
1248. Stone, S.J. 1896. *In and beyond the Himalayas: a record of sport and travel in the abode of snow*. London, E. Arnold. xvii, 330 p.
Description of several expeditions made between 1876-1896, mainly for the purpose of sport, in Kulu, Lahul, Ladakh, Garhwal and Kunawar, and briefly into Tibet. Includes much information on trade and contact between the people of the Himalayan area and Tibet.
1249. Strachey, H. 1848. Narrative of a journey to Cho Lagan (Rákás Tal), Cho Mapan (Manasarowar), and the valley of Pruang in Gnari, Húndés, in September and October 1846. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 17(2): 98-120, 125-182, 327-351. Also published: Calcutta, Baptist Mission Press, 1848. 103 p.
Strachey's diary of his first journey to Tibet in 1846.
1250. Strachey, H. 1848. Note on the construction of the map of the British Himalayan frontier in Kumaon and Garhwal. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 17(2): 532-538.

On his surveys in the area prior to his appointment to the Boundary Commission (see chapter V.5). He also includes notes on the sources from which he constructed the map of the areas which he had not personally surveyed.

1251. Strachey, R. 1848. Extract of a letter. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 17(2): 578-80.

On his journey to Lakes Manasarovar and Rakas Tal in Tibet.

1252. Strachey, R. 1850. Notice of a trip to the Niti Pass. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 19: 79-82.

His surveying trip with his brother, Henry, to the Niti Pass and Hundes in 1849. Comments on their contacts with Tibetan officials who were powerless to stop their activities.

1253. Strachey, R. 1900. Narrative of a journey to the Lakes Rakas-Tal and Manasarowar, in Western Tibet, undertaken in September, 1848. *Geogr. J.* 15: 150-170, 243-264, 394-415.

Journey made in 1848 with J.E. Winterbottom, a botanist. A map of the area accompanies the article and shows the routes taken by Moorcroft in 1812, Henry Strachey in 1846, Richard Strachey in 1848, and Henry and Richard Strachey in 1849.

1254. Tanner, H.C.B. 1886. Extract from the narrative report of Col. H.C.B. Tanner, Deputy Supt., in charge - Himalaya Party - season 1884/85. *Gen. Rep. Ops Surv. India 1884/85*: xlv-xlviii.

Account of his journey across the Lipu Lekh Pass to Taklakot where he was prevented from going farther by Tibetan officials. He describes the area, the Lipu Lekh Pass, the trade that crosses it, and comments on the distrust shown by Tibetan officials of the British.

1255. Taylor, B. 1878. *Central Asia: travels in Cashmere, Little Tibet, and Central Asia*. New York, Scribner, Armstrong. 365 p.

General account of exploration in the area with emphasis on the travels of G.T. Vigne in the 1830s and Robert Shaw in the 1860s. There is also information on the exploration of the Schlagintweit brothers.

1256. Theobald, W. 1862. Notes of a trip from Simla to the Spiti Valley and Chomoriri (Tshomoriri) Lake during the months of July, August and September, 1861. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 31: 480-527.

Describes his journey along the Hindustan-Tibet Road to Chini and from there to the Spiti Valley. He compares his impressions of the area and its inhabitants with those of J.G. Gerard, and comments on the borax trade of Tibet with Spiti.

1257. Trotter, H. 1875. *Account of the survey operations in connection with the mission to Yarkand and Kashgar in 1873-74*. Calcutta, Foreign Department Press. 165 p.

Reprint of Trotter's report on the survey from no. 1232.

1258. Trotter, H. 1878. On the geographical results of the mission to Kashgar under Sir T. Douglas Forsyth in 1873-74. *Jl R. geogr. Soc.* 48: 173-234. Abstract with discussion: *Proc. R. geogr. Soc.* 22: 287-291, 1877/1878. Includes a description of routes between Leh and Yarkand and Khoten, including the Chang Chenmo route and the Rudok or Chang Thang route, which was traversed by the pundit Kishen Singh during the mission.
1259. [Veitch, R.H.] 1920. Sir Richard Strachey (1817-1908), by R.H.V. In: *The dictionary of national biography. Supplement 1901-1911*. London, Oxford University Press, p. 439-442.
1260. Wahab, R.A. 1886. Extract from the narrative report of Capt. R.A. Wahab, R.E., officiating Deputy Supt., in charge Himalaya party - season 1885-86. *Gen. Rep. Ops Surv. India 1885/86*: xviii-xix. Survey of the area around Rampur.
1261. Webber, T.W. 1902. *The forests of Upper India and their inhabitants*. London, Arnold. xiv, 344 p. Webber crossed into Western Tibet from Kumaon in 1864 with Edmund Smyth, Robert Drummond and Henry Hodgson. He describes their journey, the country on both sides of the border, comments on the trade of the Bhotias with India, and details discussions with Tibetan officials who tried to prevent them entering Tibet. Also mentions the offence felt by the Tibetans at the visit of Drummond to Lake Manasarovar in 1860 when he launched a small boat on the sacred lake.
1262. Wilson, A. 1874, 1875. The abode of snow. *Blackwood's Edinb. Mag.* 116: 127-145, 410-431, 560-582, 703-722; 117: 69-87, 219-237, 336-361, 508-525, 600-615; 118. 60-81. Abbreviated account of his journey (see no. 1263)
1263. Wilson, A. 1875. *The abode of snow: observations on a journey from Chinese Tibet to the Indian Caucasus, through the upper valleys of the Himalaya*. Edinburgh, W. Blackwood. xxvi, 475 p. Reprinted: Wakefield, R.I, Moyer Bell, 1993. [Reviewed: *Alpine J.* 7: 338-342, 1874/1876; *Geogr. Mag.* 2: 280-281, 1875] Journey made in 1873 up the Hindustan-Tibet Road to Spiti, where he was refused permission to go further. He comments on the reasons for the unwillingness of the Tibetans to allow foreigners to enter their country. There is a large map of the area showing Wilson's route.
- See also nos 139, 145, 235, 878, 902, 924, 970, 1081, 1171, 1188, 1325, 1836, 1879, 1995, 2982, 2986.

b) Adolphe, Hermann and Robert Schlagintweit

Adolf, Robert, and Hermann Schlagintweit were Bavarian geographers and naturalists who undertook a mission to India and High Asia in 1854 financed

mainly by the King of Prussia and the British East India Company. Their appointment caused some ill feeling in Britain and protests were made both before and after their journeys as it was felt that there were more competent people already in India who could conduct such a survey, some of whom had taken an active part in magnetic operations. They explored widely in the Western Himalayan area and Hermann also was involved in surveys in the Eastern Himalayas.

1264. Finkelstein, G. 2000. "Conquerors of the Künlün"? The mission to high Asia, 1854-57. *History of Science* 38(2): 179-218.

Detailed account of the reasons for the journeys of the Schlagintweit brothers which led to extensive exploration of the western Himalayas but raised a critical response in Britain due to the disproportion between the cost of the survey and the value of their report.

1265. Hooker, J.D. 1861. The Messrs Schlagintweit [letter]. *Athenaeum* no. 1769: 374, Sept. 21.

On the appointment of the Schlagintweits which overlooked the service and expertise of many people in India including the staff of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India.

1266. Muller, C.C. and Raunig, W., eds. 1982. *Der Weg zum Dach der Welt*. Innsbruck, Pinguin Vlg. 407 p.

Includes several articles on the Schlagintweits with drawings by the brothers of their time in the Himalayas.

1267. Murchison, R.I. 1858. Presidential address. *Jl R. geogr. Soc.* 28: clxxxiii-clxxxix.

Section of his address on India in which he praises the exploration of the Schlagintweit brothers and notes that they were the first to explore some areas.

1268. Murchison, R.I. and Sabine, E. 1861. Scientific mission of MM. De Schlagintweit [letters]. *Athenaeum* no. 1767: 319-320, Sept. 7.

Responses to the very critical review of the first volume of the results of the exploration of the Schlagintweits (see no. 1274) and on concerns relating to their appointment to undertake the exploration.

1269. Schlagintweit, A. and Schlagintweit, R. 1855. Notices of journeys in the Himalayas of Kemaon. *Rep. Br. Ass. Advmt Sci.* 25(2): 152-155.

Account of their travels in Kumaon and their future plans to try and reach Lake Manasarovar disguised as Bhotias.

1270. Schlagintweit, A. and Schlagintweit, R. 1856. Report upon the progress of the Magnetic Survey of India and of the researches connected with it in the Himalaya Mountains, from April to October 1855. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 25: 105-125.

General outline of the route taken on their journey to Kumaon and Garhwal during

which they briefly visited Tibet (see no. 1271), together with an account of their scientific observations.

1271. Schlagintweit, A. and Schlagintweit, R. 1856. A short account of the journey from Milum in Johar, to Gartok in the Upper Indus Valley, and of the ascent to the Ibi Gamin Peak. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 25: 125-133.

Account of their journey to Tibet in 1855 and contact with Tibetan officials during their tour of Kumaon and Garhwal (they did not actually reach Gartok).

1272. Schlagintweit, R. 1857. On the routes pursued by Herren Hermann, Adolphe and Robert Schlagintweit in India, the Himalayas, Tibet, and Turkestan. *Rep. Br. Ass. Advmt Sci.* 27(2): 149-151.

Abstract of his paper to the British Association.

1273. Schlagintweit-Sakünlünski, H. von. 1869-1880. *Reisen in Indien und Hochasien... Basirt auf die Resultate der wissenschaftlichen Mission von Hermann, Adolph und Robert von Schlagintweit ausgeführt in den Jahren 1854-1858.* Jena, H. Costenoble. 4 vols.

[Reviewed: *Alpine J.* 6: 43-50, 1872/1874]

Detailed description of the journeys of the Schlagintweit brothers in the Himalayan region and Tibet.

1274. Schlagintweit-Sakünlünski, H. von, Schlagintweit, A. and Schlagintweit, R. 1861-1866. *Results of a scientific mission to India and High Asia undertaken between the years MDCCCLIV and MDCCCLVIII, by order of the Court of Directors of the Honourable East India Company, by Hermann, Adolphe and Robert de Schlagintweit.* Leipzig, F.A. Brockhaus. 4 vols.

[Reviewed: *Athenaeum* no. 1764: 215-216, Aug. 17, 1861]

Account of the results of their extensive travels in 1854-1858 to examine the physical geography, geology, botany and zoology of the Himalayan region. For responses to the review of this work and on their travels (see nos. 1265, 1267-1268)

See also nos 862, 1255, 2986.

8. EXPLORATION IN WESTERN TIBET 1885-1903

In the last years of the nineteenth century a number of travellers explored Northern and North-Western Tibet, with most of them starting their journeys from Leh in Ladakh. As well as the journeys of the mainly British explorers described below, other Europeans, such as Sven Hedin, Bonvalot, Dutreil de Rhins, and a number of Russian explorers, also visited Northern Tibet, travelling from Central Asia.

a) Carey and Dalglish 1885-1887

Arthur Carey, accompanied by Andrew Dalglish, left Leh in 1885 and spent the next two years travelling on the borders of Northern Tibet. Their route, which crossed the Chang Chenmo Valley and the Aksai Chin, was further east than that previously travelled by a European, although Kishen Singh had traversed it during the Yarkand Mission.

1275. Anon. 1887. Mr A.D. Carey's travels in Turkistan and Tibet. *Proc. R. geogr. Soc.* n.s. 9: 175-176, 377-378.
1276. Anon. 1936. Arthur Douglas Carey [obituary]. *Geogr. J.* 88: 191-192.
1277. Carey, A.D. 1887, 1888. A journey round Chinese Turkistan and along the northern frontier of Tibet. *Proc. R. geogr. Soc.* n.s. 9: 731-752; n.s. 10: 41-44.
1278. Cora, G. 1886/1888. Spedizione di A.D. Carey attorno al Tarkestan Chinese e lungo le frontiere nord del Tibet (1885-87). *Cosmos* 9: 88-95.
1279. Morgan, E.D. 1893. Journey of Carey and Dalglish in Chinese Turkistan and Northern Tibet (Mr Dalglish's itinerary); and General Prejevalsky on the orography of Northern Tibet, with introductory remarks by E. Delmar Morgan. *Supply Pap. R. geogr. Soc.* 3: 1-86.

See also nos 262, 1348, 1879.

b) Bower 1891-1892

Captain Hamilton Bower was accompanied by Dr W.G. Thorold of the Indian Medical Service, and Atma Ram of the Survey of India, on this journey during which they made a west to east crossing of the Tibetan plateau. His plans received the approval of the Viceroy of India, and in July 1891 the party crossed into Tibet from Ladakh by way of the Lanak La. They then travelled eastwards through the northern districts of Tibet and Kham, and reached Tachienlu in China in February 1892.

1280. Anon. 1892. Captain Bower's journey across Tibet. *Proc. R. geogr. Soc.* n.s. 14: 319-320.
1281. Aitoff, D. 1893. Voyage au Tibet. *Nouv. Géogr.* 3: 104-107.
1282. Bower, H. 1893. A journey across Tibet. *Geogr. J.* 1: 385-408.
Abstracts: *Scott. geogr. Mag.* 9: 314-316, 1893; *Bull. Soc. R. belg. Géogr.* 17: 384-387, 1893; *Nature* 47: 400, Feb. 23. 1893.

1283. Bower, H. 1894. *Diary of a journey across Tibet*. London, Rivington, Percival. xvi, 309 p. Reprinted: Kathmandu, Ratna Pustak Bhandar, 1976.
[Reviewed: *Nation* 59: 88, 1894; G.Wegener, *Petermanns Mitt.* 42: Lit. Ber. no. 487, 1896]
1284. Knight, E.F. 1893. *Where three empires meet. A narrative of recent travel in Kashmir, Western Tibet, Gilgit, and the adjoining countries*. London, Longmans, Green. xvi, 495 p.
[Reviewed: E.G.J., *Dial* 15: 9-12, July/Dec. 1893; *Globus* 64: 181, 1893; *Athenaeum* no. 3421: 629-630, May 20, 1893]
Knight accompanied Bower on his expedition as far as Ladakh and makes general observations about the frontier.
1285. Morgan, E.D. 1893. Recent exploration in Tibet. *Rep. Br. Ass. Advmt Sci.* 63: 841.
1286. [Ram, Atma] 1893. Tibet and Western China. Report by Col. T.H. Holdich...on the route survey executed by Atma Ram, in company with Captain Bower, in Tibet and Western China, in 1891/92. *Gen. Rep. Ops Surv. India* 1891/1892: lxi-lxvii. Reprinted in no 1991.
The major part of the article contains his account of the journey entitled 'Notes on a journey from Lanak Pass in Changthang to the western frontier of China, through Tibet'. There is also a short introduction by Holdich and notes by him on the route maps of Bower.
1287. [Younghusband, F.E.] 1940. Major-General Sir Hamilton Bower, K.C.B. [obituary] by F.E.Y. *Geogr. J.* 96: 231-232.

See also nos 185, 262, 279, 852, 1878-9, 1991, 2982, 2992.

c) The Littledales 1895

St. George Littledale, accompanied by his wife and nephew W.A.L. Fletcher, left England in November 1894 and travelled via Bokhara, Kashgar, Yarkand and Khoten to Tibet. They reached a point about seventy miles from Lhasa before being forced to turn back by Tibetan officials. They then travelled west to Leh in Ladakh.

1288. Fletcher, W.A.L. 1896. A journey towards Llassa. *Trans. A. Rep. Lpool geogr. Soc.* 5: 74-92.
1289. Galwan, G.R. 1923. *Servant of sahibs*. Cambridge, Heffer. xix, 282 p.
[Reviewed: E.C.Sykes, *J. cent. Asian Soc.* 11: 279-280, 1924]
Galwan was a Ladakhi Muslim who worked for many years in the service of English travellers in the Himalayas and Tibet. He accompanied Younghusband on his journey to Yarkand in 1890, and the Littledales in 1895.

1290. Jambon, C. 1896. Voyage de M. et Mme Littledale à travers le Thibet 1895. *Bull Soc. Géogr. comm. Bordeaux* 2s., 19: 313-316.
1291. Littledale, St. G.R. 1896. A journey across Tibet from north to south, and west to Ladak. *Geogr. J.* 7: 453-483; *J. Tyneside geogr. Soc.* 3: 242-257. Abstract: *Scott. geogr. Mag.* 12: 317-319.
1292. [Younghusband, F.E.] 1931. St. George R. Littledale [obituary], by F.E.Y. *Geogr. J.* 78: 95-96.

See also nos 185, 262, 1339, 1346, 1348, 1879, 2982.

d) Wellby and Malcolm 1896

Captain Montagu S. Wellby and Lieut. Neill Malcolm, two officers on leave, were the next explorers to cross Northern Tibet. They crossed the Lanak La in June 1896 and, following a more northerly route to China than that taken by Bower, reached Peking in December. The objects of their journey were to explore Northern Tibet, find a new route to China and to discover what influence Russia was gaining in North China. They were accompanied by a sub-surveyor of the Survey of India.

1293. Anon. 1897. Deux explorations au Thibet. *A travers le monde* 3: 124.
Journeys of Wellby and Malcolm, and Deasy and Pike.
1294. Anon. 1897. Neue Reisen durch Tibet. *Globus* 71: 164.
Journeys of Wellby and Malcolm, and Deasy and Pike.
1295. Anon. 1897. Travellers in Tibet. *Scott geogr. Mag.* 13: 204.
Journeys of Wellby and Malcolm, and Deasy and Pike.
1296. Anon. 1898. Captain Wellby's and Lieut. Malcolm's journey across Tibet. *Geogr. J.* 11: 295-296.
1297. Malcolm, G.I. 1957. Two soldiers in Tibet. *Army Q.* 73: 202-205.
1298. [Malcolm, N.] 1897. Journey of Captain Wellby and Lieut. Malcolm across Tibet. *Geogr. J.* 9: 215-217.
1299. Wellby, M.S. 1897. From Leh to Peking across Tibet. *J. un. Serv. Instn India* 26: 177-198.
1300. Wellby, M.S. 1898. Through Tibet to China. *Geogr. J.* 12: 262-280.
1301. Wellby, M.S. 1898. *Through unknown Tibet*. London, T. Fisher Unwin. xiv, 440 p.

[Reviewed: *Scott. geogr. Mag.* 14: 491-2, 1898; *Spectator* 80: 862-863, 1898; 81: 341, 1898]

1302. Wellby, M.S. and Malcolm, N. 1897. *Report with map upon a journey through Northern Tibet and Northern China; also upon the late Mahomedan rebellion; China's weak rule; Russia's increasing influence in Northern China.* Simla, Government Central Press. 19, 42 p.

1303. Wellby, M.S. and Malcolm, N. 1897. *Road report of route across Tibet and China.* Simla, Government Central Printing Office. 42 p.

See also nos 262, 1346, 1348, 1879.

e) Deasy 1896-1899

Captain H.H.P. Deasy explored extensively in West and North-West Tibet in the years 1896-1899. He was accompanied by Mr Arnold Pike and surveyors of the Survey of India.

1304. Anon. 1896. British travellers in Tibet. *Geogr. J.* 8: 635.

1305. Anon. 1896. Captain Deasy's expedition in Central Asia. *Geogr. J.* 8: 296.

1306. Anon. 1896. Captain Deasy's expedition to Thibet. *Scient. Am.* 75: 445, Dec. 19.

1307. Deasy, H.H.P. 1897. Captain Deasy's journey in Western Tibet. *Geogr. J.* 9: 217-218.

1308. Deasy, H.H.P. 1900. Journeys in Central Asia. *Geogr. J.* 16: 141-164, 501-27. Abstract: *Rep. Br. Ass. Advmt Sci.* 70: 812.

1309. Deasy, H.H.P. 1900. The roof of the world: journeys in Central Asia. *J. Manchr geogr. Soc.* 16: 197-201.

1310. Deasy, H.H.P. 1900, 1901. My travels in Central Asia. *Wide Wld Mag.* 6: 434-440, 549-553; 7: 14-20.

1311. Deasy, H.H.P. 1901. *In Tibet and Chinese Turkestan; being the record of three years' exploration.* London, T. Fisher Unwin. xvi, 420 p.
[Reviewed: S.H.F.C[apenny], *Scott. geogr. Mag.* 17: 310-321, 1901; T.H.H[oldich], *Geogr. J.* 18: 526-527, 1901]

1312. Deasy, H.H.P. 1901. A journey to Northern Tibet and Aksai Chin. *Geogr. J.* 13: 155-159.

1313. Grénard, F. 1900. Le capitaine H.H.P. Deasy en Asie centrale. *Géographie* 1: 237-238.
1314. Grénard, F. 1901. Voyages en Asie centrale du capitaine H.H.P. Deasy (1896-1898). *Géographie* 3: 394-397.
1315. Keltie, S. 1896. Hydrographie asiatique. *C. r. Séanc. Soc. Géogr. Paris* nos 15/16: 300-301.

Deasy hoped to solve some of the riddles of the Asian rivers on this journey.

See also nos 281, 1293-5, 1346, 2992.

f) Landor 1897

Arnold Henry Savage Landor crossed into Tibet from Kumaon in May 1897 without government permission. He hoped to reach Lhasa but was arrested by Tibetans near Lake Manasarovar and was ill-treated before being released near Taklakot. Two years later he travelled extensively in North-West Nepal.

1316. Anon. 1897. Return of Mr Landor from Tibet. *Geogr. J.* 10: 537.
1317. Anon. 1898. Savage Landor's Rückkehr aus Thibet. *Öst. Mschr. Orient* 24: 12.
1318. Dresser, H.W. 1899. An Anglo-Saxon in the east. *Arena* 21: 296-310.
1319. Landor, A.H.S. 1898. *In the forbidden land; an account of a journey in Tibet, capture by the Tibetan authorities, imprisonment, torture, and ultimate release...also various official documents including the enquiry and report by J. Larkin Esq., appointed by the Government of India.* London, Heinemann. 2 vols. Reprinted with title: *Tibet, the forbidden land.* Delhi, Gian Publications, 1980.
[Reviewed: T.H.Holdich, *Geogr. J.* 12: 587-588, 1898; T.H.Holdich, *Nature* 59: 9-11, Nov. 3, 1898; F.Lampe, *Verh. Ges. Erdk. Berl.* 26: 113-116, 1899; *Alpine J.* 19: 277-279, 1898/1899; G.Th.R., *Dt. Rdsch. Geogr. Statist.* 21: 145-154, 1898/1899; *Globus* 74: 323-325, 1898; *Öst. Mschr. Orient* 24: 135-138, 1898]
1320. Landor, A.H.S. 1899. Le voyage d'un Anglais aux régions interdites (le pays sacré des Lamas). *Tour du Monde* n.s. 5: 1-96.
1321. Landor, A.H.S. 1905. *Tibet and Nepal.* London, A. & C. Black. x, 233 p. Reprinted with title: *Tibet & Nepal: political, cultural, geographical & historical.* New Delhi, Light & Life Publishers, 1975.
[Reviewed: *Alpine J.* 22: 405-407, 1905; *Edinb. Rev.* 201: 338-360, 1905; *Sat. Rev.* 100: 247-248, 1905; *Spectator* 94: 178-179, 1905]
- Account of his second journey to the Kumaon-Tibetan border region, and to West Nepal. He comments on the border incursions of the Tibetans in Kumaon at this time.

1322. Landor, A.H.S. 1910. *An explorer's adventures in Tibet*. New York, Harper. 275 p. Reprinted: La Crescenta, CA, Mountain N' Air Books, 2000.
1323. Landor, A.H.S. 1910. Les sources principales du Brahmapoutre et du Sutledje. *Asie fr.* 10(117): 507-513.
His visit to Lakes Manasarovar and Rakas Tal, on whether there is a connection between the two lakes, and on what he considers are the main sources of the two rivers.
1324. Landor, A.H.S. 1924. *Everywhere: the memoirs of an explorer*. London, T. Fisher Unwin. 586 p.
1325. Singer, H. 1900. Rakas-Tal and Manasarowar. *Petermanns Mitt.* 46: 166-167.
On the question of whether there is a connection between the two lakes following Landor's report that there is none. Also reviews the exploration of Moorcroft and the Strachey brothers in the area, and their conclusions.
1326. Strachey, R. 1898. Connection between Manasarowar and Rakas-Tal. *Nature* 59: 76, Nov. 24.
Disputes Landor's assertion that the connection between the lakes is open to doubt.
- See also nos 185, 278, 852, 924, 2975.

g) Crosby 1903

Oscar T. Crosby, an American, travelled from Yarkand across the Aksai Chin to Ladakh in 1903. He was accompanied by Ferdinand Angineur. In his publications Crosby strongly criticised British policy in Tibet at this time.

1327. Anon. 1904. Mr O. Crosby's journey in Central Asia. *Geogr. J.* 23: 253.
1328. Angineur, F. 1904. *En Asie Centrale. Turkestan - Thibet - Cachemir (1903)*. Paris, E. Leroux. 121 p.
Includes a chapter entitled 'L'Angleterre et la Russie en Asie Centrale' which gives the background to the Younghusband Mission.
1329. Crosby, O.T. 1904. Turkestan and a corner of Tibet. *Geogr. J.* 23: 705-722.
1330. [Crosby, O.T.] 1904. Crosby expedition to Tibet. *Natn. geogr. Mag.* 15: 229-231.
1331. Crosby, O.T. 1905. From Tiflis to Tibet. *Bull. Am. geogr. Soc.* 37: 703-

1332. Crosby, O.T. 1905. *Tibet and Turkestan; a journey through old lands and a study of new conditions*. New York, Putnams. xvi, 331 p.
[Reviewed: *Nation* 82: 81, 1906; *Geogr. J.* 27: 493, 1906]

h) Rawling and Hargreaves 1903

Captain C.G. Rawling, accompanied by Lieut. A.J. Hargreaves and a sub-surveyor of the Survey of India, left Leh in May 1903 and crossed into Tibet with the aim of surveying beyond the area reached by Deasy in 1898. They mapped a large area of North-West Tibet between Rudok and the Kuen-lun Mountains.

1333. Anon. 1903. Captain Rawling's surveys in Western Tibet. *Geogr. J.* 22: 696-697.
1334. Anon. 1904. Thibet. Exploration du capitaine Rawling. *Bull. Soc. Étud. colon.* 11: 51-53.
1335. Anon. 1904/1905. Englische Forschungsreise in West-Tibet (Rudok) and Feststellung von Goldfeldern. *Asien* 4: 170-171.
1336. Rawling, C.G. 1905. Exploration of Western Tibet and Rudok. Undertaken by Captain Rawling and Lieut. Hargreaves of the Somerset Light Infantry, in 1903. *Geogr. J.* 25: 414-429. Abstract: *Bull. Soc. Étud. colon.* 12: 428-430, 1905.
1337. Rawling, C.G. 1905. *The great plateau, being an account of exploration in Central Tibet, 1903, and of the Gartok Expedition, 1904-1905*. London, E. Arnold. xii, 324 p.
[Reviewed: F.E.Y[ounghusband], *Geogr. J.* 27: 188-189, 1906]
- On his second journey, following the Younghusband Mission, Rawling was accompanied by Ryder, Wood, and Bailey (see Chapter XII.3b). They surveyed the route from Gyantse up the Tsangpo to its source, then to Gartok, and back to India via the Shipki Pass. Maps are included showing the routes of both his journeys.
1338. Rawling, C.G. 1905. *Military report on Western Tibet including Chang Tang and Rudok*. Simla. Government Monotype Press. 96 p.
- Covers the geography, communications, climate, resources, ethnography and administration of Western Tibet. An estimate of the fighting strength of Western Tibet, arms available, and the location of guards is given, and a detailed guide to routes in the area provided. There is a large scale map of the section of Western Tibet explored by Rawling and Hargreaves in 1903.

See also nos 262, 1813, 2949.

i) Other Journeys

1339. Anon. 1904. Voyages et explorations au Tibet. *A travers le monde* 10: 241-244.

The journeys of Dutreil de Rhins, Bonvalot, Henry d'Orleans, the Littledales, Sven Hedin, and Simmonds.

1340. Adair, F.E.S. 1899. *A summer in high Asia, being a record of sport and travel in Baltistan and Ladakh. With an appendix on Central Asian trade by Capt. S.H. Godfrey.* London, W. Thacker. xii. 286 p.

Account of a sporting trip to Kashmir and Ladakh in 1894 in which he comments briefly on the inability of Europeans to cross into Tibet. The appendix by Godfrey, then British Joint Commissioner at Leh, contains a report on the trade of Ladakh with China and Tibet, and a note on trade between Ladakh and India.

1341. [Diener, C.] 1892. Schreiben über seine Forschungsreise nach dem centralen Himalaya aus Almora (Kumaon) ddo. 23 Mai 1892. *Anz. Akad. Wiss. Wien Math.-Naturw. Kl.* 29: 137-138, 155-156, 196-199, 213-216.

Letters from, and concerning Diener and his journey in Kumaon in 1892.

1342. Diener, C. 1893. Über seine Expedition in den central-Himalaya von Kumaon, Hundes und Garhwal. *Verh. Ges. Erdk. Berl.* 20: 297-313. Abstracts: *Geogr. J.* 2: 258-261, 1893; *Scott. geogr. Mag.* 9: 538-540, 1893.

His journey made in 1892 to study the trias deposits on the Tibetan frontier at the request of the Vienna Academy of Sciences and the Indian Government. He explored the border region lying to the north of Milam after 'lengthy negotiations with Tibetan frontier guards'. He also encountered Tibetan guards on his way to the Niti Pass. A map showing Diener's route accompanies the article.

1343. Diener, C. 1895. Mittheilungen über eine Reise im Central-Himalaya von Kumaon, Gurhwal und den angrenzenden Theilen von Tibet. *Z. dt. Alpenver.* 26: 269-314.

Another account of his 1892 journey during which he reached the Niti Pass. He gives a summary of the trouble between the Tibetans and Indians over this area of the border, including the trip made by J.S. Campbell, Asst. Commissioner of Garhwal, to the Niti Pass in 1888 to meet the Tibetans.

1344. Dunmore, C.A.M., 7th Earl. 1893. *The Pamirs; being a narrative of a year's expedition on horseback and on foot through Kashmir, Western Tibet, Chinese Tartary and Russian Central Asia.* London, J. Murray. 2 vols.

Mainly concerned with his travels in the Pamirs in 1892, but it includes a description and history of Ladakh and comments on its commercial importance.

1345. Hedin, S.A. 1903. *Central Asia and Tibet: towards the holy city of Lassa.* London, Hurst & Blackett. 2 vols. Reprinted: New York, Greenwood Press, 1969.

Detailed account of his 1899-1902 journey through Chinese Turkestan and then south into Tibet. He travelled through parts of northern Tibet and tried to reach Lhasa but was turned back by Tibetan troops. He then turned south and travelled through Ladakh to India where he stayed with Lord Curzon.

1346. Hedin, S.A. 1904-1907. *Scientific results of a journey in Central Asia, 1899-1902*. Stockholm, Lithographic Institute of the General staff of the Swedish Army. 6 vols.
[Reviewed: *Geogr. J.* 27: 613, 1906]

See vol. 3 *North and East Tibet* and vol. 4 *Central and West Tibet*. Vol. 3 gives a detailed account of his journeys, the geography of northeastern Tibet, and the routes he travelled in 1896, 1900 and 1901. Vol. 4 describes his journey west to Ladakh in 1901-1902 and also includes a large section on 'Explorer's journeys to high Tibet' which covers the travels of Przhevalsky, Rockhill, A.K., Wellby and Malcolm, Bonvalot, Dutreuil de Rhins, Littledale, Nain Singh, Bower, Deasy and Rawling. Vol. 4 also includes a chapter on the Younghusband Mission in which Hedin comments on the geographical information derived from the Mission and regrets that more exploration was not undertaken. He also criticises the British policy of withdrawing from Tibet instead of opening the country up for further exploration.

1347. Neve, A. 1913. *Thirty years in Kashmir*. London, Edward Arnold. viii, 316 p.

Includes an account of his visit to Ladakh in 1897 together with an account of the Dogra invasions of Ladakh and Tibet under Zorawar Singh.

1348. Sheik, A.G. 1997. Some well-known adventurers in Ladakh. In: *Recent research on Ladakh 6: proceedings of the Sixth International Colloquium on Ladakh*. Ed. by H. Osmaston and Nawang Tsering. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, p. 231-238.

Highlights the work of Ladakhis who were employed on European expeditions to Central Asia and Tibet. These included Mohammed Issa who served with Carey and Dalgliesh, Rawling, Ryder and Hedin and took part in the Younghusband Mission; Galwan Rasul who travelled with the Littledales and Younghusband; Qalam Rasul who went with Wellby and Malcolm, and Shakur Ali. Also provides information on Chhumbel who accompanied the pundits, Nain Singh, Kishen Singh and Kalian Singh.

1349. Sheik, A.G. 2000. Rassul Galwan: a great adventurer of Ladakh. In: P.S. Jina, ed. *Ladakh: past and present*. New Delhi, Gyan Publishing House, p. 139-147.

On his life accompanying many expeditions in Central Asia and Tibet and on his book about his experiences (see no. 1289).

1350. Simmonds, C.E. 1903, 1904. On foot to Thibet. *Wide Wld Mag.* 12: 491-498, 545-552; 13: 70-76.

Simmonds travelled in the Himalaya in 1903 prospecting for precious stones and metals. He crossed the Shipki Pass but was unable to go further due to government regulations.

1351. Younghusband, F.E. 1896. *The heart of a continent: a narrative of travels in Manchuria, across the Gobi Desert, through the Himalayas, the Pamirs, and Chitral, 1884-1894*. London, J. Murray. xvii, 409 p.

Includes information on the northern borders of Ladakh, and gives an account of Russian exploration in Chinese Turkestan and on the borders of Tibet.

See also no. 1879

Chapter VI

SIKKIM 1814-1903

British relations with Sikkim originated with the Anglo Nepalese War of 1814-1816. Due to its strategic importance the British sought the co-operation of Sikkim during the war and, at its end, restored to Sikkim territory previously occupied by Nepal by the Treaty of Titalia signed in 1817. This treaty marked the opening of British relations with Sikkim and it gave them influence over a state which commanded a direct route to Tibet. However it was not until after the war with Sikkim in 1861 that this became the main area through which the British directed their efforts to open relations with Tibet.

The acquisition of Darjeeling by the British from Sikkim in 1835 provided them with a hill station in a strategic position in relation to Sikkim, Nepal and Bhutan. From the beginning relations between the British in Darjeeling and the Sikkim rulers were uneasy. These deteriorated with the appointment of Dr Archibald Campbell as Superintendent of Darjeeling in 1839, and came to a head with the journeys of Dr Joseph Hooker and Campbell in Sikkim in 1848 and 1849. Their arrest by the Sikkimese and the ill treatment of Campbell led to British annexation of the Sikkim Terai and part of the Sikkim hills.

Disputes between Sikkim and the British continued and in 1860 a British force entered Sikkim. The treaty signed at Tumlong in 1861 following the conclusion of this action brought Sikkim under the control of the Government of India. From this time increasing efforts were made to improve trade relations with Tibet through Sikkim as it was the shortest route between Calcutta and Lhasa.

In 1885-1886 preparations were made to send a commercial mission to Tibet led by Colman Macaulay. This mission was abandoned due to Tibetan opposition and as a response to the offer of concessions by the Chinese in Burma. However, before the abandonment of the mission was known, the Tibetans had crossed into Sikkim and occupied Lingtu, a hill on the road to Darjeeling. Action was not taken against them until 1888 when a British force under Colonel T. Graham expelled the Tibetans from Sikkim after diplomatic efforts had failed to get them to withdraw.

In 1890 an Anglo Chinese Convention was signed which recognised the British protectorate over Sikkim, and defined the boundary between Sikkim and Tibet. Three years later a supplementary trade agreement was appended to this Convention which established a trade mart in Yatung in the Chumbi Valley. The Tibetans did not participate in either of these agreements and refused to recognise them, actively obstructing both trade and efforts to demarcate the Sikkim-Tibet border. Thus a stalemate situation occurred until the arrival of Lord Curzon as Viceroy of India in 1899.

1. GENERAL

1352. Anon. 1944. Sikkim. *Indian geogr. J.* 19: 41-48.

General article on Sikkim including an account of its history, geography, and trade, and its strategic importance situated between India and Tibet.

1353. Bajpai, G.S. 1999. *China's shadow over Sikkim: the politics of intimidation*. New Delhi, Lancer Publishers. xvi, 243, [2] p.
[Reviewed: P.Mehra, *Int. Stud.* 38: 315-317, 2001]

Examines the major events in Sikkim's history from the middle of the nineteenth century to the merger of Sikkim with India in 1975. The first half analyses the period to 1904 when British relations with Sikkim were vitally influenced by her attempts to use the country as a route to Tibet and Western China and also the attempts to settle the Sikkim-Tibet border.

1354. Basnet, L.B. 1974. *Sikkim; a short political history*. New Delhi, S. Chand. vi, 216 p.

Includes a history of British relations with Sikkim with the major treaties included in the appendices.

1355. Bengal. Secretariat. 1874. *The gazetteer of Sikkim*. With an introduction by H.H. Risley. Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press. xx, 392 p. Reprinted: New Delhi, Manjusri, 1972; Delhi, Oriental Publishers, 1973; Delhi, B.R. Pub. Corp., 1985.

The introduction by Risley contains an account of British relations with Sikkim.

1356. Bhanja, K.C. 1984. *Mystic Tibet and the Himalaya*. Delhi, Cultural Publishing House. ix, 306 p.

History of Darjeeling, Sikkim and Tibet as well as accounts of mountaineering expeditions to Kanchenjunga and Everest.

1357. Bidya Nand. 1975. The establishment of British India's protectorate over Sikkim. *J. hist. Res.* 18(1): 38-45, Aug.

On British relations with Sikkim from 1817 to 1888, the reaction of Tibet and China to the extension of British control, and on Tibet's claim to Sikkim as a dependency.

1358. Buckland, C.E. 1901. *Bengal under the lieutenant-governors; being a narrative of the principal events and public measures during their periods of office, from 1854 to 1898*. Calcutta, S.K. Lahiri. 2 vols.

Covers the main events of British relations with Sikkim, Bhutan, Tibet and the hill tribes of the North East Frontier during this period.

1359. Chatterjee, A. 1976/1977. Indo-Sikkim relations (1816-1935). *Q. Rev. hist. Stud.* 16(2): 85-93.

1360. Chauhan, R.S. 1975. Constitutional development in Sikkim. *South Asian Studies* 10(1&2): 68-93.

Includes an account of British influence and its impact on Sikkim and the political system during the British period.

1361. Chopra, P.N. 1979. *Sikkim*. New Delhi, S. Chand. vii, 113 p.
Includes an account of the history of Sikkim and its relations with the British.
1362. Coelho, V.H. 1971. *Sikkim and Bhutan*. New Delhi, Indian Council for Cultural Relations. x, 138 p.
[Reviewed: S.P.Varma, *India Q.* 27(1): 90-91, 1971]
Account of the history, government and natural resources of Sikkim and Bhutan. The appendices include a translation of the deed transferring Darjeeling to the East India Company in 1835, the 1861 treaty with Sikkim, and the Anglo-Chinese Convention of 1890 and Trade Regulations of 1893.
1363. Desgodins, A. 1882. *Indes anglaises*. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Est* 4: 101-113.
Mainly concerns Darjeeling and its environs, but also gives a brief account of British relations with Sikkim, Bhutan, the Chumbi Valley, and Tawang.
1364. Forstmann, C. 1926. *Himatschal, die Throne der Götter. 25 Jahre im Himalaya*. Berlin, A. Scherl. 432 p.
Comprehensive account of Sikkim, and of Forstmann's journeys to that state.
1365. Goblet d'Alviella, E.F.A. 1877. *Inde et Himalaya: souvenirs de voyage*. Paris, E. Plon. 391 p.
Includes an account of his visit to Sikkim, and gives a brief resume of British relations with Sikkim and Tibet.
1366. Goblet d'Alviella, E.F.A. 1882/1883. *Le Royaume de Sikkim*. *Annales extr. Orient* 5: 80-85, 110-115.
Includes an account of British relations with Sikkim and Tibet.
1367. Grover, B.S.K. 1974. *Sikkim and India: storm and consolidation*. New Delhi, Jain Brothers. xvi, 248 p.
Includes a section on British relations with Sikkim and reproduces the major agreements, regulations and conventions relevant to Sikkim during this period. These include the deed ceding Darjeeling, the Treaty of 1861, Anglo-Chinese Convention, 1890, Trade Regulations, 1893, and the Lhasa Convention, 1904.
1368. Hecker, H. 1970. *Sikkim und Bhutan; die verfassungsgeschichtliche und politische Entwicklung der indischen Himalaya-Protectorate*. Frankfurt/M., A. Metzner. 73 p.
Traces the relations of Sikkim and Bhutan with Britain, India and China and reproduces the major agreements concluded with those states.
1369. Hunter, W.W. 1875-1877. *A statistical account of Bengal*. London, Trübner. 20 vols. Reprinted: Delhi, D.K. Publishing House, 1973.

Information is given separately on each district of Bengal; Darjeeling is included in vol. 10.

1370. Jha, P.K. 1985. *History of Sikkim, 1817-1904: analysis of British policy and activities*. Calcutta, O.P.S. Publishers. xiii, 173p.
1371. Kottuppallil, G. 1991. The first phase of Roman Catholic presence in the district of Darjeeling (1846-1900). In: T.B. Subba and K. Datta, eds. *Religion and society in the Himalayas*. New Delhi, Gian Publishing House, p. 106-115.
- History of attempts by Catholic missionaries to establish themselves in Darjeeling and in nearby areas which were largely thwarted by the opposition of Protestants working through Government officials. Also covers the unsuccessful attempts by Auguste Desgodins and Louis Bernard to enter Tibet through Sikkim, Nepal and Ladakh.
1372. Kotturan, G. 1983. *The Himalayan gateway: history and culture of Sikkim*. New Delhi, Sterling Publishers. 172 p.
- Includes an account of British relations with Sikkim.
1373. [Lebedeva, N.B.] 1965. British colonial policy in Sikkim. *Central Asian Rev.* 13: 258-266.
- Anti-British account of British activity in Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet from Bogle's mission in 1774 to Younghusband's mission in 1904. The article originally appeared in K.M. Popov, ed. *Kolonializm vchera i segodnya*. Moscow, 1964.
1374. Majumdar, E. 1994. The Route: a study of the trade route connecting the frontier trade port of Kalimpong with the plains of Bengal and Lhasa (1865-1965). *Proc. Indian Hist. Congr.* 55: 630-638.
- Discusses the initial difficulties encountered by the British in establishing the route from Bengal to Tibet, and its subsequent success both for trade and as the main access route to Tibet.
1375. Mehra, P.L. 1960. Lacunae in the study of the history of Bhutan and Sikkim. *Proc. Indian hist. Congr.* 23(2): 190-201.
- Includes an account of British relations with Sikkim and Bhutan, and comments on areas of study still to be examined.
1376. Mehra, P.L. 1968. Sikkim and Bhutan: an historical conspectus. *J. Indian Hist.* 46: 89-124.
1377. [Mojumdar, K.] 1959/1960. Tibet and British India in the 19th century, by K. Majumdar. *Orissa hist. Res. J.* 8: 218-224.
- Mainly devoted to British relations with Sikkim and her efforts to promote trade with Tibet.
1378. Mojumdar, K. 1966. The Chumbi dagger. *Geogr. Observ.* 2: 62-67.

Concerns the strategic danger to India of the Chumbi Valley today, but also points out its importance as a trade route between India and Tibet in the past.

1379. Mojumdar, K. 1977. The role of Sikkim in Indo-Nepalese relations in the nineteenth century. *Proc. Indian hist. Congr.* 38: 661-666.
- Sikkim's hostile relations with Kathmandu was an important element in the formation of British India's Nepal policy as it enabled them to play one country off against the other and gain influence over both.
1380. Olschak, B.C. 1965. *Sikkim. Himalajastaat zwischen Gletschern und Dschungeln.* Zürich, Schweizer Verlagshaus. 224 p.
- General account of Sikkim including a brief account of its history and contact with the British.
1381. Paul, A.W. 1895. The Himalayan state of Sikkim. *Rep. Australas. Ass. Advmt Sci.* 6: 552-557.
- Account of the history of Sikkim and its relations with Britain, Nepal and Tibet.
1382. Pearson, A.J. 1888. *Sikkim.* Compiled under orders of the Quarter Master General in India (for political and military reference) in 1883 and brought up to date by Col. E.T. Thackeray. Provisional edition. Simla, Government Central Press. vii, 140 p.
- Describes the geography, history and politics of Sikkim, the military strength of Tibet, and other information of a political or military nature, including reports from officers involved in the 1861 campaign against Sikkim. A large scale map of Sikkim accompanies the report.
1383. Rahul, R. 1976. Sikkim of history. *Int. Stud.* 15(1): 15-28.
1384. Rao, P.R. 1972. *India and Sikkim (1814-1970).* New Delhi, Sterling Publishers. xvi, 227 p.
- [Reviewed: C.R.Rathee, *Thought* 24(39): 18-19, Sept. 23, 1972; L.E.Rose, *Pacific Affairs* 46: 338-339, 1973; Ramakant, *Polit. Sci. Rev.* 13(1-4): 460-462, 1974]
- Detailed review of British relations with Sikkim with emphasis on the years 1814 to 1906. The texts of major treaties and documents concerning Sikkim and Tibet are reproduced in the appendices.
1385. Risley, H.H. 1896. History of Sikkim. *J. Buddh. Text Soc. India* 4(Pt 1, App. 2): 6-16.
- History of Sikkim from the seventh century, with details of its rulers from 1604 and a discussion of the events of their reigns.
1386. Rock, J.F. 1953. Excerpts from a history of Sikkim. *Anthropos* 48: 925-948.
- Excerpts from the English translation of the Tibetan manuscript on the history of Sikkim written by the late Maharaja Thutob Namgyal and Maharani Yeshay Dolma in 1908.

1387. Rose, L.E. 1990. Modern Sikkim in an historical perspective. In: L. Epstein and R.F. Sherburne, eds. *Reflections on Tibetan culture: essays in memory of Turrell V. Wylie*. Lewiston, Edwin Mellon Press, p. 59-74.
Includes an account of Sikkim's relations with Nepal, Bhutan, Tibet, and British India.
1388. Saleur, M. 1887. Un coin des Himalayas, Darjeeling et le Sikkim. *Miss. Cathol.* 19: 449-452, 464-466, 474-477, 486-489, 497-501, 509-513.
A general account of Sikkim and Darjeeling including a brief historical account of the British acquisition of Darjeeling.
1389. Sharma, S.K. and Sharma, U., eds. 1997. *Encyclopaedia of Sikkim and Bhutan*. New Delhi, Anmol Publications. 3 vols.
Vol. 1. Documents on Sikkim and Bhutan. Vol. 2. History, geography and travels. Vol. 3. Social and cultural heritage. Valuable collection of documents. Includes the major treaties, deeds of grants, accounts by early travellers, and important despatches concerning Sikkim and Bhutan.
1390. Shukla, S.R. 1976. *Sikkim: the story of integration*. New Delhi, S. Chand. x, 280 p.
Includes a section on Sikkim's relations with the British.
1391. Sinha, N.C. 1974. The Chogyals of Sikkim. *Beng. Past Present* 93: 1-6. Reprinted in his *How Chinese was China's Tibet region? Essays & notes on Tibet & the neighbouring countries*. Calcutta, Firma KLM Private, 1981, p. 71-77.
Traces the lineage of the Chogyals from 1642 and their relations with the British in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.
1392. Tobin, H.W. 1930. Exploration and climbing in the Sikkim Himalaya. *Himalayan J.* 2: 1-12.
Summarises the history of exploration and climbing in and near Sikkim from the exploration of Hooker in 1848-1849 to the climbing expeditions in the twentieth century.
1393. Zetland, L.J.L.D., 2nd Marquis. 1923. *Lands of the thunderbolt, Sikkim, Chumbi and Bhutan*, by the Earl of Ronaldshay. London, Constable. xvii, 267 p. Reprinted: Berkeley, Snow Lion Graphics, 1987; New Delhi, Asian Educational Services, 2000. Reprinted with title: *Himalayan Bhutan, Sikkim & Tibet*. Delhi, Ess Ess Publications, 1977.
[Reviewed: F.E. Younghusband, *Geogr. J.* 61: 451-452, 1923; C.B., *J. cent. Asian Soc.* 10: 341-342, 1923; *Scott. geogr. Mag.* 40: 109, 1924]
Ronaldshay visited these areas between 1918-1921 and his work includes an account of their contact with the British. A map, with his routes marked on it, accompanies the work.

See also nos 123-4, 126-7, 131-2, 135, 150, 154, 159, 166, 171, 175-6, 178, 180-1, 188-91, 197-9, 201, 203, 206-7, 215, 227, 229-30, 239-41, 255, 258, 263, 273, 275-6, 393,

470, 484, 518, 597, 601, 1678, 1792, 1981-2, 1991-2, 2089, 2205, 2568, 2659, 2892-3, 2899, 3205, 3511.

2. THE ACQUISITION OF DARJEELING AND BRITISH RELATIONS WITH SIKKIM TO 1847

By the Treaty of Titalia signed in 1817 disputes between Sikkim and Nepal were to be referred to the British for arbitration. Thus when border conflicts occurred in 1826-1827, G.W. Lloyd and J.W. Grant were sent to Sikkim to report on the situation. While in Sikkim they noticed the hill village of Darjeeling and, in 1829, they returned to the area with a surveyor, Captain J.D. Herbert, to investigate the possibilities of this place as a hill station. Further border problems occurred between Nepal and Sikkim in 1834 and, in return for British mediation in the dispute, the Raja of Sikkim eventually agreed to the cession of Darjeeling to the British in February 1835. From 1841 the British paid an annual subsidy to Sikkim in compensation for this grant.

1394. Anon. 1830. The Sikkim mountains. *Asiat. J.* n.s. 3: 340-341.

Concerns the report on Darjeeling by Captain Herbert, and his journey there with Grant in 1829, taken from the *Calcutta Government gazette*.

1395. Anon. 1830. Some further particulars of the country of Siccim, and of its inhabitants, the Lepchas and Bhôtiahs, by J.T. *Glean. Sci.* 2: 177-183.

Account of his journey to Nagri in 1825.

1396. Anon. 1845. *The Dorjeeling guide; including a description of the country, and of its climate, soil and productions; with travelling directions and various maps.* Calcutta, Samuel Smith & Co. 224 p. [Reviewed: *Calcutta Rev.* 4: xlviiii-liii, 1845]

Account of the acquisition of Darjeeling and on the building of the road to the resort.

1397. Anon. 1857. Darjeeling. *Calcutta Rev.* 28(55): 196-225.

General account of the town, its position, history and trade with Tibet.

1398. Anon. 1932. Darjeeling in 1841, by J.D. *Beng. Past Present* 44: 74-85.

Account of the town and the people who lived there in 1841.

1399. Anon. 1967/1968. The Darjeeling grant, by a Student of history. *Q. Rev. hist. Stud.* 7: 175-179.

After reviewing the history of the acquisition of Darjeeling by the British, and examining the notes and correspondence concerning it, he reaches the conclusion that the cession of the tract was 'unconditional and absolute' and that there was 'nothing in the deed or the subsequent correspondence of the Raja to support the argument...that the gift of the tract was for usufructage only'.

1400. Bayley, H.V. 1838. *Dorjé-ling*. Calcutta, G.H. Huttman. 57, x, viii, xxxi, xiv, iii, v p.
[Reviewed: *Asiat. J.* n.s. 27(2): 5, 1838]
Account compiled mainly from reports and memoranda of J.W. Grant and Captain Herbert in 1830, Lieut.-Col. Lloyd and Asst. Surgeon H. Chapman in 1836-1837, and from the official records of the Government regarding Darjeeling. It gives the situation of Darjeeling, the routes to it, and the advantages and reasons for establishing a British settlement there.
1401. Bhattacharyya, M. 1995. Sikkim and Darjeeling: the story of an estranged daughter. *Hist. Rev.* 3(1-2): 28-36. Reprinted in M. Bhattacharyya and P. Chakrabarty. *North East India and her neighbours*. Calcutta, Indian Institute of Oriental Studies and Research, 1995, p. 77-85.
1402. Bomwetsch, G.S. 1899. *Before the glory of the snows, a hand book to Darjeeling*. Calcutta, 'Star' and Central Press Co. 52 p.
A popular guide to Darjeeling including a brief account of its acquisition by the British, its inhabitants, and trade.
1403. Buchanan, W.J. 1908. Notes on old Darjeeling. *Beng. Past Present* 2: 439-458.
An account of the early history of Darjeeling, the 'men who made it' (Lloyd, Grant, and Campbell), troubles with Sikkim and the war with Sikkim in 1861.
1404. Campbell, A. 1842. Report of the death of Mr Csoma de Koros, made to G.A. Bushby, Esq. Officiating Secretary, Political Dept. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 11(1): 303-309.
Report on the last days of the Hungarian scholar in Darjeeling, and on his hopes of visiting Tibet through the intermediary of the Raja of Sikkim.
1405. Dash, A.J., ed. 1947. *Darjeeling*. Alipore, Bengal Government Press. iv, 294 p. (Bengal District gazetteers)
Includes an account of the history of Darjeeling and its contact with Sikkim.
1406. Dozey, E.C. 1917. *A concise and complete history of the Darjeeling District since 1835*. Darjeeling, Gorkha Press. xiv, 217, iv p. Title on cover: *Darjeeling: past and present*.
General account of Darjeeling. It also contains a guide to the route from Darjeeling to Lhasa, and a brief history of Tibet.
1407. Dozey, E.C. 1922. *A concise history of the Darjeeling District since 1835, with a complete itinerary of tours in Sikkim and the district*. Calcutta, N. Mukherjee. xxvi, 350 p.
A revised and enlarged edition of no. 1406.
1408. Gupta, S.C. 1946. Date of the acquisition of Darjeeling by the East India Company. *Proc. Indian hist. Rec. Comm.* 23(2): 44-45.

Account of the events leading to the acquisition of Darjeeling, the date generally accepted for its acquisition - February 1835 - and the negotiations concerning terms that continued after that date between the Sikkim Raja and the British to early 1836.

1409. Hathorn, J.G. 1863. *A handbook of Darjeeling; with brief notes on the culture and manufacture of tea ...* Calcutta, R.C. Lepage. 175 p.
Also includes a history of British relations with Sikkim.
1410. Herbert, J.D. 1830. Particulars of a visit to the Siccim Hills, with some account of Darjiling, a place proposed as the site of a sanatorium or station of health. *Glean. Sci.* 2: 89-96, 114-124.
Account of his journey to Sikkim in 1829 when he accompanied Grant to examine the site of Darjeeling.
1411. Hosten, H. 1930. The centenary of Darjeeling. *Beng. Past Present* 39: 106-123.
Account of the acquisition of Darjeeling by the British in 1835, and the journeys of Lloyd and Grant which preceded the acquisition.
1412. Le Calloc'h, B. 1995. Le dernier voyage d'Alexandre Csoma de Körös (1842). *Revue fr. d'Hist. d'Outre-Mer* 82(308): 277-295.
In 1842 Csoma de Körös tried to reach Tibet via Sikkim but died in Darjeeling whilst waiting for authorization to enter the country.
1413. Lloyd, G.W.A. and Campbell, A. 1845. Further notes respecting the late Csoma de Körös. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 14(2): 823-827.
The last years of the life of Csoma de Körös in Calcutta and Darjeeling, and his efforts to visit Lhasa via Sikkim.
1414. Namgyal, H. 1966. The Sikkimese theory of land-holding and the Darjeeling grant. *Bull. Tibetol.* 3(2): 47-59.
Maintains that Darjeeling was not ceded to the East India Company by Sikkim, as under the Sikkimese land holding law all land belonged to the Raja and only usufructage, not outright ownership, was given to residents of the land.
1415. O'Malley, L.S.S. 1907. *Bengal District gazetteers: Darjeeling.* Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Book Depot. xiv, 231 p. Reprinted: Calcutta, Govt. of West Bengal, West Bengal District Gazetteers, Dept. of Higher Education, 2001.
Detailed account of the Darjeeling District including its history.
1416. Pinn, F. 1986. *The road of destiny: Darjeeling letters 1839.* Calcutta, Oxford University Press. ix, 304 p.
The road from the Indian plains to Darjeeling was completed in 1839. The letters are taken from the confidential consultations of the Supreme Council of India at Calcutta and public correspondence sent to the main newspapers of the period.

They describe the slow beginnings of Darjeeling and highlight the difficulties experienced by the early settlers as well as information on subjects such as the Oontoo boundary dispute between Sikkim and Nepal at this time. The correspondants include G.W.A. Lloyd, A. Campbell, Dr J.T. Pearson (Darjeeling medical officer) and Major E. Garstin and there is background information to the contents of each letter.

1417. Sen, J. 1972. The military importance of Darjeeling in the 19th century. *Beng. Past Present* 91(171): 81-92.

Stresses the strategic importance of Darjeeling in British relations with Bhutan, Sikkim, Nepal, and Tibet.

1418. Sen, J. 1989. *Darjeeling, a favoured retreat*. New Delhi, Indus Publishing Co. 120 p.

History of the acquisition of Darjeeling and of its strategic, trade and educational importance. It includes a detailed account of trade with Sikkim, Tibet, Bhutan and Nepal, mainly in the nineteenth century, and on the goods traded.

See also nos 124, 152-3, 201, 206, 238, 255, 1356, 1362-3, 1367, 1369, 1371, 1388-9, 1446.

3. HOOKER AND CAMPBELL

Relations between the British and the rulers of Sikkim were strained from the beginning of the British occupation of Darjeeling. Tibet and Bhutan also resented the existence of a British station on the border of Sikkim and they vented their displeasure on Sikkim in a number of ways. Disputes also occurred over the refusal of Sikkim to surrender criminals who escaped from British territory whilst the Sikkimese resented the fact that the British would not surrender slaves that had taken refuge in Darjeeling.

The appointment of Dr A. Campbell as Superintendent of Darjeeling in 1839, and Tokhang Namgyal, a Tibetan of strong anti-British convictions, as Dewan (Chief Minister) of Sikkim in 1847, was to lead ultimately to conflict. In 1848 Dr Joseph Hooker, the distinguished British botanist, arrived in Darjeeling to explore the Himalayas. Hooker had the support of Lord Dalhousie, the governor-general, but it was only after prolonged negotiations that Campbell received permission for him to travel in Sikkim. Whilst waiting for this permission Hooker travelled in eastern Nepal. Campbell was so dissatisfied with the existing relations between Britain and Sikkim that he went to Sikkim in December 1848 and visited the Raja. In 1849 he again went to Sikkim and with Hooker crossed the border into Tibet. On being turned back by Tibetan troops they were arrested in Sikkim by order of the Dewan and Campbell was ill treated before they were released in December 1849. The British retaliated by annexing the Sikkim Terai and part of the Sikkim Hills.

There was no improvement in Anglo-Sikkimese relations following the Hooker and Campbell incident, and travellers such as W.S. Sherwill and

Hermann Schlagintweit continued to have trouble when they tried to travel in Sikkim.

1419. Anon. 1850. [Arrest of Dr Campbell and Dr Hooker by the Rajah of Sikkim]. *Examiner* no. 2191: 55, Jan. 26; no. 2201: 215, Apr. 6.
1420. Anon. 1871. Tschumbi im Himalaya. *Petemanns Mitt.* 17: 275.
Information on the Chumbi Valley mainly drawn from Hooker's account in his *Himalayan journals* (see no. 1443).
1421. Anon. 1912. Sir Joseph Dalton Hooker [obituary]. *Geogr. J.* 39: 165-168.
1422. Anon. 1918. The Sikkim Himalaya. *Nature* 101: 88-89.
Mainly concerned with the tours by Hooker in Sikkim.
1423. Allan, M. 1967. *The Hookers of Kew 1785-1911*. London, Michael Joseph. 273 p.
Includes an account of Joseph Hooker's travels in Sikkim and Nepal and stay in Darjeeling.
1424. Buchanan, W.J. 1917. In the footsteps of Hooker through Sikkim and Nepal. *Beng. Past Present* 14: 252-274.
Buchanan attempted to follow Hooker's route in Sikkim and to 'indicate, where necessary, the few mistakes which he made, as discovered by other and later travellers or by my personal observations'. Buchanan also includes brief accounts of the journeys to Sikkim of W.S. Sherwill in 1852, J.L. Sherwill in 1861, and W.T. Blanford in 1870.
1425. Campbell, A. 1848. Extract of a letter from Dr Campbell, to the Hon'ble the President, Asiatic Society. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 17(2): 572-573.
On Hooker's journey to Eastern Nepal.
1426. Campbell, A. 1848. Itinerary from Phari in Thibet, to Lassa, with appended routes from Darjeeling to Phari. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 17(1): 257-276.
Campbell compiled the itinerary from information received from lamas who had made the trip. Notes and remarks by B.H. Hodgson on the itinerary are also included.
1427. Campbell, A. 1848. Routes from Darjeeling to Thibet. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 17(2): 488-500.
Guide to five routes to Tibet compiled from information gained from native travellers.
1428. Campbell, A. 1849. Journal of a trip to Sikim in December 1848, with sketch map. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 18(1): 482-541.

Account of his journey to the Raja of Sikkim in 1848 following the difficulties the Raja's agents had raised to prevent Hooker's proposed journey to Sikkim.

1429. Campbell, A. 1852. Diary of a journey through Sikim to the frontiers of Thibet. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 21: 407-428, 477-501, 563-575.
Incomplete diary of his journey to northern Sikkim with Hooker in 1849. Hooker's map of Sikkim and eastern Nepal with their route marked on it accompanies the article.
1430. Campbell, A. 1874. Sketch of political relations between the British Government and Sikkim. *Oriental* 2(7): 13-27, Jan./Jne.
Detailed analysis of British relations with Sikkim with emphasis on the period 1839-1862 when Campbell was directly involved as Superintendent of Darjeeling. It includes his views on the Government's actions following his arrest with Hooker in 1849 and his invasion of Sikkim in 1860.
1431. Campbell, A. and Jenkins, F. 1851. *Papers on the Sikkim Morung by A. Campbell, Esq. M.D. Superintendent of Darjeeling, and on Kooch Behar by Major Francis Jenkins, Governor General's Agent, North-East Frontier.* Calcutta, Military Orphan Press. 51 p. (Selections from the records of the Bengal Government, no. 5)
Contains a report by Campbell in 1851 on the area recently annexed by Britain from Sikkim, and Jenkins' report on Cooch Behar made in 1849, which includes an account of British relations with that state.
1432. Chandra, Sudhir. 1986. Himalayan explorers & collectors: Joseph Dalton Hooker (1817-1911). In: S.C. Joshi, ed. *Nepal Himalaya: geo-ecological perspectives.* Naini Tal, Himalayan Research Group, p. 474-500.
Detailed analysis of his life comprising a list of his biographical details. These include honours, positions held, membership of societies, list of people who helped him, publications, and a daily route guide for all his expeditions. There is also a list of portraits of Hooker and where they are held.
1433. Darwin, C. 1988. *The correspondence of Charles Darwin. Vol. 4. 1847-1850.* Ed. by F. Burkhardt and S. Smith. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. xxxvi, 711 p.
Includes Hooker's substantial correspondence with Darwin during his visit to Sikkim and Tibet.
1434. Desmond, R. 1993. Sir Joseph Hooker and India. *Linnean* 9(1): 27-49.
1435. Desmond, R. 1999. *Sir Joseph Dalton Hooker: traveller and plant collector.* Woodbridge, Antique Collectors' Club with the Royal Botanical Gardens, Kew. 286 p.
Beautifully illustrated work which includes a detailed account of his time in Darjeeling, Sikkim and Nepal. Also includes information on his contacts with Brian Houghton Hodgson who helped him obtain permission to travel in Nepal.

1436. Fergusson, F.F. 1950/1951. Sir Joseph Hooker, K.C.S.I., M.D., D.C.L., F.R.S. Early travels in Nepal and Sikkim. *Himalayan J.* 16: 86-95.
Description of Hooker's journeys to Nepal, and to Sikkim and Tibet with Campbell.
1437. Gumprecht, Herr. 1850/1851. Reise des Dr J.D. Hooker nach dem thibetanischen Plateau. *Mber. Verh. Ges. Erdk. Berl.* n.s. 8: 263-267.
Extracts from two of Hooker's letters to his father on his visit to Tibet, with comments by Gumprecht.
1438. Hooker, J.D. 1849. Notes, chiefly botanical, made during an excursion from Darjiling to Tonglo, a lofty mountain on the confines of Sikkim and Nepal. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 18(1): 419-446.
Account in diary form of his journey in 1848.
1439. Hooker, J.D. 1849. The table-land of Thibet. *Athenaeum* no. 1146: 1039-1040, Oct. 13.
Reprint of a letter from Hooker dated July 25, 1849, in which he describes briefly his crossing of the Sikkim frontier into Tibet.
1440. Hooker, J.D. 1850. Extracts from the private letters of Dr J.D. Hooker, written during a botanical mission to India: Darjeeling, Sikkim-Himalaya, and the passes into Thibet. *Hooker's J. Bot. Kew Gdn Misc.* 2: 11-23, 52-59, 88-91, 112-118, 145-151, 161-167, 168-173, 213-218, 244-249.
Account of his journeys in 1848 to Nepal and Sikkim.
1441. Hooker, J.D. 1851. A fourth excursion to the passes in Tibet by the Donkiaah Lah. *Jl R. geogr. Soc.* 20: 49-52.
Extract of a letter from Hooker to his father dated Sept. 13, 1849. He describes the Donkya Pass in North Sikkim and the view from there into Tibet. A map with Hooker's route marked on it accompanies the article.
1442. [Hooker, J.D.] 1851. Physical geography of Sikkim-Himalaya. Extract of a letter from Baron Humboldt to Sir W.J. Hooker, together with copy of a letter on the physical character of the Sikkim-Himalaya, addressed to Baron Humboldt, by Jos. D. Hooker. *Hooker's J. Bot. Kew Gdn Misc.* 3: 21-31.
Copy of a letter dated Khosya Mountains Sept. 23, 1850 from Hooker to Humboldt in which he briefly outlines his journey in Sikkim with Campbell and describes the physical character of the Himalayas. He also includes information on Tibet and the Tibetans which he collected whilst in Sikkim.
1443. Hooker, J.D. 1854. *Himalayan journals; or Notes of a naturalist in Bengal, the Sikkim and Nepal Himalayas, the Khasia Mountains etc.* London, J. Murray. 2 vols. Reprinted: New Delhi, Today and Tomorrow's Printers and Publishers, 1969, 1974, 1980, and 1987.
[Reviewed: *Br. Q. Rev.* 39: 120-144, 1864; *Edinb. Rev.* 103: 55-79, 1856]

A detailed description of his travels including his journeys to Sikkim and Tibet with Campbell.

1444. Hooker, J.D. 2002. Hooker's journey: notes of a naturalist in the Himalayas. *Mercator's World* 7(3): 44-49.

Reprint of the introduction to his *Himalayan journals*. It provides details of the planning that went into the expedition and acknowledges the help received from people such as Brian H. Hodgson and Dr Campbell which was so important to the success of his expedition.

1445. Huxley, L. 1918. *Life and letters of Sir Joseph Dalton Hooker, based on materials collected and arranged by Lady Hooker*. London, J. Murray. 2 vols.

[Reviewed: E.A.Parkyn, *Geogr. J.* 52: 325-326, 1918]

Vol. 1 includes a detailed account of his journey to Sikkim and Tibet.

1446. Jackson, W.B. 1854. *Report on Darjeeling*. Calcutta, 'Calcutta Gazette' Office. 28, lx p. (Selections from the records of the Bengal Government, no.17)

General report on Darjeeling and its administration in which he warmly praises the work of Campbell as Superintendent. He also refers to the possibility of trade with Tibet, and gives details of present imports from that country.

1447. Majumdar, A.K. 1962. Hooker and Campbell in Sikkim. *Beng. Past Present* 81: 132-139.

1448. Ritter, C. 1850/1851. Mittheilungen aus einem Briefe des Dr J.D. Hooker aus Darjiling im Sikim-Himalaya vom 28 Juli 1848 über seine Forschungen in Nord-Indien an Herrn A. v. Humboldt. *Mber. Verh. Ges. Erdk. Berl.* n.s. 8: 231-240.

Extracts from Hooker's letter on his travels before he went to Sikkim, with comments by Ritter. Ritter also comments on the course of the Brahmaputra and Tsangpo and on the Boundary Commission in Ladakh.

1449. Ritter, C. 1850/1851. Mittheilungen aus einem zweiten Briefe Dr J.D. Hookers an Herrn A. v. Humboldt aus Darjiling im Sikkim-Himalaya vom 26 April 1849 über seine Untersuchungen im Himalaya und seine Reise nach dem Kinchin-jinga. *Mber. Verh. Ges. Erdk. Berl.* n.s. 8: 240-252.

Extracts from Hooker's letter on his journey to Kanchenjunga and the borders of Tibet, with comments and footnotes by Ritter.

1450. Schlagintweit-Sakünlünski, H. von. 1856. Report on the progress of the Magnetic Survey and the researches connected with it in Sikkim, the Khosia Hills and Assam, April to December, 1855, by H. Schlagintweit. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 25: 1-30.

Includes an account of the routes he followed while involved in the survey. The Raja of Sikkim prevented him from travelling in his territory, and when he tried to travel along the Nepal-Sikkim border he was turned back by the Nepalese.

1451. Sherwill, W.S. 1853. Notes upon a tour in the Sikkim Himalayah Mountains, undertaken for the purpose of ascertaining the geological formation of Kunchinjinga and of the perpetually snow covered peaks in its vicinity. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 22: 540-570, 611-638.
- Detailed description of his journey made in 1852 together with a map showing his route. He comments on the guards posted along the frontier between Sikkim and British territory, and on his contact with the 'Raja of Singaleelah' in North-West Sikkim, who was forbidden by the Tibetans to allow anyone to cross the Tumbok Pass from Sikkim to Nepal.
1452. Sprigg, R.K. 1983. Hooker's expenses in Sikkim: an early Lepcha text. *Bull. Sch. Orient. Afr. Stud.* 46(2): 305-325.
- Translation of a Lepcha text which covers the financial transactions made during the period 15 December 1848 to 19 January 1849 by Hooker when he was travelling from a pass over the Singalila ridge on the Nepal-Sikkim frontier back to his base at Darjeeling.
1453. [Stapf, O and Jackson, B.D.] 1911/1912. Obituary notices: Joseph Dalton Hooker, by O.S and B.D.J. *Proc. Linn. Soc. Lond.* 124: 47-62.
1454. Turrill, W.B. 1953. *Pioneer plant geography: the phytogeographical research of Sir Joseph Dalton Hooker.* The Hague, Nijhoff. x, 267 p.
- Includes an account of his visits to Sikkim with extracts from his diary and publications.
1455. Turrill, W.B. 1963. *Joseph Dalton Hooker: botanist, explorer, and administrator.* London, Nelson. xi, 228 p.
- Includes a brief account of his journey in Sikkim with Campbell.
- See also nos 201, 206, 245, 255, 1392, 1771, 1879, 2986.

4. ANGLO-SIKKIMESE WAR 1860-1861

In 1860, in retaliation for the kidnapping and maltreatment of British subjects by the Sikkimese and border raids, Campbell marched into Sikkim with a small force of troops. He was attacked and forced to retire with a loss of men and supplies. To avenge this action the Government sent an expedition to Sikkim in 1861 under the command of Lieut.-Col. J.C. Gawler and accompanied by Ashley Eden as Political Officer. The Sikkimese soon sued for peace and a treaty was signed at Tumlong on 28 March 1861. This treaty recognised British suzerainty over Sikkim in questions of foreign policy, established free trade between Sikkim and India, and removed restrictions on British travellers in Sikkim. It also gave the British the right to build a road through Sikkim.

1456. Anon. 1861. [The Sikkim Expedition]. *Examiner* 1861, p. 27, 41, 58, 153, 185, Jan.-Mar.

Brief account and current comments on the repulse of Campbell's initial force and the successful campaign waged by the troops under Gawler.

1457. Anon. 1877? *Sketch of the official career of the Hon'ble Ashley Eden, C.S.I., Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. With an appendix containing the Hon'ble Ashley Eden's evidence before the Indigo Commission, the treaty with Sikkim etc.* Calcutta, Kally Prosona Dey. 71, liv p.
- Includes an account of his mission as Political Agent to Sikkim in 1861 and his mission to Bhutan in 1863-1864. The appendix includes the treaty concluded with Sikkim in 1861 and extracts from the account of Bhutan by Kishen Kant Bose.
1458. Gawler, J.C. 1873. *Sikkim. With hints on mountain and jungle warfare. Exhibiting also the facilities for opening commercial relations through the State of Sikkim with Central Asia, Thibet and Western China.* London, E. Stanford. viii, v, 105 p. Reprinted: Calcutta, Bibhash Gupta, 1987.
- Gawler led the military expedition against Sikkim. He gives the background to the war and reprints a number of his letters to the Quarter-Master-General of the Army, which form a journal on the progress of the campaign.
1459. Great Britain. East India (Sikkim Expedition). 1862. *Copy or extracts of despatches relating to the Sikkim Expedition.* London. 63 p. (Parliament, 1862. House of Commons. Reports and papers, 214). In: *H. of C. Parl. Pap.* XL: 519-581, 1862.
- Official correspondence, reports etc. relating to the Sikkim Expedition from December 1860 to August 1861. It includes a copy of the treaty signed at Tumlong in March 1861.
1460. McRae, H.St.G.M. 1933. *Regimental history of the 45th Rattray's Sikhs. Vol. 1: 1856-1914.* Glasgow, R. Maclehose. xxiii, 479 p.
- Includes a chapter on the Sikkim Expedition, with a sketch map of Sikkim showing the routes followed by the troops.
1461. Moore, R.J. 1966. *Sir Charles Wood's Indian policy 1853-66.* Manchester, Manchester University Press. xii, 284 p.
- Wood was Secretary of State for India at the time of the Sikkim Expedition and the Bhutan War. There is an account of his frontier policies and the way they affected the waging of these campaigns, and the treaties that followed them.
1462. [Stephens, H.M.] 1917. Sir Ashley Eden (1831-1887), by H.M.S. In *The dictionary of national biography*, vol. VI. London, Oxford University Press, p. 354-355.
1463. West, A. 1867. *Sir Charles Wood's administration of Indian affairs from 1859 to 1866.* London, Smith, Elder. viii, 179 p.
- Includes a brief account of the wars with Sikkim and Bhutan.

See also nos 124, 131, 140, 147, 189, 201, 206, 248, 255, 1362, 1367, 1382, 1384, 1403, 1430.

5. ANGLO-SIKKIMESE RELATIONS 1861-1884

From 1861 British efforts to open trade relations with Tibet through Sikkim intensified. Travellers also took advantage of the provisions of the 1861 treaty to travel in Sikkim and some like W.T. Blanford and H.J. Elwes reached the Tibetan border. In 1873 J.W. Edgar, the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling, was sent on a mission to the Tibetan frontier to examine prospects of trade with Tibet and the desirability of building roads through Sikkim to the Tibetan border. Richard Temple, while Lieutenant Governor of Bengal from 1874-1877, also visited the Tibetan frontier, and in 1884 Colman Macaulay was deputed by the Bengal Government to visit Sikkim to have talks with Tibetan officials and to investigate the opening of a trade route to Tibet. In 1879 a rough road was completed to the Jelep La on the Tibetan border thus bringing the Chumbi Valley within easy reach of Darjeeling.

1464. Anon. 1873. Deputation to the Duke of Argyll. *J. Soc. Arts* 21: 433-436, May 2.

Account of the deputation from the Society of Arts, which included A. Campbell, Joseph Hooker, Gawler and B.H. Hodgson, to the Duke of Argyll, Secretary of State for India. Its aim was to press for measures to improve trade with Tibet and they presented the Duke with a memorial which requested that new trade routes be opened and that efforts be made to improve communications in Sikkim with Tibet.

1465. Anon. 1877. Trade of British India with Thibet. *J. Soc. Arts* 25: 118, Jan. 5.

On the decision to concentrate on the Jelep La route to Tibet, and to establish an annual fair at Dhumsong. The route is described and the annual imports and exports from Sikkim and Darjeeling to Tibet are given.

1466. Blanford, W.T. 1871. Account of a visit to the eastern and northern frontiers of independent Sikkim, with notes on the zoology of the alpine and subalpine regions. Pt. 1. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 40(2): 367-420. Abstract: *Proc. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 1871, p. 167-170.

His journey with Captain H.J. Elwes in 1870 together with a map of Sikkim showing their route. They tried several times to cross into Tibet by the Jelep La and the Donkya La and he describes their contact with the Tibetans guarding these passes and their meeting with the Raja of Sikkim.

1467. Campbell, A. 1875. Note on the valley of Choombi. *Jl R. Asiat. Soc.* n.s. 7: 135-139.

Description of the Chumbi Valley, its administration, inhabitants and trade, and border disputes between Sikkim and Bhutan over sections of the Valley.

1468. Déchy, M. 1880. Mittheilungen über eine Reise im Sikkim-Himalaja. *Mitt. geogr. Ges. Wien* 23: 465-472, 529-533.

On his journey to Sikkim with a brief account of British relations with that state.

1469. Déchy, M. 1880. Voyage à l'Himalaya; lettre au secrétaire-général. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Paris* 6s., 20: 85-86.
Letter dated Jan. 21, 1880 on his journey to Sikkim and his hopes of entering Tibet.
1470. Desgodins, A. 1884. Thibet: une mission nouvelle dans l'Himalaya. *Miss. Cathol.* 16: 478-480, 487-489, 514-516.
The foundation at Pédong near Darjeeling of a new mission by Desgodins. Desgodins also gives an account of British relations with this area and Bhutan, and outlines his activities in India since his arrival in 1880.
1471. Edgar, J.W. 1874. *Report on a visit to Sikkim and the Thibetan frontier in October, November, and December, 1873.* Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press. ii, 103 p. Reprinted: New Delhi, Manjusri, 1969.
Edgar toured Sikkim at the direction of the Government in 1873 and held talks with Tibetan officials and traders. He gives an account of his trip and reports on the political state of affairs in Sikkim, and the condition, extent and prospects of trade with Tibet.
1472. Graham, W.W. 1884/1886. Travel and ascents in the Himalaya. *Alpine J.* 12: 25-52. Abstract with discussion: *Proc. R. geogr. Soc.* n.s. 6: 429-447, 1884.
Questions why Europeans are excluded from Tibet, Nepal and Bhutan before describing his own mountaineering trips to Sikkim and Kumaon in 1883.
1473. Heely, W.L. 1874. Tibet. *Calcutta Rev.* 59(117): 139-179.
General account of Tibet and her trade with India and China. Also discusses Edgar's recommendation in his report (see no. 1471) that a good road should be opened through Sikkim to Tibet to encourage trade.
1474. Lewin, T.H. 1879. The trade routes from Bengal to Tibet. *Rep. Br. Ass. Advmt Sci.* 49: 432-433; *Proc. R. geogr. Soc.* n.s. 1: 680-682, 1879.
Lewin was formerly Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling. He reviews trade routes from India to Tibet via Assam, Bhutan, Sikkim and Nepal, and describes the items imported and exported by Tibet from and to India. He also argues in favour of the development of a trade route from Darjeeling to China via Sikkim and Tibet, and urges that the privileges with regard to Tibet granted to Britain by the Chefoo Convention be implemented (see Chapter VI.6).
1475. Macaulay, C. 1885. *Report of a mission to Sikkim and the Tibetan frontier, with a Memorandum on our relations with Tibet.* Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press. 11, 105 p. Reprinted with title: *Report of a mission to Sikkim and the Tibetan frontier, 1884.* Kathmandu, Ratna Pustak Bhandar, 1977.
Macaulay went to Sikkim to investigate the opening of a trade route to Tibet, to try to establish friendly relations with the Tibetan authorities, and to discuss with the Raja of Sikkim questions concerning his relations with the British

Government. His report includes a copy of his diary from Oct. 20 to Nov. 17, 1884, letters received from the Minister of the Panchen Lama, as well as the memorandum on British relations with Tibet.

1476. [Namgyal, Rinzin] 1886. Original narrative account by R.N. of his exploration of the country to the north and north-west of Kinchinjanga made in the autumn of 1884, with notes by Col. H.C.B. Tanner, Deputy Supt., and Mr W. Robert, Surveyor, Survey of India. *Gen. Rep. Ops Surv. India 1884/85*: xlviii-lii. Reprinted in no. 1991.

Account of his travels along the Nepal-Sikkim, and Sikkim-Tibet border in 1884-1885.

1477. Sen, J. 1981. Sikkim and Himalayan trade. *Bull. Tibetol.* no. 3: 11-16.

Discusses trade and trade routes from 1864, and British attempts to improve trade by the construction of roads.

1478. Sen, J. 1982. Darjeeling – an entrepot of Central Asian trade. *Calcutta hist. J.* 6(2): 1-32.

The acquisition of Darjeeling and its rapid growth as a centre of trans-frontier trade. Examines a report made on this trade in 1864 and provides information on the trade with Tibet, Sikkim and Bhutan in the period 1880-1905 and on how this trade was conducted.

1479. Sherwill, J.L. 1862. Journal of a trip undertaken to explore the glaciers of the Kanchunjingah group in the Sikkim Himalaya, in November 1861. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 31: 457-479.

Account of his 1861 journey to the Ratong Valley in North-West Sikkim.

1480. Tanner, H.C.B. 1885. Extract of the narrative report of Lt.-Col. H.C.B. Tanner, Deputy Supt., Survey of India, in charge Darjeeling and Nepal Boundary Surveys, season 1883-84. *Gen. Rep. Ops Surv. India 1883/84*: xxviii-xxxv.

Report on the completion of the survey of Sikkim including the border area with Tibet by W. Robert, who met a large group of Tibetan officials and soldiers from Khamba Dzong at the Donkya Pass.

1481. [Tanner, H.C.B.] 1886/1888. The tour of Kinchinjanga, by H.C.B.T. *Alpine J.* 13: 27-28.

Exploration of the pundit R.N. in North-West Sikkim.

1482. Temple, R. 1881. The lake region of Sikkim, on the frontier of Tibet. *Proc. R. geogr. Soc.* n.s. 3: 321-340. Reprinted in his *Oriental experience: a selection of essays and addresses delivered on various occasions*. London, J. Murray, 1883.

Description of his journey to North Sikkim and his contacts with Tibetan and Chinese officials who 'dogged his footsteps' whenever he went near the border.

Temple also comments on the road being built by the British through Sikkim to the Tibetan border, with a view to opening communication with Lhasa.

1483. Temple, R. 1887. *Journals kept in Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkim and Nepal*. Ed. by R.C. Temple. London, W.H. Allen. 2 vols. Reprinted: New Delhi, Cosmo Publications, 1977.

Vol. 2 contains his diaries of his trips to Sikkim in 1875, and Nepal in 1876.

1484. Temple, R. 1896. *The story of my life*. London, Cassell. 2 vols.

Temple was Lieut.-Governor of Bengal from 1874 to 1877. His autobiography includes an account of his visit to the Sikkim-Tibet border.

See also nos 148, 201, 206, 255, 1358, 1384, 1424, 1497, 1727.

6. MACAULAY MISSION 1885-1886

In 1874 a British mission under Colonel Browne departed for Burma by way of Yunnan. The following year A.R. Margary, who was acting as Chinese interpreter to this mission, was murdered in Yunnan. This incident resulted in the Chefoo Convention which was signed in 1876 between Britain and China and which contained a separate article allowing a British mission to travel across Tibet from India to China or in a reverse direction. No effort was made to use this concession until 1885 when it was decided to send a mission to Tibet headed by Colman Macaulay who had visited the Sikkim-Tibetan border the previous year. Macaulay, accompanied by Sarat Chandra Das, the Indian pundit, visited Peking in October 1885 to obtain passports for the mission which were reluctantly granted by the Chinese. In 1886 the mission gathered at Darjeeling but it was eventually abandoned due to Tibetan and Chinese opposition and in exchange for concessions in Burma by the Chinese. The failure of the mission encouraged the Tibetans in a belief of their power and increased the spirit of Tibetan independence from China. This was to result in the Sikkim Expedition of 1888, and has also been given as a reason for the destruction of the French Catholic mission at Batang in West China in 1887.

1485. Anon. 1886. China and the West. *Q. Rev.* 163: 65-85.

Includes an account of British relations with Tibet especially information on the Macaulay Mission.

1486. Anon. 1886. New markets for British industry. *Q. Rev.* 163: 151-179.

Comments on the hope of developing trade with Tibet, mainly through the Macaulay Mission.

1487. Anon. 1886. The mission to Thibet. *Public Opinion* 49: 781-782.

1488. Anon. 1886. News of the week: [the Macaulay Mission]. *Spectator* 59: 707.

1489. Anon. 1886. Thibet. *Miss. Cathol.* 18: 278-279.

Report by the French missionaries at Pedong, near Darjeeling, on the proposed Macaulay Mission and on how their hopes of penetrating Tibet depended on the activities of the English.

1490. Anon. 1886. Thibet and its trade. *Public Opinion* 49: 73-74.

On the proposed Macaulay Mission and previous efforts to open trade relations with Tibet.

1491. Anon. 1887. The mission to Thibet. *Sat. Rev.* 63: 9-10.

On the withdrawal of the Macaulay Mission.

1492. Anon. 1888. Ruine de la Mission du Thibet: expulsion des missionnaires. *Miss. Cathol.* 20: 193-197.

Describes the destruction of the French mission stations on the Eastern borders of Tibet; partly blames the British for this because the Tibetans looked on their abandonment of the Macaulay Mission as a victory and this had convinced them of their strength.

1493. Black, C.E.D. 1903. *The Marquess of Dufferin and Ava, diplomatist, viceroy, statesman.* London, Hutchinson. xiii, 409 p.

Lord Dufferin was Viceroy of India at the time of the Macaulay Mission and the Sikkim Expedition. He opposed the Macaulay Mission and this work gives an account of its abandonment and the war in 1888.

1494. Boulger, D.C. 1878. China via Tibet. *Jl R. Asiat. Soc.* n.s. 10: 113-130.

Urges that the Tibet clause of the Chefoo Convention be implemented immediately and that a trade route through Tibet to China be opened. He also reviews British relations with the Himalayan states on Tibet's border and lists the passes between these states and Tibet.

1495. Boulger, D.C. 1882. Tibet and the way thither. *Calcutta Rev.* 74(147): 1-16. Reprinted in his *Central Asian questions; essays an Afghanistan, China and Central Asia.* London, T. Fisher Unwin, 1885.

Urges again that Britain takes advantage of the concession gained in the Chefoo Convention to send a mission to Tibet, and stresses the importance for India of developing trade with Tibet especially for her tea. He also reviews previous British relations with Tibet.

1496. Boulger, D.C. 1908. *The life of Sir Halliday Macartney, K.C.M.G.* London, J. Lane. xxiii, 515 p.

Macartney was Secretary to the Chinese Legation in London for many years. In 1886 he dropped the hint at the Foreign Office 'that the way to settle the Burmah question was to let the Chinese know that for a reasonable arrangement with regard to Burmah, the so called Tibetan Mission would be abandoned'. Also examines Macartney's views on the Sikkim Expedition and his previous interest in Tibet.

1497. Elwes, H.J. 1930. *Memoirs of travel, sport and natural history*. Ed. E.G. Hawke. London, Ernest Benn. 317 p.

Describes his journeys to the Himalayan regions of Sikkim, Nepal and Bhutan in 1870, 1879-1880, and 1886. In 1870 he accompanied Blanford as far as the Donkya La where they were turned back by Tibetan guards. In 1885/1886 he was appointed naturalist to the Macaulay Mission and he describes the delays in the preparations for the expedition which he partly blames on the procrastination of Macaulay. He made several journeys to the borders of Sikkim, Nepal and Bhutan whilst waiting for the expedition to begin.

1498. [Great Britain] 1879/1880. Agreement between the Governments of Great Britain and China, for the settlement of the Yunnan case, official intercourse, and trade between the two countries. Signed in the English and Chinese languages, at Chefoo, September 13, 1876. *Br. foreign St. Pap.* 71: 753-759.

Signed by Thomas F. Wade and Li Hung-chang. It includes the separate article relating to Tibet.

1499. Great Britain. 1886. *Despatch from Her Majesty's minister in China transmitting a Convention between Her Majesty and His Majesty the Emperor of China relating to Burmah signed at Peking, July 24, 1886*. London, Harrison. 3 p. (Parliament. Papers by command, C. 4861). In: *H. of C. Parl. Pap.* LXXIII: 77-79, 1886. Reprinted: *Br. foreign St. Pap.* 77: 80-81, 1885/1886.

1500. Great Britain. 1887. *Convention between Her Majesty and His Majesty the Emperor of China relative to Burmah and Thibet. Signed at Peking, July 24, 1886*. London, Harrison. 3 p. (Parliament. Papers by command, C. 5164). In: *H. of C. Parl. Pap.* XCI: 157-159, 1887.

See Article IV which contains Britain's consent to countermand the mission to Tibet.

1501. Gundry, R.S. 1887. India and Thibet. *Natn. Rev.* 9: 93-110.

Examines the reasons for Macaulay's mission, its progress and abandonment, Britain's resulting loss of prestige in the Himalayan region, and the Tibetan invasion of Sikkim. Gundry also comments on the commercial results that could be expected if there was open intercourse between India and Tibet.

1502. Gundry, R.S. 1893. *China and her neighbours. France in Indo-China, Russia and China, India and Thibet*. London, Chapman & Hall. xxiv, 408 p.

In the section 'India and Thibet' Gundry reviews Anglo-Tibetan relations from the Bogle Mission to the 1890 Convention, with emphasis on the background and results of the Macaulay Mission.

1503. Harmand, J. 1885/1886. La mission de M. Macaulay à Pékin - le Thibet [lettre]. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Comm. Paris* 8: 497-499.

On Macaulay's mission, and on previous attempts by Englishmen to visit Tibet to promote commercial relations e.g. Bogle, Turner and Cooper.

1504. Kiernan, V.G. 1955. India, China and Tibet: 1885-1886. *J. Gter India Soc.* 14: 117-142.

The Macaulay Mission, its background and preparations.

1505. Little, A. 1898. The value of Thibet to England. *Spectator* 81: 369-370. Comment: H.J. Elwes, 81: 403. Reprinted in his *Gleanings from fifty years in China*. London, Sampson Low, Marston, 1910.

Emphasises the value of Tibet as a sanatorium as well as its trade advantages. He also makes some inaccurate comments on the Macaulay Mission which are corrected by Elwes who was a member of the mission.

1506. Lyall, A.C. 1905. *The life of the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava*. London, J. Murray. 2 vols.

Vol. 2 contains an account of the Macaulay Mission and the Sikkim Expedition.

1507. Michie, A. 1900. *The Englishman in China during the Victorian era, as illustrated in the career of Sir Rutherford Alcock*. Edinburgh, Blackwood. 2 vols. Reprinted: Taipei, Ch'eng-wen Publishing Co., 1966.

Vol. 2 contains an account of the Macaulay Mission, its preparation and abandonment.

1508. Risley, H.H. 1890. Sikkim and Tibet. *Blackwood's Edinb. Mag.* 147: 655-674.

History of Sikkim and its relations with Britain and Tibet, with emphasis on the Macaulay Mission and the Sikkim Expedition of 1888.

1509. Saleur, M. 1887. L'expédition anglaise et la duplicité Chinoise et Thibétaine [lettre]. *Miss. Cathol.* 19: 520-523.

A French missionary's disappointment and frustration at the failure of the Macaulay Mission to enter Tibet. He also reports on Tibetan aggression in the border region of East Tibet.

1510. Srivastava, M.P. 1978. *British diplomacy in Asia: Persian Gulf, Soviet Central Asia, Tibet, China, India, and Burma*. New Delhi, Ess Ess Publications. 321 p.

British diplomacy during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. It includes a section on the Macaulay Mission to Tibet, the Tibetan claims to Sikkim, and the war of 1888.

1511. Wang, Shên-tsu. 1940. *The Margary affair and the Chefoo agreement*. London, Oxford University Press. viii, 138 p.

Includes comments on the separate article of the Chefoo Convention which permitted the British to send a mission to Tibet.

See also nos 178, 201, 206, 255, 1384, 1569, 1576, 1578, 1920, 1977, 2075, 2080, 2524, 2528, 2537, 2586, 2705, 2710, 2891, 3024.

7. SIKKIM EXPEDITION 1888

The Tibetan Government strongly opposed the Macaulay Mission since they regarded it as the spearhead of a British invasion of their country. Before news of its abandonment was known, Tibetan forces had gathered in the Chumbi Valley. In July they crossed the Sikkim border and occupied Lingtu, a hill near Gnatong, which commanded the trade route between Darjeeling and Tibet. No military action was taken against the invaders until 1888 when diplomatic efforts had failed to gain their withdrawal. Then a force under Colonel T. Graham drove the Tibetans out of Lingtu and pursued them into the Chumbi Valley. This was the first armed conflict between Britain and Tibet.

1512. Anon. 1888. Annexation of Sikkim. *Public Opinion* 53: 293.

Indian opinion of British actions in Sikkim at this time.

1513. Anon. 1888. The Sikkim difficulty. *Public Opinion* 53: 356.

1514. Anon. 1888. China and Sikkim. *Public Opinion* 53: 675.

Report from the *Madras Mail* urging stronger and more definite action in Sikkim.

1515. Anon. 1888. Sikkim and Tibet. *Public Opinion* 54: 194.

1516. Anon. 1888. Defeat of the Thibetans. *Public Opinion* 54: 384-385.

Comments from various newspapers on their defeat.

1517. Anon. 1888. The Sikkim Expedition. *Public Opinion* 54: 418-419, 450.

1518. Anon. 1888. News of the week: [the Sikkim Expedition]. *Spectator* 61: 322, 1309.

1519. Anon. 1888. An invasion of Tibet. *Spectator* 61: 744-745.

The Sikkim Expedition and the hope that the 'idea of "opening up" Tibet has no place in the minds of the India Office'.

1520. Anon. 1888. The little war with Tibet. *Spectator* 61: 1352.

Comments on the war noting that Britain must 'secure the exemption of Sikkim from Northern meddling...but in no case should we strive, as a matter of state policy, to pierce the southern Himalaya boundary, for no other purpose than that of forcing Indian tea upon Tibetans and getting wool in return'.

1521. Anon. 1888. The trouble in Sikkim. *Sat. Rev.* 66: 226-227.

On the anti-war views of Sir George Campbell on the situation in Sikkim.

1522. Anon. 1888. Sikkim and Afghanistan. *Sat. Rev.* 66: 258-259.
Further discussion on Campbell's opinion on Sikkim.
1523. Anon. 1888. Sikkim. *Sat. Rev.* 66: 367.
1524. Anon. 1888. The Sikkim Expedition. *Ill. Lond. News* 92: 451; 93: 166, 546.
Preparation and reasons for the war, its progress and the part played by Col. B. Bromhead of the Pioneers.
1525. Anon. 1888. The war in Sikkim. *Ill. Lond. News* 93: 22.
1526. Anon. 1888. The war on the Sikkim frontier of Thibet. *Ill. Lond. News* 93: 391-392.
1527. Anon. 1888. Thibet. *Miss. Cathol.* 20: 507-508.
Report by French missionaries on the Sikkim Expedition.
1528. Anon. 1889. Sikkim and Souakim. *Sat. Rev.* 67: 60-61.
1529. Anon. 1889. A visit to Tumlong, the capital of Sikkim. *R. Engrs' J.* 19: 10-11.
Journey made in Sept. 1888 by several British officers with troops to the Sikkim capital to assure the Sikkimese that the Tibetan power was broken.
1530. Aris, M. 1997. Himalayan encounters. In: S. Karmay and P. Sagant, eds. *Les habitants du toit du Monde. Études recueillies en hommage à Alexander W. Macdonald.* Nanterre, Societe d'ethnologie, p. 179-188.
Relates warm encounters that have occurred on a personal level between Europeans and Tibetans such as the relations between Bruce and the Lama of Rongbuk (see no. 3714) and the relations of B.H. Hodgson with lamas. In comparison he reproduces a translation of a poem by a writer in Bhutan reacting to the defeat suffered by the Tibetan Army in 1888 which directs both sarcasm and invective against both the British and the Tibetans.
1531. Bayley, S.C. 1910. The Sikkim Expedition of 1888. *Jl R. Soc. Arts* 58: 734-736.
This paper was originally written as an introduction to no. 1540. It reviews the immediate and long term causes of the Expedition.
1532. Boulger, D.C. 1888. Our relations with the Himalayan states. *Asiat. Q. Rev.* 5: 296-311.
Describes the unsatisfactory nature of British relations with the Himalayan states as illustrated by the disturbance in Sikkim. He reviews British relations with Sikkim, Bhutan, Nepal and Kashmir, and examines their vassalage directly or indirectly to China. He also recommends that Britain increase its influence in

Kathmandu, and acquire possession of the Jelep La to convince the Tibetans that they cannot increase their influence south of the passes.

1533. [Boulger, D.C.] 1889. Summary of events [the Sikkim War]. *Asiat. Q. Rev.* 6: 220-223.
1534. Elwes, H.J. 1888. A new route from India to Tibet. *Rep. Br. Ass. Advmt Sci.* 58: 741. *Scott. geogr. Mag.* 4: 550-551.
The military and strategic importance of the Chumbi Valley and the disadvantages of the Jelep La route to the Valley. He proposes an alternative route via the Tista Lake.
1535. Flack, G. 1994. Sikkim Field Force, 1888-89. Precursor to the Younghusband Expedition. *Postal Himal* no. 78: 33-41.
Based on the correspondence of Lt. Arthur Sandbach, the article gives the background to, and progress of, the Sikkim Expedition as a background to describing the postal arrangements of the Sikkim Field Force.
1536. Flack, G. 1994. "Biutang" or "Camp Byutan" located. *Postal Himal* no. 80: 77.
On the British Indian Post Office that existed inside Tibet from November 9th to December 3rd, 1888 during the Sikkim Expedition.
1537. Graham, A.T.J. 1960. The Sikkim Field Force of 1888 and its commander. *Jl R. Artill.* 87: 7-14.
Col. Thomas Graham was in command of the Sikkim Field Force. This article contains an outline of the campaign and Graham's part in it, and includes extracts from letters received by him from the Viceroy (Lord Dufferin) and the Commander-in-Chief (Lord Roberts) during the war. There is a sketch map of Sikkim to illustrate the article.
1538. Gundry, R.S. 1888/1889. The position in Thibet. *Natn. Rev.* 12: 1-13.
The position following the expulsion of the Tibetans from Sikkim, and the realisation that it is the Tibetans, rather than the Chinese, who oppose British entry into Tibet. He advances some reasons for the Tibetan hostility.
1539. Gundry, R.S. 1889. Sikkim and the Thibetan question. *Westminster Rev.* 131: 417-434.
Traces the development of British relations with Sikkim and examines the place of Sikkim in the larger field of Indo-Chinese policy as a background to the Sikkim Expedition. Gundry deplors the British withdrawal from the Chumbi Valley which he feels can only be interpreted as weakness by the Chinese and Tibetans.
1540. Iggulden, H.A. 1900. *The 2nd battalian Derbyshire Regiment in the Sikkim Expedition of 1888*. London, S. Sonnenschein. xii, 116 p.
Iggulden, who was an officer of this Regiment, describes the part played by it in the Sikkim Expedition. The reasons for the war are described in an introduction to the work by Steuart Bayley (see also no. 1531)

1541. Kiernan, V.G. 1955. India, China and Sikkim: 1886-1890. *Indian hist. Q.* 31: 32-51.
The Sikkim Expedition, its background, and the negotiations which resulted in the Anglo-Chinese Convention of 1890 and the Trade Regulations of 1893.
1542. Markham, C.J. 1890. *Report on the Sikkim Expedition from January 1888 to January 1890.* Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 90 p.
Detailed report on the Sikkim Expedition prepared under the orders of the Quarter-Master-General in India in the Intelligence Branch. It includes official correspondence concerning the war and Col. Graham's report on the campaign. A large scale map of Sikkim is included to illustrate the campaign.
1543. Morgan, G. 1967. Our little war in Sikkim. *Contemp. Rev.* 211: 118-123.
The Sikkim Expedition and its background.
1544. Nornang, N.L. and Epstein, L. 1982. Correspondence relating to the Anglo-Tibetan War of 1888. *J. Tibet Soc.* 2: 77-104.
Reproduces and translates three Tibetan texts by Bka'-drung Nor-nang concerning the war. The first two are official letters to the Regent and Krong-dpon of Bhutan from the Tibetan Cabinet drafted by Bka'-drung Nor-nang in his capacity as secretary. They request Bhutan's help in the war with the British. The third text, a letter in verse, refers to the events of Sept. 1888 when the British forced the Tibetan troops back across the border and it reports the confusion that prevailed in Lhasa at this event.
1545. Osborn, R.D. 1888. The Indian Government and the state of Thibet. *Nation* 46: 503-504.
Enumerates the disadvantages and expense of British incursions into the Himalayan region especially in the current engagement with the Tibetans in Sikkim. He also comments on the futile attempts by the British to increase trade with Tibet, and on their interference with traditional modes of trade.
1546. Ryley, J.H. 1888. The trouble with Thibet. *Time* 19: 75-79.
The background to the Sikkim Expedition.
1547. Sandbach, A.E. 1889. Sikkim Field Force. *R. Engrs' J.* 19: 173-174.
Notes on the lines of communication, the main towns, passes etc. involved in the Sikkim War, gathered mainly from an official report by Col. Gatacre, Deputy Quarter-Master-General of India dated Dec. 1887.
1548. Waddell, L.A. 1914. The king of Sikkim. *J. cent. Asian Soc.* 1(2): 36-38.
On the death of Sir Thutob Namgyal, Raja of Sikkim, whose intrigues with Tibet were to some extent responsible for the Sikkim Expedition of 1888.
1549. White, J.C. 1909. *Sikkim and Bhutan, twenty-one years on the North-East Frontier, 1887-1908.* London, E. Arnold. xix, 332 p. Reprinted: Delhi, Vivek Publishing House, 1971; New Delhi, Cosmo, 1984; New Delhi,

Asian Educational Services, 2000.

[Reviewed: T.H.H[oldich], *Geogr. J.* 35: 182-183, 1910; J.D.A., *Travel Explor.* 2: 363-365, 1909]

In 1888 White was sent to Sikkim as Assistant Political Officer with the Sikkim Expedition, and in 1889 he became Political Officer in charge of Sikkim. In 1903-1904 he accompanied the Younghusband Mission to Lhasa, and following its return became Political Officer for Bhutan and part of Tibet, as well as Sikkim.

1550. Wylly, H.C. 1929. *History of the 1st and 2nd battalions, the Sherwood Foresters, Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire Regiment, 1740-1914.* London, Butler & Tanner. 2 vols.

Vol. 2 contains an account of their participation in the Sikkim Expedition.

See also nos 140, 147, 173, 178, 189, 199, 201, 206, 216, 248, 255, 730, 1358, 1384, 1493, 1496, 1506, 1508, 1510, 1557, 1571, 1576, 1578-9, 1634, 1727, 1747, 1845, 1902, 1941, 1977, 2433, 2492, 2515, 2518, 2524, 2528, 2531, 2534, 2537, 2568, 2668, 2705, 2710, 2891.

8. RELATIONS WITH SIKKIM AND TIBET 1889-1903

Protracted negotiations between Britain and China followed the Sikkim Expedition and it was not until 1890 that an Anglo-Chinese Convention relating to Sikkim and Tibet was signed. This recognised the British Protectorate over Sikkim and defined the border between Sikkim and Tibet. In 1893 a supplementary trade agreement was appended to the Convention which established a trade mart at Yatung in the Chumbi Valley open to all British subjects for the purpose of trade. However, the Tibetans were party to neither agreement, and they actively obstructed trade at Yatung, and also efforts to demarcate the frontier of Sikkim. It was soon apparent that the Chinese did not have the power to enforce Tibetan compliance with the agreements and the defeat of China in the Sino-Japanese War of 1895 eroded their ability to influence affairs in Tibet even further. These events coincided approximately with the period when the 13th Dalai Lama was assuming responsibility for the government of Tibet and also saw the rise of a spirit of Tibetan independence. With the continuing failure of attempts to demarcate the Sikkim-Tibet border the British were forced to try to negotiate directly with Tibet instead of with China. To facilitate this they requested the services of the Sikkim Maharaja and the Bhutan *vakil*, Kazi Ugyen, to ask Lhasa to send an influential Tibetan to negotiate over the border. The failure of these and other measures to open contact with the Tibetan Government was to lead to the Younghusband Expedition to Tibet in 1903-1904 (see Chapter XI).

a) General

1551. Anon. 1895. Tibeto-Sikkim Boundary Commission. *Geogr. J.* 6: 279.

On the appointment of the British members of this Commission which was to demarcate the border between Sikkim and Tibet, and its abandonment due to the opposition of the Tibetans.

1552. Bodsohn, P.L. 1901. *Reise im unabhängigen Sikkim (Himalaja)*. *Globus* 80: 253-259.
Account of his journey to Sikkim with some comments on Sikkim's current relations with the British.
1553. Colomb, F.C. 1894. *Routes in Sikkim*. Simla, Government Central Printing Office. 38 p.
Guide to 34 routes in Sikkim including those to the Tibetan border, together with the authority from which the information was derived. A large scale map of Sikkim with the numbered routes marked on it, accompanies the report.
1554. Delbard, E. 1890. *Au Thibet*. *Annales extr. Orient* 13: 289-292.
Miscellaneous information on Tibet including a brief account of the situation following the British action against the Tibetans in Sikkim.
1555. Desgodins, A. 1890. *Notes sur le Thibet*. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Paris* 7s., 11: 255-279.
On the route that would be followed, and the country to be seen, on a journey from Sikkim to China via Lhasa. He also lists Europeans who have managed to enter Tibet.
1556. Donaldson, F. 1900. *Lepcha land; or Six weeks in the Sikkim Himalayas*. London, Sampson Low, Marston. xii, 213 p.
Account of a journey made in Sikkim in 1891 in which she visited the Jelep La on the Tibetan border. She comments on trade with Tibet at this time and the political situation on the frontier.
1557. Freshfield, D.W. 1903. *Round Kangchenjunga; a narrative of mountain travel and exploration*. London, E. Arnold. xvi, 373 p. Reprinted: Kathmandu, Ratna Pustak Bhandar, 1979.
[Reviewed: T.G.Bonney, *Alpine J.* 22: 77-80, 1904/1905; *Scott. geogr. Mag.* 20: 143-146, 1904]
Detailed description of his mountaineering trip to Kangchenjunga. He also gives an account of British relations with Sikkim, especially of the 1888 war and its results, and comments on the political situation on the Tibetan frontier in 1903 and the events that led to it. In the appendices he reprints the accounts of Sarat Chandra Das of his journeys to Tibet in 1879 and 1881, and the account of Rinzin Namgyal of his crossing of the Jongsong La.
1558. Gammie, G.A. 1893. *Botanical exploration of Sikkim-Tibet frontier*. *Bull. misc. Inf. R. bot. Gdns Kew* nos 82/83: 297-315.
Gammie travelled in Sikkim and along the Tibetan frontier in 1892. He reached the Donkya Pass to Tibet and makes brief comments on the trade goods passing between Sikkim and Tibet.

1559. Jambon, C. 1896. Le Sikkim. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. comm. Bordeaux* 2s., 19: 486-497.

Account of Sikkim based on a journey he made there in 1893 with J. Louis (see no. 1562)

1560. Kuhn, D. and Kuhn, F. 1962. *Borderlands*. New York, A.A. Knopf. xxi, 335, xv p.

Includes a chapter on Sikkim which contains an account of British relations with Sikkim with emphasis on the part played by John Claude White, who was Political Officer of Sikkim from 1889 to 1908.

1561. Lansdell, H. 1893. *Chinese Central Asia; a ride to Little Tibet*. London, S. Low, Marston. 2 vols.

Account of his journey from London to India via Ladakh. He carried a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Dalai Lama which he hoped would help him gain permission to enter Tibet. Lansdell describes his contacts with Ney Elias, James Hart, and Sarat Chandra Das in his attempts to get help and advice to enter Tibet through Sikkim, but in 1889 Lord Lansdowne, the Viceroy, refused him permission to cross the Tibetan border.

1562. Louis, J.A.H. 1894. *The gates of Thibet. A bird's eye view of independent Sikkim, British Bhootan and the Dooars, as a Doorga Poojah trip*. Calcutta, Catholic Orphan Press. 183 p. Reprinted: Delhi, Vivek Publishing House, 1972.

[Reviewed: *Scott. geogr. Mag.* 11: 264-265, 1895]

Account of his journey through Sikkim to the Jelep La in 1893. His comments on the country are interspersed with historical information on British relations with Sikkim, Bhutan, Tibet, and China, the trade of Tibet, and the Conventions of 1890 and 1893. A map of Sikkim accompanies the work.

1563. Michell, J.W.A. 1890/1891. Exploration in Sikkim Himalaya. *Alpine J.* 15: 111-120.

Journey made in 1889 with J.C. White, Political Officer for Sikkim, to explore the 'high ground dividing Chumbi from Sikkim'.

1564. Michie, A. 1892. India and China. *Imp. Asiat. Q. Rev.* n.s. 3: 1-12.

Discusses the value of an alliance between Britain and China, and also criticises recent British dealings with China, especially her weakness with the Tibetans over Sikkim when the British Government overruled the desired tougher policy of the Indian Government.

1565. Michie, A. 1893. The alliance of China and India. *Imp. Asiat. Q. Rev.* n.s. 6: 274-283.

Analyses the value of an alliance between the two countries.

1566. Misra, J.P. 1980. Chinese shadowy claims and the British policy on the Himalayan frontiers (1886-1898). *Archiv Orient.* 48(2): 115-121.

Examines the negotiations between Britain and China following the Macaulay Mission and the Sikkim Expedition and notes the difference in the attitudes towards the Chinese of the home and Indian Governments.

1567. O'Connor, W.F. 1900. *Routes in Sikkim*, compiled in the Intelligence Branch of the Quartermaster General's Department in India. Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 90 p.
[Reviewed: *Geogr. J.* 18: 161-162, 1901]
A detailed guide to routes in Sikkim, the Chumbi Valley and Tibet.
1568. Perti, R.K. 1976. *South Asia: frontier policies, administrative problems and Lord Lansdowne*. New Delhi, Oriental Publishers & Distributors. xx, 320 p.
[Reviewed: S.Mahajan, *Indian hist. Rev.* 4(2): 544-545, 1978]
Lansdowne was Governor-General of India from 1888 to 1894. This work includes a discussion of his policy towards, Sikkim, Nepal and Bhutan in the context of border disputes and Chinese attempts to gain influence in these states. Covers in detail the attempts to settle the Sikkim-Tibet border and also analyses the differences between the Foreign Office and the Government of India over the treatment of China in negotiations.
1569. Perti, R.K. 1986. China as a factor in determining Sikkim-Tibet frontier. In: N.R. Ray, ed. *Himalaya frontier in historical perspective*. Calcutta, Institute of Historical Studies, p. 296-313.
Detailed examination of British negotiations with China over this frontier from the Macaulay Mission in 1885-1886 to 1904, with emphasis on the negotiations leading to the 1890 Anglo-Chinese Convention.
1570. Sandberg, G. 1901. *An itinerary of the route from Sikkim to Lhasa, together with a plan of the capital of Tibet and a new map of the route from Yamdok Lake to Lhasa*. Calcutta, Baptist Mission Press. 29 p.
Describes the route from Yatung in the Chumbi Valley to Lhasa. The information was compiled from the reports and diaries of the pundits employed by the Survey of India, and from Sandberg's talks with Tibetans who had made the journey between Darjeeling and Lhasa.
1571. Waddell, L.A. 1899. *Among the Himalayas*. Westminster, Constable. xvi, 452 p. Reprinted: Kathmandu, Ratna Pustak Bhandar, 1978.
[Reviewed: T.Y.Pemba, *Tibetan Review* 14(8): 18-19, Aug. 1979]
Waddell travelled in Sikkim, Bhutan and Nepal in the last fourteen years of the nineteenth century. In this book about his journeys he describes the 1888 Sikkim Expedition, and refers to the commercial possibilities of Tibet, and Chinese intrigues in Sikkim and Tibet.
- See also nos 199, 222, 255, 1353, 1358, 2403, 2433, 2484, 2492, 2518, 2523-4, 2528, 2531, 2534, 2537, 2568, 2654-6, 2705, 2710, 2891, 3432.

b) Anglo-Chinese Convention 1890

1572. Anon. 1889. News of the week: [Negotiations with Tibet]. *Spectator* 62: 74, 105.
1573. Bredon, J. 1909. *Sir Robert Hart, the romance of a great career*. London, Hutchinson. viii, 252 p.
Includes a brief account of the part played by Hart and his brother, James, in the negotiation of the Convention.
1574. Forrest, G.W. 1894. *The administration of the Marquis of Lansdowne as Viceroy and Governor-General of India, 1888-1894*. Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing, India. v, 63 p.
Includes a brief mention of the Anglo-Chinese negotiations concerning Sikkim and Tibet.
1575. Great Britain. 1890. *Convention between Great Britain and China relating to Sikkim and Tibet. Signed at Calcutta, March 17, 1890*. London, Harrison. 2 p. (Parliament. Papers by command. C. 6208). In: *H. of C. Parl. Pap.* XCVI: 151-152, 1890/1891. Reprinted: *Br. foreign St. Pap.* 82: 9-11, 1889/1890.
1576. Misra, J.P. 1986. The Chinese claims and the British policy on the Sikkim Frontier (1886-1890). In: N.R. Ray, ed. *Himalaya frontier in historical perspective*. Calcutta, Institute of Historical Studies, p. 156-161.
Examines how China influenced the British frontier policy towards Sikkim in these years.
1577. Morgan, G. 1971. *Ney Elias: explorer and envoy extraordinary in high Asia*. London, G. Allen & Unwin. 294 p.
[Reviewed: A.Lamb. *Bull. Sch. Orient. Afr. Stud.* 35: 694, 1972]
Elias was involved for many years in Indian border affairs. In 1874-1875 he accompanied the Burma-Yunnan Mission on which Margary was murdered. In 1876 he tried to get permission to travel from China to India via Tibet, and in 1877 he was appointed Officiating Joint Commissioner for Ladakh. In 1889 he was in Sikkim as adviser to Mortimer Durand in the negotiation of the 1890 Convention. There is a detailed account of these negotiations and of events leading to the Convention.
1578. Raghunadha Rao, R. 1986. The Sikkim Convention, 1890. In: N.R. Ray, ed. *Himalaya frontier in historical perspective*. Calcutta, Institute of Historical Studies, p. 262-275.
A detailed examination of the Convention preceded by an account of its background including the Macaulay Mission and the Sikkim Expedition.
1579. Sykes, P.M. 1926. *The Right Honourable Sir Mortimer Durand; a biography*. London, Cassell. xi, 356 p.

Durand was Indian Foreign Secretary at the time of the Sikkim Expedition. Following the British success he went to the frontier in 1889 to hold talks with the Chinese Amban. The account of his journey and his talks with the Amban are mainly taken from Durand's report on these events.

1580. Wheeler, S. 1897. Ney Elias, C.I.E. [obituary]. *Geogr. J.* 10: 101-106.

1581. Wright, S.F. 1950. *Hart and the Chinese customs*. Belfast, W. Mullan. 949 p.

Includes a brief account of the Anglo-Chinese negotiations of 1890 and 1893 and their background.

See also nos 124, 129, 148, 178, 199, 201, 206, 222, 238, 255, 1358, 1362, 1367, 1384, 1389, 1502, 1541, 1562, 1568-9, 1590, 2433-4, 2518, 2524, 2528, 2531, 2534, 2537, 2705, 2710, 2891, 2904, 2917.

c) Trade Regulations 1893, and trade relations with Tibet

1582. Anon. 1899. General missionary intelligence: [Miss A. Taylor at Yatung]. *Miss. Rev. Wld* 22: 387.

The success of her shop at Yatung.

1583. Anon. 1900. The highway to Tibet. *Calcutta Rev.* 111(221): 12-19.

Describes a journey made from Darjeeling to Yatung via the Jelep La. Reports that there was no sign of a market at Yatung despite the provisions of the 1893 Regulations, and that the only Europeans there were the British Commissioner for Customs, and the missionary, Annie Taylor, who ran a small shop.

1584. Anon. 1901. Der Handel von Tibet. *Öst. Mschr. Orient* 27: 109-110.

British trade with Tibet through Sikkim and the slow development of Yatung as a trade mart.

1585. Anon. 1904. Le commerce de la vallée de Chumbi. *Bull. Com. Asie fr.* 4(36): 165.

On the value of the trade passing through the Valley in 1902.

1586. Anon. 1904. Le commerce du Tibet. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Est* 25: 215-216.

On the trade of Tibet at this time.

1587. Anon. 1904. Thibet. Séjour d'une Anglaise. *Bull. Soc. Étud. colon.* 11: 250-251.

On Annie Taylor and her life in the Chumbi Valley.

1588. Biet, F. 1894/1895. Le Thibet et sa situation économique et commerciale eu égard aux intérêts français. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. comm. Paris* 16: 92-94. Abstract: *Bd Trade J.* 17: 214, 1894.

On European efforts to trade with Tibet and prospects for the future, especially for the French.

1589. Black, C.E.D. 1895. New British markets. II. Tibet. *Nineteenth Century* 38: 247-260.

The journey of Sarat Chandra Das to Lhasa in 1881-1882 and information gained by him about Tibet as a background to a discussion of the 1893 Trade Regulations. Black feels that the opening of trade with Tibet appears promising and urges the Indian Government to put pressure on China to ensure that the Regulations are successfully implemented.

1590. Chavannes, E. 1897. Yatung et les relations commerciales de l'Inde avec le Tibet. *Annales Géogr.* 6: 183-185.

The 1890 Convention and 1893 Trade Regulations, and some information on the situation at Yatung. He reports that the opening of the trade mart has not really influenced the development of British commerce with Tibet.

1591. China. Inspectorate General of Customs. 1883-1920. *Returns of trade and trade reports, 1882-1919*. Shanghai. (China. Maritime Customs. Statistical series, nos 3 & 4 (1882-1915), 3 to 5 (1916-1919))

See Pt II 'Reports and statistics for each port'. From 1894 there are detailed reports each year on the Yatung trade mart with tables showing the imports to, and exports from Tibet, through Yatung.

1592. *Debnath, J.C. 1981. Sikkim as the Anglo-Chinese trade route and its trade with Tibet and Bengal. *North Bengal Univ. Rev.* 2(1-2): 73-84. Source: no. 45.

1593. Great Britain. 1894. *Convention between Great Britain and China relating to Sikkim and Tibet. Signed at Calcutta, March 17, 1890. With regulations appended thereto, signed at Darjeeling, December 5, 1893*. London, Harrison. 5 p. (Parliament. Papers by command, C.7312). In: *H. of C. Parl. Pap.* XCVI: 81- , 1894.

The Regulations established a trade mart at Yatung open to British subjects for trade from May 1, 1894.

1594. Great Britain. Tibet (Trade statistics). 1904. *Return of statistics relating to trade with Tibet since the date of the signing of the Convention of 1890, giving particulars regarding the quantity, classification, and value of the annual exports from British India to Tibet of (A) non-Indian merchandise; (B) Indian merchandise; and (C) of exports from Tibet to British India*. London, H.M.S.O. 3 p. (Parliament, 1904. House of Commons. Reports and papers, 48). In: *H. of C. Parl. Pap.* LXVII: 1137-1139, 1904.

Statistical tables showing quantities and value of the trade. Cotton piece goods were the most valuable British export to Tibet, whilst raw wool was Tibet's most

1595. Jambon, C. 1894. Le commerce du Thibet. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. comm. Bordeaux* 2s., 17: 204-214.

The trade of Tibet with China, India, Russia and Mongolia, and the failure of the 1893 trade agreement to improve British trade with Tibet. He also mentions French interest in the Tibetan trade.

1596. Jambon, C. 1895. Commerce de l'Inde avec les pays frontières. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. comm. Bordeaux* 2s., 18: 410-414.

Account of India's trade with the frontier areas, including Tibet, from 1891 to 1894.

1597. Jambon, C. 1895/1896. Le marché Thibétain de Ya-tung. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. comm. Paris* 17: 60-65.

The 1893 Trade Regulations, their background, and speculation as to the success of Yatung as a trade mart.

1598. Krebs, W. 1895. Der erste Schritt zur kommerziellen Erschliessung Tibets. Nach dem Bericht des Zollkommissars F.E. Taylor. *Globus* 68: 181-183.

The opening of Tibet to trade through the establishment of Yatung as a trade mart in 1894, with extracts from Taylor's report on his difficulties in Yatung.

1599. Krebs, W. 1904. Der bisherige tibetanisch-indische Grenzhandel. *Globus* 86: 252-254.

The Indian-Tibet border trade since the opening of Yatung as a trade mart.

1600. Robson, I.S. 1909. *Two lady missionaries in Tibet*. London, S.W. Partridge. 160 p.

The missionary work and travels of Annie Taylor and Susie Carson Moyes. Taylor moved to Yatung in 1894 after her travels in Eastern Tibet in 1892-1893 (see nos 1955-1963). She established a shop at Yatung and, during the Younghusband Mission to Tibet in 1903-1904, acted as a nurse to the Mission.

1601. Taylor, S.M. 1903. The British gate to Tibet: being a description of the Tibetan and Sikkim borderland. *Ill. Lond. News* 123(Suppl.): vi-viii, Dec. 5.

Account of her journey to Yatung to visit her sister, Annie Taylor.

1602. Taylor, S.M. 1904. The only Englishwoman in Tibet. *Wide Wld Mag.* 13: 396-401, 439-444, 528-534, Apr.-Sept.

Account of Annie Taylor's travels in East Tibet and her life in the Chumbi Valley at Yatung from 1894. Susette Taylor also describes her journey to Yatung to visit her sister.

See also nos 124, 131-2, 148, 178, 199, 201, 206, 255, 1358, 1362, 1367, 1541, 1556, 1558, 1562, 1568-9, 1956, 2518, 2524, 2527-8, 2531, 2534, 2537-8, 2705, 2710, 2917.

Chapter VII

BHUTAN 1800-1903

Following the conclusion of the first Anglo-Bhutanese War (see Chapter III.4) Bhutan was visited by several envoys of the East India Company - Bogle in 1774, Alexander Hamilton in 1775 and 1777, and Turner in 1783. With the departure of Warren Hastings from India active relations with Bhutan virtually ceased until the British occupation of Assam in 1826. In this period Thomas Manning passed through Bhutan on his way to Lhasa in 1811 (see Chapter VIII.2), and Kishen Kant Bose, an Indian official in the Company's service, went on a mission to Bhutan in 1815.

The occupation of Assam in 1826 greatly extended Britain's frontier with Bhutan and from this time border disputes and incidents occurred in both the Bengal and Assam Duars. There was also continuous internal strife within Bhutan. Missions were sent to Bhutan in 1837-1838 under Captain R.B. Pemberton, and in 1863-1864 under Ashley Eden, but both ended in failure. The ill treatment of the Eden Mission was the immediate cause of the outbreak of the second Anglo-Bhutanese War in 1864. This was the last major disagreement between the British and Bhutanese although for most of the rest of the nineteenth century Bhutan's internal history was unsettled with feuds between the Tongsa Penlop and Paro Penlop and by civil wars. During this period the British maintained a policy of non-interference in Bhutan's internal affairs. Eventually the Tongsa Penlop, Ugyen Wangchuk, emerged as the undisputed leader of Bhutan. He became a close ally of the British and accompanied the Younghusband Mission to Tibet in 1903-1904.

1. GENERAL

1603. Anon. 1933/1934. Bhutan. *Indian St. Rlys Mag.* 7: 701-704.

General account of Bhutan including its history.

1604. Anon. 1960. Bhutan: an introductory note. *United Asia* 12: 365-368.

Includes a brief review of British relations with Bhutan.

1605. Aris, M. 1978. *Bhutan: the early history of a Himalayan kingdom.*

Warminster, Aris & Phillips. xxiv, 345 p.

[Reviewed: K.R.Norman, *Mod. Asian Stud.* 15: 896-898, 1981; E.Gellner, *J. Asian Stud.* 41(3): 609-611, 1982; R.C.Grey, *Asian Affairs* 13: 99-100, 1982; L.Petech, *Bull. Sch. Orient Afr. Stud.* 45: 207-208, 1982; A.W.Macdonald, *J. Asiat.* 271: 169-171, 1983]

Scholarly work on the early history of Bhutan.

1606. Aris, M. 1994. *The raven crown: the origins of Buddhist monarchy in Bhutan*. London, Serindia. 160 p.
[Reviewed: J.Bray, *Asian Affairs* 26: 329-330, 1995]
Based on the Bhutanese Chronicles and British records, this work provides a new perspective on Bhutanese history. It outlines the ethnic and historical context before recounting the life of the 'Black Regent', Jigme Namgyal (1825-1881), and the life and achievements of the first two kings, Ugyen Wangchuk and Jigme Wangchuk. Illustrated by many photos and drawings by past British travellers to Bhutan. Also includes an appendix providing a detailed list of British photographs and films of Bhutan from 1864 to 1949 arranged by the photographer with details of their location. Some manuscript records are also included.
1607. Bajpai, S.C. 1964. Bhutan - the Himalayan state. *Parl. Stud.* 8(10/11): 14-17.
History of Bhutan with emphasis on its relations with British India from Bogle's visit to 1947.
1608. Basu, G.K. 1994. The transition to capitalism in Bhutan: notes on British connection. *Socialist Perspective* 22(1-2): 31-46. Reprinted: *Encyclopaedia of SAARC nations. Vol. 6. Bhutan*. Ed. by V. Grover. New Delhi, Deep & Deep, 1997, p. 347-361.
Examines the economic and strategic rationale of British policy in Bhutan from the eighteenth century, and discusses how Bhutan managed to maintain its political independence during this period.
1609. Basu, G.K. 1996. *Bhutan: the political economy of development*. New Delhi, South Asian Publishers. vii, 139 p.
See Ch. 2 'An economic interpretation of Bhutanese history' which examines the effect of British policy towards Bhutan.
1610. Bhattacharya, Anima. 2001. A brief history. In: N. Fraser et al. *Geography of a Himalayan kingdom: Bhutan*. New Delhi, Concept Publishing, p. 1-21.
Mainly concerns British relations with Bhutan.
1611. Bhattacharyya, M. 1993-94. India and the kingdom in the sky: Indo-Bhutanese trade relations (1772-1900). *Hist. Rev.* 2(2): 37-51. Reprinted: M. Bhattacharyya and P. Chakrabarty. *North East India and her neighbours*. Calcutta, Indian Institute of Oriental Studies and Research, 1995, p. 37-51.
1612. Bonin, C.-E. 1910. Un état Himalayen: le Bhoutan et son développement historique. *Asie fr.* 10(116): 468-481.
History of Bhutan with emphasis on her relations with the British from 1774.
1613. Collister, P. 1987. *Bhutan and the British*. London, Serindia Publications with Belitha Press. xiv, 210 p.

[Reviewed: M.R.R., *Asian Affairs* 19: 211-212, 1988. Reply: 19: 381, 1988; *Geogr. J.* 154(1): 128, 1988]

Detailed history of British relations with Bhutan from 1771 to 1947 based on the writings of British travellers, the official correspondence of the British Government, and the reports of the Political Officers based in Sikkim.

1614. Collister, P. 1988. Bhutan, yesterday and today. *Asian Affairs* 19: 298-305.

The political history of Bhutan from the mid-sixteenth century to the 1980's.

1615. Cooper, R.E. 1949. Notes from Bhutan in the eastern Himalayas. *Jl R Hort. Soc.* 74: 68-75.

Account of his plant collecting trips in 1914 and 1915 with some information on earlier travellers to Bhutan.

1616. Das, N. 1974. *The dragon country: the general history of Bhutan*. Bombay, Orient Longman. xiv, 99 p.

Includes an account of relations with the British until the Treaty of Punakha in 1910.

1617. Deb, A. 1972. Diarchy in Bhutan: the Dharma Raja - Deb Raja system. *Beng. Past Present* 91(2): 158-165.

Rivalry and unrest in the Government of Bhutan as revealed mainly through the reports of British envoys sent to Bhutan from Bogle to Eden.

1618. Deb, A. 1973. Cooch Behar and Bhutan in the context of the Tibetan trade. *Kailash* 1(1): 80-88.

Examines the relations and territorial disputes of Cooch Behar with Bhutan in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and her relations with British India. Also discusses attempts by the British to increase trade with Bhutan and Tibet.

1619. Deb, A. 1976. *Bhutan and India: a study in frontier political relations, 1772-1865*. Calcutta, Firma KLM. xvi, 190 p.

[Reviewed: K.Mojumdar, *Indian hist. Rev.* 4(2): 549-550, 1978]

Detailed analysis of Bhutan's history during this period.

1620. Deb, A. 1984. Tibet and Bengal: a study in trade policy and trade pattern (1775-1875). *Bull. Tibetol.* no. 3: 17-32.

Examines reports on the trade of Tibet from the time of Bogle and notes that the policy of Hastings laid the foundation for the development of trans-Himalayan trade which was not followed up by subsequent officials. Details later missions to Bhutan and criticises the British for trying to deal with the Chinese rather than with the Tibetans over trade in the late nineteenth century.

1621. Dorji, C. T. 1994. *History of Bhutan based on Buddhism*. Thimphu, Sangay Xam in collaboration with Prominent Publishers. xvii, 264 p.

Chronological information on the theocratic rulers of Bhutan.

1622. Dorji, C. T. 1995. *A political & religious history of Bhutan (1651-1906)*. Thimpu, Sangay Xam in collaboration with Prominent Publishers, Delhi. xvi, 241 p.
1623. Dorji, C. T. 1997. *Blue annals of Bhutan*. New Delhi, Vikas Publishing House. xiv, 183 p.
Chronological record of significant events in Bhutan's history covering politics, religion and culture.
1624. *Dorji, K.C. 1997. The emergence of modern Bhutan. Jigme Namgyal's life and career, 1825-1881. Thesis (M.A.) University of New Brunswick. 198 p. Source: no. 30.
Examines the frontier problems and history of Anglo-Bhutanese relations from 1772 to 1865 and the part played by Jigme Namgyal. Also discusses his part in the unification of Bhutan.
1625. Dutt, S. 1978. A brief study of the Bhutan-Tibet relations. *Tibetan Review* 13(11): 12-15.
1626. Dutt, S. 1981. Scholarship on Bhutan. *China Report* 17(5): 58-62.
Reply: R.C. Misra, 18(4): 59-61, 1982.
Criticises the article by Misra (see no. 1637) which he maintains misunderstands Bhutan's past relationship with China and Tibet.
1627. Gupta, S. 1974. *British relations with Bhutan*. Jaipur, Panchsheel Prakashan. xiii, 223 p.
Covers the period 1772 to 1880 examining subjects such as the internal conditions in Bhutan up to 1880, the first British contacts, and the political and commercial relations of the country. The appendices include the agreement signed by Eden.
1628. Halder, H.C. 1960. India's neighbour: Bhutan. *Mod. Rev.* 107: 307-311, Apr.
General description of Bhutan including an account of its history and the development of the institutions of the Dharma Raja and Deb Raja.
1629. Hasrat, B.J. 1980. *The history of Bhutan: land of the peaceful dragon*. Thimphu, Education Dept, Bhutan. xxii, 241 p.
Includes a detailed account of British relations with Bhutan.
1630. Karan, P.P. 1967. *Bhutan; a physical and cultural geography*. Lexington, University of Kentucky Press. 106 p.
Includes an account of the history of British relations with Bhutan and the evolution of her frontiers with India and Tibet. There is also a chapter on geographical exploration, and an appendix which includes the major treaties and documents relating to Bhutan.

1631. Kohli, M. 1982. *India and Bhutan: a study in interrelations, 1772-1910*. New Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal. xii, 240 p.
[Reviewed: R.C.Mishra, *South Asian Studies* 17(1): 95-97, 1982]
Traces British policy with Bhutan, analysing the history from the point of view of inter-state relations seen in the context of British Indian policy and with particular reference to the eastern Himalayan region.
1632. Kohli, M. 1983. Chinese interest in Bhutan: evolution of the British Indian perspective. *China Report* 19(4): 37-45. Reprinted: *Encyclopaedia of SAARC nations. Vol. 6. Bhutan*. Ed. by V. Grover. New Delhi, Deep & Deep, 1997, p. 722-734.
Reviews historical Chinese attempts to extend their suzerainty to Bhutan and other Himalayan countries and the British reaction to these initiatives.
1633. Kohli, M. 1993. *From dependency to inter-dependence: a study of Indo-Bhutanese relations*. Delhi, Vikas Publishing House. x, 240 p.
[Reviewed: R.C.Misra, *China report* 30(1): 97-99, 1994]
Extension of no. 1631. It includes a political and historical account of Bhutan's relations with the British as a background to post 1949 relations.
1634. Labh, K. 1974. *India and Bhutan*. New Delhi, Sindhu Publications. vi, 275 p.
[Reviewed: P.Mehra, *Indian hist. Rev.* 1(2): 439-440, 1974; A.Prasad, *Int. Stud.* 15(3): 458-459, 1976]
Study of British relations with Bhutan up to 1940. It also includes information on Bhutanese attitudes to events occurring in other Himalayan states such as the Anglo-Nepalese War, 1814-16, the Sikkim Expedition, 1888 and the Younghusband Expedition, 1904.
1635. Labh, K. 1983. The Himalayan frontier during the British rule in India: a case study of the Bhutanese frontier. *J. Indian Hist.* 61(1/3): 185-196.
Study of the evolution of British political ties with the Himalayan states especially Bhutan. British policy towards the Himalayan frontier was based on its commercial and strategic considerations rather than an active expansion of territory. The Chinese invasion of Tibet in 1910 resulted in a stronger British position which opposed the possible extension of China's interests in the buffer areas of Bhutan and Nepal.
1636. Majumdar, A.B. 1984. *Britain and the Himalayan Kingdom of Bhotan*. Patna, Bharati Bhawan. xi, 217 p.
[Reviewed: D.P.Sinha, *Beng. Past Present* 104(198/199): 98-100, 1985]
The origin and development of Anglo-Bhutanese relations with emphasis on the period to 1899. The appendices include the major treaties concluded between the British and Bhutanese up till 1910.
1637. Misra, R.C. 1981. Bhutan-China relations. *China Report* 17(2): 43-50. Reprinted: *Encyclopaedia of SAARC nations. Vol. 6. Bhutan*. Ed. by V. Grover. New Delhi, Deep & Deep, 1997, p. 706-717.

Review of China's relations with Bhutan, both past and present. Covers British policy toward Bhutan, Chinese reasons for seeking influence over Bhutan and British efforts to exclude this, Bhutanese hostility to China, and the treaty of 1910. See also no. 1626.

1638. Misra, R.C. 1989. *Emergence of Bhutan*. Jaipur, Sandarbh Prakashan. xi, 156 p.
[Reviewed: K.Lab, *Int. Stud.* 31: 105-106, 1994]
Includes an account of British relations with Bhutan.
1639. Parmanand. 1992. *The politics of Bhutan: retrospect and prospect*. Delhi, Pragati Publications. xvi, 260 p.
[Reviewed: R.C.Misra, *China Report* 30(1): 95-97, 1994]
Includes an historical perspective on Bhutan's relations with China, Tibet and British India.
1640. Phukan, J.N. 1981. The first Bhutan mission to Ahom Court in 1801-02. *J. Indian Hist.* 59(1-3): 225-233.
This mission was an attempt to solve, by peaceful negotiations, the problems caused by bandits committing crimes on their mutual borders.
1641. Poulse, T.T. 1971. Bhutan's external relations and India. *Int. comp. Law Q.* 20: 195-212.
Includes a brief account of the factors influencing British policy towards Bhutan.
1642. Rahul, R. 1971. *Modern Bhutan*. Delhi, Vikas Publications. ix, 173 p.
[Reviewed: W.Levi, *Pacific Affairs* 46: 337-338, 1973; Ramakant, *India Q.* 28(3): 271, 1972; M.Zinkin, *South Asian Review* 6: 86, 1972]
Account of the history and administration of Bhutan, and of her relations with her neighbours. The major treaties between Bhutan and India are reproduced in the appendices, as well as a chronology of events in Bhutan and a list of the rulers and dignitaries of Bhutan from 1616.
1643. Ramphel, N., ed. 1999. *Bhutan through the ages*. New Delhi, Anmol. 3 vols.
Vol. 1. Historical foundations and political evolution. Vol. 2. Discovering Bhutan: excursions & explorations. Vol. 3. Bhutan: emergence of a nation-state. Brings together excerpts from accounts published in the past two and a half centuries including those of Bogle, Turner, Pemberton, William Griffith, J.C. White and F.S. Chapman. Some excerpts do not include the author's name.
1644. Rose, L.E. 1977. *The politics of Bhutan*. Ithaca, Cornell University Press. 237 p.
[Reviewed: W.Levi, *Pacific Affairs* 51: 526-527, 1978; J.G.Marshall, *South Asia n.s.*2(1&2): 221, 1979; R.C.Misra, *China Report* 17(2): 71-73, 1981]
The development of the present political and administrative system of Bhutan against a background of its history, culture and foreign relations.

1645. Sandberg, G. 1898. Bhotan: the unknown Indian state. *Calcutta Rev.* 107(213): 14-41.
Detailed account of Bhutan, its history, physical features, natural history, government, trade and passes.
1646. Saran, H. 1986. Bhutan - historical survey. In: G. Sharma, and K.S. Nagar, eds. *India's northern security (including China, Nepal & Bhutan)*. New Delhi, Reliance Publishing House, p. 201-216.
On the status of Bhutan before 1947.
1647. Scheinberg, S. 1965. The development of Bhutan and its role in Sino-Indian relations. Thesis (PhD) Claremont Graduate University. 197 p.
Includes a detailed account of British relations with Bhutan.
1648. Scheinberg, S. 1973. Bhutan: India's new partner in the third world. In T.K. Ravindran, ed. *Journal of Indian history: golden jubilee volume*. Trivandrum, Dept of History, University of Kerala, p. 761-774.
Traces Bhutan's relations with her neighbours from the ninth century to the present day.
1649. Schicklgruber, C. and Pommeret, F., eds. 1997. *Bhutan: mountain fortress of the Gods*. London, Serindia; Boston, Shambhala, 1998. 276 p. [Reviewed: M.Rutland, *Asian Affairs* 32(3): 320-321, 2001; G.van Driem, *Tibet J.* 27(1 & 2): 237-240, 2002]
Beautifully illustrated book on the history, culture and religion of Bhutan. See especially the section 'History and Nationhood' by Françoise Pommeret (p. 177-235) which is divided into two parts and covers the history of Bhutan from earliest times including a section on Bhutan and the British.
1650. Singh, N. 1972. *Bhutan: a kingdom in the Himalayas*. New Delhi, Thomson Press. xv, 202 p. 3rd rev. ed. New Delhi, S. Chand, 1985. [Reviewed: R.C.Mishra, *South Asian Studies* 9(1&2): 149-151, 1974]
Includes an account of British relations with Bhutan.
1651. Sinha, A.C. 1991. *Bhutan: ethnic identity and national dilemma*. New Delhi, Reliance Publishing House. xix, 258 p.
Includes information on British relations with Bhutan.
1652. Vas, E.A. 1986. *The dragon kingdom: journeys through Bhutan*. New Delhi, Lancer International. 372 p.
Vas visited Bhutan in the 1960s. He intersperses his personal narrative with background information on the history and geography of Bhutan including Bhutan's relations with Britain and China.
1653. Ward, M. 1972. *In this short span; a mountaineering memoir*. London, V. Gollancz. 304 p.
A history of British relations with Bhutan is contained in the appendices.

1654. Ward, M. 1997. Exploration of the Bhutan Himalayas. *Alpine J.* 102: 219-229, plates 90-92.

Examines the history of British and earlier European relations with Bhutan and highlights the journeys of Frank Ludlow and George Sherriff as a background to his own visits to the country.

1655. Worden, R.L. 1993. Bhutan: historical setting. In: A.M. Savada, ed. *Nepal and Bhutan: country studies*. Washington, D.C., Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, p. 253-266.

1656. Yadav, L.B. 1996. *Indo-Bhutan relations and China interventions*. New Delhi, Anmol Publications. 222 p.

Examines the importance of China in the context of Bhutan-India relations from the seventeenth century, before concentrating on the China factor in modern Indian-Bhutanese relations.

1657. Yusufzai, R. 1984. Bhutan's evolution and politics of unequal treaties. *Regional Studies* 2(4): 27-52. Reprinted: *Encyclopaedia of SAARC nations. Vol. 6. Bhutan*. Ed. by V. Grover. New Delhi, Deep & Deep, 1997, p. 288-324.

An analysis of British relations with Bhutan and the treaties signed between the two countries.

See also nos 123-4, 126-7, 131-3, 135, 150, 153-4, 158-9, 166, 171, 175, 178-81, 188-91, 197-9, 201, 203, 206-7, 215, 230, 239-41, 255, 257-8, 260, 263-4, 272-3, 276, chapters III.4 and III.5, 470, 484, 488, 518, 1362, 1368, 1373, 1375-6, 1384, 1389, 1393, 1417-18, 1467, 1470, 1474, 1478, 1532, 1549, 1562, 1568, 1571, 1691, 1792, 1982, 1991-2, 2089, 2094-5, 2097, 2100, 2140-2, 2155, 2167, 2171, 2175, 2203, 2205, 2223, 2407, 2568, 2659, 3511, 3630.

2. ANGLO-BHUTANESE RELATIONS 1815-1862

In 1815 David Scott, Collector at Rangpur, sent Kishen Kant Bose on a mission to Bhutan in the hope that he would receive permission to proceed from there to Tibet. Although he failed in that object, he did acquire detailed knowledge of Bhutanese affairs and of routes leading to Bhutan, and also assisted in the settlement of a border dispute between Cooch Behar and Bhutan.

The British occupation of Assam, which had a long frontier with Bhutan, led to an increasing number of border disputes and incidents in this area. By 1837 relations with Bhutan had so deteriorated that the British decided to send a mission to Bhutan in an attempt to settle the disputes over the Assam and Bengal Duars and to try and improve communications with the country. It was also hoped that the mission, which was led by Captain Robert B. Pemberton, would improve commercial intercourse through Bhutan with Tibet. Pemberton was accompanied on the mission by the botanist, William Griffith, and a detachment of soldiers. The mission was a failure and in 1841 the British decided to annex

the Assam Duars and pay an annual subsidy in compensation. Border incidents, however, continued in the Bengal and Assam Duars.

1658. Anon. 1838. Embassy to Tibet. *Asiat. J.* n.s. 25(2): 81-82.

Pemberton's mission to Bhutan, which it was hoped would eventually continue on to Tibet.

1659. Anon. 1838. [Mission to Bootan]. *Asiat. J.* n.s. 27(2): 12, 151, 277-278, 327.

Progress of Pemberton's mission and its failure to enter Tibet.

1660. Anon. 1840. The mission to Bootan. *Asiat. J.* n.s. 31: 81-94.

An abstract, with comments, of the account by Griffith of the Pemberton Mission.

1661. Anon. 1840. Bootan. *Asiat. J.* n.s. 31(2): 336.

Relations between Britain and Bhutan following Pemberton's mission.

1662. Anon. 1862. Disturbances in Assam. *Examiner* no. 2825: 188, Mar. 22.

Includes an account of the raids made by the Bhutanese into the Rangpur District at this time.

1663. Barpujari, H.K. 1951. Early British relations with Bhutan (1825-1840). *Proc. Indian hist. Congr.* 14: 254-259.

Detailed account of the background to Pemberton's mission to Bhutan in 1837, and the resumption of the Assam Duars by Captain Jenkins.

1664. [Barpujari, H.K.] 1966. Pemberton's [sic] mission in Bhutan; its underlying objectives and ultimate results (summary), by H.K. Barpujari. *Proc. Indian hist. Congr.* 28: 433-434.

1665. Bose, Kishen Kant. 1825. Some account of the country of Bhutan. Trans. by D. Scott. *Asiat. Res.* 15: 128-156.

His account of Bhutan which was submitted to Scott following his mission to Bhutan in 1815.

1666. Collet, S.D. 1962. *The life and letters of Raja Rammohun Roy.* Ed. by D.K. Biswas and P.C. Ganguli. 3rd ed. Calcutta, Sadharan Brahma Samaj. [1st ed. 1900]

Rammohun Roy accompanied Kishen Kant Bose to Bhutan in 1815. It is also possible that he visited Tibet during his early life.

1667. Dalton, E.T. 1849. Visit to Dewangari. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 18(1): 66-75.

Col. Dalton visited the Raja at Dewangari in East Bhutan in January 1849.

1668. D'Ochoa, C.O. 1840. Ambassade au Boutan. *Nouv. Annales Voyag.* 86: 273-336.

Pemberton's mission to Bhutan in 1837.

1669. Griffith, W. 1839. Journal of the mission which visited Bootan, in 1837-38, under Captain R. Boileau Pemberton. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 8(1): 208-241, 251-291.
- Griffith accompanied Pemberton on his mission to Bhutan. He gives an account of their journey and reception at Punakha.
1670. Griffith, W. 1840. Extracts from a journal of the mission which visited Bootan in 1837-38, under Captain R. Boileau Pemberton. *Annals Mag. nat. Hist.* 4: 424-429; 5: 119-125, 205-211, 405-409.
1671. Griffith, W. 1847. *Journals of travels in Assam, Burma, Bootan, Afghanistan and the neighbouring countries*. Calcutta, Bishop's College Press. xxxii, 529 p. (Posthumous papers bequeathed to the honourable the East India Company and printed by order of the Government of Bengal, vol. 1). Reprinted: Taipei, Cheng Wen, 1971; New Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal, 2001. Reprinted with title: *Travels in Assam, Burma, Bhutan, Afghanistan and the neighbouring countries*. Delhi, Mittal Publications, 1982.
- Griffith was sent to Assam in 1835 to examine the natural history of the area. In 1836 he travelled up the Lohit River and explored the Mishmi Hills, and in 1838 he joined the Pemberton Mission to Bhutan. This work contains his journals of both trips.
1672. Griffith, W. 1975. *Bhutan, 1837-1838*. Kathmandu, Ratna Pustak Bhandar.
- Reprint of chapters XI, XII, and XIII (pages 197-312) of no. 1671.
1673. Jenkins, F. 1868. *Diary and notes of Captain F. Jenkins, Commissioner and Agent to the Governor General for Assam and the north eastern part of Rungpore 1837-1841*. Calcutta, Baptist Mission Press. 42 p.
- Includes his diary of proceedings in Cooch Behar during these years.
1674. Lang, W.H. 1913. William Griffith, 1810-1845. In: F.W. Oliver, ed. *Makers of British botany: a collection of biographies by living botanists*. Cambridge, University Press, p. 178-191.
1675. Long, D.G. 1979. The Bhutanese itineraries of William Griffith and R.E. Cooper. *Notes R. bot. Gdn Edinb.* 37: 355-368.
- Outlines the contributions made by Griffith, a member of Pemberton's Mission, and R.E. Cooper, who visited Bhutan in 1914 and 1915 to study the flora of Bhutan, together with their itineraries, maps, and gazetteers of all their known collecting localities.
1676. Marks, T.A. 1977. Historical observations on Buddhism in Bhutan. *Tibet J.* 2(2): 74-91.

Describes Tibetan and British contacts with Bhutan and reproduces the comments of Pemberton and Eden on the theocratic state they observed there.

1677. Pemberton, R.B. 1838. [Letters on his expedition to Bhutan]. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 7: 90-91, 460-463.

Extracts from private letters about his mission dated January and March 1838.

1678. Pemberton, R.B. 1839. *Report on Bootan*. Calcutta, Bengal Military Orphan Press. 112 p. Reprinted: *Indian Stud. Past Present* 2: 665-723, 1960/1961; 3: 31-86, 1961/1962, and Calcutta, Mukhopadhyay, 1961. Reprinted with title: Report on Bhutan. In: *Encyclopaedia of SAARC nations. Vol. 6. Bhutan*. Ed. by V. Grover. New Delhi, Deep & Deep, 1997, p. 50-198.

[Reviewed: *Chin. Repos.* 8: 548-551, Feb. 1840]

As well as describing his mission, Pemberton traces British relations with Bhutan and with the Bengal and Assam Duars up to 1838. He also gives a general account of Bhutan, her trade with Tibet and her political relations with China, Tibet, Nepal and Sikkim. Letters and treaties concerning British relations with Bhutan are reprinted in the appendix and there are maps of Bhutan, the Duars in Assam subject to Bhutan, and the Bhutan Duars on the Bengal frontier.

1679. Rhodes, N.G. 1992. An early letter from Bhutan. *Postal Himal* nos 69/70: 10.

Reproduces a letter from Lt Hamilton Vetch written on 22 Feb. 1836 during one of the border disputes which led to the Pemberton mission to Bhutan in the following year.

See also nos 235, 255, 1389, 1457, 1613, 1617, 1619, 1627, 1629, 1632, 1636, 1643, 1685, 1729, 2209-10, 2221.

3. EDEN MISSION 1863-1864 AND ANGLO-BHUTANESE WAR 1864-1865

The continuing border incidents in both the Bengal and Assam Duars as well as the harbouring of Sikkimese dissidents following the Anglo-Sikkimese War of 1861, led to the decision to send another British mission to Bhutan. It was led by Ashley Eden, the Secretary of the Government of Bengal, with H.H. Godwin-Austen as second in command. The failure of this mission to deal with these problems, and the ill-treatment of Eden by the Bhutanese who forced him to sign a treaty under duress, precipitated the outbreak of war between Britain and Bhutan in late 1864. After initial reverses the British were successful and peace was concluded in November 1865 at Sinchula. By this treaty Bhutan ceded to the British the Duars bordering on the districts of Rangpur, Cooch Behar and Assam, and agreed to British arbitration in any future disputes they might have with Cooch Behar and Sikkim. The British on their part agreed to pay an annual subsidy to Bhutan.

a) Accounts by Participants

1680. Anon. 1865. The Bhootan Expedition. *Examiner* 1865, p. 26, 58, 92, 107, 171, 204, 220, 236, 296, 780.

Contemporary comments on the progress of the war with information gained from letters and telegrams from commanders in the field.

1681. Anon. 1865. The Bhootan Expedition in the Dooars. *Ill. Lond. News* 46: 87-88, Jan. 28.

Account of the capture of the fort of Dalimkote from an officer's letter.

1682. Adye, J.M. 1895. *Recollections of a military life*. London, Smith, Elder. x, 382 p.

Adye served for many years in the Royal Artillery in India. His recollections include a description of the Bhutan War with a short background account.

1683. Adye, J.M. 1940. The Umbeyla campaign of 1863 and the Bhutan expedition of 1865-66: contemporary letters of Colonel John Miller Adye C.B., R.A. Ed. by H. Biddulph. *J. Soc. Army hist. Res.* 19: 34-47.

Letters written to Lieut.-Col.R. Biddulph, Military Secretary, Madras Army from Adye when he was Deputy Adjutant General, Bengal Army. The last letter, dated March 8, 1865, concerns Bhutan. It deals with the opening of the war, the initial unsuccessful engagements and mistakes being made in the waging of the campaign.

1684. Beames, J. 1961. *Memoirs of a Bengal civilian*. London, Chatto & Windus. 312 p. Reprinted: London, Eland Books, 1984. [Reviewed: M.E.Yapp, *Asian Affairs* 15: 324, 1984]

Beames was Collector at Purnea at the time of the Bhutan War. His memoirs include an account of the military force that passed through his district and for which he had to find food and transport.

1685. Bengal. Secretariat. 1865. *Political missions to Bootan, comprising the reports of the Hon'ble Ashley Eden, 1864; Capt. R.B. Pemberton 1837, 1838, with Dr W. Griffith's journal; and the account by Baboo Kishen Kant Bose*. Calcutta. xi, 137, xi, 206 p. Reprinted: New Delhi, Manjusri Publishing House, 1972; New Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal, 2000.

1686. Collins, W.H. 1865. Notes on the Bhootan stockades of Mynagoree and Dhomhonie, captured by the force under command of Major Gough V.C., November 1864. *Pap. Subj. Duties Cps R. Engrs* n.s. 14: 127-132.

Lieut. Collins was in command of the Sebundy Sappers during the Bhutan War. They accompanied Major Gough on this engagement.

1687. Godwin-Austen, H.H. 1866. Extract from narrative report of Captain H.H. Godwin-Austen, Executive Officer in charge Bhootan Survey Party.

Gen. Rep. Gt Trig. Surv. India 1864/1865: App. A, p. xxv.

Brief account of his survey work in Bhutan during the early part of the war.

1688. [Godwin-Austen, H.H.] 1894. *Bhutan and the Himalayas east of Darjeeling. Scott. geogr. Mag.* 10: 635-640.

Abstract of a paper read by Godwin-Austen before the British Association at Oxford. It gives an account of his experiences and the country he traversed while accompanying Eden's mission.

1689. Grey, L.J.H. 1912. *Tales of our grandfather, or India since 1856.* Ed. by F. and C. Grey. London, Smith, Elder. xvi, 307 p.

The 'tales' were originally written in the form of letters to his grandsons. Grey was Political Agent during the campaign in East Bhutan in 1866 against the Tongsa Penlop, who had refused to recognise the treaty signed by the British with the Bhutanese Government at Punakha. He describes how disastrous the campaigns against the Bhutanese had proved and points out omissions from the Blue Books (see nos 1729-1730) concerning the action in East Bhutan.

1690. [Hume, J.R.] 1865. *The war in Bhootan. Ill. Lond. News* 46: 615, June 24.

Account of the attack on Dewangiri on April 2, 1865, with quotes from a letter by Capt. J.R. Hume who took part in the attack.

1691. Macgregor, C.M. 1873. *A military report of the country of Bhutan: containing all the information of military importance which has been collected up to date (12 July 1866).* Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press. 74 p.

Compiled from information gained by Macgregor while in Bhutan as Deputy Assistant Quarter-Master-General of the Bhutan Field Force. It includes a general description of Bhutan, its mountains, rivers, passes, forts etc. and an account of the roads and routes and a route guide to them. He also describes the military character of the Bhutanese and comments on how any future military operation in Bhutan would probably be carried out. A large scale map of Bhutan accompanies the report.

1692. Macgregor, C.M. 1888. *The life and opinions of Major-General Sir Charles Metcalfe Macgregor.* Ed. by Lady Macgregor. Edinburgh, Blackwood. 2 vols.

Vol. 1 includes a chapter on the origins of the Bhutan War and Macgregor's experiences in Bhutan during the war. A map of the Bhutan frontier to illustrate the campaigns described accompanies the work.

1693. Oliver, J.R. 1868/1870. *Trips in the Himalayas. Alpine J.* 4: 73-93.

Account of his two journeys in the Himalayas - one up the Hindustan-Tibet Road, and the other to the Eastern Himalayas whilst he was involved in the Bhutan War.

1694. Rennie, D.F. 1866. *Bhotan and the story of the Dooar War including sketches of a three months' residence in the Himalayas, and narrative of a*

visit to *Bhotan in May 1865*. London, J. Murray. xxv, 408 p. Reprinted: New Delhi, Manjusri, 1970.

[Reviewed: *Athenaeum* no. 1999: 230-231, Feb. 17, 1866; *Calcutta Rev.* 43(85): 259-263, 1866; *Un. serv. Mag.* pt 1: 292-293, 1866]

Rennie was in charge of medical affairs in the 80th Regiment during the war. His account of his experiences is preceded by a description of British relations with Bhutan and Sikkim. The appendices include copies of the treaty with Bhutan in 1774 and the document which Eden signed under compulsion during his mission.

1695. Strahan, C. 1866. Extract from the narrative report of Lieut. C. Strahan, R.E. in charge Bhootan Survey dated 17th May 1866. *Gen. Rep. Gt Trig. Surv. India 1865/1866*: App. B, p. vii-xiii.

Survey work conducted in Bhutan by Strahan and Lieut. Holdich during the war.

1696. [Warren, F.G.E.] 1865. The war in Bhootan: the Bala Pass. *Ill. Lond. News* 46: 410, Apr. 29.

The storming of the Bala Pass which commanded one of the main roads to Punakha. The account is partly derived from a letter from Capt. Warren who took part in the engagement.

1697. [Warren, F.G.E.] 1865. Sketches of the war in Bhootan. *Ill. Lond. News* 46: 441-442, May 6.

Extracts from a letter from Capt. Warren on the fighting abilities of the Bhutanese and their methods of warfare.

1698. Warren, F.G.E. 1867. My journal during the Bhootan campaign 1864-5. *Minut. Proc. R. Artill.* 5: 116-160.

Captain Warren of the Royal Artillery participated in the war as a member of the column of the Bhutan Field Force under the general command of Major-General Mulcaster. He gives a detailed account of the campaign with maps and sketches. A map of the Bhutan Duars showing the area to be annexed is also included.

See also no. 1389

b) Other Accounts

1699. Anon. 1864. Ashley Edens Reise nach Bhutan. Seine Verhaftung. *Globus* 6: 189-190.

Eden's mission to Bhutan and his treatment there.

1700. Anon. 1864. The Bhootan War. *Examiner* no. 2970: 834-835, Dec. 31.

1701. Anon. 1864. Impending war in India. *Public Opinion* 6: 372-373.

Contemporary opinion on the impending war with Bhutan. Argues that the war will achieve little and uselessly waste lives.

1702. Anon. 1864. The mission to Bhootan. *Calcutta Rev.* 39(78): 391-411, 1864.
British relations with Bhutan with emphasis on the Eden Mission, and the treaty signed by him under compulsion.
1703. Anon. 1864. News of the week: [the Eden Mission]. *Spectator* 37: 575, 892.
1704. Anon. 1864. Die Vorgänge in Bhutan. *Globus* 6: 379-380.
Eden's mission to Bhutan and its possible results - annexation of a district and payment of compensation rather than war.
1705. Anon. 1864. Why we went to Bootan. *Spectator* 37: 1123, Oct. 1.
An account of Eden's mission and its background, with comments on the signing of the treaty with Bhutan by Eden under compulsion.
1706. Anon. 1864. The war with Bootan. *Spectator* 37: 1492-1493, Dec. 31.
1707. Anon. 1864/1865. Bootan and the Booteeas. *Once a week* 12: 205-210.
General account of Bhutan as a background to the war. The article emphasises the strong influence of Tibet in Bhutan.
1708. Anon. 1864, 1865. News of the week: [the Bhutan War]. *Spectator* 37: 1488; 38: 288, 372, 400, 1075, 1244, 1272, 1360.
1709. Anon. 1865. The disaster in Bootan. *Spectator* 38: 350-351.
The underestimation of the Bhutanese and especially the Tongsa Penlop by the Indian Government.
1710. Anon. 1865. The new war in Bootan. *Spectator* 38: 939-940.
On the failures in Bhutan and the decision of Sir John Lawrence to recommence the war as a major operation. The article also comments on the possibility of Tibet helping Bhutan in the war.
1711. Anon. 1865. The Bootan War. *Public Opinion* 7: 20; 8: 594.
1712. Anon. 1865. The Bhootan Expedition. *Public Opinion* 7: 376-377.
Criticism of the native army of Bengal in Bhutan, and its failures there.
1713. Anon. 1865. The Bhootan Expedition. *Sat. Rev.* 19: 110-111.
On the plan of the campaign and early news of the war.
1714. Anon. 1865. The Bhootan War. *Sat. Rev.* 19: 406-407.
Questions the need for Eden's mission or the war, and criticises the conduct and performance of the troops in Bhutan.

1715. Anon. 1865. The Bhotan Expedition. *Br. Army Navy Rev.* 2: 553-561.
Account of Bhutan and the Bhutanese, British relations with Bhutan since 1772, the background to the war, the plan of operations and the progress so far.
1716. Anon. 1865. Buxa Dooars, Bhootan. *Ill. Lond. News* 47: 313, Sept. 30.
Description of the Buxa Duars, and a report that the Tongsa Penlop is still holding out in East Bhutan and that the war is to be resumed.
1717. Anon. 1865. The Bhotan Expedition. *Shilling Mag.* 1: 173-182, May-Aug.
Account of Bhutan, the origin of the present war and the disastrous progress of the British forces so far, especially the disaster of Dewangiri.
1718. Anon. 1865. Big blunders in little wars. *Examiner* no. 2985; 226, Apr. 15.
Mainly concerns the Bhutan War where 'we allow ourselves to be outwitted by savages'. Also questions whether the war is not in itself a blunder, and points out the errors made in its conduct.
1719. Anon. 1866. La guerre du Bhoutan. Annexion partielle. *Année géogr.* 5: 105-107.
Concerns the treaty signed between Britain and Bhutan in 1865.
1720. Anon. 1865. Sir John Lawrence's measures for the loss of India. No. IV. The expedition to Bhootan. *Free Press* 13: 30-31, Apr.
Condemns Eden's mission and the resulting invasion of Bhutan.
1721. Anon. 1865-1866. News of the week: [the Bhutan treaty]. *Spectator* 38: 1456; 39: 30, 85-86, 230.
1722. Anon. 1866. Sir John Lawrence's measures for the loss of India. No. VII. Bhootan. *Free Press* 14: 23-24, Feb.
Condemns the conduct of the war and the weakness of the treaty signed with Bhutan - 'Before it was measures of aggression and insult that we had to expose; now it is weakness and humiliation'.
1723. Anon. 1866. *The truth about Bootan*. By one who knows it. Calcutta, Printed at the Metropolitan Press. 40 p.
Interesting pamphlet 'by one who has served under Sir Charles Napier'. He strongly criticises British policy towards Bhutan, Eden's conduct of his mission, and the manner in which the war following it was waged.
1724. Anon. 1869. The Bhootan Duars. *Calcutta Rev.* 48(95): 92-117.
Describes the Duars before their cession to the British following the Bhutan War. Also comments on the decline of Bhutanese trade with Tibet and Assam during the nineteenth century.

1725. Bell, M.S. 1879. Proposed organization of Indian Sappers for field service (Bengal). *R. Engrs' J.* 9: 31-32, 54-55.
Outlines work undertaken by the Indian Sappers and makes suggestions for their future organization, briefly drawing examples from their participation in the Bhutan War to show how this could be improved.
1726. Blerzy, H. 1866. La guerre du Bhotan: un épisode de la conquête de l'Inde. *Revue des Deux Mondes* 63: 176-198.
Reviews British relations with Bhutan before describing Eden's mission and the war of 1864-1865.
1727. Featherstone, D. 1973. *Colonial small wars 1837-1901*. Newton Abbot, David & Charles. 223 p.
Includes brief accounts of the operations in Bhutan in 1865 and Sikkim in 1861 and 1888 with sketch maps illustrating the campaigns.
1728. Grant, J. 1897. *British battles on land and sea*. London, Cassell. 4 vols.
An account of the Battle of Kalanga during the Anglo-Nepalese War is given in vol. 2 (p. 510-513), and of the Bhutanese War in vol. 3 (p. 266-274).
1729. Great Britain. East India (Bootan). 1865. *Papers relating to Bootan*. London. iv, 339 p. (Parliament, 1865. House of Commons. Reports and papers, 47; and House of Lords. Reports and papers, 85). In: *H. of C. Parl. Pap.* XXXIX: 155- , 1865; and *H. of L. Parl. Pap.* X: 59-401, 1865.
Official correspondence and reports on Eden's mission, its background, and the Bhutan War, dated from 1855 to Feb. 1865. It includes Eden's report on his mission and a list of actual outrages committed by the Bhutanese. A map of Bhutan is included.
1730. Great Britain. East India (Bootan). 1866. *Further papers relating to Bootan*. (In continuation of Parliamentary paper no. 47 of 1865). London. iv, 116 p. (Parliament, 1866. House of Commons. Reports and papers, 13). In: *H. of C. Parl. Pap.* LII: 171-288, 1866.
Official correspondence and reports relating to the Bhutan War dated from June 1865 to Feb. 1866. It includes an abstract of the proceedings of the Conference held at Sinchula from 4-8 Nov. 1865.
1731. Hailes, W.L. 1938. *War services of the 9th Jat Regiment*. Aldershot, Gale & Polden. xii, 185 p.
Includes a brief account of their participation (mainly as road builders) in the war.
1732. Holdich, T.H. 1924. Lieut.-Colonel Henry Haversham Godwin-Austen [obituary]. *Geogr. J.* 63: 175-176.
Godwin-Austen accompanied Eden's mission to Bhutan.
1733. Hunter, W.W. 1868. *A comparative dictionary of the languages of India and High Asia with a dissertation*. London, Trübner. 224 p.

The dictionary is preceded by a political dissertation which mainly concerns the Government's relations with the hill tribes. He criticises the ignorance of the tribes shown by frontier officers and the Government's dealings with the tribes, drawing several times on Eden's mission and the Bhutan War as examples. For response see no. 2087.

1734. Labh, K. 1986. *The Himalayan frontier: a case study of the Bhutanese part of the frontier*. In: N.R. Ray, ed. *Himalaya frontier in historical perspective*. Calcutta, Institute of Historical Studies, p. 388-399.
- Reviews British relations with Bhutan and the negotiations and demarcation of the boundaries between Bhutan and India following the Anglo-Bhutanese War in 1864-1865. Also includes comments on the boundary between Bhutan and Tibet.
1735. Mason, K. 1937. *Henry Haversham Godwin-Austen (1834-1923)*. In: *The dictionary of national biography, 1922-1930*. London, Oxford University Press, p. 345-346.
1736. Murty, E.S. 1970. *Bhutan Expedition: private deliberations between Sir John Lawrence and his chiefs*. *Proc. Indian hist. Congr.* 32(2): 329-337.
- Derived mainly from letters in the Sir John Lawrence collection, the article traces the reactions of Lawrence and Sir Charles Wood to the news of the reverses and victories of the Bhutan War and of the treaty which followed. Lawrence had trouble convincing Wood to follow an effective and active policy in Bhutan.
1737. Pal, D. 1946. *The Bhootan War (1864-65)*. *Calcutta Rev.* 101: 235-249.
- Reviews early British relations with Bhutan before describing Eden's mission, the war that followed, and the treaty with Bhutan signed on November 11, 1865.
1738. Pal, D. 1952. *Administration of Sir John Lawrence in India (1864-1869)*. Simla, Minerva Book Shop. viii, 284 p.
- Includes an account of his policy towards Bhutan, and the tribes of the North-East Frontier, especially the Abors.
1739. Pigot, G. 1946. *History of the 1st Battalion 14th Punjab Regiment, Sherdil-Ki-Paltan (late XIX Punjabis)*. New Delhi, Roxy Printing Press. iv, 243 p.
- Includes chapters on the Bhutan War and the Tibet Expedition of 1903/1904. There are detailed maps to illustrate both campaigns and also a sketch map of the attack on the Bala Pass in the Bhutan War.
1740. Poynder, F.S. 1937. *The 9th Gurkha Rifles 1817-1936*. London, Royal United Service Institution. xx, 275 p.
- Includes brief accounts of their participation in the Bhutan War and the Tibet Expedition of 1903/1904.
1741. Prichard, I.T. 1869. *The administration of India from 1859 to 1868: the first ten years of administration under the Crown*. London, Macmillan. 2 vols.

Vol. 2 includes an account of the Bhutan War, its background and results.

1742. Roberts, E.D. 1925. *Historical records of the 5th Bn, 7th Rajput Regiment (late XI Rajputs)*. Revised 1924 by P.C. Scudamore. Allahabad, Pioneer Press.

Includes a brief account of their participation in the war.

1743. Sarkar, U.N. 1955. Godwin Austen's map of Western Bhutan and his survey report, 1864. *Proc. Indian hist. Rec. Comm.* 31(2): 86-95.

Godwin-Austen was second in command on Eden's mission to Bhutan but he also had orders to make 'rough surveys' of the country traversed. Sarkar discusses his survey report which not only dealt with the survey itself and the difficulties encountered in carrying it out, but also gave information on the geography, government, trade, boundaries etc. of Bhutan. Some extracts from the report are given, especially sections describing the route traversed by the mission.

1744. Schlagintweit, E. 1864. Die Zustände in Bhutan. *Globus* 6: 330-333.

General information on Bhutan as a background to the failure of Eden's mission.

1745. Trotter, L.J. 1886. *History of India under Queen Victoria from 1836 to 1880*. London, W.H. Allen. 2 vols.

Brief account of Eden's mission and the Bhutan War is contained in vol. 2.

See also nos 124, 131, 138, 140, 147, 172-3, 178, 189, 216, 238, 245, 247-8, 255, 268, 668, 680, 705, 730, 737, 1358, 1457, 1461-3, 1606, 1613, 1617, 1619, 1624, 1627, 1629, 1632, 1636, 1649, 1657, 1676, 2087, 2089, 2131-2, 2199, 2210, 2668.

4. ANGLO-BHUTANESE RELATIONS 1866-1903

Although relations between Bhutan and the British improved following the Anglo-Bhutanese War, internal strife marked the history of Bhutan until the emergence of the Tongsa Penlop, Ugyen Wangchuk, as the leader of the country in the late 1880's. From this time Chinese influence, which had been prominent during the civil wars, waned in Bhutan. Ugyen Wangchuk became a close ally of the British and supported their mission to Tibet in 1903/1904. He also agreed to a survey of West Bhutan by the British at this time for the purpose of building a road to Tibet.

1746. Anon. 1889. Bhutan. *Ausland* 62: 257-258.

The journeys of the pundits, R.N. and P.A. in Bhutan.

1747. Anon. 1889. The Bhutias. *R. Engrs' J.* 19: 128-129.

An account of British relations with Bhutan and speculation on whether the present trouble with the Tibetans in Sikkim will also lead to clashes with Bhutan.

1748. Anon. 1926. His Highness Sir Ugyen Wangchuk, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Maharaja of Bhutan [obituary]. *J. cent. Asian Soc.* 13: 412-414.

1749. Bonin, C.-E. 1910. Le Bhoutan et l'Inde anglaise. *Revue de Paris* 17(6): 653-672.

Account of British relations with Bhutan prompted by the signing of the treaty between India and Bhutan in 1910. It includes comments on Bhutan's reactions to British attempts to establish relations with Tibet in the late nineteenth century and on their support of the Younghusband Mission, and gives an account of the journeys made by White to Bhutan following the Mission.

1750. Campbell, A. 1869. On trade between Calcutta, Darjeeling, Bhootan, and Thibet. *J. Soc. Arts* 17: 558-561, 562-573.

Campbell blames the Chinese for destroying the trade which used to exist between Tibet and India, and examines the main obstacles, both physical and political, which are at present affecting the development of this trade. He feels that the annexation of Bhutan would have improved trade and regrets that this was not done after the recent war. See also no. 2234.

1751. Casserly, G. 1914. *Life in an Indian outpost*. London, T.W. Laurie. xvi, 320 p.

Casserly was appointed Political Agent at Buxa Duar on the borders of Bhutan in the early 1900's. His description of his stay in this area includes an account of the history of British relations with Bhutan.

1752. Heawood, E. 1893. On the Bengal Duars. *Rep. Br. Ass. Advmt Sci.* 63: 841-842.

Abstract of his paper in which he describes the Duars, their inhabitants, their acquisition by Britain following the Bhutan War, and their subsequent progress.

1753. Inlow, E.B. 1978. Report from Bhutan. *Asian Affairs* n.s. 9: 295-308. Reprinted in *Encyclopaedia of SAARC nations. Vol. 6. Bhutan*. Ed. by V. Grover. New Delhi, Deep & Deep, 1997, p. 31-49.

Reviews the history, geography and culture of Bhutan.

1754. Kohli, M. 1986. Portrayal of Bhutan in the British Himalayan policy - Curzon years. In: N.R. Ray, ed. *Himalaya frontier in historical perspective*. Calcutta, Institute of Historical Studies, p. 375-387.

The aim of British policy during the Curzon years was to maintain friendly relations with the Himalayan states so that they would have their support for their policy in Tibet. Kohli examines negotiations with Bhutan in 1903-1904 which led to Bhutan's support during the Younghusband Mission.

1755. *Mathou, T. 1998. *Le Bhoutan: dernier royaume bouddhiste de l'Himalaya*. Paris, Kailash Editions. 401 p. Source: Library of Congress Catalogue

1756. Rai, G. 1942. Lord Mayo's diplomacy. *Proc. Indian hist. Rec. Comm.* 18(2): 250-257.

Mayo's diplomacy and foreign policy with reference to Anglo-Bhutanese relations in 1869-1870 based on original records and documents in the Imperial Record Dept, New Delhi. It mainly concerns the civil war in Bhutan during these years, and requests for British help. Mayo refused this request, as his policy was one of non-interference in the internal politics of independent states.

1757. Tanner, H.C.B. 1888. Trans-Himalayan explorations. Notes on explorations in Bhutan and on the lower Sangpo River. *Gen. Rep. Ops Surv. India 1886/87*: lxxxvi-cxiii.

The explorations of R.N. and P.A. in Bhutan and Tibet in 1885-1886, together with a detailed map showing the route they followed and also the route taken by Pemberton in Bhutan in 1837-1838. The exploration of K.P. (Kinthup) on the lower Tsangpo in Tibet is also described.

See also nos 255, 1544, 1571, 1613, 1624, 1627, 1629, 1632, 1636, 1647, 1657, 1734, 1971.

Chapter VIII

TIBET AND WESTERN CHINA 1800-1903

When Warren Hastings became Governor-General of Bengal in 1772, Chinese influence was already strong in Tibet, and this influence increased after the Chinese helped the Tibetans defeat the Nepalese in 1792. From this time Tibet followed an active policy of excluding foreigners from their country. This was partly due to Chinese influence, and partly to Tibetan apprehension at the extension of British control in the Himalayan area. The Tibetans also mistrusted the activities of the Christian missionaries who gathered on the Indian and Chinese borders of Tibet from about the middle of the nineteenth century.

Despite Tibetan opposition attempts were made to enter Tibet from China, as well as from the Indian side of the Tibetan border. Few of these travellers were successful in penetrating far into the country, and the only Europeans to reach Lhasa, the capital of Tibet, in the nineteenth century were Thomas Manning in 1811 and Huc and Gabet, two French Lazarist priests, in 1846. British information about Tibet therefore largely depended on the journeys of the native explorers, or pundits, employed by the Survey of India. From 1865 the pundits travelled extensively in Tibet and several of them reached Lhasa.

During most of this period Tibet was ruled by Regents with the 9th to 12th Dalai Lamas all dying before, or shortly after, taking power. The 13th Dalai Lama was enthroned in 1879 and installed with secular power in 1895. Despite many challenges he was to govern Tibet until his death in 1933.

1. GENERAL

1758. Anon. 1852. Tibet and the Lamas. *Blackwood's Edinb. Mag.* 71: 335-354.

General information on Tibet and its foreign relations.

1759. Anon. 1878. Tibet. *Littell's living Age* 137: 766-768.

On the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama, and a brief summary of British relations with Tibet.

1760. Anon. 1878. Tibet, by R.K.D. *Cornhill Mag.* 37: 154-168.

General information on Tibet including reasons for its policy of excluding Europeans.

1761. Anon. 1882/1883. Routes de commerce de l'Inde au Thibet et à la Chine, par A.D. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. comm. Paris* 5: 182-185.

Concerns the known trade routes to Tibet.

1762. Anon. 1904. La constitution politique du Thibet, par X. *Bull. Com. Asie fr.* 4(39): 289-293.
Account of the government of Tibet.
1763. Anon. 1904. Le Thibet et la ville de Lhassa. *Bull. Un. géogr. N. Fr.* 25: 254-256.
1764. Anon. 1904. Le Tibet. *Mouv. géogr.* 21: 322-323.
Geographical information on Tibet.
1765. Anon. 1904. Tibet. La ville de Lhassa. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Lille* 41: 219-220.
On Europeans who have tried to reach Lhasa, and the information gained about the city from the pundits of the Survey of India.
1766. Anon. 1904. The Tibetan problem. *Sat. Rev.* 97: 449-450.
The difficulty of establishing relations with Tibet complicated by the dual government of the Panchen and Dalai Lamas and by the uncertainty of Chinese influence in Tibet. The article also discusses the Chinese tea trade with Tibet, and the determination of China to exclude Indian tea.
1767. Anon. 1958. Borderlands of Central Asia: Tibet. *Central Asian Rev.* 6(1): 59-75.
Divided into a number of parts which examine Russian studies on Tibet and various articles and books by V.P. Leont'ev. These include the review by Leont'ev of no. 292 in which he claims Petech 'crudely falsifies the history of Sino-Tibetan relations', his articles on British relations with Tibet, and his *Inostranaya ekspansiya v Tibet* (see no. 2534)
1768. Anon. 1965. *Tibet und Zentralasien*. Mit einer Einleitung von Ernst Schäfer. Stuttgart, H. Goverts. 328 p. (Dokumente zur Entdeckungsgeschichte, Bd 2)
Account of European exploration of Tibet and Central Asia.
1769. Ahmad, Z. 1960. *China and Tibet, 1708-1959; a résumé of facts*. Oxford, Oxford University Press. 31 p.
Tibet's relations with China in this period, and with Britain from 1876.
1770. Ahmad, Z. 1972/1973. The historical status of China in Tibet. *J. orient. Soc. Aust.* 9: 99-108. Reprinted: *Tibet J.* 1(1): 24-35, 1975.
Argues that from 1720 to 1912 the Emperor of China was the patron and protector of the Dalai Lama. This was a personal relationship that could not be inherited by subsequent Chinese Governments and in no way affected the sovereignty of the Dalai Lama in Tibet.
1771. Bishop, P. 1989. *The myth of Shangri-La: Tibet, travel writing and the western creation of sacred landscape*. London, Athlone Press. x, 308 p.

[Reviewed: P.C.Klieger, *Tibetan Review* 25(6): 19-20, 1990; G.Woodcock, *Pacific Affairs* 63(2): 273-274, 1990; E.Sperling, *J. Am. orient. Soc.* 112: 349-350, 1992; J.S.Duncan, *J. hist. Geogr.* 20: 106-107, 1994]

Analyses the way accounts of exploration in Tibet were interpreted in the west, the myths that have developed from them, and the way these myths have changed over time. The accounts of most western travellers who visited Tibet as well as fictional tales, from the late eighteenth century to the present time, are examined to provide an understanding of western attitudes towards Tibet.

1772. Bishop, P. 1994. The Potala and western place making. *Tibet J.* 19(2): 5-22.

The symbolic role of the Potala 'within the complex creation and decline of Tibet as a sacred region for westerners.' The impressions of the Potala of Thomas Manning, members of the Younghusband Mission, and others are included.

1773. Bishop, P. 1999. Reading the Potala. In: T. Huber, ed. *Sacred spaces and powerful places in Tibetan culture: a collection of essays*. Dharamsala, Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, p. 367-385.

Revised version of no. 1772.

1774. Blerzy, H. 1874. Les révolutions de l'Asie centrale. III. La Birmanie, le Thibet, les provinces occidentales de la Chine. *Revue des Deux Mondes* 3 per., 3: 263-290.

Includes an account of Tibet's relations with India, China and Nepal, her policy of excluding foreigners, and the waning power of China in Tibet.

1775. Bonin, C.-E. 1898. L'Asie centrale et ses relations commerciales avec la Chine, l'Inde et la Russie. *Revue gén. Sci. pur. appl.* 9: 60-71.

Examines the commercial relations of Tibet and Mongolia with China, India and Russia. There is a map showing the main trade routes from Lhasa to these countries, a description of each route, the transport used, and the items exported and imported.

1776. Boulnois, L. 1983. *Poudre d'or et monnaies d'argent au Tibet (principalement au XVIIIe siècle)*. Paris, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. 248 p.

Detailed history of gold in Tibet through all periods of history. In the second part of this study Boulnois examines the importance of gold in the relations between Nepal and Tibet and Tibet and China in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It includes information on Bogle's visit to the Panchen Lama and on the effect of the Nepal-Tibet Wars on the monetary system of Tibet.

1777. Brauen, M. 2000. *Traumwelt Tibet - westliche Trugbilder*. Bern, Verlag Paul Haupt. 296 p.

Produced to accompany an exhibition with this name. It covers Western perceptions of Tibetan culture from the earliest literature to the present, exploring the views of missionaries, travellers and scholars, as well as how Tibet has been depicted in popular literature, comics and films. It also discusses how images of

Tibetan religion and culture have been manipulated in advertising and commerce and illustrates the work with items from the exhibition.

1778. Bray, J. 2001. Nineteenth- and early twentieth-century missionary images of Tibet. In: T Dodin and H. Räther, eds. *Imagining Tibet: perceptions, projections & fantasies*. Boston, Wisdom Publications, p. 21-45.
Surveys a selection of missionary writings on Tibet from the time of Huc and Gabet to 1950 and evaluates their contribution to information on Tibet during this period.
1779. Bstan-dzin-rgya-mtsho, Dalai Lama XIV. 1962. *My land and my people*, by His Holiness, the Dalai Lama of Tibet. New York, McGraw Hill. 271 p.
[Reviewed: T.V.Wylie, *J. Asian Stud.* 22: 220, 1962/1963]
Includes a brief account of Tibet's relations with China and Britain.
1780. Burman, B.R. 1977. The regents of Tibet. *Tibetan Review* 12(5): 21-24, 26.
Examines the role played by the regents in Tibetan history.
1781. Burman, B.R. 1979. *Religion and politics in Tibet*. New Delhi, Vikas. x, 180 p.
[Reviewed: M.S.Nathawat, *South Asian Studies* 17(1): 101-102, 1982]
Examines the changing relationship between religion and politics in Tibet, with a historical resume of Tibetan theocracy and the role of monks, monasteries and lay nobility in power relationships. Also discusses Tibet's relations with Britain, China and Russia.
1782. Campbell, A. 1855. Notes on Eastern Thibet. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 24(1): 215-240. Reprinted: *Phoenix* 1: 83-84, 107-111, 142-145, 1870/1871.
General information on the area compiled from Tibetans who came to India to trade, or on religious pilgrimages.
1783. Caroe, O. 1977. Tibet and the Dalai Lama. *Tibet J.* 2(4): 3-12.
Includes an historical account of Tibet's position between India and China.
1784. Chopra, P.N. 1989. *Social, cultural, and political history of Tibet*. New Delhi, Criterion Publications. vii, 144 p.
1785. Csoma de Körös A. 1832. Geographical notice of Tibet. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 1: 121-127.
1786. Dabringhaus, S. 1997. Chinese emperors and Tibetan monks: religion as an instrument of rule. In: S. Dabringhaus and R. Ptak, eds. *China and her neighbours: borders, visions of the other, foreign policy 10th to 19th century*. Ed. with the assistance of R. Teschke. Wiesbaden, Harrasowitz, p. 119-134. (South China and maritime Asia, 6)

Surveys the relations between China and Tibet before discussing how the Manchu rulers instrumentalised Tibetan religion to control Tibet politically in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

1787. De Dianous, H.J. 1962. *Le Tibet et ses relations avec la Chine. Polit. Étrang.* 27: 38-72.
1788. Desgodins, A. 1876. *Pays frontières du Thibet, de la Birmanie et du Yunnan; extrait d'une lettre...à son frère. Bull. Soc. Géogr. Paris* 6 s., 12: 401-412.
Includes comments on the Assam-Tibet border area.
1789. Desgodins, A. 1880. On the Eastern frontier of Thibet. *Proc. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 1880, p. 197-202. Abstract: *Proc. R. geogr. Soc. n.s.* 3: 313-315, 1881.
Describes the area and, where possible, the frontier between Tibet and China. Desgodins emphasises the difficulty in defining this border as it is constantly changing.
1790. Desgodins, A. 1889/1890. Notes sur le commerce du Thibet. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. comm. Paris* 12: 291-297.
General comments on trade within Tibet and with other countries, the habits of the traders, and the main items of trade.
1791. Deshayes, L. 1997. *Histoire du Tibet.* Paris, Fayard. 461 p. [Reviewed: A.C.McKay, *Engl. hist. Rev.* 114(455): 235-236, 1999]
The history of Tibet and its relations with the British and neighbouring states.
1792. Dutreuil de Rhins, J.L. 1889. *L'Asie centrale (Thibet et régions limitrophes).* Paris, E. Leroux. xvi, 620 p.
Detailed work on the geography and exploration of Tibet and of the regions bordering Tibet, including Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and Assam.
1793. Elstob, P. 1970. Whatever happened to Tibet? *Contemp. Rev.* 217(1255): 72-76.
Survey of Tibet's relations with Britain and China.
1794. Feer, L. 1886. *Le Tibet, le pays, le peuple, la religion.* Paris, Maisonneuve & Leclerc. 107 p.
1795. Feigon, L. 1999. *Demystifying Tibet: unlocking the secrets of the land of the snows.* London, Profile Books. xiii, 241 p. [First published, 1996] [Reviewed: J.Janhunen, *IIAS Newsletter* no. 21: 14-15, Feb. 2000]
Examines the history and culture of Tibet during Mongol and Manchu rule in China and the advent of western imperialism, as a background to the Chinese invasion of Tibet. Aims to demolish myths about both Tibet and China, especially the notion that 'China had always been the *zhonggu* or "Central kingdom" to the various cultures and peoples of the region'.

1796. Fletcher, J. 1978. The heyday of the Ch'ing order in Mongolia, Sinkiang and Tibet. In: J.K Fairbank, ed. *Cambridge History of China. Vol. 10: Late Ch'ing, 1800-1911, Part I.* New York, Cambridge University Press, p. 351-408.

The Tibetan section is entitled 'Tibetan seclusions and pressures from India'. It concentrates on the period 1815 to 1862 and reviews British relations with Tibet and her attempts to promote trade with that country, and Tibetan contacts with Peking in this period. Notes that Peking aided Lhasa in its efforts to exclude foreign influences so as to preserve Tibetan isolation.

1797. Ganneval, A. 1875/1877. Le Thibet et la Chine occidentale. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Lyon* 1: 385-399.

Efforts of Europeans, in particular the English and French, to gain entry to Tibet.

1798. Ganzenmüller, K. 1878. *Tibet, nach den Resultaten geographischer Forschungen früherer und neuester Zeit.* Stuttgart, Levy & Muller. xi, 132 p.

Traces the history of mainly European exploration of Tibet before giving an account of the geography, communications, history etc, of Tibet as revealed by the accounts of these explorers.

1799. Gesang Drogar. 1996. The discovery and confirmation of the thirteenth Dalai Lama. In: *Theses on Tibetology.* Ed. Liao Zugui and Zhang Zuji. Beijing, China Tibetology Publishing House, p. 547-599.

Account of the reincarnation and enthronement of the 13th Dalai Lama.

1800. Goré, F. 1953. La Chine nationaliste et communiste au pays des Lamas. *Polit. Étrang.* 18: 475-492.

Tibet's relations with China from 1876 to 1952.

1801. Gould, B.J. 1950. Tibet and her neighbours. *Int. Aff.* 26: 71-76.

Brief review of the history of Tibet and her relations with India and China.

1802. Great Britain. Foreign Office. Historical Section. 1920. *Tibet.* London, H.M.S.O. 75 p. (Handbook no. 70).

1803. Grenard, F. 1895/1896. Le Tibet oriental et les sources du Mékong. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. comm. Paris* 17: 1035-1050.

Mainly concerns the trade of Tibet with China and India and the routes used.

1804. Grenard, F. 1904. *Tibet: the country and its inhabitants.* Translated by A. Teixeira de Mattos. London, Hutchinson. viii, 373 p.

1805. Gundry, R.S. 1884. China and her tributaries. *Natn. Rev.* 3: 605-619. Reply: 'Piling', 3: 865-868.

Historical account of China's relations with her neighbours, including Tibet and

Nepal. Gundry maintains that Tibet, since 1746, ceased to have an independent existence. This is vigorously denied by 'Piling' in his reply.

1806. Gupta, S.P. and Ramachandran, K.S. 1995. *History of Tibet*. New Delhi, Tibetan Parliamentary and Policy Research Centre. 62 p.
History of Tibet and its relations with China and British India from a Tibetan perspective.
1807. Gutzlaff, C. 1851. Tibet and Sefan. *Jl R. geogr. Soc.* 20: 191-227.
General article on Tibet, its trade, physical geography and borders, and the contact between the Mishmis and Tibetans. He also describes Baltistan, Hundes, Shipki and Ladakh, and the position of Leh as an important trade centre.
1808. Hedin, S. 1933. Tibet. *Open Court* 47: 67-95.
Account of the history, geography and exploration of Tibet.
1809. Hedin, S. 1939. Tibet und die Geschichte seiner Erforschung. *Sinica* 14: 3-26.
Account of exploration in Tibet.
1810. Hensoldt, H. 1894. Occult science in Tibet. *Arena* 10: 181-191, 366-378, 648-661.
Describes Tibet, its difficulty of access due to its geography and the policy of the Tibetans, and lists Europeans who have succeeded in visiting Tibet. Hensoldt maintains that he spent eighteen months in Tibet pursuing Buddhist studies, including nine weeks in Lhasa, where he had two interviews with the Dalai Lama who was about eight years old.
1811. Hertslet, E. 1908. *Hertslet's China treaties. Treaties etc. between Great Britain and China; and between China and foreign powers; and orders in council, rules, regulations, acts of Parliament, decrees etc. affecting British interests in China. In force on the 1st January, 1908.* 3rd ed. revised...by G.E.P. Hertslet, [and] E. Parkes. London, H.M.S.O. 2 vols. [1st ed. 1896]
Includes a number of treaties and decrees relating to Tibet.
1812. Holdich, T.H. 1901. Lhasa. *Geogr. J.* 18: 602-607.
1813. Holdich, T.H. 1906. *Tibet, the mysterious*. London, Alston Rivers. 356 p.
[Reviewed: *Geogr. J.* 29: 74-75, 1907; *Scott. geogr. Mag.* 23: 217-219, 1907]
The geography of Tibet, and an account of its history and exploration from the eighteenth century to the Younghusband Expedition.
1814. Hyer, P. 1981. The Dalai Lamas and the Mongols. *Tibet J.* 6(4): 3-12.
History of the relationship of the Dalai Lamas with Mongolia especially that of the 13th Dalai Lama and the activities of the Buriat Mongols in Lhasa.

1815. Jan, M, ed. 1992. *Le voyage en Asie centrale et au Tibet: anthologie des voyageurs occidentaux du Moyen âge à la première moitié du XXe siècle*. Introduction, chronologie, bibliographie, index des noms de personnes et de lieux établis par M. Jan; cartes établies par F. Bunel. Paris, Robert Laffont. xxxii, 1482 p. Reprinted 1997.
- Includes extracts from the writings of Bogle, Manning, Huc, Perceval Landon, Alexandra David-Neel and Robert Byron translated into French.
1816. Kachru, D. 1950. Tibet - politics and international relations. *India Q.* 6: 130-153.
- General account of Tibet with emphasis on its government and relations with Britain, Nepal and China.
1817. Kadian, R. 1999. *Tibet, India and China: critical choices, uncertain future*. New Delhi, Vision Books. 232 p.
- Detailed account of the relations between Tibet, China and India as a background to the Chinese invasion. The major treaties concerning Tibet are included in the appendices.
1818. Kamath, M.V. 1959. Tibet - our neighbour: a historical survey. *United Asia* 11(2): 151-162, 227.
- Historical survey of the relations of Tibet with China and Britain with emphasis on the period after 1856.
1819. Kant, R. 1969. Tibet in Indian foreign policy. *Polit. Sci. Rev.* 8: 213-225.
- The relations of Tibet with Britain, and with India after 1947.
1820. King, Rin-chen Lha-mo. 1926. *We Tibetans; an intimate picture, by a woman of Tibet, of an interesting and distinctive people, in which it is shown how they live, their beliefs, their outlook, their work and play and how they regard themselves and others*. With an historical introduction by L.M. King. London, Seeley Service. 228 p.
- [Reviewed: H.T.Morshead, *Himalayan J.* 2: 158-160, 1930; *Scott. geogr. Mag.* 42: 243-244, 1926]
- Louis King was for some years British Consular Agent at Tachienlu. His historical introduction to his wife's work includes an account of Tibet's relations with Britain and China.
1821. Koch, E.E. 1960. *Auf dem Dach der Welt. Tibet: die Geschichte der Dalai-Lamas*. Frankfurt a. M., Nest Vlg. 317 p.
- History of the Dalai Lamas and their relations with Britain and China.
1822. Kolmas, J. 1967. *Tibet and Imperial China: a survey of Sino Tibetan relations up to the end of the Manchu dynasty in 1912*. Canberra, Centre of Oriental Studies, Australian National University. 81 p. (Australian National University. Centre of Oriental Studies. Occasional paper no. 7)
- British relations with Tibet are also covered in this work.

1823. Kolmas, J. 1989. Dalajlamové a Pančhenlamové. *Novy Orient* 44(6): 174-177.

Describes the roles of the Dalai and Panchen Lamas since 1357 and provides very brief biographical details of the various holders of the offices.

1824. Kolmas, J. 1992. A chronology of the ambans of Tibet. Part I: The ambans and assistant ambans in the Yongzheng and the Qianlong period (1727-1795). In: *Tibetan studies: proceedings of the 5th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Narita 1989*. Ed. by Ihara Shoren and Yamaguchi Zuiho. Narita-shi, Chiba-ken, Japan, Naritasan Shinshoji, vol. 2, p. 541-557.

1825. Kolmas, J. 1994. The ambans and assistant ambans of Tibet (1727-1912): some statistical observations. In: *Tibetan studies: proceedings of the 6th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Fagernes, 1992*. Ed. by P. Kvaerne. Oslo, Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, vol. 1, p. 454-467. Reprinted in A. McKay, ed. *The history of Tibet. Vol. 2.* (see no. 211) p. 602-614.

Describes the history of the office, how ambans were selected, and their ethnic origins. Lists all the ambans and assistant ambans in this period with most information on Qishan who was the Chinese Amban in Tibet from 1843 to 1847 and notes Qishan's views on England as quoted in Huc's account of his travels (see no. 1924).

1826. Kolmas, J. 1994. *The ambans and assistant ambans of Tibet (a chronological study)*. Prague, Oriental Institute. 83 p. (Archiv orientální. Supplementa 7)

Covers the period from 1727-1912. Includes historical information on the place of the ambans in Tibetan society.

1827. Lamb, A. 1964. China's land borders. *Aust's Neighb.* 4s., nos 18/19: 1-5, Sept./Oct.

Describes China's traditional defence system which involved the existence of a number of buffer states, and her attempts to counteract the growing influence of Western powers and Japan in Asia by establishing more direct rule over these areas e.g. Tibet. Although this policy failed following the 1911 Revolution, the Communist Chinese have continued to use this system, and have also tried to establish new buffer areas friendly to China.

1828. Lee, R.H.G. 1979. Frontier politics in the southwestern Sino-Tibetan borderlands during the Ch'ing Dynasty. In: J.A. Fogel and W.T. Rowe, eds. *Perspectives on a changing China: essays in honor of Professor C. Martin Wilbur on the occasion of his retirement*. Boulder, Colorado, Westview Press, p. 35-68.

Describes the geography and demography of the mountainous southwest Sino-Tibetan border region in Szechuan and Yunnan and traces the advance of Ch'ing imperial power there in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, its decline in the

nineteenth century, and the attempt at political integration of the area in the period 1901-1911. The importance of the frontier trade is also examined.

1829. Lepper, C.H. 1885. Thibet. *Nineteenth Century* 18: 408-431; *Littell's Living Age* 167: 23-38.
Includes details on the separate Chinese military and civil administration in Tibet, and on the influence of Chinese policy on the foreign relations of Tibet.
1830. Little, A. 1905. *The Far East*. Oxford, Clarendon Press. viii, 333 p.
Includes a section on Tibet.
1831. Lopez, D.S. Jr. 1998. *Prisoners of Shangri-La: Tibetan Buddhism and the West*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press. x, 283 p.
[Reviewed: C.C.Wedemeyer, *History of Religions* 41(2): 186-188, 2001; C.Mackerras, *Asian Stud. Rev.* 25: 118-120, 2001]
Investigates some of the factors that have led to the formation and persistence of the Western fantasy of Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism.
1832. Macdonald, D. 1929. *The Land of the lama; a description of a country of contrasts and of its cheerful happy-go-lucky people of hardy nature and curious customs; their religion, ways of living, trade and social life*. London, Seeley Service. 283 p. Reprinted with title: *Cultural heritage of Tibet: a description of a country of contrasts and of its cheerful happy-go-lucky people...* Up-dated with introd. by Prabha Chopra. New Delhi, Light & Life Publishers 1978.
[Reviewed: H.T.Morshead, *Himalayan J.* 2: 158-160, 1930; L.A.B., *Geogr. J.* 74: 294-295, 1929; *Scott. geogr. Mag.* 45: 158-161, 1929]
Includes a brief account of the history, frontiers and geography of Tibet.
1833. Macdonald, D. 1945. *Tibet*. London, Oxford University Press. 31 p.
(Oxford pamphlets on Indian affairs, no. 30)
1834. MacGregor, J. 1970. *Tibet; a chronicle of exploration*. London, Routledge & K. Paul. 373 p.
[Reviewed: H.E.Richardson, *Bull. Sch. Orient. Afr. Stud.* 34: 176-177, 1971; T.V.Wylie, *Am. hist. Rev.* 76(5): 1580, Dec. 1971]
Account of European exploration in Tibet from the sixteenth century to the Younghusband Mission divided into four parts: the missionaries (Jesuits and Capuchins), the merchants (Bogle and Turner), Entr'acte (Manning and Huc) and the imperialists (the Indian pundits, Prjevalski, Dorjiev, Curzon and Younghusband).
1835. McKay, A. 1998. Tibet: the myth of isolation. In: P. van der Velde and A. McKay, eds. *New developments in Asian studies: an introduction*. London, Kegan Paul International in association with the International Institute for Asian Studies, p. 302-316. Reprinted in A. McKay, ed. *History of Tibet. Vol. 3.* (see no. 211), p. 635-645.
Examines the myth that pre-1950 Tibet was a land rarely visited by Europeans.

Maintains that, except for Central Tibet, it was relatively easy to enter the country, and that nearly 100 Europeans entered Tibet in the period to 1900 and many more after that date.

1836. Maclaren, J.M. 1907. The Tibetan goldfields, by Malcolm Maclaren. *Mining J.* 81: 825-826, June 22.
Account with map of the gold fields of south-western Tibet. The article also traces references to Tibetan gold from 900 A.D. including information gained by Bogle, the Strachey brothers, and Nain Singh.
1837. Maillart, E. 1959. Le Tibet et la Chine. *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 46: 264-270.
Tibet's relations with China and Britain from the seventeenth century.
1838. Malik, I.L. 1984. *Dalai Lamas of Tibet: succession of births.* New Delhi, Uppal Publishing House. xiv, 188 p.
Describes the lives of each of the Dalai Lamas devoting the most attention to the 14th Dalai Lama. Also includes chapters on the Panchen Lamas and on Buddhist philosophy.
1839. Marston, A.W. 1894. *The great closed land. A plea for Tibet.* London, S.W. Partridge. 112 p.
The aim of this work was to promote Christian activity in Tibet. It gives a general account of Tibet and its people, and describes attempts by Europeans to enter Tibet and the efforts of various missionary societies to establish themselves there.
1840. Martin, R.M. 1847. *China; political, commercial and social, in an official report to Her Majesty's Government.* London, J. Madden. 2 vols.
Includes a brief account of British and Chinese relations with Tibet, and of trade between China and Tibet.
1841. Mehra, P.L. 1990. The elusive triangle: Tibet in India-China relations – a brief conspectus. *China Report* 26(2): 145-156.
Historical examination of Tibet's links with India and China.
1842. Migot, A. 1950. Réflexions sur l'histoire des relations sino-tibétaines. *France-Asie* 6(56): 769-776.
1843. Miller, B.D. 1988. Lhasa: an international politico-economic centre through the centuries: a very preliminary examination. In: *Tibetan studies: proceedings of the 4th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Schloss Hohenkammer, Munich 1985.* Ed. by H. Uebach and J.L. Panglung. München, Kommission für Zentralasiatische Studien, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, p. 253-262.
Seeks to dispel the mythology that Lhasa was isolated and discusses its long history as a city of foreign residents – as well as westerners who reached Lhasa there were Nepalis, Indians, Kashmiris, Buriat Mongols etc. Tibetans also visited Sikkim and India.

1844. Milloué, L. de. 1906. *Bod-youl ou Tibet (le paradis des moines)*. Paris, Leroux. ii, 304 p. (Musée Guimet. Annales. Bibliothèque d'Études, 12)

1845. Moon, A.A. 1990. Tibetans arms and armour: an introductory survey based on secondary sources. *Tibetan Review* 25(10): 14-18.

Traces the early history of Tibet when it was a warrior nation, and the armour and other military equipment that was constructed in this period. Its policy of isolation in the eighteenth and nineteenth century meant that the Tibetans did not encounter modern weapons until their clash with the British in Sikkim in 1888. Also covers attempts by the 13th Dalai Lama to subsequently try to rearm Tibet.

1846. Nachtigall, H. 1959. Dalai Lama und Panchen Lama in Religion und Geschichte Tibets. *Gesch. Wiss. Unterr.* 10: 680-695.

The religious and political history of the Dalai and Panchen Lamas of Tibet, their rivalry, and the part played by them in the foreign relations of Tibet, especially in the twentieth century.

1847. Norbu, Dawa. 1985. Analysis of Sino-Tibetan relationships, 1245-1911: imperial power, non-coercive regime and military dependency. In: B. Aziz and M. Kapstein, eds. *Soundings in Tibetan civilization*. New Delhi, Manohar, p. 176-195.

Analyses Sino-Tibetan relations in terms of military dependency between an imperial power (pre-1911 China) and a non-coercive regime (Buddhist Tibet) and shows how there was a mutuality of interests. Whilst Mongol/Manchu warriors provided military and political support necessary to allow the lamas in Tibet to remain in power, the latter reciprocated by providing moral support and initial legitimisation of barbarian rule.

1848. Norbu, Dawa. 1990. The Europeanization of Sino-Tibetan relations, 1775-1907: the genesis of Chinese "Suzerainty" and Tibetan "Autonomy". *Tibet J.* 15(4): 28-74.

The effect of British policies on the status of Tibet and the problems generated by their interpretation of traditional modes of Sino-Tibetan relations in terms of European international law. The international treaties signed on behalf of, or by Tibet, in the period 1890 to 1913/1914 are also examined.

1849. Norbu, Dawa. 1992. Imperialism and inner Asia 1775-1907: how British India and Imperial China redefined the status of Tibet. In: K. Warikoo and D. Norbu, eds. *Ethnicity and politics in Central Asia*. New Delhi, South Asian Publishers, p. 21-59.

Analyses the foreign policies of Britain and China towards Tibet. For most of this period Tibet maintained a policy of isolation and tried to exclude westerners because of fear of British colonialism. It was not until 1910 that Tibet looked to Britain for help against the Chinese. Tibet was then able to operate as an autonomous state whilst British imperial power was paramount in Asia. The changing conceptions of China's status in Tibet and Tibet's status in treaties are also examined.

1850. Norbu, Dawa. 2001. *China's Tibet policy*. Richmond, Surrey, Curzon Press. xiii, 470 p.
 [Reviewed: A.Bhattacharya, *Int. Aff.* 78(3): 667-668, 2002; A.Bhattacharya, *Econ. Polit. Wkly* 37(24): 2313-2314, 2002; A.T.Grunfeld, *China Q., Lond.* no. 171: 776-777, 2002; B.Sautman, *Pacific Affairs* 75: 480-482, 2002; B.Hillman, *China J., Canberra* 49: 196-198, 2003; G.Tuttle, *J. Asian Stud.* 62(2): 605-607, 2003; D.H.McMillen, *Asian Ethnicity* 4(1): 158-160, 2003; T.Shakya, *Asian Affairs* 34(2): 199-200, 2003]
 Examines Sino-Tibetan relations over the centuries, discusses how these relations have changed as regimes in each country changed, and how the Chinese exercise of power in Tibet has ranged from mild dominance characteristic of tribute relations to the present extreme form of direct intervention and domination. Also includes a chapter entitled 'The British interpretation of Sino-Tibetan relationships: the genesis of Tibetan "autonomy" and Chinese "suzerainty"'.
1851. O'Connor, W.F. 1903. *Report on Tibet*. Provisional edition. Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 68 p.
 General information on Tibet - its geography, frontiers, government, trade, resources and history.
1852. Petech, L. 1959. The Dalai Lamas and Regents of Tibet: a chronological study. *T'oung Pao* 2s., 47: 368-394. Reprinted in his *Selected papers on Asian history*. Roma, Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1988, p. 125-147, and in A. McKay, ed. *The history of Tibet. Vol. 2.* (see no. 211), p. 567-583.
1853. Petech, L. 1973. *Aristocracy and government in Tibet, 1728-1959*. Roma, Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente. 274 p. (Serie Orientale Roma, vol. 45)
 [Reviewed: P.Denwood, *Bull. Sch. Orient. Afr. Stud.* 38(3): 710-711, 1975; M.C.Goldstein, *Harvard J. Asiat. Stud.* 36: 332-333, 1976; J.Kolmas, *Archiv Orient.* 48: 155, 1980]
 Examines the role prominent families of the Tibetan aristocracy have played in the Tibetan political system from the establishment of Chinese suzerainty up to 1959 referring to many historical events. Also describes the Tibetan Government and the relations between the aristocracy and the theocracy.
1854. Peters, W. 1988. The unresolved problem of Tibet. *Asian affairs* 19: 140-153.
 Reviews the main events in Sino-Tibetan relations and outlines the reasons for Western concerns about the Chinese occupation of Tibet.
1855. Prinsep, H.T. 1852. *Tibet, Tartary and Mongolia; their social and political condition, and the religion of Boodh as there existing*. 2nd ed. London, W.H. Allen. vii, 178 p.
 Account of Tibet compiled from the reports of travellers to Tibet, especially that of Huc.

1856. Procida, M.A. 1996. A tale begun in other days: British travellers in Tibet in the late nineteenth century. *J. social Hist.* 30(1): 185-208.

Examines published travel narratives written by British men and women who ventured into Tibet in the latter half of the nineteenth century when Tibet was still an 'unknown land of dreams'.

1857. Rahul, R. 1961/1962. The structure of the government of Tibet: 1644-1911. *Int. Stud.* 3: 263-298.

Account of the central government of Tibet, the area and district administrations, the military organisation, and the powers of the landlords and monasteries.

1858. Rahul, R. 1968/1969. The institution of the Dalai Lama. *Int. Stud.* 10: 495-510.

Examines the establishment and development of the institution, the method of discovering the Dalai Lamas, their impact on Tibetan society, and their role in politics during various periods of history.

1859. Rahul, R. 1969. *The government and politics of Tibet*. Delhi, Vikas Publications. 160 p.

[Reviewed: R.Gupta, *Indian J. polit. Sci.* 31: 414-415, 1970; P.L.Mehra, *India Q.* 26: 435, 1970; W.Levi, *Pacific Affairs* 43(4): 593-594, 1970/1971; S.K.Pathak, *Q. Rev. hist. Stud.* 11: 120, 1971/1972]

1860. Rahul, R. 1978. Tibet: a phoenix among nations. *Tibet J.* 3(1): 6-29.

Tibetan history from the sixth century to 1954. Concludes that from 1913-1951 no country could validly claim sovereignty over Tibet.

1861. Rahul, R. 1992. *Modern Tibet*. New Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal. viii, 107 p.

General account of Tibet including its government and foreign relations.

1862. Rahul, R. 1995. *The Dalai Lama: the institution*. New Delhi, Vikas Publishing House. vi, 130 p.

[Reviewed: W.Peters, *Asian Affairs* 27: 194-195, 1996]

Covers the formation and rise of the institution of Dalai Lama from 1391 to 1682, its decline from 1683 to 1875 and revitalisation under the 13th Dalai Lama from 1876 to 1933. Also includes a discussion on the future of the institution.

1863. Richard, L. 1908. *Comprehensive geography of the Chinese Empire and Dependencies*. Translated into English, revised and enlarged by M. Kennelly, S.J. Shanghai, T'Usewei Press. xviii, 713 p.

Includes a section on Tibet.

1864. Richardson, H.E. *Tibet and her neighbours; a presentation of the historical facts of Tibet's relations with neighbouring states*. London, Tibet Society, n.d. 3 p. (Tibet Society publication no, 2)

1865. Richardson, H. E. 1971. The Dalai Lamas. *Shambhala* 1: 19-30. Reprinted in his *High peaks, pure earth* (see no. 1869), p. 383-398, and in A. McKay, *The history of Tibet. Vol. 2.* (see no. 211), p. 554-566.
History of the Dalai Lamas from 1642 and the impressions of Europeans who came in contact with them such as Manning and Gould.
1866. Richardson, H. E. 1973. Foreigners in Tibet. *Shambhala* 2: 26-33. Reprinted in his *High peaks, pure earth* (see no. 1869), p. 409-419.
Foreigners who have visited Tibet from 1300. Notes that up to 1792 European visitors were generally politely received in Tibet but a policy of exclusion was then introduced inspired by the Chinese and supported by the Tibetans. Richardson provides some reasons for this change in policy.
1867. Richardson, H.E. 1976. The political role of the four sects in Tibetan history. *Tibetan Review* 11(9): 18-23. Reprinted in his *High peaks, pure earth* (see no. 1869), p. 420-430.
The importance of religion in the politics of Tibet.
1868. Richardson, H. E. 1986. Tibetan lamas in Western eyes. *Bull. Tibetol.* no. 3: 24-37. Reprinted in his *High peaks, pure earth* (see no. 1869), p. 486-498.
Describes the impressions lamas made on western visitors from the time of Marco Polo and the early missionaries. Includes the comments of Bogle, Turner, Manning, Huc and Gabet, Rockhill, Bell, and O'Connor. Richardson also provides his own impressions of the 14th Dalai Lama.
1869. Richardson, H.E. 1998. *High peaks, pure earth: collected writings on Tibetan history and culture.* Ed. with an introduction by M. Aris. London, Serindia Publications. xiii, 777 p.
[Reviewed: W.Peters, *Asian Affairs* 30: 337-338, 1999; J.Billington, *Tibetan Review* 34(5): 26-27, 1999; L.Petech, *Central Asiat. J.* 44(1): 158-160, 2000; D.Jackson, *Tibet J.* 26(3-4): 225-226, 2001]
1870. Rockhill, W.W. 1891. *The land of the lamas: notes of a journey through China, Mongolia and Tibet.* London, Longmans, Green. viii, 399 p. Reprinted: Taipei, Ch'eng Wen, 1972; New Delhi, Asian Publication Services, 1975 and 1988.
[Reviewed: *Edinb. Rev.* 175: 540-558, 1892; *Imp. Asiat. Q. Rev.* n.s. 3: 262, 1892]
An account of his journey together with detailed notes on the commerce of Tibet.
1871. Rockhill, W.W. 1891. Tibet: a geographical, ethnographical, and historical sketch, derived from Chinese sources. *Jl R. Asiat. Soc.* 1891 p. 185-291. Reprinted: Peking, Wên tien Ko Shu Chuang, 1939.
1872. Rockhill, W.W. 1910. *The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and their relations with the Manchu emperors of China 1644-1908.* Leyden, Oriental Printing Office, late E.J. Brill. 104 p. Reprinted from *T'oung Pao* 2s., 11: 1-104,

1910. Reprinted: Dharamsala, Library of Tibetan Works & Archives, 1998.

1873. Rosthorn, A. de. 1895. *On the tea cultivation in Western Ssuch'uan and the tea trade with Tibet via Tachienlu*. London, Luzac. 40 p.

Detailed account of the manufacture and cost of the tea imported by Tibet from China and the difficulty of Indian tea competing with the Chinese product especially on a cost basis. Rosthorn also feels that Chinese influence in Tibet partly rests on Tibetan dependence on China for her supply of tea.

1874. Roux, E. 1898. La politique chinoise au Thibet. *Quest. dipl. colon.* 4: 291-295, 353-362.

An account of the part played by China in Tibet over the years.

1875. [Sachot, O.] 1876. Le Kachgar, le Pamir et le Thibet, par O.S. *Revue Br. n.s.* 5: 183-214, Sept. Comment on the Tibetan section: C. Desgodins, *Miss. Cathol.* 9: 427-428, 1877.

General account of the three areas and their relations with other countries.

1876. Samphel, Thubten. 2000. *The Dalai Lamas of Tibet*. New Delhi, Lustre Press. 128 p.

On the origin and development of the institution of Dalai Lama lavishly illustrated with historical and recent photos.

1877. Sandberg, G. 1891. The Grand Lama of Tibet. *Littell's living Age* 191: 597-607.

The institution of Dalai Lama, and Chinese policy in Tibet towards the Dalai Lama, both historically and at present.

1878. Sandberg, G. 1894. The exploration of Tibet. *Calcutta Rev.* 98(196): 326-360.

Account of recent exploration in Tibet and on its borders (e.g. by the pundits, Bower, Bonvalot) and the resulting increase in knowledge of the geography, ethnology, natural history, and commercial industries of Tibet.

1879. Sandberg, G. 1904. *The exploration of Tibet, its history and particulars from 1623 to 1904*. Calcutta, Thacker, Spink. vi, 324 p. Reprinted with title: *The exploration of Tibet: history and particulars*. Delhi, Cosmo Publications, 1973.

[Reviewed: *Athenaeum* no. 4005: 134, July 30, 1904; *Calcutta Rev.* 119(238): 560-562, 1904; *Bull. Am. geogr. Soc.* 37: 444-445, 1905; *Kailash* 2(3): 207-208, 1974]

Traces the exploration of Tibet from the seventeenth century to the Younghusband Expedition.

1880. Sandberg, G. 1906. *Tibet and the Tibetans*. London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. ix, 333 p.

[Reviewed: C.M.Ridding, *Jl R. Asiat. Soc.* 1906, p. 742-744; *Scott. geogr. Mag.* 22: 394, 1906]

Detailed account of Tibet and its people. It includes a chapter on the Tsangpo which examines the exploration of the river and the theories concerning its outlet.

1881. Schulemann, G. 1958. *Geschichte der Dalai-Lamas*. Leipzig, Harrassowitz. 519 p.
History of the Dalai Lamas and their influence on Tibet's relations with Britain and China.
1882. Sharma, S.K. and Sharma, U., eds. 1996. *Encyclopaedia of Tibet*. New Delhi, Anmol Publications. 7 vols.
v. 1. History and geography of Tibet -- v. 2. Travel and memoirs of Tibet -- v. 3. Society and culture of Tibet --v. 4. Religious heritage of Tibet -- v. 5. Dalai Lama and Tibet-- v. 6. India and Tibet -- v. 7. Tibet and the world.
Reprint of articles from journals and newspapers, excerpts from books, reports, memorandums, and conventions on Tibet. They include reminiscences of travellers ranging from Bogle, Kawaguchi and members of the Younghusband Mission. Vol. 7 mainly contains the major treaties and conventions concerning Tibet.
1883. Singer, H. 1902. Lhasa, das tibetanische Rom. *Gartenlaube* no. 12: 198-200.
Account of Lhasa and attempts by Europeans to visit the city.
1884. Sinha, N.C. 1964. Historical status of Tibet. *Bull. Tibetol.* 1(1): 25-32, May.
Review of Tibet's relations with India and China in order to determine the status of Tibet.
1885. Sinha, N.C. 1975. *An introduction to the history and religion of Tibet*. Calcutta, A.C. Bose. xv, 100 p.
1886. Spengen, W. van. 1995. The geo-history of long distance trade in Tibet 1850-1950. *Tibet J.* 20(2): 18-63.
Detailed account of Tibetan trade covering the decline of foreign merchant communities and the corresponding rise of Tibetan trade initiatives. Examines the salt, tea, and wool trade of Tibet and the importance of pilgrimages and fairs in promoting trade especially in the Himalayan region.
1887. Spengen, W. van. 2000. *Tibetan border worlds: a geohistorical analysis of trade and traders*. London, Kegan-Paul International. ix, 307 p.
[Reviewed: W.Palace, *Asian Affairs* 32: 77-78, 2001; C.Mackerras, *N.Z. Jl Asian Stud.* 2(2): 160-161, 2000; G.Childs, *Tibet J.* 25(4): 100-104, 2000; M.Turin, *IAS Newsletter* no. 24: 16, Feb. 2001; A.McKay, *Bull. Sch. Orient. Afr. Stud.* 64(1): 141-142, 2001; B.A.Michael, *Indian econ. social hist. Rev.* 38(3): 325-327, 2001; M.van Beek, *China Q., Lond.* no. 168: 1014-1015, 2001; D.Templeman, *South Asia* 25(1): 155-157, 2002]

Detailed study of the Nyshingba, a group of people of Tibetan origin in West Central Nepal close to the Tibetan border, preceded by a geopolitical history of Tibet. This covers British and Chinese relations with Tibet mainly in the early twentieth century and an historical analysis of Tibetan trade.

1888. Sperling, E. 1986. Chinese attack Shakabapa and Richardson. *Tibetan Review* 21(5): 8-11, 21.
Attack by Chinese authors on their works (see nos. 2473 and 2477)
1889. Stein, R.A. 1972. *Tibetan civilization*. Translated by J.E. Stapleton Driver. Stanford, Calif., Stanford University Press. 334 p.
Includes an account of the history of Tibet.
1890. *Suvirov, N.I. 1905. *Tibet: opisanie strany i otnoshenie k nei Kitaia i Anglii do posledniago vremeni*. St. Peterburg, V. Berezovskii. 137 p.
Source: Melvyl (Catalogue of the University of California Libraries).
1891. *Suzuki, C. 19--. A history of Sino-Indian relations involving Tibet: from mid-18th to mid-19th century. [Berkeley, Calif., University of California]. 177 p. Typescript. Translation from Japanese. Source: Melvyl (Catalogue of the University of California Libraries).
1892. *Thorp, E.D. 1963. The role of Tibet in India-China relations. Thesis (Ph.D) University of Chicago. Source: no. 30.
1893. Tibet. Central Tibetan Secretariat. Information Office. 1987. *The status of Tibet: a brief summary & 1959 Tibet documents*. Dharamsala. 52 p.
Includes an account of pre-1950 history to demonstrate Tibet's independent status.
1894. Tournafond, P. 1876. Le commerce du Thibet. *Explorateur* 3: 660-661.
1895. Trinkler, E. 1922. *Tibet; sein geographisches Bild und seine Stellung im Asiatischen Kontinent*. München, Universitäts-Buchdruckerei Dr C. Wolf & Sohn. 146 p. (Geographische Gesellschaft in München. Mitteilungen, Sonder-Abdruck, Bd XV, 1922)
A geographical account of Tibet.
1896. Tulku, D. 1996. The lineage of the Panchen Lamas, translated from the Tibetan by T.T. Rikey. *Lungta* no. 10: 5-10.
History of the Panchen Lamas with a brief biography of each incarnation. Explains the confusion in the numbering of the Lamas as generally today the three previous incarnations of the first Panchen Lama are counted. This makes the latest Panchen Lama the 11th incarnation, rather than the 8th.
1897. Van Walt van Praag, M.C. 1987. *The status of Tibet: history, rights and prospects in international law*. With a foreword by F. Michael and an introduction by R. Jaipal. London, Wisdom Publications. xxv, 381 p.

[Reviewed: A.Lamb, *Int. Aff.* 64(4): 732-734, 1988; P.Addy, *China Q.*, Lond. no. 116: 846-847, 1988; C.I.Beckwith, *J. Asian Stud.* 47: 626-627, 1988; L.Petech, *Bull. Sch. Orient. Afr. Stud.* 51(2): 366-367, 1988; A.Rumbold, *Asian Affairs* 18: 308-309, 1987; J.T.Dreyer, *Pacific Affairs* 61: 340-342, 1988; F.J.Hampson, *Int. comp. Law Q.* 37: 209, 1988; L.Newby, *Wld Today* 45(1): 17-18, 1989; R.Khan, *Int. Stud.* 26(1): 74-75, 1989; P.Mehra, *Indian hist. Rev.* 22(1-2): 207-227, 1995/1996]

Reviews Tibet's relations with China and other countries from early times to 1950 as a basis for understanding the longstanding and unresolved problems of Tibet's relationship to China, and its importance in the broader issues of Asian politics. The texts of all the international agreements made with, or relating to Tibet, are appended. For a Chinese review of this work see: Li Zerui, A colonialist's confession of the tactics of aggression - a critique of Michael C. van Walt van Praag's work *The status of Tibet*. In: *Theses on Tibetology*, ed. by Liao Zugui and Zhang Zuji. Beijing, China Tibetology Publishing House, 1996, p. 547-599.

1898. Verhaegen, A. 2002. *The Dalai Lamas: the institution and its history*. New Delhi, D.K. Printworlds. xii, 203 p.
History and description of the institution of the Dalai Lama in Tibetan society from its inception to the present.
1899. Vohra, S. 1988. Tibet, India and China. *J. un. Serv. Instn India* 118(494): 331-347.
Outlines the history of Tibet and discusses the influence of China and India on Tibetan political autonomy.
1900. Waddell, L.A. 1904. Map of Lhasa and its environs. *Geogr. J.* 23: 366.
Compiled from information gained from Tibetans who had lived in Lhasa.
1901. Walker, J.T. 1894. Note on the R.G.S. map of Tibet. *Geogr. J.* 4: 52-54.
Outlines the sources from which the map was compiled.
1902. Wang, Fu-jen and Suo Wenqing. 1984. *Highlights of Tibetan history* by Furen Wang and Suo Wenqing. Beijing, New World Press. 206 p.
[Reviewed: J.Jay, *Tibet J.* 12(1): 63-64, 1987]
An abridged translation of the Chinese original *Zangzu Shiyao* (Chengdu, Sichuan Minzu Press, 1982) which provides a history of Tibet from the Chinese viewpoint. Covers all the major aspects of British and Russian contacts with Tibet including the Anglo-Tibetan conflict in Sikkim in 1888, Dorjiev, the Younghusband Expedition, the Simla Conference and British policy after Simla. The stated aim of the original work was to present an outline of Tibetan history to educate Chinese workers in Tibet.
1903. Wang, Jiawei and Nyima Gyaincain. 1997. *The historical status of China's Tibet*. Beijing, China Intercontinental Press. 333 p. 2nd ed. 2000.
Detailed account of Chinese and British relations with Tibet from a Chinese viewpoint.

1904. Wegener, G. 1893. Die Entschleierung der unbekanntesten Teile von Tibet und die tibetische Centralkette. In: *Festschrift Ferdinand Freiherrn von Richthofen zum sechzigsten Geburtstag am 5 Mai 1893 dargebracht von seinen Schülern*. Berlin, D. Reimer, p. 385-418.

Traces the development of knowledge about Tibet from earliest times, and gives an account of recent exploration in Tibet.

1905. Whitley, D.G. 1895. The attack on Tibet. *Littell's living Age* 206: 218-226.

Whitley examines the methods by which Tibetans prevent European travellers from entering their country, and advances some reasons for their opposition.

1906. Woodcock, G. 1965. The theocrats of Tibet. *History today* 15: 87-98.

See also nos 123-4, 126, 131-2, 135, 144, 151, 153-6, 158, 164-70, 175-6, 178-81, 188-91, 195, 201-3, 206-9, 211, 224, 232, 234, 241, 251-3, 255, 257-60, 263, 267, 271-3, 275-7, 393, 434, 440, 449, 456, 477-8, 507, chapter IV.2, 615-16, 790, 866, 911, 936, 943-5, 953-4, 957, 1058, 1193, 1209-10, 1213, 1373, 1381-2, 1384, 1417-18, 1426-7, 1439, 1442, 1446, 1473-5, 1478, 1480, 1482, chapters VI.6, VI.7 and VI.8, 1678, 2360, 2437-8, 2440, 2525, 2535, 2543-4, 2659, 2575.

2. THOMAS MANNING

Thomas Manning, an English traveller and scholar, arrived in Canton in 1803. After several unsuccessful attempts to travel in China he went to Calcutta in 1810 as he hoped to reach China by way of the Himalayas and Tibet. The East India Company was uninterested in his proposed trip to Tibet and gave him no aid or diplomatic commission. Despite this he left for Bhutan in September 1811 and in December reached Lhasa, the first Englishman to enter the capital of Tibet. He stayed there for several months and met the Dalai Lama before returning to Calcutta. He eventually travelled in China when he accompanied Lord Amherst's embassy to Peking as an interpreter.

1907. Anon. 1840. Thomas Manning, Esq. [obituary], by A.J.D. *Gent. Mag.* 110(2): 97-100.

1908. Allan, V. 1962. A journey to Lhasa in 1811. *History Today* 12: 188-196.

1909. Auber, P. 1834. *China; an outline of its government, laws and policy: and of the British and foreign embassies to, and intercourse with, that empire*. London, Parbury, Allen. viii, 419 p.

Includes an account of the Macartney Embassy to China in 1793 and the attempts of Thomas Manning to explore China both from Canton and from Tibet.

1910. [Courtney, W.P.] 1917. Thomas Manning (1772-1840), by W.P.C. In: *The dictionary of national biography*, vol. XII. London, Oxford University Press, p. 956-958.

1911. Gibson, H. 1889. Chinese policy in Tibet. *Month* 65: 43-58.

Traces attempts by Europeans to enter Tibet, especially the journey of Manning, and examines the Chinese policy of keeping Tibet isolated, and their influence in Tibet over the centuries.

1912. Manning, T. 1925. *The letters of Thomas Manning to Charles Lamb*. Ed. by G.A. Anderson. London, M. Secker. 159 p.

Includes his last letter to Lamb before leaving for Tibet.

See also nos 139, 141, 178, 214, 265, 380, 383, 391, 393, 414, 547, 1771-3, 1813, 1815, 1834, 1865, 1868, 1879, 2000, 2073, 2493, 2705, 2986, 4016.

3. HUC AND GABET

Evariste Huc and Joseph Gabet, two French Lazarist missionaries, reached Lhasa in January 1846, after eighteen months of travel through China and Northern Tibet. In Lhasa they won the confidence and friendship of the Regent of the young Dalai Lama and were allowed to preach the Christian doctrine. However, after a stay of less than two months, they were expelled through the influence of the Chinese Amban who feared the danger of European access to Tibet. Both Huc and Gabet in their accounts of their stay in Lhasa comment on the Tibetan fear of the English and Huc also maintained that William Moorcroft had visited the city in 1826.

1913. Anon. 1852. French missionaries in Tartary and Thibet. *Fraser's Mag.* 45: 33-45.

1914. Anon. 1910. The expulsion of Huc and Gabet from Lhasa. *Geogr. J.* 36: 103.

Report on the documents recently published by Cordier (see no. 1916).

1915. Cammann, S. 1942. New light on Huc and Gabet; their expulsion from Lhasa in 1846. *Far East Q.* 1: 348-363.

Translation of Chinese documents concerning the arrest and subsequent questioning of Huc and Gabet contained in *Ch'ou-pan i-wu shih-mo*, or *Documents concerning the management of barbarian affairs*. One of these documents, which was a report to Peking from the Chinese Amban in Lhasa, Ch'i-shan, enclosed a letter from the King of Nepal. This informed the Chinese of the British war against the Sikhs and warned that Nepal might be invaded next as a step towards Tibet.

1916. Cordier, H. 1909. L'expulsion de MM. Huc et Gabet du Tibet (1846). Documents inédits. *Bull. Géogr. hist. descr.* 24: 223-233.

Official documents on the expulsion of Huc and Gabet from Tibet.

1917. Davis, J.F. 1865. *Chinese miscellanies: a collection of essays and notes*. London, J. Murray. v, 191 p.
See Chapter 2, 'Huc's travels in Tartary, Thibet and China' which contains an account of their journey and stay in Lhasa, and also includes a background account to the appointment of the 1847 Boundary Commission (see chapter V.5).
1918. Gabet, J. 1848. Extract of a report of the Rev. Mr Gabet, Lazarist Missioner, relative to his sojourn at Lassa and his expulsion from Thibet. *Annals Prop. Faith* 9: 89-95; *Annales Prop. Foi* 20: 118-126.
In this report Gabet notes that Englishmen are dreaded in Tibet due to their domination in India and recent victories in China.
1919. Gabet, J. 1848. Account of the journey of the Rev. Messrs Gabet and Huc, Lazarite Missioners, to Thibet. *Annals Prop. Faith* 9: 169-181, 185-192; *Annales Prop. Foi* 20: 223-251.
Account of their stay in Lhasa, expulsion from Tibet and journey back to China.
1920. Great Britain. Foreign Office. 1989. *British documents on foreign affairs: reports and papers from the Foreign Office confidential print. Part I: From the mid-nineteenth century to the First World War. Series E: Asia, 1860-1914*. [Frederick, Md.], University Publications of America. 30 vols.
See vol. 26. South-East Asia: China, India, Burma, Siam and Tibet, 1850-1908. Mainly concerns Margary's murder and the subsequent situation in Yunnan and Burma (see chapter VI.6) but also includes, at the end of the volume, a memorandum of the Far Eastern Department on Tibet dated 16 December 1850. It analyses Huc and Gabet's report on their visit to Tibet and compares their information with that of other travellers.
1921. Huc, E.R. 1847. Letter of the Reverend Mr Huc, Lazarist Missioner, to the Reverend Dr. Etienne, Superior-General of the Congregation of the Mission. *Annals Prop. Faith* 8: 208-237; *Annales Prop. Foi* 19: 269-308.
Their journey through Tibet and arrival at the end of January 1846.
1922. Huc, E.R. 1849. Letter of Rev. Mr Huc, Apostolic Missioner in China, to Rev. Dr. Etienne, Superior-General of Saint Lazarus at Paris: Sojourn at Lassa. *Annals Prop. Faith* 10: 26-28, 81-123; *Annales Prop. Foi* 21: 38-70, 73-135.
Detailed account of their stay in Lhasa with remarks on Tibetan life and religion. Chinese soldiers in Tibet, and Kashmiri traders in Lhasa.
1923. Huc, E.R. 1849, 1850. Letter of Rev. Mr Huc, Apostolic Missioner in Mongolia, to Rev. Dr. Etienne, Superior-General of Saint Lazarus at Paris. *Annals Prop. Faith* 10: 327-382; 11: 161-196; *Annales Prop. Foi* 21: 361-434; 22: 206-256.
Account of their expulsion from Tibet and journey back to China.

1924. Huc, E.R. 1852. *Travels in Tartary, Thibet and China during the years 1844-5-6*. Translated from the French by W. Hazlitt. London, National Illustrated Library. 2 vols. Reprinted: London, G. Routledge, 1928; New York, Dover Publications, 1987.

The first complete translation of Huc's account of his journey to Tibet with Gabet which was published as *Souvenirs d'un voyage dans la Tartarie, le Thibet et la Chine pendant les années 1844, 1845 et 1846* in 2 vols in 1850. In this work Huc also gives information on foreigners in Lhasa at this time, the position of relations between China and Tibet, and the Tibetan fear of the English after it was discovered that Moorcroft had made maps of Tibet. Huc maintains that Moorcroft resided at Lhasa for some time and gives an account of his stay there (see also nos 1003 and 1926).

1925. Huc, E.R. 1852. *Recollections of a journey through Tartary, Thibet and China, during the years 1844, 1845, and 1846*. Condensed translation by Mrs Percy Sinnett. London, Longmans, Brown, Green & Longmans. viii, 313 p.

1926. Huc, E.R. 1982. *Lamas of the western heavens*. Translated by C. de Salis with an introduction by J. Keay. London, the Folio Society. 351 p.

Translation of vol. 2 of Huc's *Souvenirs d'un voyage dans la Tartarie, le Thibet et la Chine* which covered their journey to Tibet, as well as summaries of vol. 1 and vol. 3 (which was published in 1854 with the title *L'Empire Chinois*). In his introduction Keay discusses Huc's claim that Moorcroft had visited Lhasa in 1826 and stayed 12 years after which he set off to return to Ladakh but was murdered on the way.

1927. *Huc, E.R. 1993. *Mais qui songe à la Tartarie?: lettres de voyage, 1839-1848*. [Présentées et annotées par J. Thevenet]. Paris, Ed. Kimé. Source: Bibliotheque nationale de France. Catalogue.

1928. Orleans, H.P.M. Prince d'. 1893. *Le père Huc et ses critiques*. Paris, C. Lévy. 67 p.

[Reviewed: G.Regelsperger, *Bull. Soc. Géogr. comm. Paris* 16: 216-217, 1894]

Examines geographical and linguistic criticisms of Huc's writings.

1929. Pelliot, P. 1926. *Le voyage de MM. Gabet et Huc à Lhasa. T'oung Pao* 2 s., 24: 133-178.

Detailed account of their journey and its background.

1930. Thevenet, J. 1989. *L'expulsion de Chine du Père Évariste Huc (Lhasa - Canton - 1846)*. *Revue d'Hist. Dipl.* 103(3-4): 243-260.

Discusses the circumstances surrounding the expulsion of Huc and Gabet from China in 1846. At this time French traders and missionaries could only reside at the five Chinese ports already open to the English and faced expulsion if they travelled into the interior of China. The case of Huc and Gabet was complicated by the fact that the missionaries were arrested in Tibet, rather than in China itself.

1931. Thevenet, J. 1989. *Le Lama d'Occident: Évariste Huc, 1813-1860: de France en Tartarie et du Tibet en Chine*. Paris, Seghers. 305 p.

1932. Veillot, E. 1850. Le Thibet et les missions françaises dans la Haute-Asie. *Revue des Deux Mondes* N. per., 6: 991-1032.

Account of the journey of Huc and Gabet to Tibet.

See also nos 259, 262, 265, 438, 1003, 1778, 1815, 1825, 1834, 1855, 1868, 1879, 1965-6, 1981.

4. BRITISH EXPLORATION OF TIBET FROM WESTERN CHINA

Although most British travellers attempted to enter Tibet from the Indian side of the Tibetan border, some efforts were made to travel from China to India via Tibet from the 1860's. The establishment of a British Consular Officer in Chungking in 1877 also led to some exploration of the border region of Eastern Tibet.

a) General

1933. Anon. 1876. Chine. *Miss. Cathol.* 8: 566-567.

Translation of a Chinese passport granted to a Russian official to enter Tibet, and comments that this is sure to lead to renewed demands for passports by the British.

1934. Anon. 1877. Lhasa. *Geogr. Mag.* 4: 241.

The failure of Ney Elias to gain permission to travel from China to India via Tibet.

1935. Baber, E.C. 1879. *Report by Mr Baber of his journey to Ta-chien-lu*. London, Harrison. 2 p. (Great Britain. Parliament. Papers by command, C. 2393). In: *H. of C. Parl. Pap.* LXXII: 545-548, 1878/1879.

Baber was appointed first British Consular Officer at Chungking in 1877. He made this journey in 1878 and in his report observed that Tibet extends much farther eastwards than is shown on the maps.

1936. Baber, E.C. 1882/1885. Travels and researches in the interior of China. *Supplry Pap. R. geogr. Soc.* 1: 1-201. Also published: London, J. Murray, 1882.

Description of his journeys to western Szechuan in 1877 and Tachienlu in 1878. Includes an account of the Chinese tea trade with Tibet and the difficulties in establishing a route from Assam to Batang as an outlet for Indian tea.

1937. Blakiston, T.W. 1862. *Five months on the Yang-Tsze; with a narrative of the exploration of its upper waters, and notices of the present rebellions in China*. London, J. Murray. xv, 380 p.

Blakiston originally hoped to travel to India via Tibet following his exploration of the Yangtze. His work includes a brief report on communication between India and China in which he recommended that the Government should investigate the route from India to China via the Brahmaputra River and Tibet.

1938. Dutreuil de Rhins, J.L. 1881. Le Capitaine Gill. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Paris* 7s., 1: 448-466.
Description of the journey made by Gill on the borders of Eastern Tibet.
1939. Gill, W.J. 1880. *The river of golden sand; the narrative of a journey through China and Eastern Tibet to Burmah*. With an introductory essay by H. Yule. London, J. Murray. 2 vols.
Account of his journey made in 1877. In his introduction Yule gives a detailed history of exploration in Eastern Tibet and West China, and of the controversy over the source of the Brahmaputra River.
1940. Little, A.B. 1899. A summer trip to Chinese Tibet. *Cornhill Mag.* n.s. 6: 213-229, Jan.-June.
Little claimed to be the first European woman to visit Tachienlu. She includes a detailed description of the town and its inhabitants, and on the trade passing through the area.
1941. Litton, G.J. 1898. *Notes of a journey to Tachienlu, in February, 1898*. London, Harrison. 15 p. (Great Britain. Parliament. Papers by command, C. 9045-3). At head of title: China. Diplomatic and consular reports. Miscellaneous series no. 475. In: *H. of C. Parl. Pap.* XCVII: 207- , 1899.
Litton was Consular Assistant at Chungking in 1898. His report includes comments on the trade of Tachienlu with Tibet, on the disturbances in Eastern Tibet in 1898 due to Chinese activity in the area, and the decline of respect in Eastern Tibet for the Lhasa Government following their defeat in the Sikkim War. A map of Litton's journey from Yachon to Tachienlu accompanies the report.
1942. Petech, L. 1976. China and the European travellers to Tibet, 1860-1880. *T'oung Pao* 62(4-5): 219-252. Reprinted in his *Selected papers on Asian history*. Roma, Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1988, p. 323-354.
Account of Tibetan opposition to the admittance of foreigners, especially missionaries. It examines attempts by French missionaries to enter Eastern Tibet in 1861 and other attempts to enter Tibet following the signing of the Chefoo Convention in 1876 which gave Britain the right to send a mission to Tibet. The Tibetan government, however, turned back the British captain W.J. Gill in 1877, the Hungarian count Bela Szechenyi in 1879, and the Russian general Nikolai Przhevalsky in 1879-1880.
1943. Pratt, A.E. 1892. *To the snows of Tibet through China*. London, Longmans Green. xviii, 268 p. Reprinted: Taipei, Ch'eng Wen Pub. Co., 1971; New Delhi, Asian Educational Services, 2001.
On his travels in 1889-1890 during which he twice visited Tachienlu. He

comments on the conditions experienced by the missionaries on the borders of Tibet, on trade in the area, and on his meetings with Rockhill and Prince Henri d'Orleans.

1944. Ryder, C.H.D. 1903. Exploration in Western China. *Geogr. J.* 21: 109-126.

In 1898 Ryder and native surveyors of the Survey of India were sent to China by the Indian Government to help Major Davies explore and map the province of Yunnan in south-west China. In 1900 they travelled in the border region of Eastern Tibet where they were attacked by Tibetans. A map of their journey is contained in vol. 22, 1903, of the *Geographical journal*.

1945. Wichmann, H. 1883. Babers Forschungen in Szetschuen und Yünnan. *Petermanns Mitt.* 29: 21-30.

Summarises British and French efforts to explore south-west China as well as describing the journeys of Baber.

See also nos 223, 259.

b) T.T. Cooper

In 1868 Thomas Cooper tried to travel from China to Assam via Eastern Tibet in the hope of promoting trade between India and China by this route. Forced to turn back by the Tibetans after reaching Batang, he attempted in 1869 to travel in the reverse direction from Assam to China (see chapter IX.5d). Cooper, who was a vocal proponent for opening Tibet and China to British trade, received much help on his 1868 journey from the French missionaries in Western China.

1946. Anon. 1868. Mr T.T. Cooper's journey. *N. China Herald* 2(82): 553, 556-557, Nov. 14; 2(83): 566, Nov. 24.

1947. Cooper, T.T. 1867/1868. Expedition of Mr T.T. Cooper from the Yangtze-kiang to Thibet and India. *Proc. R. geogr. Soc.* 12: 336-339.

Letter dated April 26, 1868 from Tachienlu. It concerns his plans to travel to India via Tibet, and also includes comments on the trade of Western China.

1948. Cooper, T.T. 1869. *Journal of an overland journey from China towards India. The plains of Hoopeh*, by T.J. Cooper. Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing. vi, 193 p.

Cooper's report to the Indian Government on his 1868 journey.

1949. Cooper, T.T. 1869. Notes on Western China. *Proc. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 1869, p. 143-157.

Information on Western China and on routes to and from the region including the main route to Tibet. He also reports on the route from Bathang to Sadiya in Assam which at that time had not been travelled by Europeans.

1950. Cooper, T.T. 1869/1870. *Travels in Western China and Eastern Thibet. Proc. R. geogr. Soc.* 14: 335-346.
Account of his 1868 journey.
1951. Cooper, T.T. 1871. *Travels of a pioneer of commerce in pigtail and petticoats: or, An overland journey from China towards India.* London, J. Murray. xv, 475 p. Reprinted: New York, Arno Press, 1967.
[Reviewed: A.Desgodins, *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Paris* 6s., 4: 525-533, 1872; *Phoenix* 1: 202-203, 1871; *Chamb. J.* 4s., 9: 106-110, 1872]
Detailed account of his journey accompanied by a map on which his route is marked. He also describes the help received from the French missionaries and their efforts to persuade him to try and reach India via Lhasa rather than by the Assam route. The appendices include a memorandum on Tibet by one of these missionaries which urges the British to play a more active part in opening up Tibet.
1952. [Douglas, R.K.] 1917. Thomas Thornville Cooper (1839-1878), by R.K.D. In *The dictionary of national biography*, vol. IV. London, Oxford University Press, p. 1078-1079.
1953. Romanet du Caillaud, F. 1876. *Voyage d'un pionnier du commerce Britannique de Shang-hai au Thibet oriental. Explorateur* 3: 496-497, 519-521, 556-558.
On Cooper's journey and the interest of the British in promoting their trade with Tibet and China.
1954. Saunders, T.W. 1869. *Account of Mr Cooper's attempt to reach India from Western China. Rep. Br. Ass. Advmt Sci.* 39(2): 166-167.
- See also nos 206, 1503.

c) Annie Taylor

Annie Taylor, a missionary, joined the China Inland Mission in 1884. In 1892 she attempted to travel across Northern Tibet to Lhasa and from there to India but she was turned back several days journey from Lhasa. She then returned to China via Tachienlu and later settled in Yatung in the Chumbi Valley.

1955. Anon. 1894. *Miss Taylor's recent journey in Tibet. Geogr. J.* 3: 423-424.
Account of her journey together with some notes by W.W. Rockhill who had previously travelled through some of the same country.
1956. Carey, W. 1902. *Travel and adventure in Tibet. Including the diary of Miss Annie R. Taylor's remarkable journey from Tau-Chau to Ta-chien-lu through the heart of the forbidden land.* London, Hodder & Stoughton.

285 p. American title: *Adventures in Tibet*. Reprinted: Taipei, Ch'eng Wen Publishing Co., 1972; Delhi, Mittal Publications, 1983, 2002.

A general account of Tibet and of European exploration in that country, followed by Annie Taylor's diary of her journey. Carey obtained the diary when he visited Taylor in Yatung in 1899.

1957. Middleton, D. 1965. *Victorian lady travellers*. London, Routledge and K. Paul. xiii, 182 p. Reprinted: Chicago, Academy Chicago, 1982.

Includes an account of the life of Annie Taylor and of her journey in Tibet.

1958. Miller, L. 1976. *On top of the world: five women explorers in Tibet*. London, Paddington Press. 222 p.

[Reviewed: *Asian Affairs* 64: 356-357, 1977]

Exploration in the Himalayas by three British women, Nina Mazuchelli, Annie Taylor and Isabella Bird Bishop, an American, Fanny Bullock Workman, and a Frenchwoman, Alexandra David-Neel. Only two of these, Taylor and David-Neel actually travelled in Tibet.

1959. Taylor, A.R. 1893/1894. An Englishwoman in Thibet. *Natn. Rev.* 22: 25-35; *Littell's living Age* 199: 422-429, 1893.

1960. Taylor, A.R. 1894. My experiences in Tibet. *Scott. geogr. Mag.* 10: 1-8.

1961. [Taylor, A.R.] 1894. *The origin of the Tibetan Pioneer Mission, together with some facts about Tibet*. London, Morgan and Scott. 21 p.

The work of Annie Taylor, the formation of the mission, and her account of her experiences in Tibet in 1892.

1962. Taylor, A.R. 1894. Some notes on Tibet. *Natn. Rev.* 23: 81-88; *Littell's living Age* 201: 41-46.

General comments on Tibet, its trade, the reasons why the Tibetans refuse Europeans access to their country, and the part played by the Chinese in encouraging this attitude.

1963. *Taylor, A.R. 1895? *Pioneering in Tibet*. London, Morgan and Scott. 78 p. Source. no. 26.

See also nos 185, 259, 265, 1600, 1602.

5. FRENCH MISSIONARIES ON THE CHINESE-TIBETAN BORDER

In 1855 French Catholic missionaries established a mission station at Bonga in Szechuan on the borders of Eastern Tibet. Over the years the missionaries supported Tibetan explorers such as T.T. Cooper, and efforts by the Indian Government to open contact with Tibet. This was because they realised that

their only hope of extending their influence in Tibet was through the diplomatic or military actions of the British.

The missionaries were continually harassed and persecuted by the Tibetans and in 1867 they sent letters to Colonel Ramsay, the British Resident at Kathmandu, via members of the Nepalese Quinquennial Mission then on its way to China. In these they requested the intervention of the Nepalese on their behalf in Lhasa. Although Sir Jang Bahadur wrote to Lhasa his letter had little effect and in 1887, following the abandonment of the Macaulay Mission, some of the French mission stations in the border region of Eastern Tibet were destroyed by the Tibetans.

1964. Anon. 1854. Missions of Thibet. Extract from a letter addressed to the Councils of the Work, by Messrs the Directors of the Seminary of Foreign Missions. *Annals Prop. Faith* 15: 230-236; *Annales Prop. Foi* 26: 309-318.

On attempts by French missionaries to enter Tibet from Assam, Yunnan, and Szechuan at this time.

1965. Anon. 1861. Missions of Thibet. A recapitulation of the labours undertaken during the last fifteen years for the establishment of this mission. *Annals Prop. Faith* 22: 263-279; *Annales Prop. Foi* 33: 339-360.

Includes the journey of Huc and Gabet to Lhasa and efforts to reach Tibet from Assam, India, Yunnan and Szechuan, by Krick and Boury, Bernard and Desgodins, and Renou and Fage. Also reports that a mainly English expedition is about to set out for Tibet from Shanghai.

1966. Anon. 1862. Das Vordringen der Europäer nach Tibet, dem Lande des Dalai Lama. *Globus* 2: 24-27.

Attempts by French missionaries to enter Tibet from Assam, India and China.

1967. Anon. 1890. Au Thibet. Souvenirs de trente quatre ans de mission. *C. r. Séanc. Soc. Géogr. Paris* 1890 p. 176-180.

Brief account of the years spent by Desgodins on the borders of Tibet and his attempts to enter that country.

1968. Anon. 1913. M. Desgodins et la Mission du Thibet. *Miss. Cathol.* 45: 249-252.

Reports on the death of Desgodins and reviews his attempts to establish a mission in Tibet from both the Chinese and Indian sides of the Tibetan border.

1969. Bray, J. 1997. French Catholic missions and the politics of China and Tibet 1846-1865. In: *Tibetan studies: proceedings of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Graz, 1995*. Ed. by H. Krasser et al. Wien, Vlg der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, p. 83-95. Reprinted in A. McKay, ed. *The history of Tibet. Vol. 2.* (see no. 211) p. 734-747.

On the Paris-based Société des Missions Étrangères and the founding of the Tibet Mission in Bonga (Kham) and its progress. The problems encountered by the Mission illustrated the complexities of the relationship between China and Tibet and showed the weakness of the Chinese position in this period. Tibetan, Chinese and French perspectives on the development of the Mission are also provided.

1970. Chauveau, J.-M. 1869. Letter from Monsignor Chauveau, Vicar-Apostolic of Thibet, to the members of the Central Councils of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. *Annals Prop. Faith* 30: 174-184; *Annales Prop. Foi* 41: 208-221.

Letter dated Tachienlu October 7, 1868. It concerns the letter of Sir Jang Bahadur to the Tibetan Government, written at the request of the British, which asked that the French missionaries be allowed to preach their religion in Tibet and be indemnified for their losses at the hands of the Tibetans. Chauveau's letter is followed by extracts from Sir Jang's letter translated from the Chinese text.

1971. Chauveau, J.-M. 1870. Letter from Monsignor Chauveau, Vicar-Apostolic of Thibet, to the members of the Central Councils of the Propagation of the Faith at Lyons and Paris. *Annals Prop. Faith* 31: 233-244; *Annales Prop. Foi* 42: 286-301.

Describes their problems in obtaining letters sent to them by Jang Bahadur and Ramsay via Lhasa, and also the farcical enquiry conducted by the Chinese and Tibetans into their complaints following Jang Bahadur's letter on their behalf to Lhasa. Chauveau also comments on the serious differences existing between Nepal and Tibet at this time, and on the unease in Lhasa following the British successes in Bhutan.

1972. Chauveau, J.-M. 1877. Thibet [lettre]. *Miss. Cathol.* 9: 334-335.

Describes present Tibetan fears that English and Russian expeditions are about to be sent to Tibet, and comments on Tibetan determination to oppose all foreigners.

1973. Desgodins, C.H. 1872. *La mission du Thibet de 1855 à 1870, comprenant l'exposé des affaires religieuses, et divers documents sur ce pays... d'après les lettres de M. l'Abbé Desgodins.* Verdun, C. Laurent. iv, 419 p.

Divided into two parts. The first describes the attempts made by Desgodins to enter Tibet by way of India and China, and also the work of the Tibet Mission on the Eastern borders of Tibet. The second part contains a detailed account of Tibet.

1974. Desgodins, C.H. 1885. *Le Thibet d'après la correspondance des missionnaires.* Paris, Librairie Catholique de l'oeuvre de Saint Paul. 475 p. [Reviewed: A. Ollier, *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Lyon* 6: 210-216, 1886/1887; *Miss. Cathol.* 18: 84, 1886; *Proc. R. geogr. Soc.* n.s. 7: 767, 1885]

An enlarged edition of no. 1973 with the information rearranged and some new material added, including an account of Krick's work in Assam and his murder by the Mishmis. The general chapters on Tibet have also been revised.

1975. Dubernard, E.J. 1996. *Tibet "mission impossible": lettres du père Etienne-Jules Dubernard, 1864-1905.* Présentées par J. Espinase. Paris, Le Sarment, Fayard. 168 p.

1976. Gratuze, G. 1969. *Un pionnier de la mission tibétaine, le père Auguste Desgodins (1826-1913)*. Paris, Apostolat des Editions. 363 p.

An account of the life of Desgodins in India and China and his efforts to reach Tibet.

1977. Launay, A. 1903. *Histoire de la mission du Thibet*. Paris, Desclee, de Brouwer et Cie. 2 vols. Reprinted: Paris, Missions étrangères de Paris: Indes savantes, 2001.

[Reviewed: *Miss. Cathol.* 35: 480, 1903; 36: 287-288, 1904]

Detailed account of attempts made by French missionaries to enter Tibet and establish mission stations there. It also includes an account of efforts made by other Europeans to enter Tibet, the intervention of Nepal in Lhasa on behalf of the missionaries, and the effect on the French missionaries of events such as the Macaulay Mission and the Sikkim Expedition of 1888. There is also an assessment of the work of Krick and Bourry on the north-east frontier of India.

1978. Lowe, R. 1981. *From China and Tibet: a commentary on letters written by missionaries working in the interior, 1844-1865*. London, Pall Mall Stamp Co. 20 p.

Reprints extracts from the letters written by missionaries on the borders of Tibet which reveal some of the difficulties they experienced.

1979. [Wyllie, J.W.S.] 1868. Western China. *Edinb. Rev.* 127: 357-396.

Reprinted in his *Essays on the external policy of India*. London, Smith, Elder, 1875. xxxi, 371 p.

Includes an account of the French missionaries at Bonga and their request for help from Ramsay in Nepal. There is also a description of Tibet's relations with China, and the relations of Nepal with China and Tibet at this time.

See also nos 134, 1492, 1509, 1942, 1951.

6. EXPLORATION OF TIBET BY THE PUNDITS OF THE SURVEY OF INDIA

In 1863 T.G. Montgomerie of the Survey of India suggested that native explorers be trained to survey areas from which Europeans were excluded. These men, popularly known as pundits, explored large areas of Tibet in the following twenty-five years and several of them reached Lhasa. Equipped with geographical equipment hidden in ordinary objects such as walking sticks and prayer wheels, they contributed greatly to geographical knowledge of a vast region of largely unknown territory not only in Tibet, but also in Chinese Turkestan, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and Assam. Sarat Chandra Das and Ugyen Gyatso also collected political information on their journeys to Tibet. The geographical and political information collected by the pundits provided the British Government with important information which they used when they invaded Tibet in 1903-1904.

a) General

1980. Anon. 1904. Surveying Tibet: the story of a secret service. *N. China Herald* 72: 81, Jan. 15.
The work of the pundits in Tibet.
1981. Anon. 1904. Les voyages à Lhasa. *Bull. Soc. Étud. colon.* 11: 97-115, 195-215.
Describes the journeys of explorers who have reached Lhasa - Huc and Gabet, Nain Singh, Kishen Singh, Sarat Chandra Das, and Tsybikoff. The article also briefly describes routes to Tibet from Sikkim.
1982. Black, C.E.D. 1891. *A memoir on the Indian surveys, 1875-1890.* London, E. Arnold. vi, 412 p.
[Reviewed: J.Sconce, *Scott. Geogr. Mag.* 8: 208-214, 1892]
A continuation of no. 1994. It includes an account of the exploration and surveying of Tibet, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and Assam by the pundits in the period 1875-1890.
1983. Dalal, N. 1970. Early Indian explorers beyond the Himalayas. *Indian foreign Rev.* 8(1): 11-12, 18, Oct. 15.
The explorations of Nain Singh, Kishen Singh, Kalian Singh and Hari Ram.
1984. Dalal, N. 1971. Exploits of the Pandits. *Hemisphere* 15(7): 10-15.
Account of the journeys of Nain Singh, Kishen Singh, and Kinthup in Tibet.
1985. Harman, H.J. 1883. Memorandum explaining the construction of the map of the routes followed by - Explorer D-C-S-, from Darjeeling to Shigatze during 1880; Explorer G-S-S-, in Nepal during 1880 and 1881; Explorer G-M-N- from Shigatze to Khamba Jong during 1880; also of some routes by former explorers; also of some of the results of the surveys by the Darjeeling Party during 1879 to 1882. *Gen. Rep. Ops Surv. India* 1881/82: App. p. 42.
1986. Harman, H.J. 1883. Memorandum on the longitude of Shigatze. *Gen. Rep. Ops Surv. India* 1881/82: App. p. 42-43.
Note on the revised position of Shigatse due to recent exploration by the pundits.
1987. Heaney, G.F. 1957/1958. The story of the Survey of India. *Geogr. Mag., Lond.* 30: 182-190.
Includes a brief account of the work of the pundits in Tibet.
1988. Heaney, G.F. 1968. Rennell and the surveyors of India. *Geogr. J.* 134: 318-325; *Himalayan J.* 29: 3-16, 1969.
Includes an account of the surveys of Tibet made by Nain Singh, Kishen Singh, and Kinthup in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

1989. Holdich, T.H. 1916. The romance of Indian surveys. *Jl R. Soc. Arts* 64: 173-185.
Includes an account of the work of the pundits in Tibet.
1990. Hubbard, J.M. 1901. The Tsangpo. *Natn. geogr. Mag.* 12: 32-35.
Exploration of the Tsangpo by the pundits.
1991. India. Survey of India Dept. 1915. *Exploration in Tibet and neighbouring regions. Pt 1. 1865-1879. Pt 11. 1879-1892.* Dehra Dun, Office of the Trigonometrical Survey. 2 vols. (Records of the Survey of India, vol. 8) [Reviewed: T.H.Holdich, *Nature* 104: 570-571, Jan. 29, 1920]
Account of the exploration of Tibet by the pundits. The narratives of the individual explorers are given in chronological order, commencing with the journey of Nain Singh in 1865 from Nepal to Lhasa, and ending with that of Atma Ram who accompanied Bower on his journey from Ladakh to Western China through Northern Tibet in 1891-1892.
1992. India. Survey of India Dept. Trigonometrical Branch. 1889. *Report on the explorations of Lama Serap Gyatsho, 1856-68. Explorer K-P, 1880-84. Lama U.G., 1883. Explorer R.N., 1885-86. Explorer P.A., 1885-86 in Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet.* Dehra Dun. 57 p.
Contents: An account of the Lower Tsangpo by Lama Serap Gyatsho, 1856-68. Narrative of a journey from Darjeeling to Gyala Sindong, Tsari and the Lower Tsangpo by K.P., in 1880-84. Explorations in Tibet by Lama U.G., in 1883. Explorations in Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet by R.N. in 1885-86. Explorations in Tibet and Bhutan by P.A. in 1885-86. These accounts, except for that of P.A., were reprinted in no. 1991.
1993. Khosla, K.L. 1995. The romance of surveying in the Himalaya. In: J.S. Lall, ed. *The Himalaya: aspects of change.* Delhi, Oxford University Press, p. 160-173.
Traces the exploratory surveys of the Himalayas from the time of Rennell with emphasis on the surveys of the pundits, Kishen Singh and Kinthup, and the techniques used by the Survey of India.
1994. Markham, C.R. 1878. *A memoir on the Indian surveys.* 2nd ed. London, W.H. Allen. xxix, 481 p. Reprinted: Amsterdam, Meridian, 1968. [1st ed. 1871]
[Reviewed: *Geogr. Mag.* 5: 239. 1878]
Includes a chapter on 'Route surveys beyond the frontier of British India, by native explorers'.
1995. Montgomerie, T.G. 1866. On the geographical position of Yarkund, and some other places in Central Asia. *Jl R. geogr Soc.* 36: 157-172.
Describes why he decided to employ Indian natives to explore Central Asia and Tibet. The first person employed was a 'moonshee' called Mahomed-i-Hameed (Abdul Hamid) and this article describes his journey in 1863 and its results.

1996. Pleydell-Bouverie, J. 1992. On a wheel and a prayer. *Geographical* 64(5): 12-15.

On the achievements of the pundits who were recruited by Montgomerie and were responsible for the first accurate maps of Tibet. Although the British Government tried to keep their activities secret their exploits were revealed by the Royal Geographical Society which published an account of each mission in their *Geographical journal*.

1997. Raj, K. 1997. La construction de l'empire de la géographie. L'odyssée des arpenteurs de sa très gracieuse majesté, la Reine Victoria, en Asia Centrale. *Annales Hist. Sci. Soc.* 52(5): 1153-1180.

Examines the methods used by the British to map large areas of Central Asia and Tibet mainly in the second half of the nineteenth century without traditional measuring instruments. In Tibet this involved using native surveyors who employed apparently crude methods to produce reliable information.

1998. Rawat, I.S. 1973. *Indian explorers of the 19th century; account of exploration in the Himalayas, Tibet, Mongolia, and Central Asia*. New Delhi, Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India. xix, 228 p.
[Reviewed: H.K.K., *Kailash* 2(3): 208-209, 1974]

Detailed account of the exploration of the Pundits especially of Nain Singh and Kishen Singh. It also covers the journeys of Kalian Singh, Hari Ram, Lala, Nem Singh, Kinthup, Rinzin Namgyal and Ugyen Gyatso. The extent of their travels is shown on a map on the end papers of the book.

1999. Severin, T. 1976. *The Oriental adventure: explorers of the east*. London, Angus & Robertson. 240 p.

Includes chapters on the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India and the pundits.

2000. Styles, S. 1970. *The forbidden frontiers: the Survey of India from 1765 to 1949*. London, Hamish Hamilton. 160 p.

General account that includes the survey work of James Rennell, information on adventurers such as Moorcroft, the visit of Manning to Lhasa, as well as the work of the pundits for the Survey of India.

2001. Waller, D. 1983. Thomas Montgomerie and the trans-Himalayan explorers of the Survey of India. *Annals Assoc. Asian Stud. Southeast. Conf.* 5: 27-35.

Outlines Montgomerie's career and the background to his decision to employ Indian pundits to explore Tibet. Suggests that the Indian Government's agreement to his proposals was probably due to the failure of two British led expeditions to enter Tibet in 1861-1862 – one from China led by Lt.-Col. H.A. Sarel and Capt. T.W. Blakiston, and the other from India to be led by Major Edmund Smyth.

2002. Waller, D. J. 1990. *The Pundits: British exploration of Tibet and Central Asia*. [Lexington, Ky], University Press of Kentucky. viii, 327 p.
[Reviewed: A.Rumbold, *Asian Affairs* 22: 76-77, 1991; R.Hammond, *J. un. Serv.*

Instn India 121(506): 545-546, 1991; A.T.Grunfeld, *Am. hist. Rev.* 96: 1162-1163, 1991; M.H.Fisher, *J. Asian Stud.* 51: 909-910, 1992; K.R.Norman, *Mod. Asian Stud.* 26: 859-861, 1992; J.E.Schwartzberg, *Annals Am. Acad. Pol. Soc. Sci.* 522: 163-165, 1992; R.C.Tremblay, *Pacific Affairs* 69(3): 443-444, 1996]

Detailed account of the explorations of the pundits and information on the background of British relations with the areas they explored.

2003. Ward, M. 1998. The Survey of India and the pundits: the secret exploration of the Himalaya and Central Asia. *Alpine J.* 103: 59-79, plates 9-10.

Examines the origin and importance of the Survey of India and its great contribution to mountain exploration. Highlights the work of T.G. Montgomerie and analyses the explorations and achievements of the pundits especially Nain Singh and Kishen Singh. There are maps of the journeys of both pundits, a list of all the pundits and a chronology of their explorations, and also a chronology of pre-pundit explorers.

2004. Wilford, J.N. 1981. *The mapmakers*. New York, Alfred A. Knopf. xi, 414 p.

Includes a chapter 'Soldiers, pundits, and the Indian Survey'.

See also nos 139, 185, 217-21, 223, 393, 852, 902, 904, 1476, 1481, 1570, 1757, 1765, 1792, 1813, 1834, 1878-9, 2086, 2376, 2559, 2612, 2698, 2900, 2981-2, 2986, 3315, 3359.

b) Nain Singh

Nain Singh, a Bhotia from Kumaon, was one of the first pundits trained by the Survey of India. In 1865 he entered Tibet from Nepal and, joining a caravan, reached Lhasa in January 1866. He stayed in Lhasa for three months and then returned to India via Lake Manasarovar and Kumaon, covering 1,200 miles in all. In 1867 he set out again with two other pundits, Mani Singh and Kalian Singh, on a mission to explore Western Tibet. On this journey they reached Gartok and the Tibetan goldfield of Thok Jalung. On his final journey Nain Singh left Leh in July 1873 and made his way to Lhasa by a northerly route visiting the goldfield of Thok Dorakpa and Lake Tengri Nor on the way. He returned to India through Tawang, reaching Udalguri in Assam in March 1875.

2005. Anon. 1868. Reisen und Aufnahmen zweier Punditen (gebildeter Indier) in Tibet, 1865-66. *Petemanns Mitt.* 14: 233-243, 276-290.

Nain Singh's journey to Lhasa in these years.

2006. Anon. 1868. Le Tibet. 1. L'exploration scientifique du Tibet. Première tentative et premiers jalons. Voyages de deux pandits ou docteurs hindous, instruits dans les écoles anglaises. Lhasa et le Brahmapoutre. 2. Résumé des résultats acquis pour la géographie du Tibet. Quelques remarques. 3. L'administration intérieure et l'état politique du Tibet. Nouveaux

renseignements. *Année géogr.* 7: 109-128.

Mainly concerns Nain Singh's journey to Lhasa in 1865-1866 and the geographical results of his expedition.

2007. Anon. 1869. Die Erforschung des innern Tibet durch drei indische Panditen. *Globus* 15: 104-106.

Their journey in 1867 to the goldfields of Thok Jalung.

2008. Anon. 1869. Erforschungsreise indischer Geodäten (Panditen) nach den Goldfeldern von Tibet, 1867. *Petermanns Mitt.* 15: 103-104.

2009. Anon. 1869. Gold diggers in Thibet. *Nature* 1: 192-193.

Nain Singh's visit to, and account of, the goldfields of Thok Jalung in 1867.

2010. Anon. 1869. Voyage au Tibet par trois Pundits, en 1867. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Paris* 5s., 17: 160-168.

Journey to Gartok and Thok Jalung.

2011. Anon. 1873. Neue Entdeckungsreisen im Nordosten von Indien. *Globus* 24: 32.

The journeys of Nain Singh and Hari Ram in Tibet.

2012. Anon. 1876. Geographical discoveries in Tibet by the Pundit Nain Singh. *Geogr. Mag.* 3: 145-146.

Report on the journey of Nain Singh from Leh to Lhasa and back to India through Tawang in 1873-1875.

2013. Anon. 1910. Nain Singh's work in Tibet. *Geogr. J.* 35: 595.

2014. Behm, E. 1880. Der grosse tibetanische Fluss in seinem Laufe zum Brahmaputra. *Petermanns Mitt.* 26: 14-18.

On theories concerning the course of the Tsangpo, and on the journeys of Nain Singh in 1865-1867 and 1874-1875, and Nem Singh in 1878.

2015. Dalal, N. 1970. Pandit Nain Singh - first of the trans-Himalayan explorers. *J. un. Serv. Instn India* 100: 301-310.

Account of his three major journeys.

2016. Destailleur, G. 1868. Voyage d'un pandit à L'hasa et dans le bassin superieur du Brahmaputra jusqu'à sa source. *Annales Voyag.* 4: 129-160, Nov.

Extract from the account of Montgomerie in *Proc. R. geogr. Soc.* (see no. 2017) translated into French and with comments by Destailleur. A map showing Nain Singh's route accompanies the article.

2017. Montgomerie, T.G. 1867. Report on the trans-Himalayan explorations in connection with the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India, during 1865-67. *Gen. Rep. Ops Gt Trig. Surv. India* 1866/67: i-xcvi; *Sel. Rec. Govt India* no. 71: 156-273, 1869; *Jl R. geogr. Soc.* 38: 129-219, 1868. Abstract: *Proc. R. geogr. Soc.* 12: 146-173, 1867/1868; *Prof. Pap. Indian Engng* 5: 97-110, 198-210, 1868. Reprinted in no. 1991.

The journey of Nain Singh to Lhasa in 1865-1867. The report contains 'Narrative report of a route survey made by Pundit - from Nepal to Lhasa, and thence through the upper valley of the Brahmaputra to its source'; 'Extracts from a diary kept by Pundit - during his journey from Nepal to Lhasa, and from Lhasa through the upper valley of the Brahmaputra to the source of that river near the Manasarowar Lake'; 'Memorandum on the Great Tibetan Road from Lhasa to Gartokh'; 'Memorandum on 600 miles of the Brahmaputra River, from its source near the Manasarowar Lake in latitude $30\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ and longitude 82° to the junction of the Lhasa River, in latitude $29^{\circ}22'$ and longitude $90^{\circ}40'$ '. A large scale map of Nepal and Tibet with the pundit's route marked on it accompanies the report.

2018. Montgomerie, T.G. 1869. Report of the trans-Himalayan explorations during 1867...from the original journals, etc. of the trans-Himalayan exploring parties. *Sel. Rec. Govt India* no. 74: 33-65; *Jl R. geogr. Soc.* 39: 146-187, 1869. Abstract with discussion: *Proc. R. geogr. Soc.* 13: 183-198, 1868/1869.

Account, with a map, of Nain Singh's journey to Gartok and Thok Jalung.

2019. Pathak, Shekhar. 1985. Pandit Nain Singh Rawat: explorer extraordinary [summary]. *Proc. Indian hist. Congr.* 46: 436.

2020. Schiern, F. 1875. The tradition of the gold-digging ants. Translated by A.M.H. Childers. *Indian Antiq.* 4: 225-232.

The 'ants' were first mentioned in the writings of Herodotus. Schiern traces references to them over the years and includes an account of the visits of the pundits to the goldfields of Western Tibet where the miners constructed their tents below the surface, like ants, to avoid the extreme cold.

2021. [Smyth, E] 1882. The pundit Nain Singh. *Proc. R. geogr. Soc.* n.s. 4: 315-317.

Letter from Smyth of the Education Department in Kumaon following the death of Nain Singh. He provides information on the Bhotias of Kumaon and describes how he was responsible for recommending the Bhotias, Nain Singh and his cousin Mani Singh, to Montgomerie to work with the Great Trigonometrical Survey.

2022. Trotter, H. 1877. Account of the Pundit's journey in Great Tibet from Leh in Ladakh to Lhasa, and of his return to India via Assam. *Jl R. geogr. Soc.* 47: 86-136. Abstract with discussion: *Proc. R. geogr. Soc.* 21: 325-350, 1876/1877. Reprinted in no. 1991.

Account of Nain Singh's journey in 1873-1875 to Lhasa. A map of his route accompanies the article in the *Journal*.

See also nos 178, 185, 1348, 1836, 1981, 1983-4, 1988, 1991, 1996-9, 2002-3, 2042, 2388, 2975, 2981-2, 2986, 2992.

c) Kalian Singh

Following his journey with Nain Singh in 1867 Kalian Singh again travelled in Western Tibet in 1868 where he visited Rudok and various goldfields including Thok Jalung. He tried to reach Lhasa by a northerly route but was forced to return to Lake Manasarovar. From there he made his way to Shigatse before he was again stopped and forced to return to India. He passed numerous salt lakes and borax fields on his journey in Western Tibet.

2023. Anon. 1870. The table-land of Thibet. *Ill. Travels* 2: 192.

2024. Montgomerie, T.G. 1868/1869. Narrative report of the trans-Himalayan explorations made during 1868, drawn up by Major T.G. Montgomerie...from the original journals etc., of the trans-Himalayan exploring parties. **Gen. Rep. Ops Gt Trig. Surv. India 1868/1869. J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 39(2): 47-60, 1870. Reprinted in no. 1991.

2025. Montgomerie, T.G. 1869/1870. Report of the trans-Himalayan explorations during 1868. *Proc. R. geogr. Soc.* 14: 207-214.

See also nos 1348, 1983, 1998, 2002, 2007-8, 2010, 2042.

d) Hari Ram

Hari Ram, also known as no. 9 and M.H., made the first circuit of Mt Everest in 1871, travelling from Sikkim to Shigatse in Tibet and back to India via Kathmandu and Eastern Nepal. On his next journey he left Kumaon in 1873 and travelled through northern Nepal before crossing briefly into Tibet. In 1885-1886 Hari Ram again travelled in Nepal and Southern Tibet.

2026. Anon. 1875. Journey in Nepal and Tibet. *Geogr. Mag.* 2: 186-187.
Hari Ram's journey in 1873-1874 and information on Nepal-Tibet trade.

2027. Anon. 1875. Eine Reise um den höchsten Berg der Erde. *Petermanns Mitt.* 21: 147-152.
Account, with a map, of Hari Ram's journey round Mt Everest.

2028. Anon. 1888. Work of the native explorer M-H in Tibet and Nepal in 1885-86. *Proc. R. geogr. Soc.* n.s. 10: 89-91.

2029. Montgomerie, T.G. 1872. Memorandum on the trans-Himalayan explorations for 1871. *Gen. Rep. Ops Gt Trig. Surv. India 1871/72: App. B*, p. 1-5. Reprinted in no. 1991.

Hari Ram's journey in which he encircled Mt Everest in 1871.

2030. Montgomerie, T.G. 1875. Journey to Shigatze, in Tibet, and return by Dingri-Maidan into Napaul, in 1871, by the native explorer no. 9. *Jl R. geogr. Soc.* 45: 330-349.

2031. Pollak, H. 1888. Von der neuen Punditen-Forschungsreise in Nepal und Tibet. *Ausland* 61: 390-394.

Journey of Hari Ram in Nepal and Tibet in 1885-1886.

2032. [Ram, Hari] 1874. Extracts from an explorer's narrative of his journey from Pitoragarh in Kumaon viâ Jumla to Tadum and back along the Kali Gandak to British territory. *Gen. Rep. Ops Gt Trig. Surv. India 1873/74*: App. p. x-xvi; *Jl R. geogr. Soc.* 45: 350-363, 1875. Reprinted in no. 1991.

This account of his journey to North-western Nepal and Tibet is accompanied by a detailed map of the area on which his route is marked.

2033. Wood, C. 1887. *Report on explorations in Nepal and Tibet by explorer M-H (season 1885-86)*. Dehra Dun, Office of the Trigonometrical Branch, Survey of India. 19 p. Reprinted in no. 1991.

See also nos 223, 1983, 1998, 2002, 2011, 3709.

e) Kishen Singh

Kishen Singh, also called A.K. and Krishna, made his first important journey in 1872 when he reached Lhasa from the north after travelling round the shores of Lake Tengri Nor. In 1873-1874 he accompanied Forsythe's mission to Yarkand. In 1878 he set out on his most famous journey which was to last until 1882 and during which he spent a year in Lhasa. He left Lhasa in 1879 and for the next two years travelled extensively in Eastern Tibet reaching Rima. He then followed the Tsangpo westwards and returned to India through Sikkim.

2034. Anon. 1875. Great Tibet. Discovery of Lake Tengri-Nor. *Geogr. Mag.* 2: 41-44.

2035. Anon. 1875. Des Punditen Reise nach dem See Tengri-Noor in Tibet. *Ausland* 48: 418-420.

2036. Anon. 1883. Journey of a native explorer through Tibet. *Proc. R. geogr. Soc.* n.s. 5: 99-101.

Kishen Singh's journey from 1878-1882.

2037. Anon. 1885. Explorations by A-K in Great Tibet and Mongolia. *Scott. geogr. Mag.* 1: 352-372.

2038. [Dutreuil de Rhins, J.L.] 1883. Sur la recente exploration du Tibet par un pundit (1878-1883). *C. r. Séanc. Soc. Géogr. Paris* no. 5: 148-151.
2039. Hennessey, J.B.N. 1884. *Report on the explorations in Great Tibet and Mongolia, made by A-K in 1879-82, in connection with the Trigonometrical Branch, Survey of India*. Dehra Dun, Trigonometrical Branch Office, Survey of India. 121 p. Reprinted in no. 1991.
- A translation of Kishen Singh's diary of his journey is preceded by a summary and discussion by Hennessey of the journey and its geographical results. In a 'Note on trade routes and the tea trade' Hennessey also discusses ways in which Indian tea could compete with Chinese tea in Tibet. Detailed maps accompany the report.
2040. India. Survey of India Dept. Trigonometrical Branch. 1884. *Account of exploration in Great Tibet and Mongolia by A.K., 1879-82 in connection with the Trigonometrical Branch, Survey of India*. Dehra Dun. 88 p.
2041. Jacottet, H. 1886. Une nouvelle exploration du Tibet. *Revue scient.* 3s., 11: 270-274.
- On Kishen Singh's journey in 1878-1882 based on no. 2048.
2042. Mason, K. 1923. Kishen Singh and the Indian explorers. *Geogr. J.* 62: 429-440.
- Kishen Singh died in 1921, the last survivor of the Indian pundits. Mason describes why Montgomerie decided to train Indian natives for trans-Himalayan exploration and gives an account of the journeys of Nain Singh, Kalian Singh, Kishen Singh and Kinthup.
2043. Montgomerie, T.G. 1874. Memorandum...on the results of an exploration of the "Namcho" or Tengri Nur Lake in Great Tibet made by a native explorer. *Gen. Rep. Ops Gt Trig. Surv. India 1873/74*: App. p. vii-x.
- On Kishen Singh's 1872 journey.
2044. Montgomerie, T.G. 1874. Narrative of an exploration of the Namcho or Tengri Nur Lake in Great Tibet made by a native explorer during 1872. *Gen. Rep. Ops Gt Trig. Surv. India 1873/74*: App. p. iii-vii. Reprinted in no. 1991.
2045. Montgomerie, T.G. 1875. Narrative of an exploration of the Namcho, or Tengri Nur Lake, in Great Tibet, made by a native explorer, during 1871-2. *Jl R. geogr. Soc.* 45: 315-330.
- Includes nos 2043-2044.
2046. Saunders, T. 1884. The remarkable journey of the trained Indian explorer A.K. on the frontiers of India and China. *Rep. Br. Ass. Admt Sci.* 54: 803-804; *Proc. R. geogr. Soc.* n.s. 6: 667.
- Abstract account of part of his 1878-1882 journey.

2047. Walker, J.T. 1882. Return of a party of explorers from Tibet. *Proc. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 1882 p. 159-162.

2048. Walker, J.T. 1885. Four years' journeyings through Great Tibet by one of the trans-Himalayan explorers of the Survey of India. *Proc. R. geogr. Soc.* n.s. 7: 65-92.

An account, with discussion, of Kishen Singh's journey from 1878-1882. There is a detailed map illustrating his exploration.

2049. [Ward, F. Kingdon.] 1934. 'A.K.' - Rai Bahadur Kishen Singh. *Himalayan J.* 6: 152-153.

The journey of Kishen Singh in 1878-1882, and a letter from Kingdon Ward dated May 25, 1933 from Zayul which commends A.K.'s report and route survey which he had found invaluable on his present journey.

2050. Wichmann, H. 1885. Die Reise des Punditen A- K- durch das östliche Tibet, 1878-1882. *Petermanns Mitt.* 31: 1-6.

See also nos 185, 1258, 1348, 1981-4, 1988, 1993, 1996, 1998, 2002-3, 2322, 2366, 2370, 2385.

f) Lala

Lala, or L., set out in 1875 on a journey to map the Tsangpo in Central and Eastern Tibet. He travelled to Shigatse and then down the Tsangpo to Tsetang. He tried to return to India through Tawang but was forced to retrace his route to Tibet and return through Sikkim in 1876. In 1877 he explored the Sikkim-Tibet border.

2051. Anon. 1880. The Sanpo of Tibet. *Proc. R. geogr. Soc.* n.s. 2: 370-372.

2052. [Hennessey, J.B.N.] 1880. Report on trans-Himalayan explorations in South-Eastern Tibet in 1875-76. *Gen. Rep. Ops Surv. India 1878/79*: App. p. vii-viii. Reprinted in no. 1991.

2053. Hennessey, J.B.N. 1880. Narrative of the route survey of L- Explorer, from Darjeeling to Shigatze, Chetang, and Tawang; and from Shigatze back to Darjeeling via Giangche Jong and Phari in 1875-76. *Gen. Rep. Ops Surv. India 1878/79*: App. p. viii-xv. Reprinted in no. 1991.

2054. [Hennessey, J.B.N.] 1880. Narrative of the second expedition of Explorer L- in 1877. *Gen. Rep. Ops Surv. India 1878/79*: App. p. xvi. Reprinted in no. 1991.

See also nos 1998, 2002, 2074.

g) Nem Singh

Nem Singh, or G.M.N., a lama from Sikkim, explored the Tsangpo in 1878 for over 200 miles beyond Tsetang. Kinthup travelled with Nem Singh as his assistant on this trip.

2055. Anon. 1879. Survey of the Sanpu River of Tibet. *Proc. R. Geogr. Soc.* n.s. 1: 273-274.

2056. Harman, H.J. 1880. Report by Lieut. H.J. Harman, R.E. Assist. Supdt, Survey of India, on the exploration, during 1878, in Eastern Thibet, of "G-m-n". *Gen. Rep. Ops Surv. India 1878/79*: App. p. i-v. Reprinted in no. 1991.

Nem Singh reached Gyala Sindong, a fort situated 'within 100 miles of the highest point yet reached on the Dihong River' on this trip. There is a map of the area showing his route with a conjectural sketch of the intervening country showing the Tsangpo joining up with the Dihang River in Assam.

2057. Walker, J.T. 1879. Exploration of the great Sanpo River of Tibet during 1877 [sic] in connection with the operations of the Survey of India. *Proc. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 1879 p. 203-205.

See also nos 1985, 1998, 2002, 2014, 2064, 2066, 2358.

h) Kinthup

Following his surveys with Nem Singh in 1878 Kinthup, or K.P., set out with a Mongolian Lama in 1880 to try and discover if the Tsangpo flowed into the Brahmaputra River. They were to follow the Tsangpo as far as possible and then mark and throw logs into the river. After many hardships, including being sold into slavery by the Lama, Kinthup returned to India in 1884 having explored the Tsangpo to the great bend of the Tsangpo gorge. Although many at the time disbelieved his account of his exploration, it was verified by the exploration of Bailey and Morshead in 1913.

2058. Anon. 1911. Kinthup's exploration in the region of the Lower Sanpo, 1880-1884. *Geogr. J.* 38: 202.

2059. Anon. 1914. Kinthup's exploration of the Tsang-po. *Geogr. J.* 44: 503-504.

Vindication of Kinthup's exploration of the river.

2060. Bailey, F.M. 1913. The Tsang-po. *Geogr. J.* 42: 87-88.

2061. Bailey, F.M. 1942/1943. The story of Kintup. *Geogr. Mag., Lond.* 15: 426-431.

2062. Cora, G. 1886/1888. Soluzione del problema del Sangpo (Brahmaputra) per opera dell' esploratore Indiano K-P. *Cosmos* 9: 161-162.
2063. Das, S.C. 1898. A note on the identity of the great Tsang-po of Tibet with the Dihong. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 67(1): 126-129.
The journey and adventures of Kinthup, and the recovery of a block of wood engraved with a Tibetan inscription which, it is assumed, came from one of the monasteries in East Tibet. The printing block came down the Tsang-po and was found in the Dihang River in Assam in 1896 and Das considers it confirms the identity of the Tsangpo with the Dihang and Brahmaputra Rivers.
2064. Field, J.A. 1913. The history of the exploration of the Upper Dihong. *Geogr. J.* 41: 291-293.
Describes the journeys of Nem Singh and Kinthup to trace the course of the Tsangpo.
2065. Oakes, G.F.T. 1916. Note in vindication of Kinthup. *Rec. Surv. India* 7: 173-176.
2066. Waller, D. 1989. Secret explorations of the Survey of India and the resolution of the Tsangpo-Brahmaputra question. *Annals Assoc. Asian Stud. Southeast. Conf.* 11: 127-136.
Mainly concerns the exploration by Kinthup, and later that of Bailey and Morshead, which proved the identity of the Tsangpo with the Brahmaputra. Also recounts Bailey's meeting with Kinthup in Simla in 1914 which cleared up the last remaining doubts about his travels.

See also nos 185, 852, 1757, 1984, 1988, 1991-3, 1998-9, 2002, 2042, 2323, 2376, 3279.

i) Sarat Chandra Das and Ugyen Gyatso

In 1879 Sarat Chandra Das, a Bengali schoolmaster, accompanied by Ugyen Gyatso (U.G.), visited Tibet and stayed six months at Tashilhunpo in Shigatse. In 1881 they again set out for Shigatse, and in 1882 Das reached Lhasa where he had an audience with the Dalai Lama. Ugyen Gyatso did not accompany Das on his journey from Shigatse to Lhasa, but in 1883 he reached the city by a more easterly route having explored Yamdrok Tso (Lake Palti) on the way. Das later accompanied Colman Macaulay on his mission to the Tibetan frontier in 1884 (see no. 1475) and to Peking in 1885.

2067. Anon. 1889. Llassa and its scapegoat. *Sat. Rev.* 68: 349-350.
On the journey of Ugyen Gyatso to Lhasa.
2068. Anon. 1894. Rewards to Tibetan explorers. *Geogr. J.* 4: 61-62.
Grant by the Indian Government to Ugyen Gyatso in recognition of his explorations.

2069. Colquhoun, A.R. 1903. In the heart of the forbidden country; or Lhasa revealed. *Cornhill Mag.* 3s., 14: 39-52. Abstract: *Am. mon. Rev. Revs* 27: 363-364.

The journey of Sarat Chandra Das to Lhasa in 1882 preceded by an account of previous attempts by explorers to reach the city.

2070. Das, S.C. 1885. *Narrative of a journey to Lhasa in 1881-82*. Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press. 174, 33 p.

2071. Das, S.C. 1887. *Narrative of a journey round Lake Yamdo (Palti), and in Lhokha, Yarlung, and Sakya in 1882*. Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press. ii, 130 p.

2072. Das, S.C. 1893. *Indian pandits in the land of snow*. Ed. by Nobin Chandra Das. Calcutta, Baptist Mission Press. viii, 92, 28 p. Reprinted: Calcutta, Mukhopadhyay, 1965; Delhi, Delhi Printers Prakashan, 1978.

The Preface contains an account of his life and explorations. The appendices include his account of the life of the 6th Panchen Lama.

2073. Das, S.C. 1898. An account of travels on the shores of Lake Yamdo-Croft. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 67(1): 256-273.

Account of his visit to the Lake in 1882, and the visits of previous explorers including Manning.

2074. Das, S.C. 1899. How I crossed the Jon-Tsang La pass over 21,000 ft in the Kang-chan-junga range. (Extracts from the Narrative of a journey to Tashi-lhunpo in 1879). *J. Buddh. Text Anthropol. Soc.* 7(1): 1-30.

Includes a map showing his route and that of Lala in 1875-1876.

2075. Das, S.C. 1902. *Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*. Ed. by W.W. Rockhill. London J. Murray. xiii, 285 p. New ed. 1904. xvi, 368 p. Reprinted: New Delhi, Manjusri Publishing House, 1970.

[Reviewed: C.Diener, *Mitt. geogr. Ges. Wien* 45: 310-311, 1902; T.H.Holdich, *Geogr. J.* 20: 640-641, 1902; *Athenaeum* no. 3918: 725-726, Nov. 29, 1902; *Edinb. Rev.* 201: 338-360, 1905; *Nation* 77: 122, 1903; *Natn geogr. Mag.* 13: 464, 1902]

Account of his journey to Tibet in 1881-1882, made up by publishing nos 2070 and 2071 in one volume with slight modifications to make the account connected. Rockhill provides an account of the career of Das and of Ugyen Gyatso in his introduction. A map of Tibet with Das' route marked on it is included.

2076. Das, S.C. 1901, 1904. Narrative of a journey to Tashi-lhun-po in Tibet: residence at Tashi-lhunpo. *J. Buddh. Text Anthropol. Soc.* 7(2): 1-56, 1901; 7(3): 57-80, 1904.

His journey to Tashilhunpo in 1879.

2077. Das, S.C. 1966/1967. Narrative of the incidents of my early life. *Indian Stud. Past Present* 8: 391-401.
Includes an account of his journey to Sikkim in 1877.
2078. Das, S.C. 1967-1969. Autobiography. *Indian Stud. Past Present* 9: 257-269, 359-398, 1967/1968; 10: 1-29, 1968/1969.
2079. Das, S.C. 1969. *Autobiography; narratives of the incidents of my early life*. Calcutta, Indian Studies Past and Present. vii, 95 p.
Includes nos 2077 and 2078. They contain an account of his life in Darjeeling and contact with British officials prior to his trips to Tibet, as well as a description of his journey to Tashilhunpo in 1879, and the background to his 1881-1882 journey.
2080. McKay, A. 2002. The drowning of Lama Sengchen Kyabying: a preliminary enquiry from British sources. In: *Tibet, past and present. Tibetan studies I. PIATS 2000: Tibetan studies: proceedings of the Ninth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Leiden, 2000*. Ed. by H. Blezer with the assistance of A. Zadoks. Leiden, Brill, p. 263-279.
Discusses the relationship between Sarat Chandra Das and the Sengchen Lama when Das was in Shigatse in 1879 and 1881-1882. Before Das left Shigatse on his return from Lhasa in 1882 there were rumours that he was a British agent. Four years later the Sengchen Lama was executed by drowning apparently because he had assisted a British employee. It also occurred at a time when the Tibetans feared a British invasion due to the proposed Macaulay Mission of which Das was a member. McKay explores the circumstances of the execution and suggests that there could be a connection between it and both the Younghusband Mission and the Lhasa-Shigatse dispute which culminated in 1923 with the Panchen Lama fleeing to China.
2081. Repsold, H. 1894. Sarat Tschandra Das' Reise in Tibet. *Globus* 66: 223-224.
His journey in 1881-1882.
2082. Sandberg, G. 1889. The city of Lhasa. *Nineteenth Century* 26: 681-694.
Description of Lhasa mainly drawn from the account of Sarat Chandra Das of his journey there in 1882.
2083. Sandberg, G. 1890. A journey to the capital of Tibet. *Contemp. Rev.* 58: 64-82; *Littell's living Age* 186: 347-357.
The journey of Sarat Chandra Das to Lhasa.
2084. Tanner, H.C.B. 1885. Notes on the journey of the Lama through Central and Southern Tibet. *Gen. Rep. Ops Surv. India* 1883/84: xliv-xlviii.
Account of the journey of Ugyen Gyatso in 1883-1884 with a large scale map of the area to illustrate his route.

2085. Tanner, H.C.B. 1886/1888. Il lago Palti o Iamdok Tso (Tibet) esplorato da un Lama addetto al "Survey of India". *Cosmos* 9: 33-40.

Journey of Ugyen Gyatso in 1883/1884 to Yamdrok Tso. There is a map of the area with his route marked on it.

2086. Ward, M. 2001. Early exploration of Kanchenjunga and south Tibet by the pundits Rinzin Namgyal, Sarat Chandra Das and Lama Ugyen Gyatso. *Alpine J.* 106(350): 191-196, plates 54-56.

The three pundits were all associated with the Bhutia Boarding School at Darjeeling which opened in 1874 with Das as headmaster. It has been claimed that its aim was not only to provide a good education but also to train 'interpreters geographers and explorers' who might be useful to Britain in Tibet. Describes the initial exploration of Kanchenjunga and southern Tibet by these pundits who also provided information on cultural and political trends in Lhasa. The plates contain photos of Sarat Chandra Das and Rinzin Namgyal.

See also nos 185, 210, 223, 1392, 1557, 1561, 1589, 1981-2, 1992, 1998, 2002, 2502, 2752, 3024, 3354.

Chapter IX

ASSAM HIMALAYAN REGION TO 1903

In 1826 the British acquired Assam from the Burmese following their victory in the first Anglo-Burmese War. Although some earlier efforts had been made to promote trade between the East India Company and Assam, the acquisition of the country brought the British into contact for the first time with the Assam Himalayan region. This region was mainly regarded during the nineteenth century as a buffer between Assam and Tibet. There was interest, however, in two major trade routes which connected Tibet with Assam. One route ran from Lhasa through Tawang and over the Se La; the other connected Rima in Eastern Tibet with Sadiya in Assam by way of the Lohit River. Most interest centered on the Lohit River route as this was the shortest route through Tibet to China.

The Assam Himalayan region bordering on Tibet was inhabited by a number of different tribes. In the west of the region, on the border of Bhutan, were the Buddhist tribes of Tawang, generally known as Monpas. These people had close religious and cultural ties with Tibet. East of Tawang, in a region extending to the Burmese border, were primitive non-Buddhist hill tribes - the Akas, Daflas, Apa Tanis, Miris, Abors (Adis) and Mishmis.

The British did not try to extend their jurisdiction over the tribal areas in the nineteenth century, and only occasionally resorted to short punitive expeditions into these areas. Their general policy was one of conciliation and persuasion towards the tribes, and agreements were concluded with them by which an annual subsidy was paid by the British on condition that they refrained from raiding the plains, a system generally known as 'posa'. Despite this policy, confrontations between the tribes and the people inhabiting the plains occurred, and in 1873 the British established the so-called 'Inner Line'. This Line, which ran along the foot of the hills, restricted free intercourse between the tribal areas and the plains. It also represented the limit of the area administered by Britain at this time.

Before the establishment of the Inner Line there had been some exploration of the tribal areas by British officials. This exploration was largely prompted by interest in investigating the commercial possibilities of the Himalayan foothills, and in exploring the Lohit River route to Tibet and China. It also resulted from the desire to determine the course of the Tsangpo, the great river of Tibet.

1. GENERAL

2087. Anon. 1869. North-Eastern Frontier. *Calcutta Rev* 48(96): 141-186.

The first part of this article criticises Hunter's attack on frontier officials and his comments on the Bhutan War (see no. 1733). An account is then given of the frontier tribes and their relations with the British.

2088. Anon. 1873. Die Völkerschaften an der Nordostgrenze Indiens. *Globus* 24: 124-126.
On the frontier tribes and British relations with them, and on British hopes of contact with Tibet.
2089. Acharyya, N.N. 1983. *Historical documents of Assam and neighbouring states: original records in English*. New Delhi, Omsons Publications. xxiii, 232 p.
Reproduces the major historical documents and treaties relating to Assam, Bhutan, Cooch Behar and on the various tribes such as the Akas, Daflas and Abors dating from 1773.
2090. Acharyya, N.N. 1987. *A brief history of Assam from earliest times to 1983*. New Delhi, Omsons Publications. x, 293 p.
Includes an account of the British annexation of Assam, and of Ahom and British policy towards the frontier tribes.
2091. Allen, B.C. 1905. *Assam district gazetteers. Vol. VIII. Lakhimpur*. Calcutta, City Press. vii, 287, 43, vii p. *Supplement*. Shillong, Assam Secretariat Press, 1916. 93 p.
Detailed account of the district including information on British relations with the Abors, Mishmis, Miris and Daflas, who lived in the hills bordering on the Lakhimpur district.
2092. Allen, B.C. 1927. Assam. *Jl R. Soc. Arts* 75: 764-786.
Includes an account of the history and tribes of Assam.
2093. Assam. *Report on the administration of the province of Assam. 1874/75-1875/76* - . Shillong, Assam Secretariat Printing Office. Title varies.
Each report includes an account of British relations with the frontier tribes for that year, and an account of trade with the frontier areas.
2094. Assam. 1896. *Physical and political geography of the province of Assam*. Shillong, Assam Secretariat Printing Office. 232 p.
Detailed information on the physical geography of Assam, its boundaries, trade, administration etc., and on British relations with the Bhutanese and hill tribes of the Assam Himalayan region.
2095. Assam. Dept of Land Records and Agriculture. *Report on the trade between Assam and the adjoining foreign tribes and countries. 1877/78* - . Shillong, Assam Secretariat Printing Office. Title varies.
Detailed reports giving information on trade conducted between Assam and Bhutan, Tawang, and each of the hill tribes. An account of the trade fairs conducted annually by the British is also given in each report.
2096. Barpujari, H.K., ed. 1977-1980. *Political history of Assam*. General editor: H.K. Barpujari; editors: S.K. Barpujari, A.C. Bhuyan. Gauhati,

Dept. for the Preparation of Political History of Assam, Govt. of Assam.
3 vols.

[Reviewed: T.K.Ravindran, *J. Indian Hist.* 55(1/2): 380-381, 1977; A.Guha, *Indian hist. Rev.* 4(1): 211-213, 1977; J.B.Bhattacharjee, *Q. Rev. hist. Stud.* 18(1): 60-61, 1978/1979; K.Labh, *Int. Stud.* 20(3-4): 670-671, 1981]

Vol. 1 which covers the period 1826-1919 includes some information on British relations with the frontier tribes.

2097. Barpujari, H.K., ed. 1990-1993. *The comprehensive history of Assam*. Guwahati, Publication Board, Assam. 5 vols.

[Reviewed: K.K.Dasgupta, *Q. Rev. hist. Stud.* 31(1): 57-59, 1991/1992]

Vol. 4 provides a detailed account of the extension of British control over the plains and hills of Assam and the Bhutan Duars from 1826 to 1919.

2098. Baruah, S. 1999. *India against itself: Assam and the politics of nationality*. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press. xxiii, 257 p.

Analyses Assam's political, economic and demographic transformation which began under the British.

2099. Baruah, S.L. 1985. *A comprehensive history of Assam*. New Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal. xii, 728 p.

[Reviewed: P.V.Janaki Nair, *Indian hist. Rev.* 14(1-2): 361-362, 1987/1988]

2100. Berghaus, H. 1834. *Historisch-geographische Beschreibung von Assam und seinen Nachbar-Ländern Bhotan, Djyntia, Katschhar, Munipur etc. nebst Bemerkungen über die nördlichen Provinzen des Birma-Reichs*. Gotha, Justus Perthes. 182 p. (Memoir zu no. 9 von Berghaus' Atlas von Asia)

Divided into four parts. The first deals with Bhutan and Turner's journey to that country, and the others with Assam and the areas to the south, north and east of Assam. Included in the last section are descriptions of the journeys and reports of Neufville, Wilcox, Bedford and Burlton. The appendices include articles concerning theories on the course of the Tsangpo.

2101. Bhattacharjee, J.B. 1975. Genesis and the pattern of the British administration in the hill areas of North East India. *Proc. Indian hist. Congr.* 36: 409-430.

The relations of the hill tribes with the plains which was mainly through trade and commerce, and the evolution of British policy towards the tribes.

2102. Bhattacharjee, J.B. 1997. The eastern Himalayan trade of Assam in the colonial period. In: S. Dutta, ed. *Studies in the history, economy and culture of Arunachal Pradesh*. Delhi, Himalayan Publishers, p. 269-285.

Detailed examination of the trade from the time of the Ahoms to the British period. Includes the trade fairs which were attended by Tibetans as well as the hill tribes, local trade between the people of the hills and the plains, cross country trade with China and Tibet, and British efforts to promote the trade.

2103. Bhattacharjee, K.K. 1983. *North-East India, political and administrative history*. New Delhi, Cosmo. xv, 276 p.
Includes copies of some regulations affecting the frontier tracts.
2104. Bhattacharjee, S. 1994. *Politics of a frontier state (Arunachal Pradesh)*. New Delhi, Omsons Publications. ix, 95 p.
Includes a chapter on the North-East Frontier Agency in the British period.
2105. *Bose, M. 1972. Impact of British administration on the North-East Frontier. *N. Eastern res. Bull.* 3: 65-72, Summer. Source: no. 52.
2106. Bose, M. 1979. *Historical and constitutional documents of north-eastern India (1824-1973)*. Delhi, Concept Publishing. 378 p.
Reproduces all the major agreements, regulations and treaties relevant to north-east India in this period.
2107. Bose, M. 1986. Eastern Himalaya frontier and development of government therein during the British period. In: N.R. Ray, ed. *Himalaya frontier in historical perspective*. Calcutta, Institute of Historical Studies, p. 127-142.
British policy with the frontier tribes of Assam from the establishment of the Inner Line to the 1940s.
2108. Bose, M. 1989. *Social history of Assam: being a study of the origins of ethnic identity and social tension during the British period, 1905-1947*. New Delhi, Concept Publishing Co. 112 p.
Includes an examination of the history and society of Assam prior to British control and an account of the formation of the province of Assam by the British.
2109. Chakravarty, L.N. 1973. *Glimpses of the early history of Arunachal*. Shillong, Research Dept., Arunachal Pradesh Administration. 134, [3] p. [Reviewed: A.Fournier, *Kailash* 3(2): 189-190, 1975]
Examines the history of the frontier divisions of Kameng, Subansiri, Siang and Lohit and the tribes that inhabit these areas and their relations with the British. Also provides a history of the development of posa and a table of the raids by the hill tribes on the plains of Assam.
2110. Chakravarty, L.N. 1977. A short note on 'posa'. *Resarun* 3(3): 1-10.
Defines the meaning of the word 'posa', describes the history of how the practice developed, and includes a list of posa allowances paid to the hill tribes bordering on the districts of Darrang and Lakhimpur dated October 1885.
2111. Chakravarty, A. 1989/1990. British policy towards some important hill tribes of North-East Frontier Agency during the first half of the nineteenth century. *Proc. Indian Hist. Congr.* 1989/1990, p. 406-413.
British policy towards the tribes, their response to the practice of posa and the agreements made with the separate tribes to modify the practice.

2112. Chakravorty, B.C. 1964. *British relations with the hill tribes of Assam since 1858*. Calcutta, Mukhopadhyay. ii, x, 222 p. Reprinted: Calcutta, Firma KLM Private, 1981.
- Concentrates on the period 1858-1900, but also contains chapters on British contact with the tribes before and after these dates.
2113. Chaube, S.[K]. 1969. Legacy of British rule in Assam hills. *Mainstream* July 5, p. 15-17.
- British policy towards the hill areas in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.
2114. Chaube, S. 1973. *Hill politics in North-East India*. Bombay, Orient Longman. ix, 253 p.
- Includes an account of British relations with the hill tribes and argues that the tribal situation in India cannot be properly understood except by viewing it in its historical perspective.
2115. Choudhury, D.P. 1971/1972. Economic life in the North-East Frontier of India in the 19th and 20th centuries. *Q. Rev. hist. Stud.* 11: 140-144.
- The importance of trade in the economic life of the area and the trading patterns of the tribes. There were only two through routes between Tibet and the plains - through Tawang and via the Lohit River. The rest of the tribesmen in the north traded with Tibet, while those in the southern areas of the hills traded with the Assam plains. In an effort to widen trading contacts the British established trade centres in the hills and held annual fairs. Details of the trade of Assam with the tribal areas are given for the period 1899-1905.
2116. Choudhury, S.D., ed. 1976-1981. *Arunachal Pradesh district gazetteers*. Shillong, Govt of Arunachal Pradesh. 3 vols. (Gazetteers of India).
1. Lohit District. 2. Tirap District. 3. Subansiri District. Each volume includes chapters on the history, people and trade of each district from earliest times.
2117. Clerke, E.M. 1888. Assam and the Indian tea trade. *Asiat. Q. Rev.* 5: 362-383.
- Reviews the history and problems of the tea industry in Assam and the reasons why an export trade with Tibet has failed to materialise.
2118. Dalton, E.T. 1872. *Descriptive ethnology of Bengal*. Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing. vi, 327, xii p. Reprinted: *Indian Stud. Past Present* 1: 187-332, 387-555, 1959/1960. Also reprinted with title: *Tribal history of eastern India*. New Delhi, Cosmo, 1978.
- Detailed description of the tribes of Bengal and Assam with some comments on their relations with the Government.
2119. Das, G. 1997. Incorporation of Arunachal Hills into colonial British India: a politico-economic analysis. In: S. Dutta, ed. *Studies in the history, economy and culture of Arunachal Pradesh*. Delhi, Himalayan Publishers, p. 195-202.

Examines the history of the area which was mainly influenced by British interest in the Brahmaputra Valley and their desire to extend their commercial interest beyond the frontiers. Includes information on the agreements reached by the British with the hill tribes.

2120. Dihingia, H. 1980. *Assam's struggles against British rule (1826-1863)*. New Delhi, Asian Publication Services. 157 p. Reprinted: 1993.

Detailed account of this period including the British occupation of Assam in 1826 and their clashes with the Bhutias, Akas, Daflas, Abors and Mishmis.

2121. Downs, F.S. 1992. *North East India in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries*. Bangalore, Church History Association of India. xi, 236 p. (History of Christianity in India; vol. 5, pt. 5)

Includes an account of the establishment of British rule and their relations with the hill tribes, and the relationship between the missions and the government especially during the era of David Scott and Francis Jenkins.

2122. Dutt, K.N. 1958. *Landmarks of the freedom struggle in Assam*. Gauhati, Lawyers' Book Stall. xvii, 138 p.

Includes an account of British rule in Assam.

2123. Elwin, V., ed. 1959. *India's North-East Frontier in the nineteenth century*. London, Oxford University Press. xxxii, 473 p.

[Reviewed: O.Caroe, *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 47: 320-321, 1960; C.Nakane, *J. Asian Stud.* 19: 491-492, 1959/1960]

Selection of passages from literature published before 1900 on Assam and the tribes of the North-East Frontier.

2124. Gait, E.A. 1906. *A history of Assam*. Calcutta, Thacker, Spink. vii, 383 p. [Reviewed: *Calcutta Rev.* 124(247): 141-152, 1907]

Traces the history of Assam from prehistoric times until the end of the nineteenth century, including an account of British relations with the frontier tribes.

2125. Ganguly, J.B. 1997. Presidential address [to the North-East India History Association, 1986]. In: S. Dutta, ed. *Studies in the history, economy and culture of Arunachal Pradesh*. Delhi, Himalayan Publishers, p. 254-268.

Provides an historical analysis of the economy of the north east region and includes comments on the trade with Tibet by the hill tribes and attempts by the British to promote the flow of trade by the use of trade fairs. Also examines the effect of colonial rule on traditional trade.

2126. *Hazarika, B.B. 1987. *Political life in Assam during the nineteenth century*. Delhi, Gian Publishing House. xxiii, 533 p. Source: Library of Congress Catalogue.

[Reviewed: M.S.Sangma, *Indian hist. Rev.* 23(1-2): 176-178, 1996/1997]

Examines the geographical extent of Assam, Welsh's expedition, the rule of the Ahoms, the Anglo-Burmese war and the assumption of power by the British.

2127. Hazarika, J. 1996. *Geopolitics of North East India: a strategical study*. New Delhi, Gyan Publishing House. xiii, 155 p.
Examines the distinct regional geopolitical character of the area including its isolation, ethnic diversity and strategic importance. Includes information on the history and economy and trade relations with the hill tribes, and analyses the boundary problems with information on the Inner and Outer Lines and the McMahan Line.
2128. Heath, I. 1999. *The North-East Frontier, 1837-1901*. Oxford, Osprey Military. 48 p. (Men-at-arms series)
Lavishly illustrated, this work provides an account of British forces on the North-East Frontier, information on each of the tribes, and a chronology of raids, attacks on the army and frontier police, and expeditions sent against the tribes.
2129. Hudson, G.F. 1962. The frontier of China and Assam: background to the fighting. *China Q., Lond.* no. 12: 203-206.
Briefly examines the history of the tribal areas of Assam as a background to the India-China border dispute in this area.
2130. Hunter, W.W. 1879. *A statistical account of Assam*. London, Trübner. 2 vols.
Deals separately with each district of Assam giving details of their physical geography, and information on their people, agriculture, industry, administration etc.
2131. Huxford, H.J. and Gordon, H.S. 1928. *A short history of the 2nd Battalion 8th Gurkha Rifles, 1927*. Quetta, P.S. Katyal. iii, 106 p.
Includes a brief account of their participation in the Bhutan War and in operations against the Mishmis in 1881-1882 and 1899, the Akas in 1883-1884 and the Abors in 1911-1912.
2132. Huxford, H.J. 1952. *History of the 8th Gurkha Rifles, 1824-1949*. Aldershot, Gale & Polden. xix, 335 p.
The Regiment served in the Anglo-Burmese War 1824-1826, Bhutan War 1864-1865, and in operations against the Daflas 1874, Mishmis 1881-1882, Akas 1883-1884, Abors 1893-1894, Mishmis 1899, and the Abors 1911-1912. They also took part in the Younghusband Mission to Tibet and provided the escort for the construction of the mule road from Sadiya towards the Tibet border in 1912-1913, and for the Political Officer on his visit to the Mishmis in 1914.
2133. Johri, S. 1962. *Where India, China and Burma meet*. Calcutta, Thacker, Spink. xii, 302 p.
History of Assam and the NEFA which includes an account of British relations with the frontier tribes.
2134. Khadria, N. 1990-1991. Internal trade and market network in the Brahmaputra Valley 1826-73. *Indian hist. Rev.* 17(1-2): 152-173.

Includes information on trade with the hill tribes, and on the trade fairs and bazaars with statistics of the value of imports and exports of the Sadiya and Udalguri Fairs.

2135. Kumar, B.B. 1994. *Trends of British annexation of North-East India*. New Delhi, Omsons Publications. 120 p.

Examines British annexation of Assam and her relations with the tribes including the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. The major agreements with the tribes are reproduced in the appendices.

2136. Kumar, B.B. 2000. The border trade in North-East India: the historical perspective. In: G. Das and R.K. Purkayastha, eds. *Border trade: North-East India and neighbouring countries*. New Delhi, Akansha Publishing House, p. 3-11.

On the historical trade links, routes, trade marts and the trade goods carried.

2137. Luthra, P.N. 1971. North-East Frontier Agency tribes: impact of Ahom and British policy. *Econ. polit. Wkly* 6(23): 1143-1149, June 5.

Examines the differences between the two policies and discusses British attempts to establish a degree of political control over the tribes by punitive expeditions and through the establishment of trade fairs. An account is also given of exploration in the tribal areas, British interest in trade routes to Tibet, their concern at Chinese influence in Eastern Tibet in 1910-1912, and the McMahon Line.

2138. Luttman-Johnson, H. 1899. Assam. *Br. emp. Ser.* 1: 134-172.

General account of Assam and British contact with the area.

2139. Lyall, C.J. 1903. The province of Assam. *J. Soc. Arts* 51: 612-636.

General account of Assam including its boundaries, history, and British relations with the frontier tribes.

2140. M'Cosh, J. 1837. *Topography of Assam*. Calcutta, Bengal Military Orphan Press. vii, 166 p.

[Reviewed: *Asiat J.* n.s. 27: 104-114, 1838]

Comprehensive work on Assam which includes information on its boundaries, on routes and passes to Bengal, Bhutan and Tibet, and on trade with these areas. There is also an account of the hill tribes including the Bhutanese.

2141. Mackenzie, A. 1869. *Memorandum on the North-East Frontier of Bengal*. Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press. 78 p.

Account of British policy in Assam and their relations with the frontier tribes.

2142. Mackenzie, A. 1884. *History of the relations of the Government with the hill tribes of the North-East Frontier of Bengal*. Calcutta, Home Dept Press. iv, xiv, 586 p. Reprinted with title: *The North-East frontier of India*. Delhi, Mittal Publications, 1979, 1989 and 1995.

Mainly compiled from official records. It includes a detailed account of British relations with Bhutan and with the hill tribes living on the borders of Tibet. The appendices contain 'Welsh's report on Assam 1794' (App. A), 'Notifications defining the 'inner line' of British jurisdiction in frontier districts' (App. B), 'Correspondence regarding the frontier defence of Assam' (App. F) and 'North-East Frontier defence' by Mackenzie (App. K). A map of the North-East Frontier accompanies the work.

2143. Martin, R.M. 1838. *The history, antiquities, topography and statistics of Eastern India*. London, W.H. Allen. 3 vols.
A general account of Assam. Information on its commerce is contained in vol. 3.
2144. Michell, St J.F. 1883. *Report (topographical, political, and military) on the North-East Frontier of India*. Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing, India. xx, 367 p. Reprinted with title: *The North-East Frontier of India; a topographical political and military report*. Delhi, Vivek, 1973.
Contains seven individual reports which deal with Upper Assam, the Abors, Mishmis, Singphos and Khamtis, Nagas, Miris, and Daflas. Each report includes an account of British relations with the tribe concerned, the military operations waged against it, and information on routes into the territories occupied by the tribe. A large scale map of Upper Assam, which shows the tribal areas and the police and military posts in Upper Assam, accompanies the reports. In an appendix to the Upper Assam report a summary is given of all evidence available concerning the course of the Tsangpo.
2145. Michell, St J.F. 1883. *Appendices to Report (topographical, political and military) on the North-East Frontier of India*. Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 50, 35 p.
Contains notes referred to in the text of no. 2144, and official correspondence concerning Michell's recommendations on the North-East Frontier.
2146. Mohanta, B. 1984. *Administrative development of Arunachal Pradesh 1875-1975*. New Delhi, Uppal Publishing House. xx, 220 p.
Includes information on British contacts with Assam and the hill tribes.
2147. Mumtaza, I.S. 1997. Posa: was it blackmail? In: S. Dutta, ed. *Studies in the history, economy and culture of Arunachal Pradesh*. Delhi, Himalayan Publishers, p. 236-240.
Posa involved the forcible collection of subsidies by the hill tribes from villages on the plains adjacent to the hills and had been practised since Ahom days.
2148. Mumtaza, I.S. and Taher, M. 1997. North-eastern duars of the Ahom Kingdom: a study in historical geography. In: S. Dutta, ed. *Studies in the history, economy and culture of Arunachal Pradesh*. Delhi, Himalayan Publishers, p. 241-246.
The geographical location of the duars and identification of the tribes found in each of the particular duars.

2149. Ray, B.D. 1997. An aspect of north-east frontier policy of the Raj: an overview. In: S. Dutta, ed. *Studies in the history, economy and culture of Arunachal Pradesh*. Delhi, Himalayan Publishers, p. 247-251.

The reasons for the Inner line Regulation of 1873 and the subsequent development and modifications of the Inner Line.

2150. Reid, R.N. 1942. *History of the frontier areas bordering on Assam from 1883-1941*. Shillong, Assam Government Press. iii, 303 p. Reprinted: Delhi, Eastern Publishing House, 1983.

Reid was Governor of Assam from 1937-1941. His work, which is mainly compiled from official sources, continues Mackenzie's *History* (see no. 2142). It is divided into five sections dealing separately with the Lushai Hills, Manipur State, the Naga Hills, Sadiya Frontier Tract, and Balipara Frontier Tract. In each section he provides a detailed history of British relations with the frontier areas and describes the expeditions sent against the tribes, quoting from the despatches and letters of officials and from the reports of the political agents.

2151. Robinson, W. 1841. *A descriptive account of Assam: with a sketch of the local geography and a concise history of the tea plant of Assam: to which is added a short account of the neighbouring tribes, exhibiting their history, manners and customs*. Calcutta, Ostell & Lepage. xv, 421 p.

Includes an account of routes to Bhutan, Tibet, Burma and China, and chapters on the hill tribes.

2152. Ryan, D.G.J., Strahan, G.C. and Jones, J.K. 1925. *Historical record of the 6th Gurkha Rifles. Vol. 1. 1817-1919*. Aldershot, Gale & Polden. xxii, 329 p.

Includes an account of their participation in the Anglo-Burmese War 1824-1826, and in engagements against the Mishmis in 1840 and 1855, Abors in 1853, 1858 and 1859, Daflas in 1874-1875, and Mishmis in 1900. They also provided an escort for the survey party in the Aka Hills in 1875-1876.

2153. Sarma, S. 1963. Assam's relations with NEFA. *United Asia* 15(5): 358-364.

The relations of the tribal areas with Assam under the Ahoms, the British and the present regime.

2154. Schlagintweit, E. 1884. *Britisch-Indiens Grenznachbarn gegen China. Globus* 45: 71-74, 88-89.

On Assam, the frontier tribes and British contact with them.

2155. Shakespear, L.W. 1914. *History of Upper Assam, Upper Burmah and North-Eastern Frontier*. London, Macmillan. xix, 272 p. [Reviewed: A.C.Yate, *Scott. geogr. Mag.* 31: 152-154, 1915; *Geogr. J.* 45: 525, 1915]

History of British relations with these areas including Bhutan, and an account of her contact with the hill tribes of Upper Assam.

2156. Shakespear, L.W. 1929. *History of the Assam Rifles*. London, Macmillan. xxiv, 301 p. Reprinted: Gauhati, Spectrum Publications, 1980.
[Reviewed: W.G.L.B., *J. cent. Asian Soc.* 17: 113-114, 1930; T.Banerjee, *Q. Rev. hist. Stud.* 22(2): 40, 1982]
- Records the history of the Assam Rifles, who were formerly known as the Old Military Police of Assam, and examines the gradual extension of British influence into the tribal areas and its relations with the frontier tribes. There is a detailed account of events from 1860 including all major expeditions against the tribes. A number of sketch maps accompany the account.
2157. Sikdar, S. 1982. Tribalism vs colonialism: British capitalistic intervention and transformation of primitive economy of Arunachal Pradesh in the nineteenth century. *Social Scientist* 10(12): 15-31.
- Examines the traditional trade in the tribal areas and the routes to Tibet, and the impact of British actions on the tribal economy. Also discusses the practice of *posha* and the way trade worked under the British through the use, for example, of trade fairs especially at Sadiya, Udalguri and Doimara.
2158. Sikdar, S. 1997. Cross-country trade in the making of British policy towards Arunachalis in the nineteenth century. In: S. Dutta, ed. *Studies in the history, economy and culture of Arunachal Pradesh*. Delhi, Himalayan Publishers, p. 300-312.
2159. Sikdar, S. 1997. Trade fairs in Arunachal Assam border (1874-1905). In: S. Dutta, ed. *Studies in the history, economy and culture of Arunachal Pradesh*. Delhi, Himalayan Publishers, p. 286-299.
2160. Singh, C. 1989. *Emergence of Arunachal Pradesh as a state*. Delhi, Mittal Publications. xii, 189 p.
- Includes a detailed historical account of British relations with the hill tribes of Arunachal Pradesh and British attempts to more directly administer the tribal areas after 1912. Some facts are also provided about the McMahon Line.
2161. Waddell, L.A. 1900. The tribes of the Brahmaputra Valley. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 69(3): 1-127. Reprinted with title: *The tribes of the Brahmaputra valley: a contribution on their physical types and affinities*. New Delhi, Logos Press, 1986.
- Detailed description of the tribes of the area. He also strongly urges the Government to make a serious study of the tribes before it is too late.

See also nos 124, 129, 133, 135, 145-6, 154, 166, 176, 180, 188-91, 196, 201, 203, 206, 215, 227, 239-40, 263, 284, 293, 434, 478, 1450, 1733, 1788, 1792, 3238, 3834-5, 3839, 3851-3, 3879.

2. BRITISH CONTACT WITH ASSAM BEFORE 1824

From 1771 some efforts were made to promote trade between the East India Company and Assam. These were discontinued in 1789 due to disturbances in Assam resulting from rebellions against the rule of the Ahoms, whose power by the end of the eighteenth century was in decline. In 1792 the Ahom Raja, Gaurinath Singha, sought and received the aid of Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General of India. A detachment under Captain Thomas Welsh was sent to Assam to restore order but was withdrawn in 1794 when Sir John Shore replaced Cornwallis as Governor-General. From this time the British followed a policy of non-intervention in Assamese affairs, apart from the occasional supply of arms to the Assam Government, until the Burmese invasions of 1817 and 1819.

2162. Acharyya, N.N. 1985. *North east as viewed by foreigners*. New Delhi, Omsons Publications. x, ix, 211 p.

Extracts from the accounts of travellers who visited Assam from the earliest times to the travels of the first British civil and military officers. These included Ralph Fitch, Capt. Welsh, J.P. Wade, F. Hamilton Buchanan and William Robinson.

2163. Banerjee, A.C. 1946. *The eastern frontier of British India 1784-1826*. 2nd ed. rev. Calcutta, A. Mukherjee. vii, 584 p. [1st ed.: 1943]

Detailed account of the East India Company's policy towards Assam.

2164. Banerjee, A.C. 1985. North-eastern expansion of British India. In: K.K. Datta and V.A. Narain, eds. *A comprehensive history of India. Vol. 11. The consolidation of British rule in India (1818-1858)*. New Delhi, People's Publishing House, p. 368-389.

Covers the period from the time of Warren Hastings and his contacts with Cooch Behar and Bhutan to the 1st Burmese War.

2165. Barbarua, S. 1933. *Tungkhungia Buranji or History of Assam 1681-1826 A.D.: an old Assamese chronicle of the Tungkhungia dynasty of Ahom sovereigns*. Compiled, edited and translated by S.K. Bhuyan. London, Oxford University Press. xxxii, 262 p. Reprinted: Gauhati, Dept. of Historical and Antiquarian Studies in Assam, 1968. Reprinted with title: *A history of Assam 1681-1826 A.D.: (Tungkhungia Buranji)*. New Delhi, D.K.F. Trust, 1983.

Translation of Assamese chronicles with a substantial introduction by Bhuyan on the chronicles and the period covered. In the section of the chronicles on the reign of Gaurinath Singha there is information on the intervention of the East India Company and Captain Welsh's expedition.

2166. Baruah, S.L. 1977. Ahom policy towards the neighbouring hill tribes. *Proc. Indian hist. Congr.* 38: 249-256.

On their policy of peace and conciliation with the hill tribes and their introduction of posa.

2167. Baruah, S.L. 1977. Assam-Bhutan relations: prior to the annexation of Assam to the British in 1826. *J. hist. Res.* 20(1): 35-48.
Their relations from the 8th century including the conflicts that marked their relations during Ahom rule.
2168. Baruah, S.L. 1993. *Last days of Ahom monarchy: a history of Assam from 1769 to 1826*. New Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal. xi, 303 p.
[Reviewed: H.Banerjee, *Indian hist. Rev.* 19(1-2): 130-132, 1992/1993]
Includes an account of early British relations and Welsh's expedition to Assam. There are a number of appendices which include 'Welsh's report on Assam, 1794', 'Commercial treaty concluded by Captain Welsh with Gaurinath Singha (28 February 1793)' and 'Treaty of peace concluded at Yandabo'.
2169. Basu, B.K. 1934. Early relations of the Company with Assam. *Beng. Past Present* 48: 38-43.
Concerns the initiation of British trade with Assam and the expedition to Assam led by Captain Welsh.
2170. Basu, N.K. 1970. *Assam in the Ahom Age, 1228-1826; being politico-economic socio-cultural studies*. Calcutta, Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar. xvi, 365 p.
Includes an account of the fall of the Ahoms, the expedition of Captain Welsh, the Burmese War and the British occupation of Assam.
2171. Bhattacharjee, J.B. 1986. The Bhutanese policy of the Ahoms. In: N.R. Ray, ed. *Himalaya frontier in historical perspective*. Calcutta, Institute of Historical Studies, p. 68-75.
The Bhutanese conducted commercial relations with the plains of Assam through the duars (or passes) on the Assam-Bhutan borders. Bhattacharjee examines the development of Ahom relations with the Bhutanese and their introduction of the system known as *posa* which was paid to the hill tribes to maintain order.
2172. Bhuyan, S.K. 1929. An early historian of the East India Company: Dr John Peter Wade. *Proc. Indian hist. Rec. Comm.* 12: 87-98; *Beng. Past Present* 39: 32-42, 1930.
Wade accompanied Welsh's expedition to Assam as Assistant Surgeon. Bhuyan gives a brief biography of Wade and then discusses his three works on Assam - 'Memoir of the reign of King Gaurinath Singha', *An account of Assam*, and 'Geographical sketch of Assam' (see nos 2178-2179).
2173. Bhuyan, S.K. 1949. *Anglo-Assamese relations, 1771-1826; a history of the relations of Assam with the East India Company from 1771 to 1826, based on original English and Assamese sources*. Gauhati, Dept of Historical and Antiquarian Studies in Assam. xxiii, 636 p. Reprinted: Gauhati, Lawyers Book Stall, 1974.
The major work on the subject. It includes very detailed accounts of the policy of Cornwallis and Welsh's expedition, and on the Company's trade with Assam. There is also a chapter on the first years of British administration in Assam.

2174. Bhuyan, S.K. 1965. *Studies in the history of Assam*. Gauhati, Laksheswari Bhuyan. xvi, 270 p. Reprinted: New Delhi, Omsons Publications, 1985. xvi, 246 p.

Articles written by the author between 1925 and 1961 including no. 2172.

2175. Buchanan, F. Hamilton. 1940. *An account of Assam with some notices concerning the neighbouring territories; first compiled in 1807-14 by Francis Hamilton*. Ed. by S.K. Bhuyan. Gauhati, Dept of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Narayani Handiqui Historical Institute. ix, 104 p.

Buchanan was appointed by the East India Company in 1807 to make a survey of Eastern India which was to include Assam. As he was unable to enter Assam he obtained his information mainly from Assamese fugitives in Bengal, and Bengali natives who had visited Assam. The work is divided into two parts. The first, 'Account of Assam' outlines the history, government, administration, economic resources and trade of Assam at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The second, 'Account of the countries adjoining Assam' concerns countries north of the Brahmaputra which concentrates on Bhutan, and countries south of the river.

2176. Devi, L. 1968. *Ahom-tribal relations (a political study)*. Gauhati, the Author. iii, 275, viii, 15 p.

Describes Ahom relations with the tribal peoples of Assam including the Bhutias. Also includes some information on early British contact with Assam.

2177. *Johnstone, J. 1877. *Captain Welsh's expedition to Assam 1792-1794*. Shillong. Source: no. 2173.

2178. Wade, J.P. 1805. Geographical sketch of Assam. *Asiat. A. Regist.* 7(Misc. tracts): 116-142.

Summarises what was then known about the geography of Assam.

2179. Wade, J.P. 1927. *An account of Assam, 1800*. Ed. by B. Sharma. North Lakhimpur, R. Sarmah, Madhupar Tea Estate. xv, v, xxxv, 310, 34, xvii p. Reprinted: Gauhati, Asam Jyoti, 1972.

Account of the early history of Assam before its contact with the British. His 'Geographical sketch of Assam', reprinted from no. 2178, is also included.

See also nos 140, 289, 542, 1640, 2089-90, 2126, 2142, 2210, 3879.

3. ANGLO-BURMESE WAR 1824-1826

The security of the north-east frontier of Bengal depended upon the existence of a friendly power in control of Assam. This security was threatened by the assumption of control of Assam by the Burmese following their invasions of 1817 and 1819. The deteriorating situation led to the appointment of David Scott as Agent to the Governor-General on the North-East Frontier of Bengal,

and he strongly urged that the Burmese should be expelled from Assam. Action, however, was not taken until Burmese troops threatened Cachar which had recently come under British suzerainty. War broke out in early 1824 in Assam, Arakan and Rangoon. After reverses the Burmese signed the Treaty of Yandabo on February 24, 1826 by which they gave up all claims to Assam.

2180. Anon. 1825. Transactions with the Burmese anterior to the present war. *Asiat. J.* 20: 137-144.
2181. Anon. 1826. Burmese War. *Asiat. J.* 22: 433-434.
On the Treaty of Yandabo.
2182. Anon. 1826. Causes and conduct of the Burmese War. *Asiat. J.* 22: 148-152.
2183. Anon. 1826. Treaty of peace between the English and the Burmese. *Oriental Herald* 11: 186-188, Oct./Dec.
2184. Chatterji, N. 1952. The campaigns of 1824-5 in Assam, Sylhet and Cachar during the first Anglo-Burmese War. *Beng. Past Present* 71: 1-14.
2185. Chatterji, N. 1963. The military operations of 1824-5 on the North-East Frontier of India. *J. Indian Hist.* 41: 371-389.
2186. Great Britain. 1825. *Papers relating to East India affairs. Viz. Discussions with the Burmese Government.* London. 131 p. (Parliament, 1825, House of Commons Reports and papers, 360). In: *H. of C. Parl. Pap.* XXIV: 91-221, 1825.
Copies or extracts of despatches from the Bengal Government relating to discussions which took place with the Burmese Government from 1812 to 1823.
2187. Great Britain. 1825. *Papers relating to the Burmese War. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by His Majesty's command, February 1825.* London. vi, 92 p. In: *H. of C. Parl. Pap.* XXVI: 91-190, 1825.
Official documents concerning the war and events preceding its outbreak dated Jan. 1823 to Feb. 1824.
2188. Great Britain. 1826. *Treaty of peace with His Majesty the King of Ava. Signed at Yandaboo, the 24th February 1826. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of His Majesty, 1826.* London. 3 p. In: *H. of C. Parl. Pap.* XXV: 1-5, 1826/1827.
By article II of the treaty the Burmese renounced all claims to Assam and its dependencies.
2189. Hodgson, V.C.P. 1910. *Historical records of the Governor-General's Bodyguard.* London, Thacker. xiv, 414 p.
Includes an account of their participation in the war.

2190. Kitzan, L. 1975. Lord Amherst and the declaration of war on Burma, 1824. *J. Asian Hist.* 9: 101-127.
2191. Laurie, W.F.B. 1880. *Our Burmese wars and relations with Burma: being an abstract of military and political operations, 1824-25-26, and 1852-53.* London, W.H. Allen. xx, 487 p.
2192. Low, C.R. 1873. *The life and correspondence of Field-Marshal Sir George Pollock, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.S.I.* London, W.H. Allen. xxxv, 560 p.
Pollock served in the Nepal War of 1814-1816 and in the war against Burma.
2193. Metcalfe, C.T. 1855. *Selections from the papers of Lord Metcalfe.* Ed. by J.W. Kaye. London, Smith, Elder. xiv, 477 p.
Includes his papers on the Burmese War.
2194. Ramachandra, G.P. 1982. Anglo-Burmese diplomacy: September 1823 to July 1824. *J. Indian Hist.* 60: 71-105.
Background to the outbreak of the war.
2195. Rhé-Philipe, G.W. de. 1905. *A narrative of the first Burmese War 1824-26 with the various official reports and despatches describing the operations of the naval and military forces employed, and other documents bearing upon the origin, progress, and conclusion of the contest.* Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 41, 15, 405 p.
2196. Robertson, T.C. 1853. *Political incidents of the first Burmese War.* London, R. Bentley. xi, 252 p.
2197. Snodgrass, J.J. 1827. *Narrative of the Burmese War, detailing the operations of Major-General Sir Archibald Campbell's army, from its landing at Rangoon in May 1824 to the conclusion of a treaty of peace at Yandaboo in February 1826.* London, J. Murray. viii, 319 p. Reprinted: Bangkok, Ava Publishing House, 1997. Also reprinted as *The Burmese War...* Delhi, B.R. Pub. Corp., 1985.
2198. Srinivasachari, C.S. 1927. The first Burmese War and the Madras army - a narrative. *Proc. Indian hist. Rec. Comm.* 10: 73-83.
2199. Vibart, H.M. 1881-1883. *The military history of the Madras Engineers and Pioneers, from 1743 up to the present time.* London, W.H. Allen. 2 vols.
Includes an account of their participation in the Burmese War and the Bhutan War. 1864-1865.

2200. Wilson, H.H. 1827. *Documents illustrative of the Burmese War. With an introductory sketch of the events of the war, and an appendix.* Compiled and edited by H.H. Wilson. Calcutta, Government Gazette Press. 96, 248, lxxxiii p.
2201. Wilson, H.H. 1852. *Narrative of the Burmese War in 1824-26: as originally compiled from official documents.* London, W.H. Allen. viii, 290 p.

See also nos 124, 130, 140, 147, 247-8, 268, 354, 437, 662, 668, 675, 680, 720, 722, 725, 727, 732, 735, 2089, 2097, 2126, 2132, 2164, 2168, 2170.

4. BRITISH ADMINISTRATION OF ASSAM 1825-1858

Following the expulsion of the Burmese the British annexed Lower Assam and extended their administration over parts of Upper Assam including the area around Sadiya. They also appointed a political agent at Sadiya to control the affairs of Upper Assam and especially those of the tribes in the region.

On the recommendation of David Scott, who was in charge of Assam until his death in 1831, the British reinstated the Ahom leader, Purandar Singha, as ruler of part of Upper Assam in 1833. This experiment was not a success and on the advice of Captain Francis Jenkins, Agent of the Governor-General on the North-East Frontier, the British annexed the area in 1839. Annexation of the Assam Duars from Bhutan followed in 1841 and Sadiya in 1843.

During this early period of British rule the general policy of their relations with the frontier tribes was decided. From the 1830's they made a number of agreements with these tribes whereby an annual subsidy was paid to them on the understanding that they would refrain from raiding the plains. The British also established trade fairs such as those at Udalguri and Sadiya to promote trade relations with the tribes and with the Tibetans.

2202. Anon. 1836. Assam. *Asiat. J.* n.s. 19: 195-201.

Account of the geography and administration of Assam.

2203. Anon. 1839. *Assam: sketch of its history, soil, and productions; with the discovery of the tea plant, and of the countries adjoining Assam.* London, Smith, Elder. 57 p.

Mainly concerned with the background to the formation of the Assam Company for the manufacture of tea in Assam. In the section on the countries adjoining Assam brief information is provided on Bhutan, and the Assam hill tribes.

2204. Anon. 1853. Assam since the expulsion of the Burmese. *Calcutta Rev.* 19(38): 413-439.

Assam during the first twenty-five years of British rule including an account of British relations with the hill tribes.

2205. Barooah, N.K. 1970. *David Scott in North-East India 1802-1831: a study in British paternalism*. New Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal. 278 p.
[Reviewed: A.Guha, *Indian econ. social hist. Rev.* 8: 104-107, 1971; G.P.Means, *Pacific Affairs* 44: 635-636, 1971/1972; M.Naidis, *J. Asian Stud.* 31: 213-214, 1971/1972]

Account of Scott's career on the northern and eastern frontiers of Bengal. Until 1823 he was a major figure in British relations with Bhutan, Sikkim and Nepal, especially during the Anglo-Nepalese War. Following the Anglo-Burmese War he became chief administrator of Assam until his death in 1831.

2206. Barpujari, H.K. 1955. The early phase of the resistance movement on the North-East Frontier (1828-30). *Proc. Indian hist. Rec. Comm.* 31(2): 8-11.

The early years of Scott's administration and attempts by some members of the old ruling class to regain power.

2207. Barpujari, H.K. 1960. The genesis of the NEFA. *Proc. Indian hist. Rec. Comm.* 35(2): 39-43.

Lt Neufville's negotiations in 1826 with the Khamti and Singpho tribes marked the beginning of a British policy towards the hill tribes on the Assam frontier. Information is also included on the appointment of Neufville as Political Agent in Upper Assam in 1828 and his subsequent relations with the frontier tribes.

2208. Barpujari, H.K. 1961. The attempted traffic with the Chinese through the north-east frontier (1826-58). *Proc. Indian hist. Congr.* 24: 326-331.

Information on goods passing between the hill tribes and China and Tibet, and British attempts to establish commercial contact with China by way of Upper Burma, and with Tibet through Tawang.

2209. Barpujari, H.K. 1963. *Assam in the days of the Company 1826-1858; a critical and comprehensive history of Assam during the rule of the East-India Company from 1826-1858, based on original Assamese and English sources, both published and unpublished*. Gauhati, Assam, Lawyer's Book Stall. xii, 312 p. 2nd ed. revised and enlarged: Gauhati, Spectrum Publications, 1980.

[Reviewed: K.K.Pillay, *J. Indian Hist.* 42: 945-946, 1964; *Q. Rev. hist. Stud.* 6: 226-227, 1966/1967]

Traces the development of British administration in Assam and her relations with eastern Bhutan in this period.

2210. Barpujari, H.K. 1970-1981. *Problem of the hill tribes North-East Frontier; a critical analysis of the problems and policies of the British Government towards the hill tribes of the Frontier based on original sources both published and unpublished*. Gauhati, Assam, Lawyer's Book Stall etc. 3 vols.

[Reviewed: B.N.Puri, *J. Indian Hist.* 48: 460, 1970; J.B.Bhattacharjee, *Q. Rev. hist. Stud.* 17(4): 246-247, 1977/1978; J.B.Bhattacharjee, *Q. Rev. hist. Stud.* 18(2): 128-130, 1978/1979; D.P.Choudhury, *Q. Rev. hist. Stud.* 22(3): 56-57, 1982]

Vol. 1: 1822-1842; Vol. 2: 1843-1872; Vol. 3: 1873-1962. Detailed account of British relations with the Assam tribes and with Bhutan. Examines how the British policy of non-intervention was replaced by a forward policy after the failure of the Inner Line regulations to restrict tribal movements between the plains and the hills.

2211. Barpujari, H.K. 1986. *The American missionaries and North-East India (1836-1900 A.D.): a documentary study*. Gawahati, Spectrum Publications. Ivii, 322 p.
- Extracts from the correspondence of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society. Includes a chapter on 'The Baptists and the English' which concerns the encouragement by Francis Jenkins for the Baptists to extend their activities to the hill areas. Barpujari's substantial introduction includes an account of the support of Jenkins for a mission at Sadiya.
2212. Bhuyan, S.K. 1928. Stray notes on David Scott. *Assam Review* 1(3): 15-18.
2213. [Butler, J.] 1847. *A sketch of Assam: with some account of the hill tribes, by an officer in the Hon. East India Company's Bengal Native Infantry in civil employ*. London, Smith, Elder. viii, 220 p.
[Reviewed: *New mon. Mag.* 80: 308-312, 1847]
- Account of his residence in Assam with some description of the country. Information is also included on the hill tribes and their relations with the British and trade with Tibet.
2214. *Chaudhry, B. 1956/57. *British rule in Assam, 1845-1858*. Thesis (Ph.D) University of Cambridge. Source: nos 39 and 68.
2215. Dutt, K.N. 1951. Assam in 1835. *Proc. Indian hist. Congr.* 14: 264-275.
- The political, economic, and social condition of Assam based on reports by Captain Francis Jenkins who was Commissioner of Assam in 1835.
2216. Dutt, K.N. 1952. Assam in 1838 (an eye-witness account based on Captain Francis Jenkeen's diary). *Proc. Indian hist. Congr.* 15: 316-323.
- Account of Assam compiled from the diary kept by Jenkins of his tour in Upper Assam from January to March 1838.
2217. Dutt, K.N. 1953. Early British relations with the hill tribes of Assam (summary). *Proc. Indian hist. Congr.* 16: 344-345.
2218. Dutt, K.N. 1958. Maharaja Purandar Singha (a 'Rois fainant' of nineteenth century Assam). *Proc. Indian hist. Congr.* 21: 463-471.
- Concerns the final fall of the Ahoms in Assam when the British removed Purandar Singha as Maharaja of Upper Assam in 1838.
2219. Gupta, H.L. 1959. An unknown factor in the annexation of Assam. *Proc. Indian hist. Congr.* 22: 412-418.

The quest for tea is given as one of the factors leading to the annexation of Assam. The article also outlines early interest in tea growing in other Himalayan regions of India.

2220. *Jenkins, F. 1995. *Report on the North-East frontier of India; a documentary study*. Introduction, notes, and glossary by H.K. Barpujari. Guwahati, Spectrum Publications. xxxiii, 177 p. Source: Library of Congress Catalogue.
2221. Lahiri, R.M. 1954. *The annexation of Assam, 1824-1854*. Calcutta, General Printers and Publishers. 250 p. Reprinted: Calcutta, K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1975.
- Political history of Assam based on original sources with a background chapter on the troubles in the Assam Duars leading to British intervention.
2222. McCosh, J. 1836. Account of the mountain tribes of the extreme N.E. frontier of Bengal. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 5: 193-208.
- Compiled from original documents by Jenkins, Major White, Political Agent for Upper Assam, and Mr Bruce on the hill tribes.
2223. Mills, A.J.M. 1854. *Report on the Province of Assam*. Calcutta, 'Calcutta Gazette' Office. 7 Pts + appendices. Reprinted with title: *Report on Assam*. Delhi, Gian Publications, 1980.
- Detailed account of Assam and its districts including Darrang and Lakhimpur. The appendices to pt 1 include a substantial section entitled 'Letters from the commissioner and assistants regarding relations with the frontier tribes of Assam' which also includes 'Memorandum on our relations with Cooch Behar, Bootan and the Garrow tribes'.
2224. Neufville, J.B. 1828. On the geography and population of Asam. *Asiat. Res.* 16: 331-352. Reprinted in no. 2271.
- Describes the rivers of north-east Assam and the tribes inhabiting this region including the Abors, Mishmis and Miris.
2225. Pemberton, R.B. 1835. *Report on the eastern frontier of British India*. Calcutta, Baptist Mission Press. xxi, 261, 23, lxxiii p. Reprinted: Gauhati, Dept of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, 1966.
- Includes a report on Upper Assam and the hill tribes inhabiting the region, and a detailed account of trade between Bhutan, Tibet and Assam, and Tibet and China.
2226. Sangma, M.S. 1987-1992. *History of American Baptist Mission (1836-1950) in north-east India*. Delhi, Mittal Publications. 2 vols.
- Includes an account of the establishment of a mission at Sadiya in 1836 with the support of Jenkins, in the hope that this would eventually enable the mission to enter Tibet and China. It was abandoned three years later and not reopened until 1900. Also includes an account of their work with the Miris, Daflas, Mishmis, and Abors from 1900.

2227. [Stevens, E.] 1836. A'sam: a sketch of its government, productions, trade, and prospects; with some notices of the customs of the people. *Chin. Repos.* 5: 97-104, July.

The early years of British administration in Assam and the state of trade in 1836.

2228. [Stevens, E.] 1836. A description of A'sam: extent and boundaries of its three principal divisions; with notices of the states and tribes bordering on the north and south. *Chin. Repos.* 5: 49-55, June.

2229. Stevens, E. 1930. Assam in 1836. *Assam Review* 2(12): 501-505, Feb.; 3(1): 27-30, Mar.; 3(2): 85, Apr.

General account of Assam at this time.

2230. White, A. 1832. *Memoir of the late David Scott Esq., Agent to the Governor-General on the North-East Frontier of Bengal and Commissioner of Revenue and Circuit in Assam etc.* Ed. by A. Watson. Calcutta, Baptist Mission Press. xiv, 143 p.

White was Political Agent in Upper Assam when he wrote this memoir. It outlines the activities of Scott in Assam including his encouragement of exploration. A number of Scott's letters are reproduced in the appendix, and also letters about Scott by people who knew and worked with him in Assam.

See also nos 852, 2089, 2097, 2100, 2121, 2126, 2170, 2173.

5. BRITISH RELATIONS WITH THE FRONTIER TRIBES

a) Tawang Region: the Monpas

The Tawang Region is bordered by Tibet in the north and Bhutan in the west and is inhabited by Buddhist tribes generally known as Monpas. The Monpas have strong cultural and religious ties with Tibet especially the people living in Tawang Proper, the area north of the Se La. These people paid monastic dues to Drepung monastery in Lhasa throughout the period of British administration in Assam. Even the Monpas living in the south of the Tawang Region, generally known as Sherdukpens, had closer ties with Tibet rather than with Assam. British relations with the Tawang Region in the nineteenth century were mainly with these southern Monpas.

The British were interested in the trade route which existed from Lhasa through Tawang to Assam before they acquired control of Assam in 1826. In 1833 they tried to revive the trade that formerly existed along this route by establishing an annual trade fair at Udalguri. In 1844 Francis Jenkins, Governor-General's Agent on the North-East Frontier, signed an agreement with certain Monpa Rajas by which they agreed to surrender the Kariapara Duar in exchange for an annual payment. In 1872-1873 the border between British territory and Tawang was amicably settled. Apart from a dispute which arose

when the British granted asylum to a Monpa Raja in the 1850's, relations with Tawang remained comparatively peaceful throughout the nineteenth century and no expeditions were sent into the area. The first reliable account of Tawang was not provided until 1875 when Nain Singh travelled through Tawang on his way back to India after visiting Lhasa on behalf of the Survey of India.

2231. Allen, B.C. 1905. *Assam District gazetteers. Vol. V. Darrang.* Allahabad, Pioneer Press. ii, 291, ix p. *Supplement.* Shillong, Assam Secretariat Press, 1915. 105 p.

Detailed account of the district which occupied a narrow strip of land between the lower ranges of the Himalayas in the Tawang Region and the Brahmaputra River. It includes details of the history of the area, and information on its trade and trade fairs such as Udalguri.

2232. Bernard, L. 1852. A letter from the Rev. Mr Bernard, Missioner Apostolic of the Society of Foreign Missions to the Rev. Mr Albrand, of the same Society. *Annals Prop. Faith* 13: 215-217; *Annales Prop. Foi* 24: 284-287.

Letter dated 'Gowahatty, Jan. 14, 1852'. It describes his unsuccessful attempt to reach Tibet by way of Tawang and Eastern Bhutan.

2233. Dhar, B. 1998. The Monpas of Khalegthang area, alias, the Tsanglas: a brief ethnological account. In: S. Karotemprel, ed. *The tribes of Northeast India.* Shillong, Centre for Indigenous Cultures, p. 308-319.

Includes information on their trade with the Udalguri area of Assam, with West Bhutan and with Tibet.

2234. Hopkinson, H. 1869. On trade between Assam, Thibet, and Western China. *J. Soc. Arts* 17: 561-573.

Hopkinson was Commissioner of Assam at this time. He supports the development of a trade route from China to Burma, and also describes the Tawang route. He also gives an account of the Udalguri trade fair which he visited in 1867 and at which some Tibetan traders were present. The discussion on his paper and that of Campbell (see no. 1750) is on p. 562-573 and includes comments by Henry Rawlinson, Trelawney Saunders, and George Campbell on the merits and difficulties of the routes to Tibet and China.

2235. Lama, Tashi. 1999. *The Monpas of Tawang: a profile.* [Itanagar, Himalayan Publishers on behalf of Tawang District Youth Welfare Society, Arunachal Pradesh]. 108 p.

Includes a brief mention of their origins, trade and other ties with Tibet.

2236. Schlagintweit-Sakünlünski, H. 1856. Report on the proceedings of the Magnetic Survey, from January to May 1856, by H. Schlagintweit. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 25: 554-569.

Mainly concerned with his magnetic and geological observations made during this period but he also briefly comments on the areas he visited such as Udalguri where he gained information from Tibetan traders about routes to Lhasa.

2237. Sarkar, N. 1978. A historical account of Tawang Monastery. *Resarun* 4(2): 17-24.

Historical background to its establishment and its ties with Tibet.

2238. Sharma, R.R.P. 1961. *The Sherdukpens*. Shillong, Research Dept, Adviser's Secretariat. xii, 101 p.

[Reviewed: A.M.Pikelis, *Am. Anthropologist* 64: 878-879, 1962]

Includes a brief account of their history and trade.

See also nos 203, 1216, 2012, 2093-5, 2109, 2112, 2115, 2118, 2123-4, 2137, 2140-2, 2150-1, 2155-6, 2160, 2210, 2213, 2223, 2225, 2335-6, 2339, 2342, 2350, 3238, 3261, 3840, 3870.

b) Subansiri Region: the Akas, Daflas, Apa Tanis, and Miris

The area between the Tawang Region and the Subansiri River and its tributaries is inhabited by a number of tribal groups generally known as Akas, Daflas (now known as Nishis or Nishings), Apa Tanis, and Miris. The British made agreements with some of these tribes, and it was not until the last few decades of the nineteenth century that they resorted to punitive expeditions in order to control their incursions into the area beyond the Inner Line. Expeditions were sent against the Daflas in 1874-1875, Akas in 1883-1884, and Apa Tanis in 1897. These expeditions were also used as an opportunity to explore and survey the tribal regions. However the extremely difficult physical nature of the country meant that expeditions were small and they were unsuccessful in penetrating far into the area.

2239. Anon. 1874. Ein englischer Feldzug gegen die Daflas in Assam. *Petermanns Mitt.* 20: 147.

Account of the force sent to the borders of the area occupied by the Daflas in 1873.

2240. Anon. 1875. Früchte des Feldzugs gegen die Daflas in Assam. *Petermanns Mitt.* 21: 194.

Geographical results of the expedition against the Daflas in 1874-1875.

2241. Anon. 1879. Exploration north of Assam. *Proc. R. geogr. Soc.* n.s. 1: 126-127.

Explorations by R.G. Woodthorpe and H.J. Harman along a section of the Subansiri River, and of Woodthorpe along the Dihang River.

2242. Anon. 1883. The late Aka raid in Darang. *Indian Forester* 9: 630-632.

Account of the raid during which several people were kidnapped. This led to a military expedition being sent against the Akas in 1883.

2243. Anon. 1897. Die Apatanang-Expedition. *Globus* 71: 248.

Account of the British expedition sent against the Apa Tanis in 1897. Also mentions the contact of this tribe with the Tibetans.

2244. Bezbarua, R. 1997. Rubber dispute of the Miripathar Daflas: British attitude. In: S. Dutta, ed. *Studies in the history, economy and culture of Arunachal Pradesh*. Delhi, Himalayan Publishers, p. 98-108.

Dispute in 1899 over the unwillingness of a private rubber firm to pay the Daflas the agreed rate of fees for tapping rubber on their land. This resulted in the Daflas capturing Assamese hostages. The article examines the attitude of the British Commissioners in Assam at that time, including the Chief Commissioner, Sir Henry Cotton, who ruled out the despatch of military police and recognised the grievances of the Daflas.

2245. Chowdhury, J.N. 1970. *The Hill Miris of Subansiri*. Shillong, North-East Frontier Agency Administration. ix, 54 p.
[Reviewed: N.K.Bose, *J. Asiat. Soc., Calcutta* 13: 207, 1971]

2246. Dalton, E.T. 1845. Report by Lieut. E.J.T. Dalton, Junior Assistant Commissioner of Assam, of his visit to the hills in the neighbourhood of the Soobanshiri River. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 14(1): 250-267.

Account of his journey in early 1845 to some Miri villages near the Subansiri River, the aim of which was to determine the possibility of making an extended tour in the following year to the region occupied by the Hill Miris and the Abors.

2247. *Godwin-Austen, H.H. 1876. Extract from the narrative report of the Daphla Military Expeditionary Survey. *Gen. Rep. topogr. Surv. India* 1874/75: 68-82. Source: no. 37.

2248. *Harman, H.J. 1876. Narrative report of Lt H.J. Harman in charge Daphla Military Expeditionary Survey. *Gen. Rep. topogr. Surv. India* 1874/75. Source: no. 2123.

2249. Hesselmeyer, C.H. 1868. The hill-tribes of the northern frontier of Assam. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 37(2): 192-208.

General account of the hill tribes with emphasis on the Akas.

2250. La Touche, T.D. 1885. Notes on the geology of the Aka hills, Assam. *Rec. geol. Surv. India* 18: 121-124.

A geological account of the region with brief comments on the route of the 1883 Aka Expedition which La Touche accompanied.

2251. Macgregor, C.R. 1884. Notes on Akas and Akaland. *Proc. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 1884 p. 198-211.

Includes an account of their relations with the British.

2252. Ogle, M.J. 1886. Extract from the narrative report by Mr M.J. Ogle, Surveyor, lately officiating in charge of the Assam and North-Eastern Frontier Survey - season 1884/85. *Gen. Rep. Ops. Surv. India 1884/85*: v-x.
- Includes a brief review of work carried out in this area since the 1871-1872 season with information on the Dafla Expedition of 1874-1875, expeditions to the Miri and Mishmi regions 1877-1878, Aka Expedition 1883-1884, and survey of the Dafla region in 1883-1884.
2253. Panda, S. 1997. Anglo-Dafla unrest: a cause and factor analysis. In: S. Dutta, ed. *Studies in the history, economy and culture of Arunachal Pradesh*. Delhi, Himalayan Publishers, p. 89-97.
- Study of conflicts between the Daflas and British particularly over the administration of posa and raids into areas beyond the Inner Line.
2254. Panda, S. 1997. Fresh dimensions to the study of the British relationship with the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. In: S. Dutta, ed. *Studies in the history, economy and culture of Arunachal Pradesh*. Delhi, Himalayan Publishers, p. 189-194.
- Analyses the importance of posa and the way the British dealt with the practice.
2255. Ramachandran, A. 1997. A survey of Nishi-British relations. In: S. Dutta, ed. *Studies in the history, economy and culture of Arunachal Pradesh*. Delhi, Himalayan Publishers, p. 78-88.
- The British generally knew the Nishis as Daflas but this term is not used today. Traces their relationship and conflicts with the British and criticises some of the British records that report on the tribes.
2256. Robinson, W. 1851. Notes on the Dophlas and the peculiarities of their language. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 20: 126-137.
- Although mainly a linguistic study he includes some comments on the relations of the Daflas with the Ahom and British governments.
2257. Shukla, B.K. 1959. *The Daflas of the Subansiri Region*. Shillong, North-East Frontier Agency. x, 139 p.
- [Reviewed: C.von Furer-Haimendorf, *Man* 61(194): 166-167, 1961; G.T.Bowles, *Am. Anthropologist* 64: 417-419, 1962]
- Includes a brief historical account of their relations with the British.
2258. Sinha, R. 1962. *The Akas*. Shillong, Research Dept, Adviser's Secretariat. x, 144 p.
- [Reviewed: R.Burling, *Am Anthropologist* 66: 696-697, 1964]
- Includes a brief account of their relations with the British.
2259. Walker, J.T. 1876. The operations in the Assam Valley. *Gen. Rep. Ops Gt Trig. Surv. India 1874/75*: 6-7.

Account of the survey conducted by H.J. Harman while accompanying the Dafla Expedition in 1874-1875.

2260. Woodthorpe, R.G. 1878. [*Exploration surveys in and about Assam, 1877-78*]. Simla, Government Central Branch Press. 10 p. + 27 unnumbered pages of photographs.

Woodthorpe was in charge of the North Brahmaputra Exploration Topographical Survey. His report describes his exploration and that of Harman of the Subansiri region and the Mishmi hills east of the Dibang River in 1877-1878, and includes a map of Assam with the routes of the exploration parties. Woodthorpe also discusses whether the Subansiri or the Dihang would be the outlet of the Tsangpo.

2261. Woodthorpe, R.G. 1879. Extract from a report dated 10th August 1878 of Capt. R.G. Woodthorpe, R.E., in charge, North Brahmaputra Exploration Topographical Survey. *Gen. Rep. Ops Surv. India 1877/78*: 120-126.

Describes his survey of the Lower Subansiri River area. He also comments on the course of the Tsangpo which he feels does not flow into the Subansiri.

2262. Woodthorpe, R.G. 1885. Extract from the narrative report of Lt-Col. R.G. Woodthorpe, officiating Deputy Supt, Survey of India, in charge no. 6 Party, North East Frontier Topographical Survey - season 1883-84. *Gen. Rep. Ops Surv. India 1883/84*: vii-x.

Account of the Aka Expedition and of subsequent survey work in the Dafla hills.

2263. Woodthorpe, R.G. 1889. The Aka Expedition. *J. un. Serv. Instn India* 18: 428-450.

Detailed report of the 1883 expedition which Woodthorpe accompanied in charge of the survey operations. He also describes the Akas, their country and the causes of the expedition. There is a map and sketches to illustrate the article.

See also nos 140, 147, 172-3, 178, 189, 248, 268, 2087, 2089, 2091, 2093-5, 2097, 2109-12, 2114, 2116, 2118, 2120, 2123-4, 2128, 2131-2, 2135, 2137, 2140-2, 2144, 2150-2, 2155-6, 2160-1, 2210, 2213, 2223-5, 2265, 2274, 2369, 3261, 3840, 3884.

c) Dihang Region: the Abors

The Abors (now known as Adis) inhabit the area between Sadiya and Tibet along the west and east banks of the Dihang River and between the Dihang and Dibang Rivers. Conflicts between the Abors and the British occurred soon after the British took over the administration of the area around Sadiya and it was not until 1862 that the first agreement was concluded between them. This was after punitive expeditions had been sent into Abor country in 1858, 1859, and 1862. Further expeditions were also sent against the Abors in 1881 and 1893-1894.

Many attempts were made to explore the Dihang region in the nineteenth century, the first journey being made in late 1825. These journeys culminated with the trips made by Jack Needham in the 1880s and 1890s but none of these explorations penetrated far into the tribal territory.

2264. Anon. 1826. The Brahmaputra River. *Asiat. J.* 22: 178-179.
Account of a journey made in late 1825 up part of the Dihang River, and some comments on the Abors.
2265. Anon. 1836. Assam: the tribes near Sudiya. *Asiat. J.* n.s. 20: 75-78.
An account of the Miris, Abors and Mishmis.
2266. Anon. 1847. Further discoveries of coal on the northern side of Assam. *Calcutta J. nat. Hist.* 7: 368-369.
Extracts from letters by Jenkins and Captain Vetch dated Oct. 1846. They include some information on exploration in Abor country and on coal and gold deposits in the area.
2267. Anon. 1885. A visit to the Abors. *Sat. Rev.* 59: 781-782.
Needham's visit to the Abors in October 1884 and the results of his journey (see no. 2286).
2268. Anon. 1901. The course of the Dihong. *Geogr. J.* 17: 525-526.
Account of attempts made by two Gurkha surveyors to travel up the Dihang in 1901 (see also no. 2289).
2269. Anon. 1925. J.F. Needham, C.I.E. [obituary]. *Geogr. J.* 65: 85-86.
Needham was Assistant Political Officer at Sadiya from 1882 to 1905. He made several journeys into Abor occupied territory.
2270. Barpujari, H.K. 1958. The surveys and operations at the petroleum springs and coal-beds in Assam (1826-58). *Proc. Indian hist. Rec. Comm.* 34(2): 69-73.
Discovery by early explorers and officials such as Wilcox, Jenkins, and Dalton, of oil and coal beds in Assam, and on attempts to exploit them in this period.
2271. Bengal. 1855. *Papers relating to some frontier tribes on the N. E. border of Assam and Topographical report on the political districts of Raigurh, Sarungurh, Sonepore and Sumbulpore*, by Mr J. Shortt. Calcutta, 'Calcutta Gazette' Office. 191 p. (Selections from the records of the Bengal Government, no. 23)
Includes nos 2224 and 2331. These are followed by a letter from Major H. Vetch, Political Agent, Upper Assam, dated Jan. 3, 1848, which concerns his meeting with several Abor clans in 1847-1848; and 'Correspondence and journal of Capt. Dalton, Principal Assistant at Luckimpore, of his progress in a late visit to a clan of Abors on the Dihing River'. Dalton made this trip in 1855. The topographical report by Shortt is on p. 171-191 only.
2272. Billorey, R.K. 1980. Pattern of migration and trade in North-East India - a case study of the Membas of Arunachal. *Proc. Indian hist. Congr.* 41: 603-612.

The Membas live close to the northern borders of the Dihang Region. Buddhist by religion and culturally similar to the Monpas of Tawang, the Membas migrated from Tibet in about the seventeenth century. They are different, both culturally and ethnically from the Abors to their south. They had trade relations with the Tibetans to the north and the neighbouring tribes to the south. Details are given of the items traded and the route taken by the Membas to reach Lhasa. The trade continued to flourish until the Chinese occupation of Tibet.

2273. Billorey, R.K. 1986. Migration and trade in the North-East Frontier of India: the Membas of Arunachal. *J. Asiat. Soc., Calcutta* 28(1): 56-68.

2274. Dalton, E.T. 1845. On the Meris and Abors of Assam, by J.T.E. Dalton. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 14(1): 426-430.

Letter dated March 23, 1845 to Major Jenkins. It includes information on the trade of the Abors with the Miris, and their communication with Tibet. It also mentions his hopes of exploring the area occupied by the Daflas in 1846.

2275. [Dalton, E.T. and Jenkins, F.] 1847. Correspondence with Major Jenkins, on the discovery of coal of a very superior description in a new situation in Upper Assam by Lieut. Dalton. *Calcutta J. nat. Hist.* 7: 213-216.

Reprints two letters from Jenkins, Commissioner of Assam, to J.M. McClelland, Secretary of the Coal Committee, and one from Dalton to Jenkins. They concern the discovery by Dalton of coal in Abor country while he was on an exploring trip in the area.

2276. Dutta, S. 1997. The Anglo-Adi relation (up to 1922). In: S. Dutta, ed. *Studies in the history, economy and culture of Arunachal Pradesh*. Delhi, Himalayan Publishers, p. 109-132.

Account of their relationship from 1842. Main emphasis is on the 1859 expedition led by Col. Hannay, and the agreement concluded between the Abors and the British in 1862 is reproduced. Also covers the murder of Williamson and the terms of peace imposed by the British in 1912.

2277. Harman, H.J. 1878. Extract from the narrative report, dated 26th September 1877 by Lt H.J. Harman, R.E., Assistant Superintendent, 2nd grade, in charge Assam Valley triangulation. *Gen. Rep. Ops Gt Trig. Surv. India* 1876/77: 9a-12a.

Account of his survey work in Abor controlled country in 1877.

2278. Hartert, E. 1889. Schilderungen aus Ober-Assam und über Assam im allgemeinen. *Verh. Ges. Erdk. Berl.* 16: 192-205.

Account of his journey to Assam. It includes comments on British relations with the Abors and Mishmis, and Needham's recent visits to the Abors.

2279. Hosten, H. 1913. The Rev. L. Bernard among the Abors, and the cross as a tattoo mark (1855). *J. Proc. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* n.s. 9: 325-327.

Extracts from letters of Bernard, a French missionary, published in the *Bengal Catholic Herald*, Calcutta, in 1855. They describe his attempt to reach Tibet

through country occupied by the Abors, following the murder of Krick and Boury in Mishmi country, and his future plans to try and reach Tibet from Darjeeling.

2280. [Krick, N.M.] 1852. A letter from the Rev. Mr Krich, Missioner Apostolic to Messrs the Directors of the Seminary of Foreign Missions at Paris, by J. Krich. *Annals Prop. Faith* 13: 210-214; *Annales Prop. Foi* 24: 277-283.

Letter dated Dec. 1, 1851. It describes his attempts, and those of Robin and Bernard to enter Tibet from Assam. In November Krick accompanied Captain Wath on an expedition to protect the gold washers on the Dihang River so that he could meet the Abors.

2281. Krick, N.M. 1913. Account of an expedition among the Abors in 1853. Trans. by the Rev. A. Gille. *J. Proc. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* n.s. 9: 107-122.

Translation of a section of no. 2318. It describes his journey to the Abors and gives an account of their customs and trade.

2282. Little, W.R. 1895. *Report on the Abor Expedition, 1894*. Simla, Government Central Printing Office. 41, xix p.

Detailed official report of the expedition including numerous sketches and maps.

2283. Low, C.R. 1877. *History of the Indian Navy (1613-1863)*. London, R. Bentley. 2 vols.

Vol. 2 includes an account of the Abor Expedition of 1859 which was led by Lieut.Col. Hannay, and in which no. 4 Detachment of the Navy took part with T.E. Lewis and W.H.W. Davies in charge of the navy troops.

2284. Mibang, T. 1995. The Adis: a study of their origin and migration. In: K. Warikoo, ed. *Society and culture in the Himalayas*. New Delhi, Har-Anand Publications, p. 187-198.

2285. Nath, J. 1997. Anglo-Abor Treaty - 1862 and its significance in relation to the Inner Line Regulation, 1873 and Arunachal history. In: S. Dutta, ed. *Studies in the history, economy and culture of Arunachal Pradesh*. Delhi, Himalayan Publishers, pp. 177-188.

2286. Needham, J.F. 1885. *Report on the Abor villages beyond British frontier*. Calcutta, Government of India Central Printing Office. 25 p.

Report on his visit to Abor villages along the Dihang River in October 1884.

2287. Needham, J.F. 1886. Excursion in the Abor hills; from Sadiya in Upper Assam. *Proc. R. Geogr. Soc.* n.s. 8: 313-328.

Needham was Assistant Political Officer at Sadiya. He describes his journey made in 1884 to discuss Abor grievances.

2288. Needham, J.F. 1886. *Mr Needham's report on his visit to the Abor*

villages outside the British territory. Shillong. 2, 10 p.

Report on his journey made in November 1885 to the Bor Abor village of Silli.

2289. Needham, J.F. 1901. Exploration of the Dihong. *Geogr. J.* 17: 656-657.
Further information on the attempt to survey the Dihang in 1901 (see no. 2268).
2290. Needham, J.F. 1929. Report on the Abor villages beyond the British frontier (1884). *Assam Review* 2: 13-16, 95-103, 185-192, Sept., Oct., Nov.
A brief biographical sketch of Needham precedes his report.
2291. Needham, J.F. 1930. Report on a visit to the Abor villages outside the British territory (1885). *Assam Review* 2: 407-411, 477-483. Jan., Feb.
Diary of his journey in November 1885 to the Bor Abor village of Silli.
2292. [Namgyal, Rinzin] 1890. Trans-frontier explorations. Notes by sub-surveyor R.N. on the country bordering Eastern Assam from information obtained during season 1888-89. *Gen. Rep. Ops Surv. India* 1888/89: xlv-xlvii.
Information on the area north of the Brahmaputra collected from Abor and Mishmi tribesmen he met in Sadiya.
2293. Nyori, T. 1997. Origin of the name 'Abor/Adi'. In: S. Dutta, ed. *Studies in the history, economy and culture of Arunachal Pradesh*. Delhi, Himalayan Publishers, p. 40-44.
Examines the origin of both names and notes that almost all writers in the past have referred to the Adis as Abors although this was not the name used by the hill people.
2294. Osik, N.N. 1992. *British relations with the Adis (1825-1947)*. New Delhi, Omsons Publications. x, 129 p.
Detailed account of British relations with the Abors with background information on Abor relations with the Ahoms. It highlights the growing cooperation between the British and the Abors following Williamson's murder and briefly analyses the British administration of the Siang Valley up to 1947.
2295. Pal, D. 1945. The north-east frontier policy of Sir John Lawrence (1864-1868). *Indian hist. Q.* 21: 105-117.
Describes his policy towards the Nagas and the Abors. With the Abors he tried a conciliatory rather than a punitive policy which had proved unsuccessful in the past. The article outlines the troubles involved in carrying out his policy.
2296. Smith, E.D. 1973. *Britains' Brigade of Gurkhas*. London, Leo Cooper. 176 p.
Includes a brief account of their service in Assam against the Abors in 1858 and 1859 under Capt. J.F. Hannay.

2297. Srivastava, L.R.N. 1962. *The Gallongs*. Shillong, Research Dept, Adviser's Secretariat. xii, 128 p.

[Reviewed: R.Burling, *Am Anthropologist* 66: 696-697, 1964]

The Gallongs occupy territory to the north-west of the Abors. There is a brief account of their history, trade and communications with the Tibetans and with the British.

2298. Way, G.A. 1885. *Supplementary report on the North-East Frontier of India*. Simla, Government Central Branch Press. vi, 115 p.

The second part of this report describes expeditions sent against the Abors since 1858.

2299. Wilson, A. 1924. *Sport and service in Assam and elsewhere*. London, Hutchinson. 320 p.

Wilson was an officer of the 1st Battalion, 8th Gurkha Rifles. He gives a brief account of the Abor Expedition of 1894 in which he participated.

See also nos 140, 147, 173, 178, 189, 852, 1738, 2087, 2089, 2091, 2093-5, 2097, 2109-12, 2114, 2118, 2120, 2123-4, 2128, 2131-2, 2135, 2137, 2141-2, 2144, 2150-2, 2155-6, 2160-1, 2210, 2213, 2223-5, 2241, 2246, 2305, 2308, 2311-12, 2317-18, 2331, 3238, 3261, 3270, 3286, 3308, 3310, 3321, 3342, 3840, 3919.

d) Lohit Region: the Mishmis

The area between the Dibang and Lohit Rivers and along the Lohit River to Tibet is inhabited by the Mishmis. British interest concentrated on this area from the beginning as the Lohit Valley provided the shortest route to Rima in Eastern Tibet and beyond that to China. Before the establishment of the Inner Line a number of explorers had made their way up the Lohit River Valley in an attempt to reach Tibet. These included Burlton in 1825, Wilcox in 1826, Griffith in 1836, Rowlatt in 1844, Krick in 1852, Krick and Bourry in 1854 and Cooper in 1869. In 1885-1886 J.F. Needham and Captain E.H. Molesworth reached within one mile of Rima.

In 1854 Mishmi tribesmen murdered two French missionaries, Nicolas Krick and Augustin Bourry, soon after they had crossed into Tibet near Walong. The British sent a military expedition to punish the murderers and another military expedition was also sent against the Mishmis in 1899/1900.

2300. Anon. 1826. The Burrampooter. *Asiat. J.* 21: 186-188.

Information on the course of the river from the survey made by Burlton in 1825.

2301. Anon. 1827. The Brahmaputra River. *Asiat. J.* 23: 495-499. Abstract: *Edinb. J. Sci.* 7: 56-57.

Mainly concerns the journey made by Captain Bedford of the Survey Department to Brahmakund on the Lohit.

2302. Anon. 1901. Survey of India report for 1899-1900. *Geogr. J.* 18: 439-440.
Includes a report on the work accomplished by Captain Robertson during the Mishmi Expedition (see also no. 2326).
2303. Anon. 1902. The Mishmi country. *Geogr. J.* 20: 227.
On Ward's report on the Mishmi country (see no. 2328)
2304. Barua, T.K.M. 1960. *The Idu Mishmis*. Shillong, P.C. Dutta on behalf of the Adviser to the Governor of Assam. xii, 110 p.
[Reviewed: R.Needham, *Man* 62(256): 160, 1962; A.M.Pikelis, *Am. Anthropologist* 64: 878-879, 1962]
Includes a brief history of their relations with the British.
2305. Becker, C. 1989. *Early history of the Catholic Missions in Northeast India (1598-1890)*. Trans. and ed. by F. Leicht and S. Karotemprel. Calcutta, Firma KLM Private, under the auspices of Vendrame Institute, Sacred Heart College, Shillong. xx, 251 p.
Mainly concerns the history of attempts by Catholic missionaries to reach Tibet through Assam in this period, especially the work and travels of Fathers Krick and Bourry, their murder and its causes, and the reaction of the British Government to it. The appendices include a biography of Krick, a reprint of his article on his expedition to the Abors in 1853 (see no 2281) and an extract from Mackenzie's *History* (see no. 2142) on the Mishmis.
2306. Bengal. 1873. *Selection of papers regarding the hill tracts between Assam and Burmah and on the Upper Brahmaputra*. Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press. 335 p. Reprinted with title: *Hill tracts between Assam and Burma: selection of papers*. Delhi, Vivek, 1978.
Includes no. 2331, and 'Journal of a trip to the Mishmi mountains, from the debouching of the Lohit to about ten miles east of the Ghalums' by W. Griffith.
2307. Bernard, L. 1855. Letter from M. Bernard, of the Society of Foreign Missions, to Messrs the Directors of the same congregation. *Annals Prop. Faith* 16: 127-129; *Annales Prop. Foi* 27: 233-236.
Letter dated Nov. 16, 1854. It concerns the murder of Krick and Bourry by the Mishmis and the measures being taken by the British to investigate the murders.
2308. Chakravarty, L.N. 1978. Early history of the Lohit District. *Resarun* 4(1): 1-6.
On the history of the district and its tribes and their contact with the British.
2309. Cooper, T.T. 1873. *The Mishmee Hills; an account of a journey made in an attempt to penetrate Thibet from Assam to open new routes for commerce*. London, H.S. King. viii, 270 p. Reprinted: Taipei, Ch'eng Wen. 1971.

Account of his journey made in 1869 in an effort to determine a practicable trade route between India and China.

2310. Cottam, H. 1876/1877. Overland route to China via Assam, Tenga Pani River, Khamti, and Singphoo country, across the Irrawaddi River into Yunan. *Proc. R. geogr. Soc.* 21: 590-595.
- The title represents his planned route. He in fact only reached Brahmakund about twelve days journey up the Lohit before returning to Sadiya. The article also includes information on Cooper's attempt to reach Tibet from Assam.
2311. Fauconnet-Buzelin, F. 1999. *Les porteurs d'espérance: la mission du Tibet-Sud (1848-1854)*. Paris, Les Éditions du Cerf. 256 p.
[Reviewed: J.Bray, *Church History* 71(2): 419-421, 2002]
- Detailed account of the lives of the Catholic missionaries, Nicolas Krick and Augustin Bourry, who were murdered in 1854 near the border between Tibet and North-East India. It covers Krick's initial explorations among the Abors in 1851, his first journey across the Tibetan border in 1851-1852 and his later journeys with Bourry in Mishmi country which led to their murder.
2312. *Fauconnet-Buzelin, F. 2001. *Mission unto martyrdom: the amazing story of Nicolas Krick and Agustin Bourry, the first martyrs of Arunachal Pradesh*. Shillong, Don Bosco Centre for Indigenous Cultures. xiii, 271 p. Source: Library of Congress Catalogue.
2313. Gogoi, L., comp. 1971. *The Tai Khamtis*. Chowkham, NEFA, Chowkhamoon Gohain. xlv, 210 p. 2nd revised and enlarged edition with title: *The Tai Khamtis of the North-East*. New Delhi, Omsons Publications, 1990. xlv, 374 p.
- The Khamtis are a Buddhist tribe which migrated to Assam in the late eighteenth century to the area around Sadiya on the southern banks of the Lohit River. This compilation of extracts from works on Assam provides information about the origins, history, culture, political relations and trade of the Tai Khamtis. They include much information on relations with the British.
2314. Gregory, J. 1869/1870. Account of an attempt by a native envoy to reach the Catholic missionaries of Tibet. *Proc. R. geogr. Soc.* 14: 214-219.
- Account of the journey of Chowsam Gohain, a Khamti chief, who was sent by the British on a mission to Tibet to try and open communications with the French missionaries following their appeal for assistance through the British Resident in Nepal. Chowsam spent a month on the border of Tibet and returned with much information on the route to Tibet and on the area of Tibet bordering on Assam.
2315. Griffith, W. 1837. Journal of a visit to the Mishmee hills in Assam. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 6: 325-341.
- Griffith travelled up the Lohit Valley in 1836 reaching a point approximately half way between Sadiya and Tibetan territory. He gives an account of the country traversed, the tracks and rivers, and also an account of the tribes and their trade and political relations with the 'lamas'.

2316. Griffith, W. 1838. Visit to the Mishmee hills in Assam. *Asiat. J.* n.s. 25: 233-244.
2317. Heriot, L. 1979. *The first martyrs in Arunachal Pradesh: the story of Frs. Krick and Bourry, foreign missionaries of Paris.* Bombay, Asian Trading Corp. 34 p.
Account of Krick's journeys to the Abors and Mishmis and his final journey with Bourry which led to their murder.
2318. Krick, N.M. 1854. *Relation d'un voyage au Thibet en 1852 et d'un voyage chez les Abors en 1853.* Paris, A. Vaton. viii, 224 p.
Account of his journey through Mishmi country to the borders of Tibet from Dec. 1851 to March 1852 where he was forced to turn back. He also describes his journey to Abor country in 1853.
2319. Krick, N.M. 1853, 1854. Voyage to Thibet in 1852. Extract from the journal of Mr Krick, member of the Society of Foreign Missions, addressed to Mr Foucaud, Professor of the Thibet language in Paris. *Annals Prop. Faith* 14: 344-358; 15: 35-47, 53-65; *Annales Prop. Foi* 25: 458-477; 26: 52-68, 73-90.
2320. [Needham, J.F.] 1886. *Mr Needham's visit to the Zayul Valley, in Eastern Tibet.* Shillong. 14 p.
Report on his journey to within one mile of Rima made in Dec. 1885-Jan. 1886. It reviews previous attempts to reach Rima, outlines the route followed by Needham, and reports on information he collected on the Zayul Valley and Tibetan administration there, and on Mishmi trade with Tibet and Assam. Needham was accompanied on this journey by Captain Molesworth.
2321. [Needham, J.F.] 1886. Mr J.F. Needham's journey to the Zayul Chu. *Proc. R. geogr. Soc.* n.s. 8: 265-266.
2322. [Needham, J.F.] 1887/1889. Mr J.F. Needham's journey along the Lohit Brahmaputra, between Sadiya in Upper Assam and Rima in South-Eastern Tibet. *Supply Pap. R. geogr. Soc.* 2: 485-555.
Extracts from Needham's diary (p. 507-555) preceded by a letter from the Chief Commissioner of Assam to the Secretary of the Government of India dated 21st June 1886. This provides information on the route travelled by Needham and Molesworth and on previous attempts to travel in this area. Notes that part of the Zayul Valley was known due to the exploration of Kishen Singh in 1882. Needham's expedition filled in the gap left unexplored by Kishen Singh.
2323. Needham, J.F. 1889. The hydrography of South-Eastern Tibet: the Dibong River [letter]. *Proc. R. geogr. Soc.* n.s. 11: 440-441.
Information on the Dibang River gained from some Mishmis, and doubts about some of Kinthup's observations following an interview Needham had with him recently.

2324. Orléans, H.P.M. 1898. *From Tonkin to India by the sources of the Irawadi, January '95 - January '96*, by Prince Henri d'Orléans. Trans. by H. Bent. New York, Dodd, Mead. xii, 467 p.
- Account of his journey from Hanoi up the Mekong River and then west to Sadiya in Assam. He includes some information on Needham who was then in political charge of Upper Assam, his work there, and on the gradual pacification of the Upper Assamese tribes by the British.
2325. Raikar, Y.A. 1977. British explorers of Bishmaknagar. *Resarun* 3(1): 2-4.
- Bishmaknagar is an historical fortress situated at the foot of the Mishmi Hills in the Lohit District. Describes the explorations of Hamilton Vetch and S.F. Hannay to the area in 1846, G.W. Beresford in 1879, and T. Bloch in 1905.
2326. Robertson, C.L. 1901. Narrative report on survey operations with the Mishmi Expedition, season 1899-1900. *Gen. Rep. Ops Surv. India 1899/1900*: App. p. 17-22.
- Robertson was in charge of the survey detachment which accompanied the military expedition sent against the Bebejiya Mishmis in 1899-1900. He describes the progress of the expedition and the survey work accomplished.
2327. Rowlatt, E.A. 1845. Report of an expedition into the Mishmee hills to the north-east of Sudyah. *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 14(2): 477-495.
- Letter to Major Jenkins dated Jan. 1, 1845, concerning his expedition made in Nov.-Dec. 1844. He reports on the trade of the Mishmis with Tibet and on an interview he had with some of the 'Lama people' in a Mishmi village.
2328. Ward, G.L.S. 1901. *Military report on the Mishmi country, 1899-1900*. Simla, Government Central Printing Office. 26 p.
- Describes the geography, communications, resources, history etc. of the area. There is a large scale map of the Mishmi country on which the route followed by the Mishmi Expedition of 1899-1900 is marked.
2329. Wilcox, R. 1827. Abstract of the journal of the proceedings of Lieutenant Wilcox, now engaged in a survey of the north-east of Assam. *Edinb. J. Sci.* 7: 63-68.
- Account of his journey to the Mishmi hills and his attempt to find a route to Tibet. He also reports that the Mishmis use articles of Tibetan manufacture.
2330. Wilcox, R. 1827. Journal of a journey through part of the Mismee country, on the banks of the Brahmaputra River, performed in the months of October and November 1826. *Q. orient. Mag.* 8: 1-15.
- Account of his journey with comments on the fact that the Tibetans annually collect tribute from the Mishmis.
2331. Wilcox, R. 1832. Memoir of a survey of Asam and the neighbouring countries executed in 1825-6-7-8. *Asiat. Res.* 17: 314-469.

Detailed account of exploration in Assam during these years. Interest centred on the source of the Brahmaputra River and most of the article concerns the surveys of Wilcox, Bedford and Neufville of the Dibang and Lohit Rivers. There is much information on the Abor and Mishmi tribes and Wilcox comments on their contact with Tibet as shown by their possession of articles of Tibetan manufacture. 'Note on M. Klaproth's theory of the course of the Sanpo' is contained in an appendix to this article. A map of North-East Assam and Eastern Tibet is included.

See also nos 147, 178, 189, 248, 852, 998, 1671, 1807, 1879, 1964-6, 1974, 1977, 2087, 2091, 2093-5, 2100, 2109-12, 2114, 2116, 2118, 2120, 2123-4, 2128, 2131-2, 2135, 2137, 2141-2, 2144, 2150-2, 2155-6, 2160-1, 2173, 2210, 2213, 2223-5, 2252, 2260, 2265, 2278, 2292, 2351, 2354-5, 2359, 2368, 2370, 2373, 2375, 2385, 2665, 2799, 3238, 3261, 3270, 3277, 3840, 3918.

6. TRADE ROUTES BETWEEN ASSAM AND CHINA

In the latter half of the nineteenth century proposals were made for the opening of a trade route up the Lohit River Valley to Rima in Eastern Tibet and from there to China, or alternatively a route which would cross into Upper Burma and then proceed to China. Although Needham and Molesworth explored the route to Rima in 1885-1886, the difficult physical nature of the country and the hostility of the local tribes prevented its development being seriously considered by the Government.

2332. Anon. 1868. The overland route to China. *New mon. Mag.* 143: 1-22.

Summarises current views on the possible routes that could be developed between India and China viâ Assam and Burma.

2333. Anon. 1876. Die Ueberlandroute nach China über Assam. *Ausland* 49: 832-835.

2334. Anon. 1904. Une nouvelle route de pénétration anglaise au Thibet. *Bull. Com. Asie fr.* 4(37): 213-214.

On the proposal by Sarat Chandra Das (see no. 2338) that the route to Rima be developed.

2335. Chakravarti, S. 1976. Overland routes to Tibet from Assam. *Geogr. Rev. India* 38(4): 362-367.

Examines the major routes between Assam and Tibet such as the Lhasa-Udalguri route and the Lohit or Sadiya-Rima route, which were the main corridors linking India and Tibet to the nineteenth century. Maps of both routes are included.

2336. Choudhury, D.P. 1977. British quest for trade routes from Assam to Eastern Tibet: 1771-1914. *Asian Affairs* 64: 180-184.

Traces British attempts to establish trade routes to Tibet, first through Nepal, and then through Assam especially by way of Tawang and the Lohit Valley.

2337. Cotton, A. 1867. On a communication between India and China by the line of the Burhampooter and Yang-tsze. *Jl R. geogr. Soc.* 37: 231-239. Abstract with discussion: *Proc. R. geogr. Soc.* 11: 255-259, 1866/1867. Emphasises the importance of a direct inland communication between India and China. Feels that the best route to develop is the 'line from the navigable part of the Burhampooter to that of the Yangtsze, a distance of probably under 250 miles'.
2338. Das, S.C. 1904. The real trade route to Tibet, from Assam to Bathang. *J. Buddh. Text Res. Soc.* 7(3): xii-xvi. Strongly recommends the development for trade of the route from Assam to Bathang via the Lohit Valley and Rima. He urges that the opening of this route should be discussed in the negotiations that must follow the Younghusband Expedition to Tibet as its importance to the Assam tea trade is obvious.
2339. Desgodins, A. 1882. Les routes commerciales de l'Inde au Thibet et à la Chine. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Est* 4: 505-510. Enumerates the existing commercial routes between India and Tibet including the routes through Tawang and up the Lohit Valley.
2340. Dutreuil de Rhins, J.L. 1881. Routes entre la Chine et l'Inde. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Paris* 7s., 1: 5-60. On routes to Tibet and China through Assam and Burma.
2341. Elwes, H.J. 1875. Exploration in Tibet [letter]. *Geogr. Mag.* 2: 187-188. Urges increased government support for exploration in the Eastern Himalayas and the promotion of the export of tea to Tibet. He deplores the lack of existing knowledge on the routes and passes into Tibet.
2342. Ganguly, J.B. 2000. The Modus Operandi of trade between the Eastern Himalayan subregion and Assam in the pre-colonial and colonial periods. In: G. Das and R.K. Purkayastha, eds. *Border trade: North-East India and neighbouring countries*. New Delhi, Akansha Publishing House, p. 12-19. Discusses British attempts to open new trade routes through Burma and Tibet to China, the organisation of trade fairs and the promotion of relations with the tribes. Also includes information on trade marts at Sadiya, Udalguri and Doimara and the items traded.
2343. *Lepper, C.H. 1882. *C.H. Lepper's overland route question between India and China viâ Assam. Correspondence*. Scarborough, S.W. Theakston. 34 p. Source: no. 75.
2344. *Lepper, C.H. 1882. *The question of an overland route to China from India viâ Assam, with some remarks on the source of the Irrawaddi River. A paper prepared for the Geographical Section of the British Association. August 1882*. Richmond, Hiscoke & Son. 33 p. Abstract: *Rep. Br. Ass. Advmt Sci.* 52: 612-613, 1882; *Proc. R. geogr. Soc.* n.s. 4: 623-624, 1882.

Urges the opening of a route through Singpho country to China. This he feels sure would open the whole of Western China and Eastern Tibet to British commerce.

2345. Lepper, C.H. 1883. The overland route towards China from India viâ Assam. *J. Soc. Arts* 31: 305-317, 343-344.

Proposes the development of a route through Singpho country to the south of the Lohit. He also comments on Tibet, its administration and the reasons for its policy of exclusiveness. His paper is followed by a discussion.

2346. *Lepper, C.H. 1883. *A paper on the overland route towards China, from India viâ Assam. Prepared for the Society of Arts... 16 February 1883 ... also a letter from H.L. Jenkins to Mr Lepper; and a reprint of a letter to the editor of the Calcutta "Englishman"*. Richmond, Hiscoke & Son. 38 p. Source: no. 75.

2347. M'Cosh, J. 1860/1861. On the various lines of overland communication between India and China. *Proc. R. geogr. Soc.* 5: 47-54.

Abstract with discussion of a paper in which he describes routes from Assam to Tibet and China including routes through Abor and Mishmi country. He also urges that an expedition be sent to explore the routes he has mentioned.

2348. M'Cosh, J. 1873. On Assam, and an overland communication with China. *Rep. Br. Ass. Advmt Sci.* 43(2): 172.

Abstract of a paper in which he gives a general account of Assam and proposes the development of a route from the Brahmaputra to Bhamo in Upper Burma and then to China.

2349. Stuart, J. 1899. Direct railway communication between India and China. *Fortnightly Rev.* n.s. 66: 759-768.

Stuart was an engineer with the Assam-Bengal Railway. He recommends the construction of a line between the Assam Valley and China.

2350. Subhani, S.M.K. 1963. A study in the trans-Himalayan trade through North-East India. *J. Assam Res. Soc.* 17: 39-46.

Traces British efforts to develop trade routes to Tibet - first through Western Tibet, then in the 1840's through Tawang, and later by way of the Lohit Valley to Rima.

See also nos 1216, 1474, 1936-7, 2115, 2157-8, 2208, 2234, 2309, 2567, 2774.

7. THE TSANGPO-BRAHMAPUTRA CONTROVERSY

There was controversy over the course of the Tsangpo throughout the nineteenth century although as early as 1781 James Rennell had proposed that it was the same river as the Brahmaputra in Assam. It was generally considered that Rennell's theory was correct but doubt existed as to whether it reached the

Brahmaputra by way of the Subansiri or Dihang Rivers. Some geographers also still held to the theory that the Tsangpo flowed into the Irrawaddy rather than the Brahmaputra. It was not until 1913 that the exploration of Bailey and Morshead proved beyond doubt that the Tsangpo flowed via the Dihang into the Brahmaputra (see chapter XIII.3b).

2351. Anon. 1826. Le Bourampoutre. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Paris* 1s., 5: 522-527.

The views of Lieut. Burlton on the source of the Brahmaputra after his exploration in Upper Assam.

2352. Anon. 1826. The Burrampooter, or Brahmaputra. *Asiat. J.* 21: 52-53.

Speculation on the source of the river and a review of what has been written on the subject.

2353. Anon. 1826. Rivers of Assam. *Asiat. J.* 22: 713.

Brief note that Brahmakund is no longer considered to be the source of the Brahmaputra and that 'there is great reason to think that the Dihang will prove to be the San-po'.

2354. Anon. 1827. The Brahmaputra River. *Asiat. J.* 24: 44-46, 307-308, 430-434.

On exploration of the river and the journey of Wilcox and Burlton along part of the Dihang. Also comments on current theories on whether the Tsangpo flowed into the Brahmaputra.

2355. Anon. 1827. Nouvelles recherches sur le cours du Bourampoutre, par L.R. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Paris* 1s., 7: 175-181.

On Bedford's journey to Brahmakund which proved that this was not the source of the Brahmaputra, and on the journey of Wilcox in 1827.

2356. Anon. 1829. Sanpu and Irawadi Rivers. *Glean. Sci.* 1: 25-26.

Questions Klaproth's conclusion that the Tsangpo and Irrawaddy are the same river.

2357. Anon. 1830. On the identity of the Sanpu and Irawadi Rivers. *Glean. Sci.* 2: 66-67.

Further evidence to prove that the Tsangpo flows into the Brahmaputra and not the Irrawaddy as suggested by Klaproth.

2358. Black, C.E.D. 1879. The upper course of the Brahmaputra River. *Rep. Br. Ass. Advmt Sci.* 49: 433-434.

Abstract of his paper on the Tsangpo, its exploration by Nem Singh, and the basis for support of the Dihang 'being the only possible lower course of the Sanpu'.

2359. Catat, L. 1885/1886. Le Brahmapoutre et l'Irrawaddy. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. comm. Paris* 8: 490-491.

Concerns rival theories on whether the Tsangpo flows into the Irrawaddy or Brahmaputra, and comments on Needham's visit to Rima in 1885-1886.

2360. Cooper, T.T. 1868/1869. Letter from Mr T.T. Cooper on the course of the Tsan-po and Irrawaddy and on Tibet. *Proc. R. geogr. Soc.* 13: 392-395.
Letter from Calcutta dated May 8, 1869. It includes some notes on Tibet by a French missionary in which he proposes that the Tsangpo is the same river as the Irrawaddy. He also gives some information on the roads and trade of Tibet.
2361. Desgodins, A. 1876. Notice sur le Thibet. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Paris* 6s., 12: 315-326.
Letter of June 14, 1874 in which he renounces his former view that the Tsangpo and Irrawaddy were connected. He now thinks that the Tsangpo and the Dihang are the same river.
2362. Desgodins, A. 1877. Notes sur le Thibet; extrait d'une lettre à son frère, 28 Mars 1877. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Paris* 6s., 14: 429-434.
On new information concerning the lower course of the Tsangpo, and the Tibetan principality of Pome.
2363. Desgodins, A. 1879/1881. Le Thibet: orographie et hydrographie du Thibet [lettre]. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Lyon* 3: 343-358.
Information on the geography and rivers of Tibet based on his journeys in the border regions of Eastern Tibet.
2364. Desgodins, A. 1884. La région limitrophe du Thibet, de la Birmanie, de l'Assam et de la Chine. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Paris* 7s., 5: 278-288.
Includes a section dealing with the hydrography of the Abor and Mishmi country.
2365. D'Mazure, T. 1861. Memorandum on the countries between Thibet, Yunân and Burmah; communicated by A.P. Phayre... (with notes and comments by H. Yule). *J. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 30: 367-383.
General description of these areas accompanied by a large map of northern Assam and Burma. He considered that the Tsangpo was the same river as the Irrawaddy.
2366. Dutreuil de Rhins, J.L. 1887. Mémoire géographique sur le Thibet oriental. *Bull. Soc. Géogr., Paris* 7s., 8: 172-240, 381-437. Also issued as a monograph: *Memoire géographique sur le Thibet oriental*. Paris, Société de Géographie, 1887. 125 p.
Compares d'Anville's map of Tibet of 1735 with the maps of Klaproth, and critically examines the journey of Kishen Singh to Rima in 1882. Also comments on the different hypotheses concerning the identification of the rivers of Tibet with those of India and Burma. A number of maps accompany the article.
2367. Dutreuil de Rhins, J.L. 1888. Réponse à la lettre de M. le général Walker. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Paris* 7s., 9: 530-543.
Reply to no. 2387.

2368. [Eyriès, J.B.B.] 1826. Note sur le cours du Burrampouter. *Nouv. Bull. Soc. philom. Paris* 1826 p.79-80.
On the theories of Rennell, Klaproth, Du Halde and Burlton concerning the course and source of the Brahmaputra.
2369. Godwin-Austen, H.H. 1877. On the lower course of the Brahmaputra or Tsanpo. *Rep. Br. Ass. Advmt Sci.* 47(2): 144.
Abstract of a paper in which he gives reasons for suggesting that the Subansiri River is the outlet of the Tsangpo not the Dihang. Based on observations he made while engaged in survey work in the Daphla hills in 1875-1876.
2370. Gordon, R. 1885. The Irawadi River. *Proc. R. geogr. Soc.* n.s. 7: 292-331.
Proposes that the Tsangpo and the Irrawaddy are the same river. To support his case he reviews the explorations of Wilcox, Kishen Singh and others, and refers to early reports by Chinese geographers on the rivers of Tibet.
2371. Haw, M. 1907/1908. Die Erforschung des oberen Brahmaputra. *Dt. Rdsch. Geogr. Statist.* 30: 215-219.
The need for exploration of the Brahmaputra to discover its source.
2372. Klaproth, J. 1824-1828. *Memoires relatifs à l'Asie, contenant des recherches historiques, géographiques et philologiques sur les peuples de l'Orient.* Paris, Dondey-Dupré. 3 vols.
Vol. 3 contains 'Mémoire sur le cours de la grand rivière du Tubet, [sic] appelée Iraouaddy dans le royaume des Birmans'.
2373. Klaproth, J. 1825/1826. Mémoire sur le cours du Yarou Dzangbo Tchou, ou du grand fleuve du Tibet; suivi de notices sur la source du Burrampouter. *Mag. Asiat.* 1: 302-329. Reprinted [with discussion]: *Q. orient. Mag.* 6: 179-209, 1826.
Describes the course of the Tsangpo and other major Tibetan rivers according to accounts by Chinese geographers and early European explorers and also includes information on Burlton's journey to Brahmakund, a deep basin in the Lohit River, which Burlton thought was the source of the Brahmaputra. Based on this Klaproth drew his map, which accompanies this article, to show the Tsangpo flowing into the Irrawaddy, and the Brahmaputra having its source at Brahmakund. In the discussion Klaproth's theory and the opposing theory of Rennell, and exploration in the area, especially that of Wilcox, are examined.
2374. Klaproth, J. 1828. Mémoire sur les sources du Brahmapoutra et de l'Iraouaddy. *Nouv. Annales Voyag.* 2s., 7: 263-304.
Further information on the sources of the Brahmaputra and Irrawaddy.
2375. Lachlan, R. 1826. Observations on the geography of the Burrampooter and the Sanpoo Rivers [letter]. *Edinb. J. Sci.* 4: 302-306.

Believes that the Brahmaputra and Tsangpo Rivers are two separate rivers and that this has been proved by the journey of Burlton to Brahmakund and that Rennell's theory has thus been disproved. Considers that the Tsangpo probably flows into the Irrawaddy.

2376. McRae, M. 2002. *The siege of Shangri-la: the quest for Tibet's sacred hidden paradise*. New York, Broadway Books. Also published with title: *In search of Shangri-la: the extraordinary true story of the quest for the lost horizon*. London, Michael Joseph, 2003. 229 p.

Narrates the story of the West's discovery of the Tsangpo River gorge focussing on Kingdon Ward's expedition to the Gorge in 1924. Also describes the journeys of the pundits and Bailey and Morshead and recent explorations of the gorge.

2377. [Michell, St J.F.] 1882. The Abor country, on the upper waters of the Brahmaputra. *Proc. R. geogr. Soc.* n.s. 4: 676-678.

Proposes that if the Tsangpo flows into the Assam Valley it must be by way of either the Dihang or the Dibang Rivers, both of which flow through Abor country.

2378. Reichelt, G.T. 1896/1897. Der Sangpo-Brahmaputra, der grosse Strom von Tibet. *Dt. Rdsch. Geogr. Statist.* 19: 433-442, 544-551.

Based on the article by Sandberg (see no. 2381).

2379. Reichelt, G.T. 1897. Der Tsangpo-Brahmaputrafluss von der Quelle bis Sadiya. *Globus* 71: 334-339.

Traces the course of the Tsangpo from its source to Sadiya. Reichelt considers that the journey of Prince Henri d'Orleans in 1895 from Tongking to Sadiya has demonstrated that the Tsangpo flows into the Dihang and not the Irrawaddy.

2380. Richthofen, F. von. 1877-1912. *China. Ergebnisse eigener Reisen und darauf gegründeter Studien*. Berlin, D. Reimer. 5 vols.

Vol. 3 includes a large section on the geography of Tibet and an account of the Tsangpo-Brahmaputra controversy, based on the reports of European travellers.

2381. Sandberg, G. 1896. The great river of Tibet: its course from source to outfall. *Calcutta Rev.* 103(206): 217-240.

Outlines the reasons why geographers have concluded that the Tsangpo and the Brahmaputra are the same river.

2382. Sardar-Afkhami, H. 1996. An account of Padma-Bkod: a hidden land in southeastern Tibet. *Kailash* 18(3-4): 1-21.

Includes an account of the attempt to solve the riddle of the Tsangpo-Brahmaputra connection and also Tibetan exploration of the area. A photo of the great bend of the Tsangpo River accompanies the article.

2383. Temple, R. 1897. The upper waters of the Rivers Irrawaddy and Mekong. *J. Manchr geogr. Soc.* 13: 181-182.

Report on his speech to the Society in which he described the head waters of the Indo-Chinese river system, and also the course of the Tsangpo which he considered flowed via the Dihang into the Brahmaputra.

2384. Waddell, L.A. 1895. The falls of the Tsang-po (San-pu), and identity of that river with the Brahmaputra. *Geogr. J.* 5: 258-260.

Tibetan legends about the Tsangpo falls, and legends which associate the Tsangpo with the Brahmaputra.

2385. Walker, J.T. 1887. The Lu River of Tibet; is it the source of the Irawadi or Salwin? *Proc. R. geogr. Soc.* n.s. 9: 352-377.

On the controversy between British and French geographers concerning the lower course of the Tsangpo - the British favouring the Brahmaputra as its outlet, the French the Irrawaddy. Walker describes attempts to trace the river since 1826 and points out that there is still a substantial section of the river which is unexplored. A map of South-East Tibet and adjoining countries accompanies the article.

2386. Walker, J.T. 1888. The hydrography of South-Eastern Tibet. *Proc. R. geogr. Soc.* n.s. 10: 577-584.

Further discussion on the course of the Tsangpo and on the measurement of the discharges of the four main rivers of Upper Assam - the Dibang, Dihang, Lohit and Subansiri.

2387. Walker, J.T. 1888. Lettre...à propos de la notice de M. de Rhins sur le Thibet. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Paris 7s.*, 9: 521-529.

Comments on, and disputes some conclusions drawn by Dutreuil de Rhins (see nos 2366-2367)

2388. Ward, M. 2000. The exploration of the Tsangpo River and its mountains. *Alpine J.* 105(349): 124-130, plates 57-58.

Traces attempts to determine the course of the Tsangpo and exploration of different sections of the river, concentrating on the voyages of Nain Singh, Kinthup and F.M. Bailey. There is a map showing the course of the Tsangpo and the plates show portraits of Kinthup and Bailey.

See also nos 296, 306, 308, 1448, 1880, 1939, 1990, 2002, 2014, 2058-66, 2144, 2260-1, 2323, 2331, 2943, 2986, 3295, 3357, 3360.

Chapter X

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Tibet and its relations with the outside world were dominated for the first thirty-three years of the twentieth century by the personality and astute leadership of the 13th Dalai Lama. Despite the invasion of his country by both Britain and China, rivalry with the Panchen Lama, and monastic intrigues, he remained in control until his death in 1933. During his rule he explored relations with Britain, Russia and even Japan in attempts to gain a guaranteed protection for Tibet, and also continued a relationship with China. For the last twenty years of his rule Tibet was in control of its internal and external affairs and existed as an independent state. However, neither its status nor borders were recognised by any agreement despite British attempts to achieve this at the Simla Conference in 1913-1914 and in subsequent negotiations with the Chinese.

The twentieth century also saw a change in British policy towards Tibet. The installation of the 13th Dalai Lama as ruler of Tibet with full secular powers in 1895 coincided closely with the arrival of Lord Curzon as Viceroy of India in 1899. By this time it was clear to the British that the Chinese were unable to obtain Tibetan agreement to any negotiations undertaken on their behalf and that direct contact was needed with the Tibetan Government. The failure of attempts to open negotiations with the Dalai Lama and fear of Russian influence in Tibet was to lead to the British invasion of Tibet in 1903-1904 under the leadership of Sir Francis Younghusband. Despite the success of the Younghusband Expedition and the provisions of the Lhasa Convention, British power in Tibet was to be of a brief duration as, with a change of government in Britain, a policy of non-interference in Tibet became official policy.

The withdrawal of the British left a power vacuum in Tibet which the Chinese hastened to fill and in 1910 Chinese troops reached Lhasa forcing the Dalai Lama, who had only just returned after his exile in Mongolia and China, to flee to British India. The Chinese occupation of Central Tibet and increasing Chinese activity along much of India's north eastern border presented the Indian Government with a dangerous security problem. The situation was diffused by the outbreak of the Chinese Revolution, and in 1912 the Dalai Lama was able to return to Tibet and re-establish his rule after most of the Chinese troops were expelled from the country.

In the period from 1914 to 1947 the main aim of British policy was to maintain Tibet as a buffer state between India and China. They did this by trying to limit Chinese influence in Tibet and by supporting Tibetan claims to 'de facto' independence, though at the same time recognising Chinese claims to suzerainty over Tibet. However, neither Republican nor Kuomintang Chinese Governments accepted Tibetan independence during this period and unsuccessfully tried to restore Chinese control especially along the Chinese-Tibetan border. Both Britain and China also sent missions to Tibet regularly

from 1930, and were constantly vying for the upper hand in Tibet. Tibet, for its part, tried to follow a policy of non-alignment between Britain and China especially after Britain had failed to gain Chinese adherence to the Simla Convention. Some efforts were also made to modernise their country but this was eventually undermined by conservative elements mainly in the monasteries. Tibet was ruled by Regents following the death of the Dalai Lama in 1933 and the aristocratic and monastic intrigues which occurred during this period reduced the strength and unity of Tibet when it was most needed. Tibet was able to continue to maintain its independence only whilst there was a weak government in China. In 1947 British obligations in Tibet under existing treaties passed to the newly independent government of India. The fragility of Tibet's independence was demonstrated soon after by the success of the Communist Chinese invasion of Tibet in 1950.

1. GENERAL

2389. Anon. 1920, 1921. The Tibetan question (statement by the Chinese Foreign Office). *Asian Rev. Tokyo* 1: 735-740, 879-884; 2: 81-86.

Translation of the statement on the Tibetan question which was presented to the Chinese Diet by the Chinese Foreign Office. It gives a history of diplomatic negotiations between Britain and China concerning Tibet from the Chefoo Convention to 1919.

2390. Anon. 1921/1922. Tibet. *China Yb.* 1921/1922 p. 609-619.

Account of Tibet's relations with China and Britain from 1888 to 1920. It includes the Chinese official version of the Anglo-Chinese negotiations concerning Tibet from 1911.

2391. Anon. 1954/1955. Buffer states: their historic service to peace. *Round Table* 45: 334-345.

Discusses the importance of buffer states using the examples of Tibet and Afghanistan in the twentieth century as the main examples.

2392. Addy, P. 1994. British and Indian strategic perceptions of Tibet. In: R. Barnett and S. Akiner, eds. *Resistance and reform in Tibet*. Bloomington, Indiana University Press, p. 15-50.

Examines the historical origins of the 'Tibetan Question' and the legacy of the British Raj which left the status of Tibet undetermined when they left India. Concentrates on the period from the lead up to the Younghusband Expedition to the negotiations with China following the Simla Convention, before examining Sino-Indian relations since Indian independence.

2393. Addy, P. *Tibet on the imperial chessboard: the making of British policy towards Lhasa, 1899-1925*. Calcutta, Academic Publishers, 1984. viii, 364 p.

[Reviewed: H.E. Richardson, *Tibetan Review* 20(1): 15-16, 1985; A. Rumbold, *Asian Affairs* 16: 197-199, 1985; B.A. Leach, *Pacific Affairs* 58(4): 718-719.

1985/1986; N.B.Menon, *China Report* 22(1): 83-85, 1986; D.R.Beer, *South Asia* 10(1): 97-98, 1987]

Mainly concerned with the influence of international politics in both Europe and the Far East on British policy towards Tibet. Covers Anglo-Tibetan relations from Curzon's 'forward policy' through the Younghusband Expedition and the Simla Conference to the beginnings of British decline in India. See also no. 2456.

2394. Allen, P. 1980. Tibet, China and the Western world. *History Today* 30: 25-31, Dec.

History of Tibet's relations with Britain and China, mainly in the twentieth century.

2395. Anderson, R.W. Jr. 1991. The legal status of Tibet. *Chö Yang* 1991, p. 200-206.

Historical account to provide evidence that the status of Tibet remains that of an independent and illegally occupied state.

2396. Arpi, C. 1999. *The fate of Tibet: when big insects eat small insects*. New Delhi, Har-Anand Publications. 432 p.
[Reviewed: P.French, *Tibetan Review* 35(5): 22, 2000; K.M.Heimsath, *Tibet J.* 26(3-4): 232-233, 2001]

Detailed account of Tibet's relations with China and Britain in the twentieth century, especially in the period to the Simla Conference.

2397. Bell, C.A. 1924. *Tibet, past and present*. Oxford, Clarendon Press. xiv, 326 p. Reprinted: Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1968; New Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal, 1990; New Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1992; Delhi, Motilal, 2000.
[Reviewed: P.Pelliot, *T'oung Pao* 25: 139-148, 1928; F.W.T., *Geogr. J.* 66: 59-61, 1925; F.K.W[ard], *J. cent. Asian Soc.* 12: 279-281, 1925; T.S.M., *Scott. geogr. Mag.* 41: 241-242, 1925]

Survey of the history and administration of Tibet with emphasis on the period when Bell was directly responsible for Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet from 1906-1921. It includes his meetings with the 9th Panchen Lama and 13th Dalai Lama and his mission to Lhasa in 1920/1921, as well as chapters on Tibet's relations with Russia, Japan, Nepal and China and his views on British policy in Tibet.

2398. Bell, C.A. 1936. The Dalai Lama of Tibet. *Listener* 16: 525-526, Sept. 16.

On the 13th Dalai Lama.

2399. Bell, C.A. 1946. *Portrait of the Dalai Lama*. London, Collins. 414 p. Reprinted with title: *Portrait of a Dalai Lama: the life and times of the Great Thirteenth*. London, Wisdom Publications, 1987; New Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal, 2000.
[Reviewed: B.J.Gould, *Geogr. J.* 108: 231-233, 1946; B.J.Gould, *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 34: 91-96, 1947; W.Peters, *Asian Affairs* 20: 81-82, 1989; A.A.Moon, *Tibetan Review* 26(12): 18-19, 1991]

A biography of the 13th Dalai Lama with emphasis on the years from 1908 to his death in 1933 during which time he maintained close relations with Charles Bell. It includes a detailed account of Bell's Mission to Lhasa in 1920-1921. Ch. LVII on the political testament of the 13th Dalai Lama written in 1931 is reprinted in A. McKay, ed. *The history of Tibet. Vol. 3.* (see no. 211), p. 509-513.

2400. Berkin, M. 2000. *The great Tibetan stonewall of China: the status of Tibet in international law and international policy on Tibet: (including supplement containing constitutional documents and basic treaties).* Chichester, England, Barry Rose Publishers. xxviii, 402 p.

Includes an historical perspective of Tibet's relations with Britain and China mainly in the twentieth century and of United States policy towards Tibet since the 1940s. The supplement includes all the major conventions and treaties concerning Tibet, and also documents such as the agreements signed on 12 August 1912 and 14 December 1912 between the Chinese and the Tibetans, the Dalai Lama's declaration of Tibetan independence in 1913, and the agreements which ended the hostilities between China and Tibet in 1918.

2401. Bhattarai, M.K. 1990. *Diplomatic history of Nepal (1901-1929): a critical appraisal of Nepal-British India relations.* New Delhi, the Author. xiv, 227 p.

The administration of Chandra Shamsheer and his relations with the British. It includes an analysis of his support for the Younghusband Expedition and the effect of this on Nepal's trade relations with Tibet. The major agreements between Nepal and Britain from 1792 are included in the appendices.

2402. Bhutani, V.C. 1985. What boundary question? Sino-Indian or Indo-Tibetan? *China Report* 21(5): 427-430.

Examines the editorial by N.A. Husain in *Strategic Studies [Pakistan]* vol. 8, no. 1, 1984 which maintained that Britain recognised Chinese sovereignty over Tibet. Bhutani describes the history of China's claims to suzerainty and eventually sovereignty over Tibet from 1876 to the 1980's and notes that early negotiations between Great Britain, China, and Tibet from the 1870's to 1914 recognized Tibet as an independent power. It was the Chinese repudiation of these agreements and their invasion of Tibet which has led to border tensions between China and India. The editorial is reproduced on p. 431-432 following Bhutani's article.

2403. Bidya Nand. 1975. *British India and Tibet.* New Delhi, Oxford and IBH Publishing Co. xiii, 166 p.

British policy towards Tibet from 1890 to 1910 concentrating on Curzon's Tibetan policy, the Younghusband Expedition and the Conventions which followed it in 1904, 1906 and 1908. It also covers the Chinese aggression in Tibet and the flight of the Dalai Lama.

2404. *Bogoslovskii, V.A. 2002. *Politika XIII Dalai-Lamy v Tibete.* Moskva, Institut Vostokovedeniia RAN. 142 p. Source: Library of Congress Catalogue.

2405. Bose, T. 1959. Historical background of Tibetan struggle for autonomy. *Mod. Rev.* 105: 393-397.

General account of Tibet's relations with China and Britain with emphasis on the period since the Younghusband Expedition.

2406. Bray, J. 1995. Kashmir, Ladakh and Western Tibet: episodes in frontier diplomacy during British rule in India. In: *Recent research on Ladakh 4 & 5: proceedings of the Fourth and Fifth International Colloquia on Ladakh*. Ed. by H. Osmaston and P. Denwood. London, School of Oriental & African Studies, University of London, p. 255-269.

Analyses Ladakh's frontier policy from the 1890s to the 1940s and highlights a number of controversies on the Ladakh-Tibet frontier during this period. These include the Rudok grain dispute, 1897-1899, which required R.L. Kennion to go to Rudok to settle the dispute between the Ladakhis and Tibetans; the Lhagyal Affair, 1917-1924, when the Tibetans kidnapped a Ladakhi at Dokpo Karpo north of Panggong Lake and only released him after British pressure - this also raised the question of the status of Dokpo Karpo; the Dokpo Karpo meeting of 1924 between Kashmiris and Tibetans which was also attended by Major Robson, the British Joint Commissioner; and the Champa Skaldon murder case, 1935-1940.

2407. Bray, J. 1997. Ladakhi and Bhutanese enclaves in Tibet. In: *Recent research on Ladakh 7: proceedings of the 7th Colloquium of the International Association of Ladakh Studies held in Bonn/Sankt Augustin, 1995*. Ed. by T. Dodin and H. Räther. Ulm, Universitat Ulm, Abt. Anthropologie, p. 89-104. Reprinted in A. McKay, ed. *The history of Tibet. Vol. 3.* (see no. 211), p. 191-201.

Ladakh and Bhutan both governed small enclaves in Western Tibet and continued to raise revenue from them up until the 1950s. Bray provides the historical background to their establishment and discusses the disputes surrounding them in the twentieth century, making particular reference to British records of officials who visited the areas such as Moorcroft, Kennion in 1900, Sherring in 1905, E.B. Wakefield in 1929 and Dr Kanshi Ram in 1939.

2408. British Library. Oriental and India Office Collections. 2002. *British intelligence on China in Tibet 1903-1950: formerly classified and confidential British intelligence and policy files*. [Microform]. Ed. by A.J. Farrington. Leiden, IDC. 567 microfiche and guide (iv, 27 p.)

The files, which mainly form part of the papers of the Political and Secret Department in the India Office Records, provide a unique primary source for the study of British and Chinese relations in Tibet from 1903-1950. They are arranged in eight subject groups in rough chronological order: From Younghusband to the Revolution in China, 1903-1912; Revolution in China, 1911-1915; Simla Conference and the 1914 Convention, 1912-1946; Internal affairs and boundaries 1912-1947; Travellers and entry control, 1905-1950; Trade, 1904-1949; Education for modernization, 1912-1947; 14th Dalai Lama, World War II and Communist China, 1933-1950. The Guide lists the major contents of each microfiche and contains a subject index.

2409. Bstan-dzin-rgya-mtsho, Dalai Lama XIV. 1959. The international status of Tibet, by His Holiness the Dalai Lama. *India Q.* 15: 215-220.
- Traces the events which he feels prove that Tibet was a sovereign state when invaded by China. Concentrates on events in the twentieth century but also includes comments on some earlier events e.g. the treaty which Tibet signed with Nepal in 1856.
2410. Clarke, J. 1997. *Tibet: caught in time*. Reading, Garnet Publishing. viii, 152 p.
- On the history and life of Tibet and its relations with Britain illustrated by photos taken by John Claude White when he accompanied the Younghusband Mission to Lhasa, Charles Bell during his stay in Lhasa in 1920-1921, and also some photos by David Macdonald.
2411. Clegg, A. 1950. Tibet. *Labour Mon.* 32: 86-91.
- Concerns British imperialism in Tibet in the twentieth century and the impending liberation of Tibet from British influence by the Chinese.
2412. Cocker, M. 1992. *Loneliness and time: British travel writing in the twentieth century*. London, Secker & Warburg. ix, 294 p. Also published: New York, Pantheon Books with subtitle: *the story of British travel writing*.
- A study of travel writing as a literary form which combines a mixture of biography, history and literary criticism. It focuses on seven British travel writers, including Frederick Bailey, and analyses the relationship between their lives and works. It also analyses the reasons for the preoccupation with countries such as Tibet and notes that for a period travel books were the principal source of information on that country.
2413. Cooper, J. 2003. Western and Japanese visitors to Lhasa: 1900-1950. *Tibet J.* 28(4): 61-64.
- A list with the names of those who have visited Lhasa, their nationality and the dates when they were in the city.
2414. David-Neel, A. 1934. Le Thibet et le Dalai Lama. *Revue de Paris* 41(1): 652-669.
- On the Dalai Lamas of Tibet and especially an account of the reign of the 13th Dalai Lama. A discussion about the position of Tibet in 1934 is also included.
2415. Denwood, P.T. 1975. Independent Mongolia and autonomous Tibet. *Tibetan Review* 10(2-3): 12-17.
- Describes the conditions of both countries in the nineteenth century and suggests reasons why Mongolia was able to remain independent in the twentieth century whilst Tibet eventually was taken over by China. Also examines the British inaction which led to this result.
2416. Dodin, T. and R  ther, H., eds. 1997. *Mythos Tibet: Wahrnehmungen, Projektionen, Phantasien*. K  ln, DuMont. 384 p. Published in English

as: *Imagining Tibet: perceptions, projections & fantasies*. Boston, Wisdom Publications, 2001. 465 p.

[Reviewed: H.Buescher, *Tibet J.* 27(1&2): 241-252, 2002]

Based on a symposium this work, which investigates the 'Myth of Tibet', is divided into three sections: I. Missionaries and scholars; II. From the Perspective of the 'Other'; III. Standpoints. For individual articles translated into English see nos 1778, 2450, 3460. See also no. 3561.

2417. Dulaney, A.G., Cusack, D.M. and Van Walt van Praag, M. 1998. *The case concerning Tibet: Tibet's sovereignty and the Tibetan people's right to self-determination*. New Delhi, Tibetan Parliamentary & Policy Research Centre. 105 p.

The historical case for Tibetan independence.

2418. Evans-Wentz, W.Y., ed. 1954. *The Tibetan book of the great liberation: or The method of realising Nirvana through knowing the mind*. London, Oxford University Press. lxiv, 261 p.

Includes 'An epitome of the life and teachings of Tibet's greatest guru Padma-Sambhava' translated into English by S.W. Laden La. There is a brief biography of Laden La on p. 86-89 which covers his service to both the British and Tibetan Governments from 1904 to the 1930s and a photo of him on Plate II.

2419. Finley, M. 1949. Tibet and the cold war. *Contemp. Rev.* 176: 10-14.

Brief review of the relations of Tibet with China and Britain in the twentieth century.

2420. *Gaudes, R. 1964. *Der 13 Dalai Lama von Tibet und die britische Kolonialpolitik*. Thesis (Ph.D) Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig. 186 p. Source: no. 98.

2421. Goldstein, M C. 1997. *The snow lion and the dragon: China, Tibet, and the Dalai Lama*. Berkeley, University of California Press. xiii, 152 p. [Reviewed: K.Garratt, *China J. Canberra* no. 41: 220-222, 1999; A.T.Grunfeld, *China Q., Lond.* no. 153: 177-178, 1998; S.Harrell, *Am. Anthropologist* 100: 829-830, 1998; S.M.Karmel, *Pacific Affairs* 71(4): 573-574, 1998/1999; J.D.Seymour, *J. Asian Stud.* 57: 1121-1123, 1998; W.M.Coleman, *China Rev. Int.* 6(1): 122-125, 1999; I.Seckington, *Asian Affairs* 29: 211, 1998; R.C.Mencin, *Jl R. anthrop. Inst.* 5(3): 477-478, 1999]

Examines the long standing conflict over the political status of Tibet in relation to China with an historical background to the events occurring in Tibet after 1950.

2422. Gore, R.P. 1920. La Chine au Thibet. *Géographie* 34: 209-234.

Account of Chinese relations with Tibet with emphasis on the twentieth century.

2423. Grasdorff, G. van. 1999. *Hostage of Beijing: the abduction of the Panchen Lama*. Shaftesbury, Element Books. xxiv, 260 p.

A misleading title as this work covers in detail the lives of the 9th Panchen Lama

(1900-1937) and the 10th Panchen Lama (1938-1989) as well as the abduction of the present Panchen Lama. It discusses the relations of Tibet with Britain and China in the twentieth century and the relations between the Panchen and Dalai Lamas during the period. The appendices include information on all the Panchen Lamas and major dates in Tibetan history.

2424. Great Britain. India Office. 1980. *British policy in Asia: India Office memoranda. Vol. 2. Tibet, Burma and Indo-China 1862-1940.* Ed. A Farrington. London, Mansell, 1980. 24 microfiche + 1 booklet (61 p.)

The booklet lists the memoranda in vol. 1 (the Middle East) and vol. 2. Part 4 of vol. 2 covers Tibet and the Himalayan states 1885-1940. The memoranda mainly cover the background to the Younghusband Expedition, the Simla Conference and miscellaneous memoranda on Tibet to 1940.

2425. Greenhut, F.A. 1982. *The Tibetan frontiers question from Curzon to the Colombo conference: an unresolved factor in Indo-Sinic relations.* New Delhi, S. Chand. xiv, 178 p.

Examines the development of border disputes from the time of Curzon and the historical background to this period, and on Tibet's relations with China from the 1920s. He stresses the complexity of the border disputes and the many factors involved. The texts of agreements and exchanges of notes are included in the text.

2426. Grunfeld, A.T. 1987. *The making of modern Tibet.* London, Zed Books. x, 277p. 2nd rev. ed.: Armonk, N.Y., M.E. Sharpe, 1996. xvi, 352 p. [Reviewed: P.C.Klieger, *Tibet J.* 13(1): 74-76, 1988; A.Lamb, *Int. Aff.* 64(4): 732-734, 1988; Liu Shengqi, *Beijing Rev.* 31(1): 31-32, 1988; J.T.Dreyer, *J. Asian Stud.* 47: 347-348, 1988; A.S.Whiting, *Pacific Affairs* 61: 149-150, 1988; H.Williams, *J. contemp. Asia* 27(4): 525-529, 1997; A.Rumbold, *Asian Affairs* 18: 308-309, 1987; J.Dolfin, *China Q., Lond.* no. 116: 848-849, 1988; T.Rabgey, *Tibetan Review* 34(10): 18-19, 1999; T.Rabgey, *J. Asian Stud.* 58(2): 506-507, 1999; J.D.Seymour, *China J., Canberra* no. 38: 198-199, 1997; P.Mehra, *Indian hist. Rev.* 22(1-2): 207-227, 1995/1996; P.Denwood, *China Q., Lond.* 149: 199-200, 1997]

Although mainly concerned with post 1950 events, it includes chapters on the early history of Tibet and relations with foreigners, especially the British, as well as information on United States-Tibet relations prior to the Communist takeover.

2427. Gupta, K. 1978. Sino-Indian Agreement on Tibetan Trade and Intercourse: its origin and significance. *Econ. Polit. Wkly* 13(16): 696-702, April 22.

Historical study of the origins of the 1954 Agreement between India and China which examines all the treaties between Britain, China and Tibet from 1890 with emphasis on the Anglo-Tibetan trade regulations of 1914. Discusses the dubious validity of these 1914 regulations and the alteration of the text of vol. XIV of Aitchison's *Treaties* concerning them before discussing the 1954 agreement.

2428. Hall, N.C. 1978. The United States, Tibet and China: a study of the American involvement in Tibet and its role in Sino-American and Sino-Tibetan relations. *Tibetan Review* 13(1): 13-21.

Examines American involvement in Tibet both unofficial (missionaries, explorer-scientists and private citizens) and official contacts such as the Tolstoy/Dolan mission during World War II. Also analyses the attitude of the OSS to Tibet.

2429. Harris, N.D. 1927? *Europe and the East*. London, G. Allen & Unwin. xv, 677 p.

Includes an account of British and Chinese relations with Tibet with emphasis on the period 1900-1919.

2430. Hoffman, M.E., ed. 1983. *Tibet: the sacred realm: photographs 1880-1950*. Preface by Tenzin Gyatsho, His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Chronicle by Lobsang P. Lhalungpa. Millerton, N.Y., Aperture Books. 159 p.

[Reviewed: H.V.Guenther, *Pacific Affairs* 57: 122-123, 1984; N.C.Chandra, *Bull. Tibetol.* no. 1: 44-45, 1985; *J. un. Serv. Instn India* 115(482): 372-373, 1985]

Historical photos of Tibet, her people and officials, from an exhibition held at the Philadelphia Museum of Art in 1983. There are biographical notes on the photographers who include Dolan & Tolstoy, Cutting, David-Neel, Hedin, Harrer, Laden La, George Sherriff, Spencer-Chapman, Weir, and J.C. White. The chronicle by Lhalungpa is on his life in Tibet before 1950.

2431. Hoffmann, H. 1975. *Tibet: a handbook*. Bloomington, Research Center for the Language Sciences, Indiana University. 246 p. (Indiana University. Asian Studies Research Institute. Oriental series, vol. 5)

Includes information on the history and politics of Tibet mainly in the twentieth century.

2432. Hsü, Shuhsi. 1941. *An introduction to Sino-foreign relations*. Shanghai, Kelly & Walsh. vii, 165 p.

Includes a brief account of Tibet's relations with China and Britain in the twentieth century.

2433. Huang, Hongzhao. 1993. *The West powers and Tibet*. Translated from Chinese by Li Baoping and others. Ed. by V. Wu. Hong Kong, Hai Feng Pub. Co. 329 p.

Detailed critical account of British and Russian relations with Tibet from the Chinese viewpoint with emphasis on the period from the Sikkim War of 1888 and the explorations of Przhevalsky. Blames the aggressive and expansionist policies of Britain for almost all events concerning Tibet's relations with China in the twentieth century and also for attempts by Tibet to gain its independence. Also accuses Britain of obstructing Chinese attempts to improve relations with Tibet from 1920 and of constantly working to split Tibet from China. The appendices include the major treaties from 1890 and a chronology of important events.

2434. Kozlov, P.K. *Tibet i Dalai Lama*. St Petersburg. 100 p.

2435. Lamb, J.D.H. 1936/1937. The relations of China with Great Britain concerning Tibet. *China Q., Shanghai* 2: 431-449.

Examines Anglo-Chinese agreements concerning Tibet from 1890, the Simla Conference, and subsequent attempts by Britain and China to settle the Tibetan question between 1915 and 1935.

2436. Lattimore, O. 1940. *Inner Asian frontiers of China*. New York, American Geographical Society. xxiii, 585 p.

Includes an account of the conflict of British and Chinese interests in Tibet in the twentieth century.

2437. Lee, Wei Kuo. 1931. *Tibet in modern world politics (1774-1922)*. New York, printed by P. Maisel Co. 148 p. [Thesis (Ph.D), Columbia University, 1931]

[Reviewed: Hsun-cheng Shao, *Chin. social polit. Sci. Rev.* 16: 535-542, 1932/1933]

Tibet's relations with China, Russia and Britain, with emphasis on events in the period 1900 to 1914.

2438. Li, Tieh-tseung. 1956. *The historical status of Tibet*. New York, King's Crown Press. xi, 312 p. Revised ed. with title: *Tibet, today and yesterday*. New York, Bookman Associates, 1960. 324 p.

[Reviewed: W. Levi, *Far East. Survey* 25(8): 126, Aug. 1956; S.V.R. Cammann, *J. Asian Stud.* 16(3): 440-442, 1956/1957; T. Das, *Am. hist. Rev.* 61: 1039-1040, 1956; P.L. Mehra, *India Q.* 12: 464-467, 1956; O.E. Clubb, *Annals Am. Acad. Pol. Soc. Sci.* 308: 186-187, 1956; *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 44: 146-147, 1957]

Account of the foreign relations of Tibet from the earliest times to 1954, with emphasis on its relations with Britain and China in the nineteenth, and especially, twentieth centuries. Useful for its account of events in the 1920s and 1930s, providing the Chinese point of view of events. Levi criticises the work comparing it with the Ph.D thesis by Yao-ting Sung (see no. 2484) maintaining that some paragraphs of Li's book are identical to Sung's thesis.

2439. Li Yan. 1992, 1993. Tibet's historical status. The myth about 'Tibetan independence'. Who has invaded Tibet? *Beijing Rev.* 35(52): 20-21; 36(2): 19-22; 36(5): 17-20.

Three articles reporting an interview with Li Yan by staff reporter, Lin Liangqi. They provide a Chinese account of the status of China in Tibet and of British relations with Tibet with emphasis on the Younghusband Expedition and the Simla Convention.

2440. Liao, H.S. 1989. Origins of the Tibetan independence movement. *Issues & Studies* 25(4): 97-109.

Examines the history of Tibet to discover the origins of its claims to independence. It covers the historical relationship between Tibet and China, British expansion and the decline of the Ch'ing Dynasty, the Younghusband Expedition, the activities of Chao Erh-feng and the role of the 13th Dalai Lama. Concludes that the emergence of demands for Tibetan independence was mainly due to the ambition of the 13th Dalai Lama, his attempts to seek international recognition of Tibet's autonomy, and his refusal to accept China's over lordship.

2441. Liu, Shen-chi. 1948. England, China and Tibet; a study of their relations. *China wkly Rev.* 110: 15-17, June 5.

Discusses the question of Tibet in the twentieth century from the British viewpoint.

2442. Liu, Shen-chi. 1948. China's relations with Tibet. *China wkly Rev.* 110: 50-53, June 12.

Discusses the question of Tibet in the twentieth century from the Chinese viewpoint.

2443. Liu, Shen-chi. 1948. Tibet's position regarding China and India. *China wkly Rev.* 110: 81-83, June 19.

The relations between China, Tibet and Britain in the twentieth century from the Tibetan viewpoint.

2444. McKay, A.C. 1992. The establishment of the British trade agencies in Tibet: a survey. *Jl R. Asiat. Soc.* 3rd ser., 2(3): 399-421.

Over 100 British officers served in Tibet during the years 1904 to 1947. They were agents of the Indian Political Service and supporting staff who served in Gyantse, Yatung, Gartok and, from 1936, Lhasa. The establishment of the trade agencies following the Younghusband mission is examined and an account given of the role of the agents, their lifestyle and their influence in forming policy and gathering information.

2445. McKay, A.C. 1994. The other 'Great Game': politics and sport in Tibet, 1904-47. *Int. J. Hist. Sport* 11(3): 372-386.

An examination of sport and politics in Tibet with particular reference to football (soccer). Although the games were played mainly for pleasure, they had a wider significance showing that the question of politics in sport was as relevant then as it is today. It was hoped that sport could be used as a way of attaching Tibetans to the British way of life. Football continued to be played until 1944 when monastic opposition to sport and the passion it generated led to its ban. The British were also keen on shooting and fishing and these activities may have had a significant effect on the Tibetan perception of the British in Tibet.

2446. McKay, A.C. 1997. *Tibet and the British Raj: the frontier cadre 1904-1947*. Richmond, Surrey, Curzon Press. xxvi, 293 p.

[Reviewed: W. van Spengen, *IAS Newsletter* no. 13: 13, Summer, 1997; S. Bhattacharya, *South Asia Research* 18(2): 229-231, 1998; I. Copland, *Int. hist. Rev.* 20: 996-998, 1998; A.T. Grunfeld, *China Rev. Int.* 5(1): 30-35, 1998; P.C. Klieger, *Tibet J.* 23(2): 99-102, 1998; A. Lamb, *Bull. Sch. Orient Afr. Stud.* 61: 587-588, 1998; W. Palace, *Jl R. Asiat. Soc.* 8: 296-298, 1998; D.M. Peers, *South Asia* 21(1): 304-305, 1998; A. Copley, *History* 84(273): 198-199, 1999; M.E. Yapp, *J. imp. Cwealth Hist.* 27(1): 171-172, 1999; M. Pilling, *Himalayan Res. Bull.* 20(1-2): 43-45, 2000]

Account of the major British officials who served in Tibet and on the Indo-Tibetan frontier during this period with information about their backgrounds, personalities and activities. It analyses their influence with both the Indian Political Service

and in determining the history of Tibet in this period. The names of the over 100 officials who served in the principal Indian Political Department posts concerned with Tibet are listed in an appendix together with their positions and the dates of their time in Tibet. Ch. 14, 'We want a united Tibet' (p. 195-211), which analyses the role of the frontier cadre in the construction of the historical image of Tibet is reprinted in A. McKay, ed. *History of Tibet. Vol. 3.* (see no. 211), p.646-661.

2447. McKay, A.C. 1998. Kailas-Manasarovar in "classical" (Hindu) and colonial sources: asceticism, power and pilgrimage. In: A.C. McKay, ed. *Pilgrimage in Tibet.* Richmond, Surrey, Curzon Press, p. 165-183.

Suggests that the modern Hindu understanding of the Kailas-Manasarovar region of Tibet was influenced by British frontier officers who tried to stimulate pilgrimage to the area in order to bring revenue to frontier districts and to encourage cross border ties with Tibet.

2448. McKay, A. 1999. The British imperial influence on the Kailas-Manasarovar pilgrimage. In: T. Huber, ed. *Sacred spaces and powerful places in Tibetan culture: a collection of essays.* Dharamsala, Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, p. 305-321.

Examines how imperial policy and the interests of colonial officers on the Tibetan border supported Indian traders to travel to Western Tibet and encouraged visits by Hindu pilgrims to the area. The importance of the work by Sherring (see no. 2956) in promoting this policy is emphasised. At the same time British influence in Western Tibet reduced the numbers of Europeans travelling to the area except in the case of Prof. Guisepppe Tucci whose research supported 'historical ties between India and Tibet as opposed to China and Tibet'. Information is also provided on the establishment of the Gartok Trade Agency following the Younghusband Mission.

2449. McKay, A. 2001. 'Kicking the Buddha's Head': India, Tibet and footballing colonialism. In: P. Dimeo and J. Mills, eds. *Soccer in South Asia: empire, nation, diaspora.* London, Frank Cass, p. 89-104. (Sport in the global society, no. 29)

The cultural structure of traditional Tibetan society before 1950 did not include a significant sporting component with games mainly played for recreation. McKay examines the aims and objectives of the British promotion of football in Tibet such as fostering a sense of Tibetan nationalism, and the reaction of the different groups in Tibet to it. Ultimately it was associated with the wider policy of modernisation in Tibet which aroused considerable opposition from the monastic circles who saw it as a threat to the existing social system.

2450. McKay, A. 2001. 'Truth', perception, and politics: the British construction of an image of Tibet. In: T. Dodin and H. R  ther, eds. *Imagining Tibet: perceptions, projections & fantasies.* Boston, Wisdom Publications, p. 67-89.

Examines the British presence in Tibet from the time of the Younghusband Expedition and shows how the western image of Tibet today is largely based on an image constructed by the British officials who served in Tibet from 1904-1947.

2451. MacMurray, J.V.A. 1921. *Treaties and agreements with and concerning China 1894-1919*. New York, Oxford University Press. 2 vols.
Vol. 1 covers the period 1894-1911; vol. 2 the period 1912-1919.
2452. [Mehra, P.] 1959. The Dalai and the Panchen: Tibet's supreme incarnate lamas, by Observer. *India Q.* 15: 262-289.
Defines the powers and functions of the two lamas, the historical evolution of their offices, and their different outlooks and policies, with emphasis on the rivalry between the 13th Dalai Lama and the 9th Panchen Lama in the twentieth century.
2453. Mehra, P. 1974. *The McMahon Line and after; a study of the triangular contest on India's north-eastern frontier between Britain, China and Tibet, 1904-47*. Delhi, Macmillan. xiii, 497 p.
[Reviewed: F.T.Das, *India Q.* 31(1): 98-99, 1975; M.Kumar, *Int. Stud.* 14: 169-171, 1975; N.Maxwell, *Int. Aff.* 51(2): 286-288, 1975; L.-E.Nyman, *Asian Affairs* 62: 218-219, 1975; L.E.Rose, *J. Asian Stud.* 36(4): 711-712, 1977]
Detailed account of the relations of Tibet with Britain and China from the Younghusband Expedition in 1904 to the end of British rule in India in 1947 with emphasis on the Simla Conference.
2454. Mehra, P. 1976. *Tibetan polity, 1904-1937: the conflict between the 13th Dalai Lama and the 9th Panchen; a case-study*. Weisbaden, Harrasowitz. xi, 94 p. (Asiatische Forschungen ; Bd. 49)
2455. Mehra, P. 1980. *The north-eastern frontier: a documentary study of the internecine rivalry between India, Tibet, and China*. Delhi, Oxford University Press. 2 vols.
[Reviewed: T.S.Murty, *India Q.* 39(3): 338-342, 1983; D.P.Choudhury, *Indian hist. Rev.* 6(1-2): 342-343, 1979/1980]
Contents: v. 1. 1906-14.--v. 2. 1914-54. Issued as an adjunct to his work *The McMahon Line and after* (see no. 2453), it contains the texts of most of the key documents covering the relations between Britain (and later India) and Tibet and China in these periods. They include formal treaties, government memoranda and exchange of notes, selections from private papers (e.g. those of Sir John Jordan on Tibet), diaries and the reports of agents on the spot. There are also useful biographical sketches of the major players. Each volume contains a detailed introduction covering the major events of the period.
2456. Mehra, P. 1984/1985. Tibet on the imperial chessboard: a select bibliographic survey (c. 1924-84). *Indian hist. Rev.* 11(1-2): 174-184.
A review of books on Tibet published since 1924, focusing on Addy's work (see no. 2393)
2457. Miller, B.D. 1988. American popular perceptions of Tibet from 1858-1938. *Tibet J.* 13(3): 3-19.
Based on articles in the *New York Times*, American perceptions are seen as basically anti British and anti Dalai Lama whilst the Panchen Lama is viewed

more favourably. Includes responses to the Younghusband Expedition and other major events to 1938.

2458. Mishra, T.P. 1991. *The taming of Tibet: a historical account of compromise and confrontation in Nepal-Tibet relations (1900-1930)*. Jaipur, Nirala Publications. 322 p.

This period marked a growing closeness between Nepal and India but a time of crises and tensions in relations with Tibet. Based on mainly Nepali and Indian sources Mishra analyses Nepal's role, attitude and assistance to the Younghusband Expedition, its reaction to the Chinese occupation of Tibet and attempts to end the conflict, and the resulting effect on Nepalese trade. It also examines the origin and development of misunderstandings between Nepal and Tibet which culminated in the Sherpa Gyalpo affair in the 1920s (see chapter XIV.4a). The commercial complications between Nepal and Tibet and their effect on diplomatic relations are also examined.

2459. Mojumdar, K. 1970. Background to Anglo-Nepalese treaty, 1923. *J. Indian Hist.* 48: 599-655.

Reviews Nepal's relations with Britain and surrounding countries from 1815, and examines how British relations with Tibet affected her attitude to, and relations with Nepal, especially in the twentieth century.

2460. Moss, A.B. 1981/1982. Notes on the early life and career of Laden La. *Postal Himal* nos 27/28: 52-57.

Information on Laden La appears on p. 52-53. Pages 54-57 contain copies and translations of passports issued by the Prime Minister of Tibet to the Dzongpens of the Districts through which the 1922 and 1924 Mt Everest expeditions were passing, and a translation of a letter from the Dalai Lama to Brig. Gen. Bruce in 1922.

2461. Mullin, G.H., comp. 1988. *Path of the Bodhisattva warrior: the life and teachings of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama*. Compiled and translated by G.H. Mullin; biography by G.H. Mullen; ed. by C. Cox. Ithaca, N.Y., Snow Lion Publications. 387 p.

[Reviewed: L.T.Dorjee, *Tibetan Review* 24(11): 15-17, 1989]

Includes a substantial biography of the 13th Dalai Lama (p. 17-115) drawn from the main Tibetan biographies of his life, and the biographies by Bell (no. 2399), Tada (no. 2485) and other western sources. It covers all aspects of his life, religious, social and political.

2462. Mullin, G.H. 2001. *The fourteen Dalai Lamas: a sacred legacy of reincarnation*. Sante Fe, Clear Light Publishers. xx, 555 p.

See 'The Great Thirteenth: monk, mystic and statesman' (p. 376-451) and 'The Fourteenth Dalai Lama: from refugee to Nobel Laureate' (p. 452-501).

2463. Normanton, S. 1988. *Tibet: the lost civilisation*. London, Hamish Hamilton. 192 p.

History of Tibet in the twentieth century compiled from the writings of westerners

who lived in, or visited, Lhasa from the time of the Younghusband Mission to the residency of Hugh Richardson. Pictures taken by these visitors illustrate the book.

2464. *Palace, W. 1995. *Losing face: the British Foreign Service and the question of Tibet 1904-1922*. Thesis (Ph.D) Durham University. Source: no. 53.

The evolution and conduct of British policy towards Tibet from the Younghusband Expedition to the Washington Conference. It examines the interaction between the branches of the British Foreign Service mainly involved in Tibetan policy - the Foreign Office and the India Office in London, the Viceroy and the Government of India, and the China service based in Peking.

2465. Rahul, R. 1964/1965. *India's policy in Tibet in the twentieth century*. *Q. Rev. hist. Stud.* 4: 203-206.

Considers that India's policy in Tibet was based on concern for the security of its Himalayan frontier from Assam to Kashmir.

2466. Rawson, R.R. 1949. *The role of Tibet in Asian affairs*. *East. Wld* 3: 13-14, Dec.

Briefly reviews Tibet's role in Asian affairs in the twentieth century.

2467. Rechberg, F.-E. 1954. *Tibet: ende einer politischen Zwischenstellung*. *Z. Geopolit.* 25: 479-492.

British and Chinese relations with Tibet with emphasis on the period from the Younghusband Mission.

2468. Reynolds, V. 1999. *The 'great game' in Tibet: early twentieth century photographs by Russian, British and American travellers*. *Arts of Asia* 29(6): 110-122.

Photos from the Newark Museum's Tibetan collection dating from 1900 to 1950, with a background account of events during these years. The photos were mainly taken by John Claude White and Dr Albert Shelton, and also one possibly by G.T. Tsybikoff, a Buryat Mongol and Buddhist who spent a year in Lhasa around 1900.

2469. Rhodes, N.G. 1984. *Further notes on the life and career of S.W. Laden La*. *Postal Himal* no. 37: 2-3.

Laden La was a Darjeeling Police Inspector who was involved in negotiations with the Tibetans on behalf of the British over a number of years. He also reorganised the Tibetan Police Force.

2470. Richardson, H.E. 1945. *Tibetan precis*. Calcutta, Govt of India Press. vi, 136 p. [Secret: For Official Use only]. Reprinted in his *High peaks, pure earth* (see no. 1869) p. 519-666.

Detailed and valuable summary of British relations with Tibet up to the end of World War II based upon the records of the Government of India. Only 50 copies were printed and it is thought that only three have survived.

2471. Richardson, H.E. 1951. The state of Tibet. *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 38: 112-122. Reprinted in his *High peaks, pure earth* (see no. 1869), p. 679-687.
Includes an account of Tibet's relations with Britain and China prior to 1950.
2472. Richardson, H.E. 1952. A pure land. *Himalayan J.* 17: 144-149.
General account of Tibet in the twentieth century.
2473. Richardson, H.E. 1962. *Tibet and its history*. London, Oxford University Press. ix, 308 p. 2nd ed. revised and updated: Boulder, Shambhala, 1984. American title: *A short history of Tibet*.
[Reviewed: O.Caroe, *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 49: 347-348, 1962; T.Wyllie, *Pacific Affairs* 35: 403-404, 1962; N.C.Sinha, *France-Asie* 19(177/178): 749-755, 1963; L.Petech, *Bull. Sch. Orient. Afr. Stud.* 49(3): 606-607, 1986]
Richardson was Officer-in-Charge of the British Mission at Lhasa at various times between 1937 and 1947, and of the Indian Mission from 1947-1950. He provides a concise, general history of Tibet with emphasis on twentieth century events.
2474. Richardson, H.E. 1967. *Tibet; past and present*. Saskatoon, University of Saskatchewan. 16 p. (University of Saskatchewan. University lectures no. 13)
2475. Rumbold, A. 1981. The status of Tibet. *Tibet News Review* 2(1-2): 3-6.
Rumbold served in the India Office from 1929-1947. He reviews British and Chinese relations with Tibet from 1904-1947.
2476. Samphel. 1980. Tibet and the modern world. Tibet's failure at modernisation (1904-1949). *Tibetan Review* 15(1): 13-16.
On the reasons for the failure of attempts to modernise Tibet such as monastic pressure, and on the consequences of this failure.
2477. Shakabpa, W.D. 1967. *Tibet, a political history*. New Haven, Yale University Press. xiii, 369 p. Reprinted: New York, Potala Publications, 1984.
[Reviewed: C.Hartman, *J. Asian Hist.* 3: 63-64, 1969; M.Pallis, *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 55: 90-91, 1968; H.E.Richardson, *Asia Major* 13: 255-256, 1967; L.E.Rose, *Annals Am. Acad. Pol. Soc. Sci.* 375: 226-227, 1968; D.L.Snellgrove, *Pacific Affairs* 41: 432-434, 1968; M.C.Goldstein, *China Q., Lond.* no. 108: 737-738, 1986]
History of Tibet by a former Tibetan Government official, with emphasis on twentieth century events. One of the few accounts based mainly on Tibetan sources. The Dalai Lama's 1913 proclamation, which was regarded in Tibet as a formal declaration of independence, appears on p. 246-248 and is reprinted in A. McKay, ed. *The history of Tibet. Vol. 3.* (see no. 211), p. 171-172.
2478. Shen, Tsung-lien and Liu, Shen-chi. 1953. *Tibet and the Tibetans*. Stanford, Stanford University Press. x, 199 p. Reprinted: New York, Octagon Books, 1973.
[Reviewed: S.Cammann, *Far East. Q.* 13: 105-107, 1953; R.N.Rahul, *Pacific*

Affairs 26: 261-263, 1953; H.C.Hinton, *Annals Am. Acad. Pol. Soc. Sci.* 289: 230-231, 1953; B.J.Gould, *Himalayan J.* 18: 186-188, 1954]

Shen and Liu were members of the Chinese mission which went to Lhasa in 1943. They describe the social conditions, political organisation and foreign relations of pre-Communist Tibet.

2479. Siddiqi, M.I. 1962. Tibet today. *Pakist. geogr. Rev.* 17(2): 25-36.

General account of Tibet in the twentieth century.

2480. Singh, A.K.J. 1992. How the Tibetan problem influenced China's foreign relations. *China Report* 28(3): 261-289.

Discusses Tibet's place in China's foreign policy with emphasis on twentieth century events concerning territorial disputes and relations with India. Analyses the Simla Conference and the McMahon Line, the internal affairs in Tibet from 1917 to 1928, and the Kuomintang and its policies towards Tibet from 1928 to 1948, as a background to post 1951 relations.

2481. Smith, W.W. Jr. 1996. *Tibetan nation: a history of Tibetan nationalism and Sino-Tibetan relations*. Boulder, Co., Westview Press. xxxi, 732 p. [Reviewed: A.Lamb, *Asian Affairs* 30: 205-206, 1999; Dawa Norbu, *Tibetan Review* 32(12): 22-23, 1997; A.T.Grunfeld, *China Rev. Int.* 5(1): 30-35, 1998; B.Sautman, *China Q., Lond.* no. 171: 774-776, 2002]

History of Tibet with emphasis on contemporary Tibetan history and politics. Covers in detail Tibet's quest for independence during the rule of the 13th Dalai Lama, and the Reting and Taktra Regencies following his death.

2482. Srivistava, R.P. 1958. The Bhotia nomads and their Indo-Tibetan trade. *J. Univ. Saugar* 7(7): 1-22.

Account of the Bhotias of the districts of Kumaon and Garhwal and their trade with Tibet both before and after the independence of India.

2483. Srivistava, R.P. 1963. Bhotias: frontiersmen of India. *March of India* 15(9): 22-26.

2484. *Sung, Yao-ting. 1949. Chinese Tibetan relations, 1890-1947. Thesis (Ph.D) University of Minnesota. Source: no. 30.

2485. Tada, T. 1965. *The thirteenth Dalai Lama*. Tokyo, Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies. ii, 115 p. (East Asian cultural studies series no. 9). Reprinted: 1982.

Tada spent the years 1913-1923 in Tibet studying Tibetan Buddhism. He became acquainted with the Dalai Lama when he was in exile in India and, while in Tibet, acted as an informal foreign adviser to him. Tada's account of the Dalai Lama is largely drawn from the Tibetan biography of his life, and from his own personal experiences in Tibet and is illustrated with many historical photos. He outlines in detail the development of the Dalai Lama's ties with Russia prior to the Younghusband Expedition and his growing ties with Britain from 1910. He also examines the Dalai Lama's attempts to modernise Tibet and includes a chapter on Japanese visitors to Tibet.

2486. Taring, R.D. 1970. *Daughter of Tibet*. London, J. Murray. xv, 280 p.
Revised ed.: London, Wisdom Publications, 1986.
[Reviewed: O.Caroo, *Asian Affairs* 58: 100-102, 1971; M.P.Ward, *Geogr. J.* 136: 621, 1970; G.Woodcock, *Pacific Affairs* 43(4): 594-595, 1970/1971; P.Denwood, *Jl R. Asiat. Soc.* 1: 89-90, 1974; A.A.Moon, *Tibetan Review* 26(12): 18-19, 1991]
Rinchen Dolma Taring, also known as Mary Taring, was the daughter of Tsarong Shap-pe who was involved in Anglo-Tibetan negotiations between 1903-1907. Her first husband, Dasang Damdul Tsarong, was a close associate of the 13th Dalai Lama, Commander-in-Chief of the Tibetan army in the early 1920s, and at the forefront of efforts to modernise Tibet. She later married Jigme Taring. She gives a detailed account of life and developments in Tibet in the twentieth century.
2487. Tsarong, D.N. 2000. *In the service of his country: the biography of Dasang Damdul Tsarong, commander general of Tibet*. Ed. by A.T. Chodron. Ithaca, N.Y., Snow Lion Publications. 149 p.
[Reviewed: G.Tuttle, *J. Asian Stud.* 60(4): 1185-1186, 2001; B.J.Cuevas, *J. Asian Stud.* 61(1): 248-250, 2002; B.K.Tsering, *Tibet J.* 27(1/2): 264-265, 2002]
Tsarong accompanied the Dalai Lama to Mongolia, China and India. After a distinguished military career he became Commander-in-Chief of the Tibetan Army and a supporter of the modernisation of Tibet. This biography by his son, Dundul Namgyal Tsarong, provides a valuable insight into the society, history and politics of Tibet in the twentieth century. A number of historical photos taken in Tibet during this period are included.
2488. Vaurie, C. 1972. *Tibet and its birds*. London, H.F. & G. Witherby. xv, 407 p.
Includes a substantial section on 'History and ornithological exploration' which covers the travels of explorers such as Bailey, Ludlow, Sherriff, Hedin etc. Although most explorations were not to collect birds most explorers made a collection.
2489. Wheeler, W.E. 1935/1936. Tibet as a study in European imperial policy. *Orient et Occident* 2: 309-311, 337-339.
A brief summary of Tibetan history, and of Tibet's relations with Britain, China and Russia in the twentieth century.
2490. White, D. 2002. *Himalayan tragedy: the story of Tibet's Panchen Lamas*. London, Tibet Society of the UK. x, 177 p.
Mainly concerns the lives of the 9th (1883-1937) and the 10th and 11th Panchen Lamas. Includes details of British activity and influence in Tibet from 1900, their attempts to cultivate the 9th Panchen Lama and their contacts with him after he left Tibet in 1923.
2491. Williams, E.T. 1937. *Tibet and her neighbours*. Berkeley, University of California Press. (University of California publications. Bureau of International Relations vol. 3, no. 2, p. 99-140)
Detailed account of Tibet's relations with Britain and China in the twentieth century.

2492. Ya, Hanzhang. 1991. *The biographies of the Dalai Lamas*. Translated by Wang Wenjiong. Beijing, Foreign Languages Press. vii, 442 p. [Reviewed: Dorji Tseten, *Tibetan Review* 20(9): 17-19, 1985]

History of Tibet with emphasis on twentieth century events. The main part is based on the biography of the 13th Dalai Lama (over 300 pages) and concentrates on his political role in Tibet. It covers Tibet's wars with Britain in 1888 and 1904 and subsequent events in the life and after the death of the 13th Dalai Lama.

2493. Ya, Hanzhang. 1994. *Biographies of the Tibetan spiritual leaders Panchen Erdenis*. Translated by Chen Guansheng and Li Peizhu. Beijing, Foreign Languages Press. iv, 415 p.

Biographies of the first to tenth Panchen Lamas, their contacts with Britain and China, and the history of Tibet from the fourteenth century from the Chinese viewpoint emphasising the relationships between the Chinese and the Panchen Lamas. The major emphasis is on the lives of the 9th (1883-1937) and 10th Panchen Lamas (1938-1989). There are three appendices. Appendix II contains 'An account of the Qing Dynasty's administration of Tibet and the Qing officials in Tibet' and Appendix III a bibliography of mainly Chinese and Tibetan language material with the titles of each translated into English. They include publications on the Chinese missions to Lhasa in the 1930s and articles ranging on subjects from Manning's visit to Lhasa in 1811 to the intrigues following the 13th Dalai Lama's death and the struggle for control amongst Tibetan officials.

2494. Yang Gongsu. 1991. The origin and analysis of the schemes of the so-called "Independence for Tibet". In: Hu Tan, ed. *Theses on Tibetology in China*. Beijing, China Tibetology Publishing House, p. 290-386.

Very critical account of British relations with Tibet, mainly since the 1880s. Claims that Britain plotted to make Tibet its protectorate and was responsible for fostering Tibetan independence activities in the twentieth century.

2495. *Yuthok, Dorje Yudon. 1990. *House of the turquoise roof*. Ed. by M. Harlin. Ithaca, N.Y., Snow Lion. 330 p. Source: no. 211 and internet. [Reviewed: M. Calkowski, *J. Asian Stud.* 52: 160-161, 1993]

Autobiography of a Tibetan noblewoman, a member of the Surkhang family, about life in Lhasa before the Chinese invasion in 1950. Focuses on family and social life but includes information on some political events such as the fighting between Manchu soldiers and the Tibetan Army in 1910-1912. The appendices provide a list of Tibetan noble families and the Yuthok and Surkhang family trees.

See also nos 404, 461, 786, 801, 843, 1835, 1859-62, 1882, 1887-8, 1893, 1896-8, 1902-3, 3555, 3818.

2. JAPANESE IN TIBET

During the first half of the twentieth century Tibet had more contact with Japan than any country apart from British India, China and Russia. During this period a number of Japanese visited, and stayed, in Lhasa and their influence

was out of proportion to the numbers involved. Although the early visitors were mainly Buddhist monks and most were solitary travellers, some had a degree of Japanese Government support and none 'could be said to be apolitical' (see Berry no. 2498 p. 330). Kawaguchi, one of the first Japanese to visit Tibet, wrote about Russian influence in Lhasa and the activities of Dorjiev. He later returned to Tibet in 1914 for a year to visit the Panchen Lama and to travel on to Lhasa. In the period between the Simla Convention and Bell's visit to Lhasa in 1920 the Dalai Lama relied on Japanese advisors such as Yasujiro Yajima to assist him in his modernisation plans, especially as regards the Tibetan army, and he tried to obtain weapons from Japan. This Japanese influence caused concern amongst the political officers on the Indian-Tibetan border and influenced Bell in his attempts to persuade the British Government to change its policy and to supply the Tibetan Government with arms and ammunition. Eventually Yajima was asked to leave Tibet after a request from the British. Later travellers were Japanese government agents of some kind, the last two, Kimura Hisao and Nishikawa Kazumi employed to gather intelligence on Central Asia and Tibet. A number of these men gained access to Tibet from India despite British attempts to prevent them, and some had contacts with British officials such as Sir Charles Bell in Sikkim, O'Connor when he was Trade Agent in Gyantse, and David Macdonald.

2496. Anon. 1904. Ekai Kawagutschis Tibetreise. *Globus* 85: 163.

2497. Berry, S. 1989. *A stranger in Tibet: the adventures of a wandering Zen monk*. Tokyo, Kodansha International. 314 p. New ed.: 1994.

Biography of Kawaguchi who spent three years in Tibet from 1900 to 1902 including 14 months in Lhasa, and a year in 1914. In an appendix Berry discusses Kawaguchi's *Three years in Tibet* (see no. 2507) which he describes as a 'disturbing disorganised tome'. He notes that some of the best pieces of observation in the book were on the Tibetan Government, on the relations between Britain and Tibet and on Russia's Tibetan policy, though much of this information was derived from rumour, hearsay and conversations with government ministers and Tibetan friends.

2498. Berry, S. 1995. *Monks, spies and a soldier of fortune: the Japanese in Tibet*. New York, St. Martin's Press. xi, 352 p.

[Reviewed: W.Peters, *Asian Affairs* 27: 87-88, 1996; M.C.Goldstein, *Int. hist. Rev.* 18(4): 942-943, 1996; A.McKay, *Jl R. Asiat. Soc.* 6: 294-295, 1996]

Comprehensive account of the Japanese who travelled to Lhasa during the first half of the twentieth century with some, such as Yajima and Tada, staying for long periods of time. Includes information on the meetings of some of these Japanese travellers with British officials such as Bell and O'Connor. The Prologue (p. 1-5) is reprinted with the title 'The Japanese in Tibet' in A. McKay, ed. *The history of Tibet. Vol. 3.* (see no. 211), p. 309-312.

2499. Berry, S. 1995. Japanese visitors to old Tibet. *Tibetan Review* 30(12): 18-19.

Prologue of no. 2498.

2500. *Hyer, P. 1960. Japan and the Lamaist world: Part 1: Japanese relations with Tibet. Thesis (Ph.D) University of California, Berkeley. x, 264 leaves. Source: no. 30.

2501. Hyer, P. 1972. A half-century of Japanese-Tibetan contact, 1900-1950. *Bull. Inst. China Border Area Stud.* no. 3: 1-23, July.

Describes the influence of Japanese in Tibet and argues that Japan was a source of inspiration to progressive Tibetans such as the 13th Dalai Lama and Tsarong especially after 1911. The Dalai Lama depended on Japanese advisors to assist him in his modernisation plans, especially the development of a modern Tibetan army in the years to 1919, but this help came from individuals such as Bunkyo Aoki and Yasujiro Yajima who acted in a private capacity. Tibetan overtures to Japanese leaders were ignored due to their involvement in World War I and their desire not to offend the British. Also examines contacts between Japan and Tibet during World War II and notes that it was only at the height of their expansion that Japan took steps to place contacts on a basis other than personal and religious.

2502. Hyer, P. 1979. Narita Yasuteru: first Japanese to enter Tibet. *Tibet J.* 4(3): 12-19.

Narita arrived in Lhasa via India a few months after Kawaguchi, and spent two weeks there. Whilst Kawaguchi's interest in Tibet was religious, Narita's visit was at the request, and with the assistance of, the Japanese Foreign Ministry. His mission was possibly due to Japanese concern about Russian activity in Inner Asia and their need for information on the Tibetan situation. Also includes information on correspondence between Narita and Sarat Chandra Das concerning Kawaguchi's published account of his time in Tibet.

2503. Hyer, P. 1981. China's borderlands: Japanese activity in Tibet, 1910-1920 [with discussion]. In: *Symposium on the History of the Republic of China*. Taipei, Compilation Committee of the Symposium on the History of the Republic of China, vol. 2, p. 501-532.

Mainly concerns the activities of Bunkyo Aoki and Yasujiro Yajima in Tibet and the historical context in which they worked. They were sympathetic to Tibet's movement for independence from China and were involved in the 13th Dalai Lama's thrust for Tibetan modernisation. Also includes information on earlier Japanese in Tibet such as Kawaguchi, Narita and Tada.

2504. Hyer, P. 1982. Yasujiro Yajima - the Japanese military adviser to Tibet. *Tibetan Review* 17(6): 8-12.

Based on an interview with Yajima and on Yajima's autobiography. Concentrates on his second visit to Tibet in 1913-1919 when he was employed by the Tibetan Government and commanded a regiment trained on Japanese lines. He was eventually dismissed in 1919 due, according to Yajima's Japanese account, to a more active pro-British sentiment in the Tibetan Government. Hyer maintains that it is still unclear whether his journey was prompted directly or indirectly by leaders in Japan.

2505. Kawaguchi, E. 1903/1904. The latest news from Lhasa: a narrative of personal adventure in Tibet. Introduction by E.R. Scidmore. *Century ill. mon. Mag.* 67: 383-393.

His journey to Lhasa and audience with the Dalai Lama.

2506. [Kawaguchi, E.] 1904. Journeys in Thibet. *Trans. Asiat. Soc. Japan* 31: 26-37.
Includes an account of his stay in Lhasa in 1901-1902, and Russian influence in Tibet at that time.
2507. Kawaguchi, E. 1909. *Three years in Tibet*. Benares, Theosophical Publishing Society. xv, 719 p. Reprinted: Kathmandu, Ratna Pustak Bhandar, 1979; Kathmandu, EMR Publishing House, 1995.
[Reviewed: *Geogr. J.* 35: 324-325, 1910; *Scott. geogr. Mag.* 26: 48-49, 1910; *Travel Explor.* 2: 365-367, 1909; L.A.Waddell, *Jl R. Asiat. Soc.* Jan. 1910 p. 234-239; J.Hackin, *J. Asiat.* 10s., 16: 189-190, 1910; R.A.Scott James, *Engl. Rev.* 4: 372-376, 1909/1910]
Kawaguchi spent three years in Tibet from 1900-1902. His work includes chapters on Tibetan trade and industry, its army, the Tibetan Government, the relationship between Britain and Tibet, and on Russia's Tibet policy and the activities of Dorjiev. See also no. 2497.
2508. Kimura, Hisao. 1990. *Japanese agent in Tibet: my ten years of travel in disguise*. As told to S. Berry. London, Serindia. 232 p.
[Reviewed: A.Rumbold, *Asian Affairs* 22: 188, 1991; G.H.Mullin, *Tibetan Review* 26(2): 18-21, 1991; P.Mehra, *Int. Stud.* 31: 97-104, 1994; M.Boord, *Bull. Sch. Orient Afr. Stud.* 58: 406-407, 1995]
Kimura was recruited in 1940 and trained in Mongolia to gather intelligence on Central Asia and Tibet. He began his travels in the guise of a Mongolian monk, Dawa Sangpo, and first reached Lhasa in 1945. Finding that Japan had lost the war, he travelled on to Kalimpong gaining employment with Tharchin Babu, editor of the *Tibetan Mirror*. Tharchin later sent him back to Tibet to gather information on Chinese activity in eastern Tibet. In 1948 he again returned to Lhasa, this time as a trader. His account includes detailed information on his association with, and the travels of, another Japanese in Tibet, Kazumi Nishikawa.
2509. Kitagawa, J.M. 1990. Kawaguchi Ekai: a pious adventurer and Tibet. In: L. Epstein and R.F. Sherburne, eds. *Reflections on Tibetan culture: essays in memory of Turrell V. Wylie*. Lewiston, Edwin Mellon Press, p. 279-294.
Account of his life and years in Tibet.
2510. Kuznetsov, V.S. 1999. Iapono-Tibetskie otnosheniia v pervoi polovine XX Veka. [Japanese-Tibetan relations in the first half of the 20th century]. *Voprosy Istorii* no. 3: 125-134.
Describes the development of Japanese-Tibetan relations in this period, both political and religious.
2511. Labbé, P. 1903. Un explorateur Japonais à Lhasa. *Géographie* 7: 455.
Brief note on Kawaguchi's stay in Lhasa.

2512. Schubert, J. 1936/1937. Der Bericht über die Tibetreise des japanischen Priesters Yekai Kawaguchi (aus dem Tibetischen übersetzt und erklärt). *Artibus Asiae* 6: 91-110.
2513. *Subedi, A. 1999. *Ekai Kawaguchi: the trespassing insider*. Kathmandu, Mandala Book Point. xvii, 175 p. Source: Library of Congress Catalogue.

See also nos 185, 924, 1882, 2397, 2399, 2408, 2413, 2438, 2485, 2752, 2907, 3370, 4015.

Chapter XI

YOUNGHUSBAND EXPEDITION 1903-1904

By 1899, when Lord Curzon became Viceroy of India, Chinese power in Tibet was in eclipse. Curzon soon realised that if the concessions granted to Britain in Tibet by the Anglo-Chinese Convention of 1890 and the Trade Regulations of 1893 were to be implemented, there would have to be a direct approach to the Tibetan authorities. He thus made several attempts to send letters to the Dalai Lama by way of the Garpons of Gartok in Western Tibet, and Kazi Ugyen, the Bhutan Wakil at Darjeeling. These were returned unopened, the last one in October 1901 at a time when news had reached India of a mission from Tibet to Russia led by Agvan Dorjiev, a Russian Buriat, who had resided in Lhasa for a number of years. This mission was part of an attempt by the 13th Dalai Lama to develop foreign relations with Russia at this time.

Curzon had studied the growth of Russian influence in Asia with apprehension over a long period. Rumours of Russian activity in Tibet had been circulating in India for some time and Dorjiev's mission to Russia in 1901 seemed to Curzon to provide proof of the interest of the Russian Government in Tibet. In 1902 there were also rumours of a secret Russian agreement with China concerning Tibet. Russian influence in Tibet, especially with the support of China, could pose a threat to the entire Himalayan frontier of India and Curzon was convinced that the only way to prevent this was to send a British mission to Lhasa. Whilst Curzon undoubtedly exaggerated the Russian threat, and his proposal that such a mission be despatched was not greeted with enthusiasm in London, he did get permission to send a mission to Khamba Dzong, just over the Tibetan border from Sikkim, in order to hold talks with Chinese and Tibetan officials. Colonel Francis Younghusband was appointed to lead the mission which reached Khamba Dzong in July 1903. The failure of the talks there enabled Curzon to gain reluctant permission for the expedition, now accompanied by a military escort under Brigadier-General Macdonald, to proceed to Gyantse, and again after several engagements, to Lhasa.

Although the Dalai Lama fled from Lhasa on the approach of the British troops, a treaty was signed with Tibetan officials on September 7, 1904. The main clauses of this treaty, known as the Lhasa Convention, opened new trade marts at Gyantse and Gartok with a British trade agent resident at each; prevented the Tibetans from dealing with other foreign powers without British consent; and imposed an indemnity on the Tibetans to be paid in seventy-five annual instalments. The Chumbi Valley was to be occupied until the indemnity was paid. By a separate article attached to the Convention the British trade agent at Gyantse was to be allowed to visit Lhasa when need arose.

The British Government censured Younghusband after the conclusion of the Convention as they considered he had exceeded his instructions. The indemnity was promptly reduced, the period of payment changed to three years, and the

separate article allowing the British trade Agent at Gyantse to visit Lhasa, abandoned. The other concessions won by Younghusband were also effectively nullified by British actions over the next few years.

1. BACKGROUND TO THE EXPEDITION

a) General

2514. Anon. 1903. England and Tibet [editorial]. *Outlook* 75: 872-873.

Speculates on whether the real object of the Expedition is to pave the way for a British protectorate in Tibet.

2515. Anon. 1903. Thibet - our next little war. *Sat. Rev.* 96: 634-635.

Reasons for the Expedition. Also urges the occupation of the Chumbi Valley, regrets it was not annexed after the Sikkim Expedition, and emphasises its importance.

2516. Anon. 1904. England und Tibet. *Globus* 85: 20.

2517. Anon. 1904. Die Besitznahme Tibets durch England. *Export* 26: 728.

Brief review of British relations with Tibet and a note on the Lhasa Convention.

2518. Anon. 1904. Politische Betrachtungen. Tibet. *Hist. polit. Bl. kathol. Dtl.* 134: 685-691.

The Expedition and its background.

2519. Anon. 1904. Tibet and India. *Public Opinion* 85: 194.

Reactions to the first Blue Book on Tibet (see no. 2531).

2520. Anon. 1904. The Tibetan expedition. *N. China Herald* 72: 296-297.

Considers that Britain should concentrate on solving the disagreement between Russia and Japan before getting involved in Tibet.

2521. Anon. 1904. The Tibet Blue Book. *N. China Herald* 72: 621, 669, 719, 740-741.

Reviews the first Blue Book and criticises the actions it describes.

2522. Bardoux, J. 1904. La question thibétaine et l'opinion britannique. *Revue polit. litt.* 5s., 2: 388-393, Juill.-Dec.

Reviews British attempts to establish relations with Tibet, Russian activity in Tibet, and the actions of Curzon as a background to the Younghusband Expedition. Concludes with an analysis of newspaper opinion in England and India on the Expedition and its background.

2523. *Berlin, L. 1922. Angliya i Tibet. *Novyi Vostok* 2: 355-366. Source: no. 66.

Berlin was a Soviet Narkomindel official. He discusses British policy in Tibet from the late nineteenth century to the early 1920s.

2524. Bruce, G.E. 1904. Our relations with Tibet. *Imp. Asiat. Q. Rev.* 3s., 18: 28-43.

General information on Tibet and an account of Anglo-Tibetan relations with emphasis on the period since the Macaulay Mission and the causes of the Younghusband Expedition.

2525. Chhodak, T. 1978. The 1901 proclamation of H.H. Dalai Lama XIII. *Tibet J.* 3(1): 30-38. Reprinted in A. McKay, ed. *The history of Tibet. Vol. 3.* (see no. 211), p. 36-42.

Statement of the principles and practices of Tibetan society apparently written by the Dalai Lama for the outside world. Also includes comments by Chhodak on the religious, rather than political ambitions, of Dorjiev.

2526. De Caix, R. 1904. L'Inde et le Thibet. *J. Débats* 11: 674-676, Apr. 8.

Reviews the reasons for the Younghusband Expedition.

2527. Elwes, H.J. 1904. The roads to Tibet. *Geogr. J.* 23: 397-399.

Reply to no. 2530, with a description of an additional route, and comments on prospects of trade with Tibet.

2528. Forbes-Lindsay, C.H. 1904. Tibet and the British. *Harper's Wkly* 48: 1091-1092.

Anglo-Tibetan relations since the Macaulay Mission and the importance of Tibetan trade. He blames the Chinese for the failure of the 1890 and 1893 treaties which has led to the Younghusband Expedition.

2529. Freshfield, D.W. 1902/1904. A note on the road to Tibet. *Geogr. Teach.* 2: 143-145.

Note on the route via the Chumbi Valley to Tibet.

2530. Freshfield, D.W. 1904. The roads to Tibet. *Geogr. J.* 23: 79-91, 255. Abstract: *Bull. Soc. R. belge Géogr.* 28: 82-89.

Information on the region and routes to be traversed by the British troops.

2531. Great Britain. East India (Tibet). 1904. *Papers relating to Tibet.* London, H.M.S.O. x, 314 p. (Parliament. Papers by command, Cd. 1920). In: *H. of C. Parl. Pap.* LXVII: 779-1101, 1904. Reprinted with title: *The British invasion of Tibet: Colonel Younghusband, 1904.* Abridged ed. London, Stationery Office, 1999. 249 p.

Official documents concerning the Younghusband Expedition and its background from the conclusion of the Sikkim Expedition, dated October 1889 to January 1904. Includes information on attempts to develop trade with Tibet in the 1890s, and on the 1898 Conference in Yatung between White and Chinese and Tibetan

officials on the 1890 Convention and the settlement of the frontier. A map showing routes between Tibet and India accompanies the papers.

2532. Grenard, F. 1907. L'Angleterre et la Russie au Tibet. *Bull. Com. Asie fr.* 7(79): 375-383.
Examines British, Chinese and Russian relations with Tibet, the Younghusband Expedition, the disagreement between Curzon and the British Government, the Lhasa Convention, and the situation in Tibet following the Younghusband Expedition.
2533. Kolmas, J. 1961. Tibet v mezinárodní politice na počátku 20 století. [Tibet in international politics at the beginning of the 20th century]. *Cslky casopis Hist.* 9: 832-854.
Reviews the Tibetan question as reflected in Chinese, British, and to some extent Russian diplomatic actions.
2534. Leont'ev, V.P. 1956. *Inostrannaia ekspansiia v Tibet v 1888-1919 gg.* Moscow, Akademiia Nauk SSSR. 223 p.
2535. Milloué, L. de. 1907. *Conférences faites au Musée Guimet en 1901-1902 et 1902-1903.* Paris, E. Leroux. 162 p. (Musée Guimet. Annales. Bibliothèque de vulgarisation t. xxvi)
See article 'Le Tibet: est-il sur le point de s'ouvrir aux étrangers? Aperçu de l'histoire generale de ce pays', p. 1-25. Reviews the foreign relations of Tibet with her neighbours and the situation at the beginning of the twentieth century.
2536. Moriak. 1904. Les anglais au Tibet. *Revue fr. Étranger Colon.* 29: 5-18.
The historical and political background to the Expedition, the attitude of Nepal and Russia, and comments on the Expedition itself.
2537. Mourey, C. 1904. La question du Thibet. *Bull. Com. Asie fr.* 4(34): 7-16.
Background to the Expedition.
2538. Oestreich, K. 1907. Die englische Mission nach Tibet. *Geogr. Z.* 13: 281-295.
The background to the Expedition, and its geographical results.
2539. Paul, A.W. 1904. The roads to Tibet. *Geogr. J.* 23: 528-529.
Information on routes to Tibet to supplement nos 2527 and 2530.
2540. Richardson, H.E. 1978. A scandal at Bkra-shis-lhun-po. *Bull. Tibetol.* n.s. 1: 24-25. Reprinted in his *High peaks, pure earth* (see no. 1869) p. 437-439.
The scandal concerned several high ranking monastic officials of the Panchen Lama, one of whom visited Younghusband in 1903 and to whom he refers to as the 'Shigatse Abbot'. Based on the Sir Charles Bell papers in the India Office Records.

2541. Rijhsinghani, K.S. 1959. India's relations with Tibet (1885-1905) (summary). *Proc. Indian hist. Congr.* 22: 456.
2542. Roberts, C. 1904. Into mysterious Tibet. *Wld's Work, N.Y.* 8: 5263-5271.
The reasons for the Younghusband Expedition and the character of Younghusband himself.
2543. Wegener, G. 1903/1904. Tibet, Lhasa, und die Wege dahin. *Asien* 3: 113-116, 133-136.
General account of Tibet, Lhasa and the Dalai Lama, with a brief report on the Younghusband Expedition.
2544. *Younghusband, F.E. 1903. *Memorandum on our relations with Tibet, both past and present, together with a forecast of the future development of our policy in that region.* Simla. 41 p. Source: no.3.
- See also nos 160, 178, 185-6, 189, 199, 201, 206, 214, 438, 444, 464, 512, 797, 819, 1328, 1373, 1606, 1749, 2080, 2392-3, 2401, 2408, 2412, 2424, 2426, 2678, 2698, 2757, 2772, 2806-7, 2835, 2891, 2894, 2924, 3044.

b) Russia and Tibet

2545. Anon. 1892. Tibet's closed doors. *Goldthwaite's geogr. Mag.* 3: 232-234.
On the rivalry between Britain and Russia which could result in Russia taking over Tibet. Also blames China for the Tibetan policy of excluding foreigners.
2546. Anon. 1900. Russland und England in Tibet. *Export* 22: 620.
2547. Anon. 1901. La Russie et le Thibet. *Bull. Com. Asie fr.* 1(4): 169.
Report that an ambassador from the Dalai Lama has arrived in St. Petersburg.
2548. Anon. 1901/1902. Le Bouddha chez le Tsar. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Lyon* 17: 302-305.
Russian activity in Tibet and Dorjiev's diplomatic mission to Russia on behalf of the Dalai Lama.
2549. Anon. 1903. La Russie et le Thibet. *Bull. Com. Asie fr.* 3(29): 347.
On rumours of Russian activity in Tibet including their conclusion of a secret agreement with Tibet.
2550. Anon. 1903. The alleged Russo-Chinese treaty with regard to Tibetan mines. *N. China Herald* 70: 616.
Reproduces its major clauses.
2551. Anon. 1903. Der Kampf um Tibet. *Export* 25: 655.
Anglo-Russian rivalry in Asia and British suspicion of Russian activity in Tibet.

2552. Anon. 1903. Une mission anglaise au Tibet. Protestations des journeaux russes. *A travers le monde* 9: 372.
Reactions in Russia to the Younghusband Expedition.
2553. Anon. 1903. Les relations du Thibet avec l'Inde et le Russie. *Bull. Com. Asie fr.* 3(30): 393-395.
Includes a translation of the secret Russian-Chinese treaty concerning Tibet signed in 1902.
2554. Anon. 1904. Au Tibet: le Talé-Lama. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. comm. Bordeaux* 2s., 27: 68-69.
Report on a talk given by Kawaguchi on the Dalai Lama in which he mentioned the Lama's contact with Russia.
2555. Anon. 1904. The question of Tibet. *Spectator* 92: 246-247. Comment: J.F. Baddeley, 92: 333-334.
On the first Blue Book (see no. 2531). In his comment, Baddeley, a long time resident of Russia, emphasises the anti-British feeling in Russia and urges that Britain should not take Russia lightly.
2556. Anon. 1904. Russlands und Englands Kampf um die Oberherrschaft in Asien. *Hist. polit. Bl. Kathol. Dtl.* 133: 148-154.
2557. Anon. 1904. Le Tibet et la mission Zybikov, par P.B. *Revue fr. Étranger colon.* 29: 294-297.
The journey of Tsybikoff to Tibet and his comments on the country.
2558. Anon. 1904. Le Tibet, la Russie et l'Angleterre. *Correspondant* 217: 625-653.
2559. Andreyev, A. 2001. Indian pundits and the Russian exploration of Tibet: an unknown story of the Great Game era. *Central Asiat. J.* 45(2): 163-180.
Examines the importance of the exploration of Tibet by the Indian pundits in encouraging the Russians to plan to secretly send an agent to Lhasa to gather intelligence disguised as a Buddhist pilgrim. It also explores the impulse that the work of the pundits gave to Przhevalsky's exploration of Tibet, and analyses the journeys made by Mongolian pilgrims, especially the journeys of Dorjiev to Lhasa from the 1870s, and his subsequent influence in the Tibetan capital.
2560. Andreyev, A. 2001. An unknown Russian memoir by Aagvan Dorjiev. *Inner Asia* 3(1): 27-39.
Describes the literature on Dorjiev available in various languages (Tibetan, Mongolian, Buryat, Russian, and English) as well as a new undated short memoir written in Russian and hitherto unpublished, which Andreyev considers was written around 1905. This memoir, almost certainly written by Dorjiev himself, gives an insight into the 'Great Game,' as seen by someone working on the

Russian side. An English translation of this memoir is provided in an appendix. Andreyev also discusses Dorjiev's Russian memoir called 'An account of my life in Tibet' which includes information on the arrival in Lhasa in around 1895 of a Russian Buryat agent, Ochir Jigjitov, who was sent to Tibet by Petr Badmaev to collect economic and political information on Tibet.

2561. Andreyev, A. 2003. The Tsar's generals and Tibet. Apropos of some 'white spots' in the history of Russo-Tibetan relations. In: A. McKay, ed. *Tibet and her neighbours: a history*. London, Edition Hansjörg Mayer, p. 167-174.

Argues that the Russian generals took a more active role in Russia's relations with Lhasa than is generally acknowledged and that the War Minister, A.N.Kuropatkin, agreed to give some military aid to Tibet following the petitions of Dorjiev. He also sent a secret mission to Lhasa under Naran Ulanov in January 1904 to gather intelligence on the British in Tibet.

2562. *Becker, R.D. 1972. Anglo-Russian relations 1898-1910. Thesis (Ph.D) University of Colorado. 217 p. Source: no. 97.

Includes their policies involving Tibet.

2563. *Berlin, L. 1923. Khambo Agyan Dorzheev (k bor'be Tibeta za nezavisimost). [Khambo Agyan Dorzhiev: (Tibet's struggle for independence)]. *Novyi Vostok* 3: 139-156. Source: no. 2609.

2564. Bormanshinov, A. 1992. A secret Kalmyk mission to Tibet in 1904. *Central Asiat. J.* 36(3/4): 161-187.

Account of the mission led by Captain Naran Ulanov and Dambo Ul'ianov which aimed to investigate the situation in Lhasa and report on activities of the British. Despite the death of Ulanov in Sinkiang the mission reached Lhasa and visited a number of monasteries in Tibet. Ul'ianov returned to St Petersburg to report on the mission in April 1906. Bormanshinov asserts that the mission was sponsored by the Russian War Ministry and the General Staff and, through a diary entry, shows that the Tsar was aware of the mission.

2565. Bormanshinov, A. 1998. Kalmyk pilgrims to Tibet and Mongolia. *Central Asiat. J.* 42(1): 1-23.

Discusses the journeys of the many Kalmyks who visited Tibet especially the journeys of Norzounov who met the Dalai Lama on his visit in 1899. An attempt to visit Tibet again in 1900 via India was thwarted by the British but he succeeded in travelling via Mongolia, accompanied by Dorjiev, and with the support of the Russian Geographical Society, arriving in Lhasa in Feb. 1901. They returned by way of Nepal and India. Also covers the visit of Dzhungruiev who was in Lhasa in 1899-1900 and 1902-1903. Both Norzunov and Dzhungruiev met the Dalai Lama.

2566. Bormanshinov, A. 1999. A Kalmyk intelligence mission to Tibet in 1904. *Central Asiat. J.* 43(2): 168-174.

New information on the mission of Ulanov to Tibet (see no. 2564) derived from a new Russian publication. It refers to the mission as an intelligence mission and that it was 'a mission to which the War Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs,

and even Tsar Nicholas II himself attached considerable importance'. Reproduces memos from the Minister of War, General Kuropatkin, to the Tsar concerning the mission.

2567. Boulger, D.C. 1901. India's interest in China. *Fortnightly Rev.* n.s. 70: 690-699.

Emphasises the volume and value of India's trade with China and urges that a railway be constructed between Assam and Western China to boost this trade. He also draws attention to the importance of Tibet where Russia is showing increased interest, though he discounts the importance of Dorjiev.

2568. Chirol, V. 1903. *The Middle Eastern question, or some political problems of Indian defence.* London, J. Murray. xiv, 512 p.

See ch. XXIX 'The North-East Frontier of India' which reviews British relations with Kashmir, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, and Assam; and ch. XXX 'The question of Tibet' which concentrates on the growing power of Russia in Chinese Turkestan and her interest in Tibet, and Anglo-Tibetan relations since the Chefoo Convention.

2569. Colquhoun, A.R. 1904. Marco Polo and his followers in Central Asia. *Q. Rev.* 199: 553-575.

On present conditions in Central Asia. In the section on Tibet he examines the reasons for Tibetan exclusiveness and the part played by China in encouraging the isolation of Tibet. He also comments on the waning power of China and the growing influence of Russia in Tibet.

2570. Crosby, O.T. 1904. England and Russia in Thibet. *N. Am. Rev.* 178: 711-716.

2571. Deniker, J. 1901. La première photographie de Lhasa. *Géographie* 4: 242-247.

On photos taken by the Russian, Norzounov, on his second visit to Tibet in 1901.

2572. Deniker, J. 1903. New light on Lhasa, the forbidden city. *Century ill. mon. mag.* 66: 544-554.

Describes the journeys to Tibet made by the pundits from the south and the Russian Buriats from the north, especially the journey of Norzounov who reached Lhasa.

2573. Deniker, J. 1904. Voyage de M. Tsybikov à Lhasa et au Tibet. *Géographie* 9: 24-29.

Account of Tsybikoff's visit to Tibet in 1899-1901 during which he spent a year in Lhasa.

2574. Deniker, J. 1904/1905. A leader of the Tibetans. *Century ill. mon. Mag.* 69: 73-74.

An account of his meeting with Dorjiev in Paris in June 1898.

2575. Dillon, E.J. 1904. The mission to Tibet. *Contemp. Rev.* 85: 123-136.
Abstract: *Am. mon. Rev. Revs* 29: 218-220.

Reaction to the Younghusband Expedition in the German, Russian and British press, and criticism of Curzon. Dillon gives the reasons for the mission, especially an account of Russian activity in Tibet, and reviews the advantages of Tibet to Russia.

2576. Dillon, E.J. 1904. Our friends, our ally, and our rivals. *Contemp. Rev.* 85: 609-626.

Includes a section entitled 'Anglo Russian relations and Tibet' (p. 622-625) which discusses the reasons for despatching the Younghusband Expedition, Russian protests concerning it, and exaggerated reports about it in Russia.

2577. Druhe, D.N. 1970. *Russo-Indian relations, 1466-1917*. New York, Vantage Press. 333 p.

Includes information on Russian intrigue in the borderlands of India including Tibet, and on the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907.

2578. Filchner, W. 1924. *Sturm über Asien, erlebnisse eines diplomatischen Geheimagenten*. Berlin, Neufeld & Henius. 311 p. Revised ed. with title: *Wetterleuchten im Osten. Erlebnisse eines diplomatischen Geheimagenten*. Berlin-Schöneberg, P.J. Oestergaard, 1928.
[Reviewed: L.V.S.B., *Geogr. J.* 64: 415-416, 1924; *J. cent. Asian Soc.* 11: 362-363, 1924; C.M.Thompson, *Himalayan J.* 1: 119-120, 1929]

Tibet's relations with Britain, Russia and China from 1900-1923, with emphasis on the role played by Zerempil, a Russian Buriat and disciple of Dorjiev. It gives an extremely detailed account of Russian activity in Tibet at the time of the Younghusband Expedition but some doubts exist as to its accuracy. An English summary of this work was published with the title 'A story of struggle and intrigue in Central Asia'. *J. cent. Asian Soc.* 14: 359-368, 1927; 15: 89-103, 1928.

2579. Hundley, H. 1993. Tibet's part in the 'great game'. *History Today* 43: 45-50, Oct.

Examines the life and times of Dorjiev and the part he played in the Asian rivalry of Britain and Russia.

2580. Kawaguchi, E. 1916. Russia's Tibetan policy. *Open Court* 30: 370-380.

Reprinted from no. 2507. It concerns Russian activity in Tibet prior to the Younghusband Expedition, the work of Dorjiev, and the arrival of arms from Russia in Lhasa.

2581. Khamaganova, E.A. 2002. Princes Esper and Dii Ukhtomsky and their contribution to the study of Buddhist culture (Tibet, Mongolia and Russia). In: *Tibet, past and present. Tibetan studies 1. PIATS 2000: Tibetan studies: proceedings of the Ninth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Leiden, 2000*. Ed. by H. Blezer with the assistance of A. Zadoks. Leiden, Brill, p. 307-326.

Examines their travels in Mongolia and China and evaluates their contribution to the study of Buddhist culture. Also briefly discusses the active involvement of Prince Ukhtomsky in developing close contacts between Russia and Tibet at the beginning of the twentieth century and the help he gave to Dorjiev.

2582. Kuleshov, N.S. 1990. *Rossii i Tibetskii krizis nachala XX veka*. [Russia and the Tibetan crisis in the beginning of the 20th century]. *Voprosy Istorii* no.11: 152-160.

Disputes the thesis that Britain was forced to invade Tibet in order to forestall Russian expansion in Asia.

2583. Kuleshov, N.S. 1992. Agvan Dorjiev: the Dalai Lama's ambassador. *Asian Affairs* 23: 20-33. Reprinted in A. McKay, ed. *The history of Tibet*. Vol. 3. (see no. 211), p. 57-68.

Account of the life and work of Dorjiev, a Russian subject, who served as the 13th Dalai Lama's theological tutor, political advisor and diplomat. He tried to predispose the Tibetans in Russia's favour and led missions on behalf of the Dalai Lama to petition the Tsar. Despite his efforts Tibet failed to gain either Russian aid or protection. Translations of extracts of the Tibetan letters carried by Dorjiev and replies by the Tsar and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia are included.

2584. Kuleshov, N.S. 1996. Russia and Tibetan crisis: beginning at the 20th century. *Tibet J.* 21(3): 47-59.

Argues that Russia's participation in Tibetan affairs was only at the request of the Tibetan Government and was minor compared to the roles of China and Britain, and that in fact Russia had no political, military or economic interest in Tibet.

2585. Kuleshov, N.S. 1996. *Russia's Tibet file: the unknown pages in the history of Tibet's independence*. Ed. by A. Berzin and J. Bray. Dharamsala, Library of Tibetan Works and Archives. xxiii, 144 p. [Reviewed: A.Lamb. *Asian Affairs* 28: 362-363, 1997; Reply: 29: 381-382, 1998. A.C.McKay, *IAS Newsletter* no.13: 13, Summer 1997; Reply: no. 17: 14, Dec. 1998. Comment: R.J.Barendse, *IAS Newsletter* no. 18: 15, Feb. 1999; Reply: no. 19: 14, June 1999. Comment: A.C.McKay, *IAS Newsletter* no 19: 14, June 1999]

Condensed version of his *Rossia i Tibet* published in Russian in 1992. Based on Russian archival sources, it provides a detailed analysis of the role of Dorjiev in Tibetan affairs from the beginning of the twentieth century until 1914, and the involvement of Britain and China in the affairs of Tibet in this period. He argues strongly that Dorjiev was an agent of the Dalai Lama, not a Russian spy, and that Tsarist Russia had no expansionist designs on Tibet. The work also provides much information on the 13th Dalai Lama and his efforts to find a protector to ensure the independence of Tibet.

2586. Kuleshov, N.S. 2000. The Tibet policies of Britain and Russia, 1900-14. *Asian affairs* 31: 41-48.

An earlier version of this article appeared as no. 2584. Reiterates that Russia's role in Tibet was minor compared to the roles of Britain and China and reviews Chinese and British attitudes to Tibet. Also includes an account of British

attempts to send a mission to Tibet following the Chefoo Convention (see chapter VI.6).

2587. Lamb, A. 1959. Some notes on Russian intrigue in Tibet. *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 46: 46-65.

Detailed account of the background to the Younghusband Expedition based on unpublished sources, written in response to Mehra's article on the same subject (see no. 2591).

2588. Lobanov-Rostovsky, A. 1951. *Russia and Asia*. Ann Arbor, G. Wahr Publishing Co. 342 p.

2589. Malozemoff, A. 1958. *Russian far eastern policy 1881-1904: with special emphasis on the causes of the Russo-Japanese War*. Berkeley, University of California Press. 358 p.

Includes information on Russian plans for outlying areas of the Chinese empire. They include Petr Badmaev's memorandum to Witte in 1893 on promoting a rebellion among Tibetans and Mongolians and Dorjiev's mission from the Dalai Lama to the Tsar in 1900-1901.

2590. Maxey, E. 1904. Tibet, Russia and England on the international chessboard. *Arena* 32: 28-31, July.

Considers that the Younghusband Expedition marks the end of Tibetan exclusion, and also, with other events, the end of Russia's ascendancy in Eastern Asia. He briefly describes the reasons for the Expedition including Russian expeditions to Tibet and the Russo-Chinese treaty of 1902.

2591. Mehra, P. 1958. Tibet and Russian intrigue. *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 45: 28-42.

Examines the nature and scope of Russian intrigue in Tibet at the beginning of the twentieth century and the part played by Dorjiev and Tserempil. Although Russian activity played an important part in the British Government's final approval of the Younghusband Mission, Mehra concludes that there was not much to it and that Curzon fell into the trap of believing there was more than existed. See also nos 2587 and 2606.

2592. Menon, K.S. 1957. *The "Russian bogey" and British aggression in India and beyond*. Calcutta, Priyadarshi Banerji, Eastern Trading Co. 68 p.

Traces British fear of Russia up to 1920 and examines her campaigns against Afghanistan and Tibet which were partly a result of this fear. There is also a chapter on the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907.

2593. Nabokoff, C. 1926. Russia and India. *Contemp. Rev.* 130: 476-483.

Concerns the influence of the Indian Empire upon the relations between Britain and Russia before World War I. It includes an account of British fears of Russian policy towards Tibet which he calls 'a comedy of errors' based on 'fancies' rather than facts. Nabokoff was present at the interviews between Dorjiev and the Russian foreign minister, and endorses entirely that they had no political significance.

2594. Narzounof, O. 1904. Trois voyages à Lhasa (1898-1901). Présentés par J. Deniker. *Tour du Monde* n.s. 10: 217-240.
His journeys to Lhasa and association with Dorjiev.
2595. Newton, T.W.L. 1929. *Lord Lansdowne, a biography*, by Lord Newton. London, Macmillan. xiv, 536 p.
Briefly mentions Russian activity in Tibet and the discussions Lansdowne held with Count Benckendorff in 1903 on the subject.
2596. *Norbu, Thubten and Martin, D. 1991. Dorjiev: Memoirs of a Tibetan Diplomat. *Hokke bunka kenkyu* 17: 1-105. Source: nos 7 and 3488.
2597. Oukhtomsky, E. 1904. The English in Tibet; a Russian view. *N. Am. Rev.* 179: 24-29. Abstracts: *Am. mon. Rev. Revs* 30: 220-221; *N. China Herald* 73: 457.
A Russian view of the reasons for British interest in Tibet.
2598. Parker, E.H. 1904. The bottom-rock of the Tibet question. *Fortnightly Rev.* n.s. 76: 124-134.
Outlines Tibet's relations with China from earliest times and gives some information about the Russian-Chinese mining treaty.
2599. Parker, E.H. 1904. How the Tibetans grew. *Imp. Asiat. Q. Rev.* 3s., 18: 238-256.
Traces the growing influence of the Tibetan race and their relations with China and reproduces clauses of the secret Russian-Chinese mining treaty
2600. *Persian, W. 1944. Der XIII Dalai Lama und die erste Phase des anglo-russischen Imperialismus. *Z. Geopolit.* 21: 107-113. Source: no. 66.
2601. *Popov, A.L. 1926. Anglijskaja politika v Indii i rusko-indijskie otnosenija v 1897-1905 gg. [English politics in India and Indian Russian relations from 1897-1905]. *Krasnyi Arkhiv* 6(19): 53-63. Source: no. 54.
2602. *Popov, A.L. 1927, 1928. Rossiya i Tibet. *Novyi Vostok* 18: 101-119; 20/21: 33-54. Source: no. 54.
2603. Rabgyal, N. 1990. An overview of the Tibet-Russia relationship. *Tibetan Review* 25(3) 10-13. Reprinted with title: A historical overview of Tibet-Russia relationship. *Tibetan Review* 37(9): 24-27, 2002.
Traces the relationship from the eighteenth century to 1910 before examining the Soviet policy on the Chinese occupation of Tibet.
2604. Radnaev, V.E. 1998. Shtrikhi k portretu Agvana Dorzhieva (1854-1938). [A portrait of Agvan Dorzhiev (1854-1938)]. *Vostok* no. 4: 81-92.

2605. Rayfield, D. 1976. *The dream of Lhasa: the life of Nikolay Przhevalsky (1839-88), explorer of Central Asia*. London, Paul Elek. 221 p.
[Reviewed: J.M.Stewart, *Asian Affairs* 63: 340-341, 1976; A.W.M., *Kailash* 5(1): 81-82, 1977]
Biography of Russia's greatest Central Asian explorer who made four expeditions through Mongolia, Sinkiang and the deserts of Central Asia but failed to reach Lhasa. It includes a discussion of the rumours in the Indian press and of some anti-Russian writers who tried to make a connection between Przhevalsky's journey to Tibet in 1884 and Dorjiev's trip to Tibet at this time. He also discusses the influence of Dorjiev in Tibet and the British reaction which led to the Younghusband Expedition.
2606. Richardson, H.E. 1959. Russian intrigue in Tibet [letter]. *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 46: 161-162.
Disputes Mehra's assertion that 'Curzon fell into a Russian trap' (see no. 2591).
2607. Rouire, A.M.F. 1908. *La rivalité Anglo-Russe au XIXe siècle en Asie; golfe Persique - frontières de l'Inde*. Paris, A. Colin. viii, 298 p.
See section IV 'Les Anglais au Thibet', and section V 'La dernière Convention Anglo-Russe'.
2608. Ruete, S. 1904/1905. Russlands Stellung in Tibet. *Asien* 4: 21-22.
Dorjiev's activities in Tibet and Tibetan-Russian contacts prior to 1904.
2609. Rupen, R.A. 1956. The Buriat intelligentsia. *Far East. Q.* 15: 383-398.
The influence of Russian Buriats in Central Asia in the first quarter of the twentieth century, including the part played by Dorjiev in Tibet.
2610. Rupen, R.A. 1964. *Mongols of the twentieth century*. Bloomington, Indiana University. 2 vols.
Includes information on Russia's relations with Tibet before 1904 through the agency of Buriats such as Dorjiev. There is also information on the views of Russia about Tibet in 1907, 1913 and in the 1920's. Vol. 2 contains a substantial bibliography on the Mongols.
2611. Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, D. 1994. Tournament of shadows: Russia's great game in Tibet. *Tibetan Review* 29(1): 13-20. Reprinted in A. McKay, ed. *The history of Tibet. Vol. 3.* (see no. 211), p. 43-56.
Traces Russia's interest in Tibet from the time of Catherine the Great who sought to establish trading links with Lhasa on several occasions. Concludes that Curzon's invasion of Tibet was motivated 'more by Curzon's Russophobia than by a realistic assessment of Tsarist policy'. Despite efforts by Prince Esper Esperovich Ukhtomsky (Russian Foreign Ministry), Petr Badmaev, Przhevalsky, and Dorjiev, Russia remained largely indifferent to Tibet.
2612. Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, D. 2001. *Toward the rising sun: Russian ideologies of empire and the path to war with Japan*. DeKalb, Northern Illinois University Press. xiii, 329 p.

Includes an account of the founding of the Russian Geographical Society and its interest in Russian expansion in Asia, and the explorations of Przhevalsky and his attempts to travel in Tibet, his trips being as much strategic as scientific. Przhevalsky also proposed that the Russian consul in Mongolia send Lamas to Tibet to gather information in the same manner as the British used the pundits. Also includes information on Ukhtomsky who championed closer ties between Russia and Mongolia and Tibet and introduced Dorjiev to Nicholas II in 1898.

2613. Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, D. 2002. Russia's great game in Tibet? In: M. Gervers and W. Schlepp, eds. *Continuity and change in Central and Inner Asia: papers presented at the Central and Inner Asian Seminar, University of Toronto, March 24 & 25, 2000 and May 4 & 5, 2001*. Toronto, Joint Centre for Asia Pacific Studies, p. 35-52. (Toronto studies in Central and Inner Asia, no. 5)

Examines the controversy over the true nature of Russian activities, if any, prior to the Younghusband Expedition including the ambitions of the explorer Przhevalsky and the Buriat physician Badmaev, and the activities of Dorjiev and his missions to Moscow on behalf of Tibet. Concludes that although Britain's decision to invade Tibet was motivated mainly by Curzon's Russophobia rather than by a realistic assessment of Tsarist policy, there were some proponents in Russia of a forward policy in Tibet including the Tsar himself. They, however, were overruled by more cautious officials at the Foreign Ministry and in the Army.

2614. Schuyler, E. 1889. The Russian traveller Prjevalsky. *J. Am. geogr. Soc.* 21: 87-98.

On his life and explorations to the borders of Tibet. Notes that the English were 'startled' by the last chapter of Przhevalsky's account of his last journey as his criticism of the Chinese Government and officials in Chinese Turkestan showed the ease with which the Russians might occupy that country.

2615. Sharma, A.P. 1969. The Russian menace to India and Lord Curzon (1899-1905). *Proc. Indian hist. Congr.* 31: 476-481.

Curzon's attempts to counter Russian influence in Persia and Tibet, and his reactions to the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907.

2616. Shaumian, T. 2000. *Tibet: the great game and Tsarist Russia*. New Delhi, Oxford University Press. xii, 223 p.

[Reviewed: D.Saunders, *Continuity & Change* 17: 473-374, 2002; E. Maurer, *Russ. Hist.* 30(1-2): 239-241, 2003]

Detailed analysis of British and Russian relations with Tibet from the end of the nineteenth century concentrating on the role of Dorjiev, Russia's attitude to the Younghusband Mission, the Dalai Lama's flight to Mongolia and subsequent events leading to the Simla Conference. Also examines the Tibetan question in the Anglo-Russian Convention. Concludes that the Russian Government never contemplated direct military intervention in Tibet but 'often successfully exploited the Tibetan question to exert pressure on Britain and thereby obtain concessions in other regions...' Does not agree with scholars who in analysing Anglo-Russian rivalry in Central Asia seek to place full responsibility on the Russian side, or with those who try to present Russia as absolutely blameless.

2617. Snelling, J. 1990. Agvan Dorjiev: eminence grise of Central Asian politics. *Asian Affairs* 21: 36-43.
The life and times of Dorjiev and his contacts with the Dalai Lama and the Tsar.
2618. Snelling, J. 1993. *Buddhism in Russia: the story of Agvan Dorzhiev, Lhasa's emissary to the Tsar*. Foreward by S. Batchelor. Shaftesbury, Element Books. xiv, 320 p.
[Reviewed: J.Bray, *Tibet J.* 21(3): 71-73, 1996; N.Kuleshov, *Asian Affairs* 26: 199-201, 1995]
The major work on the life of Dorjiev and his long association with the 13th Dalai Lama. Based on many Russian sources and also on the autobiography of Dorjiev.
2619. Tsybikoff, G. 1904. Journeys to Lhasa. *Geogr. J.* 23: 92-97.
Tsybikoff arrived in Lhasa in 1900 and stayed for almost a year.
2620. Tsybikoff, G. 1904. Lhasa and Central Tibet. *Rep. Smithson. Instn* 1902/1903: 727-746.
Includes an account of the government and foreign relations of Tibet.
2621. Ular, A. 1901. La triplice Asiatique: Tsar, Dalai Lama, Hoang-ti. *Revue Blanche* 26: 200-211, Oct. 1.
Background to the relations between China, Tibet and Russia at this time.
2622. Ular, A. 1902. England, Russia and Tibet. *Contemp. Rev.* 82: 843-862.
On the 1902 treaty between Russia and China concerning Tibet and speculation on its consequences. Considers that Russia's aims in Central Asia are economic rather than military.
2623. Ular, A. 1904. *A Russo-Chinese Empire*. Westminster, Constable. xix, 336 p.
Traces the development of Russian-Chinese relations and the reasons for their intimacy, and the growth of Russian relations with Tibet. Emphasises the common interests of Russia and Tibet in relation to China, and also reproduces the text of the Russian-Chinese treaty concerning Tibet.
2624. Ular, A. 1905. L'Inde mystérieuse et la rivalité anglo-russe. *Revue* 54: 289-307, Jan.-Feb.
Anglo-Russian rivalry and its promotion on an Asia wide scale by Curzon, with a brief mention of Tibet.

See also nos 201, 206, 210, 223, 246, 255, 1328, 1814, 1834, 1902, 2396, 2408, 2424, 2433, 2446, 2485, 2489, 2497, 2502, 2507, 2522, 2525, 2532-3, 2536, 2631-3, 2635-6, 2639-45, 2650, 2705, 2789, 2810-11, 2847, 2856, 2890, 2894, 2916, 2924, 3008, 3012, 3044, 3113, 3126, 3487-8.

c) The policy of Lord Curzon

2625. Anon. 1903. The expedition into Tibet. *Spectator* 91: 857-858.
Feels that the Indian Government is not advancing into Tibet from any motive of ambition but only because of reasons which it considers absolutely imperative.
2626. Anon. 1904. The British case against Tibet. *Outlook* 78: 161-163.
A discussion of Curzon's policy in Tibet based on no. 2627.
2627. Anon. 1904. India under Lord Curzon. *Q. Rev.* 200: 210-239.
2628. Anon. 1904. Lord Curzon and Tibet. *Public Opinion* 85: 567.
2629. Anon. 1904. Our policy in Tibet. *N. China Herald* 72: 242-243.
Criticises Curzon's policy of sending an expedition to Tibet instead of dealing with the problem on a diplomatic front.
2630. Anon. 1904. Russia, India and Tibet. *Public Opinion* 86: 135-136.
Russian and French opinion on Indian frontier policy and Curzon.
2631. Addy, P. 1983. Imperial prophet or scaremonger? Curzon's Tibetan policy reconsidered. *Asian Affairs* 14: 54-67.
Reviews Curzon's Tibet policy and suggests that his aim to exclude Chinese and Russian influence in Tibet and his opposition to the Anglo-Chinese and Anglo-Russian Conventions was, in retrospect, possibly correct, and that events that followed the Younghusband Expedition showed that he was more farsighted than Morley and the British Government.
2632. Bérard, V. 1904. Lord Curzon et le Tibet. *Revue de Paris* 11: 881-894, Jan.-Feb.; 11: 197-224, Mar.-Apr.
Detailed account of Curzon's relations with Tibet. Emphasises the influence that the publications of Ular (see especially no. 2623) had on Curzon in convincing him of Russia's interest and activity in Tibet.
2633. Bérard, V. 1904. *La révolte de l'Asie*. Paris, Colin. ii, 435 p.
See Ch. 5 (p. 349-434) 'Le role de l'Angleterre' which mainly concerns the viceroyalty of Curzon and the background to the Younghusband Expedition.
2634. Buzynina, N.K. and Vinogradov, K.V. 1973. Lord Kerzon. *Novaia i Noveishaia Istorii* no. 5: 102-111; no. 6: 116-127.
Part I. 'Prokonsul' discusses the life of Lord Curzon (1859-1925) with emphasis on his career as Viceroy and Governor-General of India, 1899-1905 including his policy towards Tibet Part II. 'Ministr' covers Curzon's political career, 1915-25.
2635. Cotton, H. 1911. *India and home memories*. London, T.F. Unwin. 352 p.
After an Indian career during which he was in charge of the Assam administration from 1896 to 1901 Cotton returned to England in 1902. From November 1903 he

led a campaign against Curzon's Tibetan policy and the Younghusband Expedition, the reasons for which, such as Russian intrigue in Lhasa, he felt to be a 'hollow pretence'. He emphasises that it was the British action that led to subsequent Chinese activity in Tibet.

2636. Curzon, G.N. 1889. *Russia in Central Asia in 1889 and the Anglo-Russian question*. London, Longmans, Green. xxiv, 477 p. Reprinted: London, F. Cass, 1967.

In this work, written at the time of the Sikkim Expedition, Curzon was already warning of the danger of possible Russian relations with Tibet.

2637. Curzon, G.N. 1900-1906. *Speeches*. Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 4 vols.

Several of his speeches include references to the Younghusband Expedition.

2638. Curzon, G.N. 1906. *Lord Curzon in India; being a selection from his speeches as Viceroy and Governor-General of India 1898-1905*. Introduction by T. Raleigh. London, Macmillan. 2 vols.

Refers to the Younghusband Expedition in several of his speeches. There is also a brief account of the Expedition in the Introduction.

2639. Dilks, D. 1970. *Curzon in India*. London, Hart-Davis. 2 vols.

A detailed account of his Tibetan policy is included in vol. 2.

2640. Edwardes, M. 1965. *High noon of empire; India under Curzon*. London, Eyre & Spottiswoode. 266 p.

[Reviewed: G.Laithwaite, *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 53: 76-77, 1966]

2641. Fraser, L. 1911. *India under Curzon and after*. New York, H. Holt. xi, 496 p.

2642. *Gates, R.P. 1965. The Tibetan policy of George Nathaniel Curzon, Viceroy of India, January 1899-April 1904, December 1904- November 1905. Thesis (Ph.D) Duke University. 386 p. Source: no. 30.

2643. Ghosh, S. 1979. British penetration of intransigent Tibet. *Tibet J.* 4(1): 7-16.

Examines the Russian-Tibetan relationship and its effect on Curzon as a background to the Younghusband Expedition. Based partly on correspondence between Curzon and Hamilton, the Secretary of State for India.

2644. Gilmour, D. 1994. *Curzon*. London, John Murray. xix, 684 p.

Includes a section on his Tibetan policy, the Younghusband Expedition and the reaction to it in Britain.

2645. Joûbert, J. 1905. La démission de Lord Curzon. *Revue fr. Étranger Colon.* 30: 579-589. Abstract: *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Lyon* 20: 258-259.

Curzon's resignation as Viceroy of India, his career, and in particular his fear of Russia and promotion of an expedition to Tibet.

2646. Judd, D. 1968. *Balfour and the British Empire: a study in imperial evolution 1874-1932*. London, Macmillan. 392 p.

Includes a chapter on 'Guarding the frontiers' which includes a discussion of Curzon's policy towards Tibet, the Younghusband Expedition and Balfour's views and reactions to them.

2647. Kennion, R.L. 1929. A country postman. *Blackwood's Mag.* 225: 83-95. Reprinted in his *Diversions of an Indian political*. London, Blackwood, 1932.

Account of his attempt to deliver a letter from Curzon to the Garpon of Gartok in Western Tibet, who it was hoped would forward it to the Dalai Lama.

2648. Khan, S.S.A. 1905. *Lord Curzon's administration of India. What he promised; what he performed*. Bombay, Times Press. 119 p.

2649. King, P. 1986. *The Viceroy's fall: how Kitchener destroyed Curzon*. London, Sidgwick and Jackson. ix, 374 p.

[Reviewed: A.Rumbold, *Asian Affairs* 18: 80-81, 1987. Reply: *Asian Affairs* 18: 235, 1987]

Includes a brief discussion of Brodrick's role in condemning Curzon and the Younghusband Expedition.

2650. Kohli, M. 1980-81. Curzon and his Tibet policy. *Q. Rev. hist. Stud.* 20(2/3): 36-46.

Examines the different interpretations of Curzon's Tibet policy of Camman Schuyler and Alastair Lamb - Schuyler considered trade opportunities as an explanation for Curzon's policy, while Lamb saw the genesis of the policy in Anglo-Russian rivalry. Kohli concludes that Lamb's thesis is more correct but that trade interests were also a consideration.

2651. Leslie, S. 1932. *Studies in sublime failure*. London, E. Benn. 295 p.

Includes Curzon and gives a brief account of his Tibetan policy.

2652. Lipsett, H.C. 1903. *Lord Curzon in India, 1898-1903*. London, R.A. Everett. 143 p.

2653. Macdonald, J.M. 1905. Lord Curzon. *Calcutta Rev.* 122(242): 531-552.

Laudatory review of Curzon's actions as Viceroy of India, including praise for his Tibetan policy.

2654. Mehra, P.L. 1958. Lord Curzon's despatch of January 8, 1903: its impact on his Tibetan policy. *Proc. Indian hist. Congr.* 21: 536-542.

Analysis and background of the despatch which provides a detailed account of Curzon's approach to the Tibetan question. Also comments on Russian activity in Tibet and J.C. White's tour along the Sikkim-Tibet border in 1902.

2655. Mehra, P.L. 1963. Kazi U-gyen: a paid Tibetan spy? *Proc. Indian hist. Congr.* 25: 239-245; *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 51: 301-305, 1964.

In 1901 Curzon tried to open direct communications with the Dalai Lama by sending him a letter by the Bhutan Vakil, Kazi U-gyen. His return from Lhasa with the letter unopened led Curzon to maintain that he was 'a liar and in all probability a paid Tibetan spy'. Mehra reproduces a letter from Kazi U-gyen to Curzon dated April 12, 1910 in which he maintains his innocence and refers to Charles Bell, and the Dalai Lama himself, then in India, as his witnesses. Mehra also points to other services rendered by Kazi U-gyen to the British such as his help in negotiating the 1910 Anglo-Bhutanese treaty.

2656. Mehra, P.L. 1967. Kazi U-gyen and Lord Curzon's letter of 1901: a footnote. *J. Asian Stud.* 26: 775-776.

2657. Milward, M. 1939. Nepal: "the land that leads to paradise". *Asiat. Rev.* 35: 243-260.

Describes her journey and stay in Nepal in 1938 in a paper read to the East India Association. In the discussion that followed, Sir Louis Dane, who was Foreign Secretary to the Indian Government in 1903, comments on the rumours of Russian activity in Tibet at that time and on how he persuaded Curzon to see Maharaja Chandra Shamsher of Nepal, then in India for the Coronation Durbar, to discuss these. The meeting led to improved relations between India and Nepal just prior to the Younghusband Expedition.

2658. Prasad, Bimla. 1960. *The origins of Indian foreign policy. The Indian National Congress and world affairs, 1885-1947.* Calcutta, Bookland. 393 p.

Includes an account of Congress condemnation of the Younghusband Expedition.

2659. Prasad, Bisheshwar. 1979. *Foundations of India's foreign policy: imperial era 1882-1914.* Calcutta, Naya Prokash. x, 596 p.
[Reviewed: C.P.Bhambhri, *Indian hist. Rev.* 10(1-2): 264-265, 1983-1984]

See the section on Tibet p. 446-553. It contains an account of British relations with Tibet, Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan with emphasis on Curzon's policy towards Tibet and the Younghusband Expedition, and the period following the Expedition.

2660. Ratcliffe, S.K. 1955. Curzon in India: fifty years after. *Contemp. Rev.* 188(1079): 299-302.

Ratcliffe was editor of the *Calcutta Statesman* when Curzon was Viceroy of India. He includes mention of Curzon's policy towards Tibet and the reaction of the press at the time.

2661. Schifanoia. 1905. Cinq ans de vice-royaute aux Indes (1900-1905): Lord Curzon, sa politique intérieure et sa politique extérieure. *Bull. Com. Asie fr.* 5: 388-396.

Briefly mentions his Tibetan policy.

2662. Sharma, A.P. 1969. India's foreign problems and Lord Curzon (1899-1905). *J. hist. Res.* 12(1): 81-92.

Examines Curzon's policy in Afghanistan, Persia and Tibet, and his relations with the British Government.

2663. Ular, A. 1904. The Tibetan puzzle. *Contemp. Rev.* 85: 24-33. Abstract: *Am. mon. Rev. Revs* 29: 218-220.

Strongly supports Curzon's Tibetan policy which he feels will halt Russian expansion in Asia.

2664. Younghusband, F.E. 1925. Lord Curzon: a personal recollection. *Nineteenth century and after* 97: 621-633.

Describes Curzon's qualities, and includes an account of his relations with Curzon before and during the Expedition to Tibet.

2665. Zetland, L.J.L.D., 2d Marquis. 1928. *The life of Lord Curzon, being the authorised biography of George Nathaniel, Marquess Curzon of Kedleston, K.G.*, by the Earl of Ronaldshay. London, E. Benn. 3 vols.

Vol. 2 includes an account of his Tibetan policy and the Younghusband Expedition. It also contains a brief account of the Mishmi Mission of 1899-1900, Curzon's interest in and views on it, and his journey to Assam following its conclusion.

See also nos 201, 206, 210, 223, 255, 1754, 1834, 2403, 2433, 2466, 2575, 2611, 2613, 2615, 2624, 2777, 2812, 2841.

2. ACCOUNTS OF THE EXPEDITION

a) Accounts by participants

2666. Aldridge, A.R. 1904-1905. With the Tibet Mission Force. *Jl R. Army med. Cps* 3: 272-273; 4: 235-240.

Problems of the Medical Corps in Tibet and the effect of the climate and altitude on the troops.

2667. [Bethell, L.A.] 1929. A footnote, by Pousse Cailloux. *Blackwood's Mag.* 225: 147-176.

Description of the Expedition by a lieutenant in the 8th Gurkhas.

2668. [Brander, H.R.] 1905-1906. *32nd Sikh Pioneers. Regimental history.* Calcutta, Thacker, Spink. 2 vols.

Vol. 1 includes chapters on the Bhutan War 1864-1865, and the Sikkim Expedition of 1888. Vol. 2 is entirely devoted to the Regiment's participation in the Younghusband Expedition in which Brander took part being in charge of the military escort during the absence of Macdonald. Brander also led the attack on

the Karo La. There are a number of sketch maps and diagrams to illustrate the campaign, and the appendices include a copy of Macdonald's final despatch from Gyantse dated October 9, 1904, in which he reviews the whole campaign in Tibet.

2669. Candler, E. 1905. *The unveiling of Lhasa*. London, E. Arnold. xvi, 304 p. Reprinted: New Delhi, Cosmo Publications, 1981.
[Reviewed: D.W.Freshfield, *Geogr. J.* 25: 551-554, 1905; R.Richardson, *Scott. geogr. Mag.* 21: 246-249, 1905; *Blackwood's Edinb. Mag.* 177: 429-448, 1905; *Edinb. Rev.* 201: 338-360, 1905; *Nation* 80: 273-274, 1905; *Spectator* 94: 178-179, 1905]
Account by the *Daily Mail* correspondent who accompanied the Expedition to Lhasa.
2670. Elliott, C.A. 1905. *Report on the engineer operations of the Tibet Mission Escort, 1903-04*. Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 42 p.
Account of the roads built, huts and bridges constructed, and water supply works and siege operations carried out. There are also a number of short reports by officers of the Engineers including Gillespie's report on the Nathu La Road (see no. 2671)
2671. Gillespie, R. St J. 1905. The construction of the Nathu La Road, Tibet Mission, 1904. *R. Engrs' J.* n.s, 2: 289-295.
Gillespie was in charge of the construction of this road which went from Sikkim to the Chumbi Valley. It was completed in October 1904 in time for the majority of the returning troops to use it.
2672. Hadow, A.L. 1933. Tibet, 1903-1904. With the Machine Gun Section 1st Battalion the Norfolk Regiment. *Britannia* 1933, p. 62-68.
Hadow was in charge of the Section which spent a year in Tibet. He describes the major engagements in which the Section participated, especially at Gyantse and the Karo La, and outlines measures taken to keep their equipment working in the extreme cold. Illustrated with contemporary photos.
2673. Hassells-Yates, G.A. 1973. At 17,000 feet up. In: C.H.T MacFetridge and J.P. Warren, eds. *Tales of the mountain gunners; an anthology compiled by those who served with them*. Edinburgh, Blackwood, p. 70-80.
Extracts from his diary from 30 May to 25 Aug. 1904. Hassells-Yates served in the 7th British Mountain Battery during the Younghusband Expedition.
2674. Hayden, H.H. 1905. Preliminary note on the geology of the provinces of Tsang and Ü in Tibet. *Rec. geol. Surv. India* 32: 160-174.
2675. Hayden, H.H. 1907. *The geology of the provinces of Tsang and Ü in Central Tibet*. Calcutta, Office of the Geological Survey of India. 80 p. (Geological Survey of India. Memoirs 36(2): 122-201, 1907)

Hayden accompanied the Younghusband Mission and describes the physical features of the provinces as well as giving a detailed geological account. Also includes information on the minerals (gold, coal, gemstones etc.) of the areas he visited.

2676. Holdaway, F. 1912. Random recollections of the Tibet Expedition - 1903-04. *J. Supply Transp. Cps Indian Army* no. 6: 194-199.

Account of the part played by the Supply and Transport Corps in the crossing of the Tsangpo, and the arrival of the Expedition in Lhasa.

2677. Iggulden, H.A. 1905. To Lhasa with the Tibet Expedition 1903-04. *Jl R. un. Serv. Instn* 49: 659-679.

Iggulden was Chief Staff Officer of the Tibet Mission Force. He gives a detailed account of the military activities of the Expedition.

2678. Landon, P. 1904/1905. Into Tibet with Younghusband. *Wld's Work, N.Y.* 9: 5907-5925.

The reasons for the Expedition and an account of its progress. Landon was the *Times* correspondent with the Expedition.

2679. Landon, P. 1905. *Lhasa; an account of the country and people of Central Tibet and of the progress of the mission sent there by the English Government in the year 1903-4*. London, Hurst & Blackett. 2 vols. Reprinted: Delhi, Kailash, 1978. American title: *The opening of Tibet*. Reprinted: Gurgaon, Vintage Books, 1990.

[Reviewed: D.W.Freshfield, *Geogr. J.* 25: 551-554, 1905; R.Richardson, *Scott. geogr. Mag.* 21: 246-249, 1905; *Blackwood's Edinb. Mag.* 177: 429-448, 1905; *Bull. Am. geogr. Soc.* 37: 184-185, 1905; *Edinb. Rev.* 201: 338-360, 1905; *Nation* 80: 273-274, 1905; *Sat. Rev.* 99: 348-349, 1905; *Spectator* 94: 365-366, 1905]

Detailed account of the Expedition by the *Times* correspondent. Included in the appendices is 'The present condition and government of Tibet', by W.F.T. O'Connor, and a list of the officers who reached Lhasa with the Expedition.

2680. Mehra, P. 1967. Beginnings of the Lhasa Expedition: Younghusband's own words. *Bull. Tibetol.* 4(4): 9-17.

Reproduces letters from Younghusband to his father on the Expedition to Tibet.

2681. Millington, P. 1905. *To Lhasa at last*. London, Smith, Elder. 200 p. [Reviewed: D.W. Freshfield, *Geogr. J.* 25: 551-554, 1905; R.Richardson, *Scott. geogr. Mag.* 21: 246-249, 1905; *Edinb. Rev.* 201: 338-360, 1905; *Spectator* 94: 178-179, 1905]

Light-hearted account of the Expedition.

2682. Moore, A.T. 1905. The recent mission to Tibet. *R. Engrs J.* n.s. 1: 102-113.

An account of the Expedition partly compiled from Macdonald's final despatch. It includes a report on the work of the Engineers, the Supply and Transport Department, the Medical Department, and the Survey Department.

2683. Moore, C.H.G. 1912. A few personal experiences with transport in Tibet. *J. Supply Transp. Cps Indian Army* no. 7: 318-325.
Moore commanded the 12th Mule Corps with the Tibet Expedition. He gives an account of the experiences of the Corps in Tibet and the difficulties they encountered, especially in crossing the Tsangpo.
2684. Moore, R.C. 1905. *Report on the working of the Army Veterinary Department with the Sikkim-Tibet Mission, 1904*. Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 15 p.
Moore was Senior Veterinary Officer with the Expedition. He gives a brief account of the general advance of the Expedition, and enumerates the difficulties encountered by his Department including the many diseases suffered by the pack animals and the problem of obtaining supplies for them.
2685. Mullaly, A. 1905. *Report on the supply and transport arrangements with the late Thibet Mission Force, 1904*. Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 116 p.
Mullaly was the Chief Supply and Transport Officer with the Expedition after the death of Bretherton in the crossing of the Tsangpo.
2686. Narbeth, C. 1995. The storming of the Gyantse fort: an unpublished letter from the 1904 Younghusband expedition in Tibet. *Postal-Himal* no. 84: 86-90. Reprinted: *Tibetan Review* 31(6): 16-18, Jun 1996.
Letter from Major C.N.C. Wimberley of the 71 Native Field Hospital on the battle which took place on 6th July 1904.
2687. Newman, H. 1904. With the Tibet Mission. *N. China Herald* 72: 949-950.
The work of the Field Post Office in Tibet with the Expedition and the difficulties it overcame.
2688. Newman, H. 1937. *A roving commission*. London, G. Bell. 328 p.
Newman accompanied the Expedition as a correspondent for *Reuter*. His account of the Expedition is on p. 87-197.
2689. O'Connor, F. 1936. With Younghusband to Tibet. *Listener* 16: 1102-1104, Dec. 9.
Account of his experiences as Secretary and interpreter on the Expedition, and as Trade Agent in Gyantse after its conclusion.
2690. O'Connor, F. 1944. Sir Francis Younghusband as I knew him. *Indian Art and Letters* n.s. 18: 1-9.
Describes Younghusband's character as revealed by his conduct of the Expedition.
2691. Ottley, W.J. 1906. *With mounted infantry in Tibet*. London, Smith, Elder. xiii, 275 p.

Ottley, who commanded the mounted infantry section of the military escort, gives a detailed account of their part in the Expedition. There are a number of appendices including General Macdonald's orders for assaulting Gyantse Dzong on July 6, the speech delivered by Younghusband on the signing of the Lhasa Convention, and Macdonald's last despatch from Tibet in which he reviews the whole Expedition. The work is illustrated with many photos.

2692. Rybot, N.V.L. 1904. *With the Tibet Expedition. Engl. ill. Mag. n.s. 31: 610-613.*

Account of his stay at Phari during the Expedition.

2693. Ryder, C.H.D. 1905. *Report on survey operations with the Tibet Frontier Commission. Gen. Rep. Ops Surv. India 1903/1904: App. p. xv-xix.*

Account of the Expedition and his surveying work while accompanying it.

2694. Sheppard, S.H. 1905. *Demolitions in savage warfare, with additional notes on explosive work in Thibet, 1904, and the use of dynamite in extreme cold.* Allahabad, Pioneer Press. 26 p.

Technical details on how to demolish walls and buildings, together with practical examples drawn from the Tibet campaign.

2695. Sheppard, S.H. 1905. *No. 3 Company 1st (Bengal) Sappers and Miners on the Thibet Mission, 1903-1904. R. Engrs' J. n.s. 2: 104-113.*

The Company was employed in building the Nathu La Road (see no. 2671) until May 1904 when half of it was ordered to Gyantse under the command of Sheppard. He describes the capture of Gyantse Dzong, the journey to Lhasa, and the part played by the Company in arranging for the crossing of the Tsangpo.

2696. Truninger, L. 1905. *Report on field telegraph work with the Sikkim-Tibet Mission, 1903-04.* Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 23 p.

Report on the work carried out between November 1903 and November 1904, which included the construction of the telegraph from Sikkim to Gyantse.

2697. Virk, D.S. 1989. *Sikkim-Tibet 1903-1908.* New Delhi, Philatelic Congress of India and Army Postal Service Association. 144 p. (Postal history of Indian Military Campaigns)
[Reviewed: Y.P.Dev, *J. un. Serv. Instn India* 121(503): 122, 1991]

Brief account of the campaign as an introduction to a detailed postal history of the Younghusband Expedition. It includes the complete diary of H. Tulloch, Superintendent of the Field Post Offices on the Mission, from December 1903 to November 28, 1904.

2698. Waddell, L.A. 1905. *Lhasa and its mysteries, with a record of the Expedition of 1903-1904.* London, J. Murray. xxii, 530 p. Reprinted: Freeport, N.Y., Books for Libraries Press, 1972; Delhi, Sanskaran Prakashak, 1975; New York, Dover Publications, 1988.

[Reviewed: D.W.Freshfield, *Geogr. J.* 25: 551-554, 1905; H.A.Bruce, *Outlook* 80: 241-243, 1905; *Lit. Digest* 31: 762-763, Nov. 18, 1905; *Nation* 80: 484-485, 1905; *Sat. Rev.* 100: 56-57, 1905; T.Wangyal, *Tibetan Review* 12(5): 30-31, 1977; S.Norboo, *Tibet J.* 2(3): 74-76, 1977; N.C.Chandra, *Bull. Tibetol.* no.3: 31-32, 1977]

Waddell accompanied the Expedition as Chief Medical Officer but he was also a well-known Tibetologist. He gives an account of British relations with Tibet and the background to the Expedition, before describing the Expedition itself. He also includes information on the explorations by the pundits, especially of the Tsangpo.

2699. Waddell, L.A. 1912. Tibetan manuscripts and books, etc., collected during the Younghusband Mission to Lhasa. *Imp. Asiat. Q. Rev.* 3s., 34: 80-113.

Describes how he managed to join the Expedition and his experiences in Tibet collecting the material.

2700. Waters, R.S. 1936. *History of the 5th Battalian (Pathans) 14th Punjab Regiment, formerly 40th Pathans ("The forty thieves")*. London, J. Bain. xix, 398 p.

Includes an account of their participation in the Expedition and stay in Gyantse and the Chumbi Valley following its conclusion. The appendices include extracts from an officer's diary on the march to Gyantse, notes on Tibet by Lieut.Col. F. Campbell, and 'Account by Lt Cochran, commanding at Phari, of his visit to Shigatse and escort back therefrom of the Tashi Lama on his first journey to India in...1905'.

2701. Wylly, H.C. 1904. Across the north-east frontier. *Un. serv. Mag.* n.s. 29: 642-648.

Account of the march of the British troops to the Tibetan frontier and the crossing of the Jelep La.

2702. Wylly, H.C. 1904/1905. Lhasa and its armed rabble. *Un. Serv. Mag.* n.s. 30: 31-38.

The route to Lhasa from the account by Sarat Chandra Das and from Wylly's own observations, and an account of the Tibetan army.

2703. Young, A.W.C. 1906. With the Tibet Mission Force to Lhasa. *Proc. anat. anthrop. Soc., Aberd.* 1904/1906: 22-34.

General account of Tibet together with a description of the route followed by the Expedition which Young accompanied.

2704. Younghusband, F.E. 1905. The geographical results of the Tibet Mission. *Geogr. J.* 25: 481-498. Reprinted: *Scott. geogr. Mag.* 21: 229-245, 1905; *Rep. Smithson. Instn* 1904/1905: 265-277, 1906. Abstract: *Bull. Soc. R. belge Géogr.* 29: 323-328, 1905; *Bull. Soc. Étud. colon.* 12: 317-322, 1905; *Revue fr. Étranger Colon.* 30: 537-541, 1905.

Account of the Expedition and the geographical discoveries made by it, and his negotiations with the Tibetan leaders.

2705. Younghusband, F.E. 1910. *India and Tibet; a history of the relations which have subsisted between the two countries from the time of Warren Hastings to 1910; with a particular account of the Mission to Lhasa of 1904*. London, J. Murray. xvi, 455 p. Reprinted: Delhi, Oriental Publishers, 1971; Hong Kong, Oxford University Press, 1985.

[Reviewed: *Geogr. J.* 37: 83, 1911; *Sat. Rev.* 110: 647-648, 1910; T.Zinkin, *Asian Affairs* 19: 338, 1988]

A detailed account of his mission and its background which aims to show that Curzon's policy was the correct one and that the later repudiation of the mission by the British Government led to a series of lost opportunities which resulted in the occupation of Lhasa by the Chinese in 1910. As well as covering the military, political and economic issues it also includes information on the newly explored areas, and the botanical and other scientific results of the mission. The 1985 reprint contains an introduction by Alastair Lamb.

2706. Younghusband, F.E. 1911. Lamaism in Tibet. *Sociol. Rev.* 4: 98-109.

On the Tibetan religion derived from his observations whilst in Tibet, and comments on how it affected the conduct of Tibetans during his Expedition.

2707. Younghusband, F.E. 1926. A mission to Tibet. *Bull. Soc. R. belge Géogr.* 50: 194-198.

Account of the 1904 Expedition and of the current modernising tendencies in Tibet as illustrated by the building of a telegraph line to Lhasa.

2708. Younghusband, F.E. 1927. *The light of experience; a review of some men and events of my time*. London, Constable. 305 p.

Includes a section on the Expedition which he considers was a resounding success.

2709. Younghusband, F. 1930. In the heart of Asia; a summary of the record of the expedition to the forbidden city of Lhasa. *Can. geogr. J.* 1: 52-59.

2710. Younghusband, F.E. 1934. Lhasa: a retrospect. *Nineteenth century and after* 116: 282-296.

In response to the verdict of Thompson and Garratt (see no. 711) that the Younghusband Expedition was 'the least justifiable of all England's little wars, forced upon an essentially pacific and practically unarmed race' Younghusband compares the state of British relations with Tibet during the thirty years after his mission with the thirty years before it.

See also nos 1771-3, 1882, 2908, 2913-14, 2928, 2968.

b) Other accounts

2711. Anon. 1903. The British Expedition into Tibet. *Geogr. J.* 22: 697-698.

2712. Anon. 1903, 1904. Tibet. Expédition anglaise. *Revue fr. Étranger Colon.* 28: 745-746; 29: 123, 313-314, 441-442, 551-552.

2713. Anon. 1903/1904. Another little war? *Wld's Work, Lond.* 3: 122-123.
Questions the advisability of an expedition at this time.
2714. Anon. 1903/1904. England in Tibet. *Wld's Work, Lond.* 3: 527.
2715. Anon. 1903/1904. Wettererfahrungen der englischen Tibetexpedition. *Dt. Rdsch. Geogr. Statist.* 26: 425.
2716. Anon. 1904. American views of the British Tibet Expedition. *Lit. Digest* 28: 542-543, Apr. 16.
The American press mainly treated the reasons for the Younghusband Expedition and its progress with satire and scepticism.
2717. Anon. 1904. Les Anglais au Thibet. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Est* 25: 80-83.
2718. Anon. 1904. Les Anglais au Thibet. *Bull. Com. Asie fr.* 4(34): 43.
2719. Anon. 1904. L'Angleterre et le Tibet. *A travers le monde* 10: 5-6.
2720. Anon. 1904. At Lhasa and after. *Sat. Rev.* 98: 193-194.
Younghusband's arrival in Lhasa and speculation on the treaty to be concluded. Feels that it is essential that the Chumbi Valley be retained permanently in British possession.
2721. Anon. 1904. Au Thibet. *Bull. Com. Asie fr.* 4: 164-165, 328-329.
2722. Anon. 1904. The British in Tibet [editorials]. *Outlook* 76: 863-864; 77: 2, 199-200, 626; 78: 252.
2723. Anon. 1904. La campagne des Anglais au Tibet. *A travers le monde* 10: 142-143.
2724. Anon. 1904. Our future in Tibet. *Spectator* 93: 41.
Fears that the failure of the negotiations at Gyantse may lead the 'Forward Party' to press for a protectorate over Tibet. Gives reasons why this is not desirable and urges Curzon to make known his instructions to Younghusband.
2725. Anon. 1904. The capture of Lhasa. *Spectator* 93: 213-214.
2726. Anon. 1904. Colonel Younghusband and the rival Grand Lamas of Tibet. *Lit. Digest* 28: 597, Apr. 23.
Discusses the friendly attitude of the Panchen Lama towards the Younghusband Expedition, and the report that an embassy has left Lhasa for Russia.
2727. Anon. 1904. Colonel Younghusband climbs more walls. *Lit. Digest* 28: 780-781, May 28.
British, German and French opinions about the Expedition.

2728. Anon. 1904. Colonel Younghusband's ultimatum to the Grand Lama. *Lit. Digest* 29: 296, Sept. 3.
On the refusal of Younghusband to leave Lhasa until a treaty is signed.
2729. Anon. 1904. Conditions de la vie au Tibet. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Est* 25: 292-293. Reprinted with title: Effets de l'altitude sur l'expédition anglaise au Tibet. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Lyon* 19: 328-329.
On the effect of the altitude, cold etc. on the Expedition in Tibet.
2730. Anon. 1904. Conditions of England's retirement from Tibet. *Lit. Digest* 29: 118, July 23.
The opinion of the Berlin *Kreuz Zeitung* on the difficulties facing Younghusband if the Dalai Lama flees from Lhasa. Also comments on the recent lack of Russian criticism of the Expedition.
2731. Anon. 1904. Le conflit anglo-tibétain. Prochaines negociations. *A travers le monde* 10: 148.
Brief report on a telegram from Younghusband stating that Chinese and Tibetan representatives would soon arrive in Gyantse to hold talks.
2732. Anon. 1904. A dramatic invasion. *Outlook* 77: 874-875.
2733. Anon. 1904. Echo de l'expédition anglaise au Tibet. *A travers le monde* 10: 391.
Comments on the extreme conditions under which the Expedition operated in the high altitudes of Tibet.
2734. Anon. 1904. Die Engländer in der Hauptstadt Tibets. *Grenzboten* 63(33): 365-369, Juli-Sept.
2735. Anon. 1904. Die Engländer in Tibet. *Export* 26: 527-528.
2736. Anon. 1904. The English in Tibet and possible consequences. *Wld's Work, N.Y.* 8: 4728.
Considers that the slaughter of Tibetans may yet involve Britain in war with Russia.
2737. Anon. 1904. Die englische Einfallspforte nach Tibet. *Globus* 85: 122-125.
The route followed by the Expedition through Sikkim and the Chumbi Valley.
2738. Anon. 1904. Die englische Tibetexpedition auf dem Wege nach Lhasa. *Globus* 86: 55-58.
2739. Anon. 1904. L'entrée des Anglais à Lhasa. *A travers le monde* 10: 278-279.

2740. Anon. 1904. Die Ergebnis des englischen Tibetfeldzuges. *Globus* 86: 254.
The arrival of the British in Lhasa and the treaty concluded there.
2741. Anon. 1904. L'expédition anglaise à Lhasa (Tibet). *Mouv. Géogr.* 21: 397-400. Reprinted with title: Les anglais à Lhasa. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Lyon* 19: 240-242.
2742. Anon. 1904. L'expédition du Colonel Younghusband et la prise de Lhasa. *Annales Géogr.* 13: 468-469.
2743. Anon. 1904. Geographische Neuigkeiten: Asien. [Englische Expedition nach Lhasa]. *Geogr. Z.* 10: 108, 524-525, 579-580.
2744. Anon. 1904. The Grand Lama gives Colonel Younghusband the slip. *Lit. Digest* 29: 237-238, Aug. 20.
The flight of the Dalai Lama from Lhasa and the resulting difficult situation faced by Younghusband.
2745. Anon. 1904. In the sacred city of Lhasa. *Public Opinion* 86: 193.
2746. Anon. 1904. The incident in Tibet. *Spectator* 92: 557. Reply: 'Z', 92: 638.
On the incident at Guru where a large number of Tibetans were killed by the British troops. In his reply 'Z' outlines the history of British relations with the Panchen Lama and suggests that contacts with him should be developed again.
2747. Anon. 1904. The march to Lhasa. *Spectator* 92: 761-762.
2748. Anon. 1904. Russian views of the Tibet Mission. Translated from the 'Novosti' of August 24th. *N. China Herald* 73: 1095.
2749. Anon. 1904. The situation in Tibet. *Spectator* 92: 871-872. Comment: E.R. Durnford, 93: 150.
On the situation of the British forces in Gyantse. Comments that once again the British have commenced 'great undertakings on inadequate information'. Durnford, a resident of the Western Duars, denies this and maintains that there is no excuse for the unpreparedness of the Expedition in expecting serious opposition.
2750. Anon. 1904. Teaching the Tibetans. *Nation* 78: 266-267.
Criticises the British Expedition and claims that its aim was purely commercial.
2751. Anon. 1904. Tibet. Expédition anglaise. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Lille* 41: 143.
2752. Anon. 1904. The Tibet Mission: release of prisoners. *N. China Herald* 73: 870.
Release of Tibetans held prisoner due to their assistance in the past to travellers such as Sarat Chandra Das and Kawaguchi.

2753. Anon. 1904. Tibet und die englische Expedition. *Streffleur's Öst. milit. Z.* 45: 172-177.
2754. Anon. 1904. Tibetan alternatives. *Sat. Rev.* 97: 741-742.
2755. Anon. 1904. The Tibetan Expedition. *Economist* 62: 256-257, Feb. 13.
2756. Anon. 1904. The Tibetan Mission. *Public Opinion* 85: 474, 790.
2757. Anon. 1904. Die tibetanische Frage. *Öst. Mschr. Orient* 30: 1-3, 109-111.
Analyses the background of the Expedition, its conduct and the treaty signed.
2758. Anon. 1904. Von der englischen Tibetexpedition. *Globus* 85: 312.
2759. Anon. 1904. [The Younghusband Expedition: editorials]. *Nation* 78: 283, 303; 79: 109, 209, 347.
2760. Anon. 1904/1905. British conquest of Tibet. *Wld's Work, N.Y.* 9: 5446-5447.
2761. Anon. 1904, 1905. Die englische Tibet-Expedition. *Streffleur's Öst. milit. Z.* 45: 557-562, 980-985; 46: 70-72.
2762. Anon. 1904, 1905. News of the week: [the Younghusband Expedition]. *Spectator* 92: 114, 170, 438, 477, 517, 553-554, 590, 682, 757, 797, 829, 865-866, 905, 945, 997, Jan.-Jne; 93: 1-2, 37, 106, 138, 173, 209, 241-242, 274, 309, 346, 378, 465-466, 501, 581-582, 622, 1038, July-Dec.; 94: 162, Jan.-Jne.
2763. Anon. 1905. England und Tibet. *Hist. polit. Bl. kathol. Dtl.* 136: 609-617.
2764. Anon. 1905. L'entrée des Anglais à Lhassa. *Bull. Un. géogr. N. Fr.* 26: 68-69.
2765. Anon. 1905. Sir Franck Younghusband sur le Thibet. *Bull. Com. Asie fr.* 5(48): 117-119.
2766. Anon. 1905. Geological results of the Tibet Mission. *Geogr. J.* 26: 668-669.
2767. Anon. 1905. Thibet. Mission de Sir Frank Younghusband. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Lille* 43: 385-392.
2768. Anon. 1905/1906. Die wissenschaftlichen Ergebnisse der britischen Tibetexpedition. *Dt. Rdsch. Geogr. Statist.* 28: 282-283.

2769. Anon. 1923. Negotiating with Tibet. *United Empire* 14(1): 60-61.

Report on a lecture given by Younghusband on his negotiations with the Tibetans during his mission.

2770. Anon. 1925. The Tibet Mission Escort, 1903-4. *United Empire* 16(12): 739-741.

Report on a lecture given by Sir James Macdonald entitled 'Incidents in the operations of the Tibet Mission Escort, 1903-4'.

2771. Anon. 1942. Sir Francis Edward Younghusband [obituary]. *Geogr. Rev.* 32: 681.

2772. Barakatullah, M. 1905/1906. The British invasion of Tibet: in defence of the Dalai Lama. *Forum* 37: 128-140.

Strongly criticises the Younghusband Expedition and the stated reasons for sending it to Tibet. Maintains that the Dalai Lama always only desired peace, and that it was the firm attitude of China in not ratifying the Lhasa Convention that led the British to modify it.

2773. Billington, J. 1997. Repton's Tibet connections. *Old Reptonian Newsletter* no. 290: 6-7, May.

On two members of Repton School who accompanied the Younghusband Expedition – Edmund Candler, the correspondent of the *Daily Mail*, and Lieut. Arthur Hadow, Maxim Gun Commander.

2774. Boulger, D.C. 1904. The problem of High Asia. *Fortnightly Rev.* n.s. 75: 273-280.

Supports the Younghusband Expedition as he considers that it should eliminate Russian hopes in Tibet and also lead to an increase in the external trade of India. To promote this he urges the opening of a trade route from Sadiya to Kham.

2775. Bray, J. 1988. A.H. Francke's *La Dvags Kyi Akhbar*: the first Tibetan newspaper. *Tibet J.* 13(3): 58-63. Reprinted in A. McKay, ed. *The history of Tibet. Vol. 3.* (see no. 211), p. 337-341.

Tibetan language secular (or non-Buddhist) paper established in Ladakh in 1904. Translated as 'Ladakhi News', it included information from Indian newspapers on world events as well as news from Ladakh. Items in the paper show that there was much interest in Ladakh in the Younghusband Expedition. After Francke left Ladakh the Moravian Mission continued to publish the newspaper.

2776. *Breitscheid, R. 1904. Englands Tibetexpedition. *Hilfe* no. 16. Source. no. 10.

2777. Brereton, J.M. 1977. Mission to Tibet. *Blackwood's Mag.* 321: 433-447, 495-510.

Examines the foreign policy of Curzon as regards Tibet and provides a detailed account of the Younghusband mission.

2778. Bruchhausen, K. von. 1904. Die britische Expedition nach Lhasa. *Mar. Rdsch.* 15: 1248-1267.
2779. Carrington, M. 1998, 1999. Younghusband, the last great imperial butcher? Parts I-III. *Tibetan Review* 33(11): 17-20; 33(12): 19-22; 34(1): 17-19.
 Analyses the press reports on the expedition, concentrating on the engagement at Guru where a large number of Tibetans were killed on 31 March 1904. The place of the press in the lead up to the expedition is also examined.
2780. Carrington, M. 2003. Officers, gentlemen and thieves: the looting of monasteries during the 1903/4 Younghusband Mission to Tibet. *Mod. Asian Stud.* 37(1): 81-109.
 Examines the official and unofficial looting by members of the Younghusband Expedition and argues that 'the desire for books, manuscripts and curios became an important element, even a central plank, of the philosophy of the Tibet mission and that this event may be illustrative of wider concerns within the British Empire in the early twentieth century'.
2781. Dalal, J.A.F. 1987. Khan Bahadur Sher Jang. *J. un. Serv. Instn India* 117(487): 78-80.
 Khan Bahadur Sher Jang joined the Indian Army in 1887 and the Survey of India in 1895. He accompanied the Younghusband Expedition to Tibet in 1904 and the Abor Expedition in 1911-1912 being mentioned in despatches.
2782. Deniker, J. 1906. Les récentes publications sur Lhasa et le Tibet. *Géographie* 13: 103-124.
 Reviews nos 2679, 2681, 2698 and 2856, and summarises the scientific results of the Expedition, especially the results of the journey to Western Tibet (see chapter XII.3b).
2783. Diener, C. 1905. Ergebnisse der geologischen Untersuchungen im südlichen Tibet während der anglo-indischen Expedition nach Lhasa. *Mitt. geogr. Ges. Wien* 48: 498-499.
 On the geological discoveries made by Hayden during the Expedition.
2784. Ebray, A. 1904. L'expédition du Thibet. *J. Débats* 11: 299-301, Aug. 12.
2785. Edwardes, M. 1967. *The West in Asia, 1850-1914*. New York, G.P. Putnam's Sons. 216 p.
 Includes a section on Tibet which briefly describes the Expedition, its background and results.
2786. *Evans, P.R. 1987. Sir Francis Younghusband: a case-study in the career of a player in the Great Game, 1885-1904. Thesis (M.A.) University of Wales, Lampeter. Source: no. 53.

2787. [Ferrier, J.A. and Spinks, A.R.] 1921. The Tibet Mission of 1903-04. *R. Engrs' J.* n.s. 33: 96, 198, 298.
Letters from J.A. Ferrier and A.R. Spinks on the relative positions of Younghusband and Brig.-Gen. J.R. Macdonald during the expedition.
2788. Fitzau, A. 1905. Geographische Neuigkeiten: Asien. [Wissenschaftliche Ergebnisse der englischen Expedition nach Lhasa]. *Geogr. Z.* 11: 640.
2789. Fleming, P. 1961. *Bayonets to Lhasa; the first full account of the British invasion of Tibet in 1904*. London, Hart-Davis. 319 p. Reprinted: Westport, Conn., Greenwood Press, 1974; Hong Kong, Oxford University Press, 1986.
[Reviewed: B.H.Farmer, *Geogr. J.* 128: 87-88, 1962; K.Mason, *Alpine J.* 66: 399-401, 1961; C.Petrie, III. *Lond. News* 238: 224, Feb. 11, 1961; F.M.B[ailey], *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 48: 339-340, 1961]
A detailed account of the Expedition and its background and the British Government's reaction to Younghusband and the treaty he signed at Lhasa.
2790. *Forstmann, C. 1924. Ende der englischen Tibetexpedition 1904. *Zeiten und Völker* 21: 25-30. Source: no. 10.
2791. French, P. 1994. *Younghusband: the last great imperial adventurer*. London, Harper Collins. xxii, 440 p.
[Reviewed: W.Peters, *Asian Affairs* 26: 198-199, 1995; D.Matless, *J. hist. Geogr.* 22(1): 86-90, 1996; P.Mehra, *Econ. Polit. Wkly* 30(39): 2433-2434, 1995; J.M.MacKenzie, *J. imp. Cwealth Hist.* 23: 317-324, 1995]
Includes a detailed account of the Younghusband mission based on British and Tibetan sources.
2792. French, P. 2000. Younghusband, British India and China. An excerpt from an exclusive interview with Patrick French. *Tibetan Bull.* 4(1): 25-27.
2793. Gilbert, M. 1968. Tibetan tragedy: Tibet, 1903-04. In: A.J.P. Taylor, ed. *History of the 20th century*. London, Purnell, vol. 1, p. 30-34.
2794. Giraudeau, Mgr. 1904. Thibet. *Miss. Cathol.* 36: 592.
Concerns the arrival of the Expedition at Lhasa, and its importance for the Catholic missionaries.
2795. Gjellerup, P. 1907/1908. Tibet. *Geogr. Tidsskr.* 19: 242-245.
Account of Tibet and the Younghusband Expedition.
2796. Gopal, S. 1965. *British policy in India, 1858-1905*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. xii, 422 p.
Includes an account of the Younghusband Expedition and its background.
2797. Great Britain. East India (Tibet). 1904. *Further papers relating to Tibet*. [In continuation of Cd. 1920]. London, H.M.S.O. iv, 29 p. (Parliament.

Papers by command, Cd. 2054). In: *H. of C. Parl. Pap.* LXVII: 1103-1135, 1904.

Official documents concerning the Expedition dated December 1903 to April 1904 when the Expedition arrived at Gyantse.

2798. Great Britain. East India (Tibet). 1905. *Further papers relating to Tibet. No. III.* [In continuation of Cd. 2054]. London, H.M.S.O. xxvi, 277 p. (Parliament. Papers by command, Cd. 2370). In: *H. of C. Parl. Pap.* LVIII: 433-735, 1905.

Official documents concerning the Expedition dated March 1904 to December 1904. They cover the progress of the Expedition, the Lhasa Convention, and the subsequent conflict between the Indian and British Governments concerning the provisions of the Convention.

2799. Great Britain. East India (Military operations). 1908. *Return of the military operations undertaken by the Government of India on the north-west frontier, the north-east frontier, and beyond India, in the period 1899-1908 inclusive.* London, H.M.S.O. 2 p. (Parliament, 1908. House of Commons. Reports and papers, 338). In: *H. of C. Parl. Pap.* LXXIV: 739-740, 1908.

Includes details of the Mishmi Expedition 1899-1900, and the Younghusband Expedition 1903-1904.

2800. *Hull, A.M.A. 1989. Colonel Younghusband's mission to Lhasa, 1904: parliament, the British government and the 'forward policy' in Tibet. Thesis (M.A.) Durham University. Source: no. 53

Examines British public and parliamentary perceptions of Russia as a background to the mission, and the tactics employed by Balfour's Government to avoid parliamentary scrutiny of its Tibet policy. Also discusses the role of Sir Henry Cotton in influencing the reversal of British policy in Tibet.

2801. Indian National Congress. 1905. *Report of the twentieth Indian National Congress, held at Bombay on the 26th, 27th, and 28th December 1904.* Bombay, Crown Printing Works. xxxvi, 239, xcix p.

See Resolution X. 'Tibetan affairs and forward policy'. This criticises the Younghusband Expedition and especially the fact that the Indian Government had to pay the entire cost of the Expedition. Also Resolution XII. 'Military expenditure' which also mentions the Expedition.

2802. Joùbert, J. 1904. L'Angleterre et le Thibet. *Bull. Soc. Étud. Colon. Marit.* 29: 97-101.

2803. Kolshorn, W. 1905/1906. Die geographischen Ergebnisse der englischen Tibet-Expedition 1903/04. *Asien* 5: 37-39.

2804. Lawrence, W. 1904. The British Mission to Tibet. *N. Am. Rev.* 178: 869-881.

2805. Lee, S. 1925-1927. *King Edward VII, a biography*. London, Macmillan. 2 vols.
Vol. 2 contains a brief account of the Expedition and the King's reaction and interest in it.
2806. *Leont'ev, V.P. 1955. Vooruzhennaia angliiskaia interventsii'a v Tibete (1903-1904 gg.). *Uchenye Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedeniia* 11: 37-63. Source: no. 49.
Examines British motives for the Younghusband Expedition and the reasons why they failed to achieve their objectives.
2807. Lung, Chang. 1962. *La Chine à l'aube du XXe siècle; les relations diplomatiques de la Chine avec les puissances depuis la guerre sino-japonaise jusqu'à la guerre russo-japonaise*. Paris, Nouvelles Éditions Latines. 502 p.
Includes a detailed account of the Younghusband Expedition, its background, the Lhasa Convention, and the reaction to it in England and Russia.
2808. Magrini, G.P. 1904. La spedizione inglese nel Tibet. *Riv. geogr. Ital.* 11: 48-51.
2809. Malcolm, I. 1905. Thibet and the India Office, a "blazing indiscretion". *Nineteenth century and after* 57: 577-584.
Denounces the third Tibetan Blue Book (see no. 2798) which 'affords the spectacle of divided councils, of a weak Indian policy, of pledges carelessly given, of immediate and inexcusable public censure'. He briefly describes the Expedition to illustrate the difficulties it faced and defends the actions of Younghusband concerning the treaty.
2810. Mehra, P.L. 1955, 1961. The Younghusband Expedition, an interpretation. *J. Indian Hist.* 33: 201-228; 39: 137-162.
2811. Mehra, P.L. 1968. *The Younghusband Expedition, an interpretation*. London, Asia Publishing House. xxi, 408 p.
[Reviewed: S.C.Bajpai, *India Q.* 25: 185-187, 1969; A.T.Embree, *J. Asian Hist.* 5: 61-62, 1971; R.P.Gates, *J. Asian Stud.* 29: 958-960, 1969/1970; H.E.Richardson, *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 56: 323-324, 1969; R.W.Winks, *J. Am. orient. Soc.* 93: 232-233, 1973; M.E.Yapp, *Bull. Sch. Orient. Afr. Stud.* 32: 639-640, 1969; S.Chandra, *Econ. Polit. Wkly* 5: 701, 703-704, April 25, 1970; S.Wolpert, *Pacific Affairs* 43: 465-466, 1970; R.I.Crane, *Am. hist. Rev.* 76(2): 538, 1971]
Detailed account of the Expedition and of relations between India and the Himalayan region in the nineteenth century as a background. It also covers in detail the negotiations leading to the signing of the Lhasa Convention and the British Government's reaction to it.
2812. Midleton, W. St. J.F. Brodrick, 1st Earl. 1939. *Records and reactions, 1856-1939*. London, J. Murray. 318 p.

Brodrick was Secretary of State for India from 1903-1905. He briefly mentions the Tibetan policy of Curzon, and the Younghusband Expedition.

2813. Mishra, S.G. 1976. The Younghusband Expedition and Maharaja Chandra Sham Sher. *Q. Rev. hist. Stud.* 15(1): 44-50.

Chandra Shamsher was Prime Minister of Nepal from 1901. Like Curzon he was disturbed at the news that the Dalai Lama had sent an envoy to Russia and feared that if Russian influence was established in Tibet, Russia might next pressure Nepal. Mishra examines the Nepalese policy and their support of the British expedition, and the part played by the Nepalese envoy in Lhasa, Jit Bahadur, in advising the Tibetans to negotiate with Younghusband.

2814. Molesworth, E.K. 1904. Lieut. J.A. Garstin, R.E. [obituary]. *R. Engrs' J.* 34: 202.

An account of Garstin's service with the Expedition before he was killed at Gyantse.

2815. Monger, G.W. 1963. *The end of isolation; British foreign policy, 1900-1907*. London, Nelson. v, 343 p.

Includes an account of British relations with Tibet in this period.

2816. Morley, J. 1904. *The issues at stake. Speech delivered by the Rt Hon. John Morley, M.P., together with a speech delivered by Mr Winston Churchill, M.P. on May 13, 1904, at Manchester*. London, Liberal Publication Dept. 20 p.

Reviews the general state of affairs in Britain and abroad and briefly comments on the Younghusband Expedition as 'an illustration of the perils to which we are exposed by frontier agents when they are not vigilantly watched from home'.

2817. Morris, J. 1978. A late aggression: the British invasion of Tibet. In his *Farewell the trumpets: an imperial retreat* by James Morris. London, Faber & Faber, p. 125-144.

2818. Moulin, R. 1905. *Une année de politique extérieure*. Paris, Plon-Nourrit. vii, 353 p.

See Chapter VI, 'Les Anglais au Thibet'.

2819. Moulton, E.C. 1982. Early Indian nationalism: Henry Cotton and the British positivist and radical connection, 1870-1915. *J. Indian Hist.* 60: 125-159.

Cotton, a member of the India Civil Service, was an outspoken critic of many aspects of British administration in India. Forced to return to England, he mounted a spirited and well-directed attack on Curzon and the Younghusband Expedition. In addition to a vigorous press campaign he undertook extensive public speaking against the Expedition.

2820. [Mourey, C.] 1903. Le conflit anglo-thibétain, par C.M. *Bull. Com. Asie fr.* 3: 487-488.

2821. [Mourey, C.] 1904. Les Anglais au Thibet, par C.M. *Bull. Com. Asie fr.* 4: 244-245, 288-289.
2822. [Mourey, C.] 1904. Au Thibet, par C.M. *Bull. Com. Asie fr.* 4: 198-200, 375-376, 420-422.
2823. Nyingen, Laylung. 1999. Younghusband killings continued after Guru. *Tibetan Review* 34(3): 21. Reply: M. Carrington, 34(4): 22.
Response to no. 2779.
2824. O'Connor, F. 1942. Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., [obituary]. *Nature* 150: 260-261, Aug. 29.
2825. O'Connor, F., Ryder, C.H.D. and Bailey, F.M. 1942. Lieut.-Colonel Sir Francis Edward Younghusband, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E. [obituary]. *Geogr. J.* 100: 131-137.
2826. O'Connor, F., Winthrop Young, G. and Mason, K. 1943. Sir Francis Edward Younghusband 1863-1942 [obituary]. *Alpine J.* 54: 65-68; *Himalayan J.* 13: 118-121, 1946.
2827. Olufsen, O. 1903/1904. Tibet og spørgsmaalet Lhasa. *Geogr. Tidsskr.* 17: 222-223.
2828. Olufsen, O. 1905/1906. Tibet. *Geogr. Tidsskr.* 18: 129-132.
2829. Payen, E. 1904. Les Anglais au Thibet. *Annales Sci. Polit.* 19: 569-580.
2830. Rabot, C. 1905. Résultats géologiques de l'expédition anglaise à Lhasa. *Géographie* 12: 188-190.
2831. Roberts, P.E. 1952. *History of British India under the company and the crown*. 3rd ed. London, Oxford University Press. 707 p. [First published 1923]
Includes information on the Younghusband Expedition and the Anglo-Chinese and Anglo-Russian negotiations which followed it.
2832. Roe, C.H. 1921. *Historical record of the 2nd "Queen Victoria's Own" Sappers and Miners*. Bangalore, 2nd "Q.V.O." S. & M. Press. 2 vols.
Includes a brief account of their participation in the Younghusband Expedition and the Abor Survey Party.
2833. Schlagintweit, E. 1904. Tibet. *Petermanns Mitt.* 50: 107-112.
Report on Tibet and on the Expedition which was then in Gyantse.
2834. Schweiger-Lerchenfeld, A. von. 1904. Tibet. *Öst. Mschr. Orient* 30: 61-64.

2835. Scott, A.M. 1905. *The truth about Tibet*. With an introductory note by Sir Robert Reid. London, Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent. 75 p.
Account of the Expedition based on the three Blue Books (see nos 2531, 2797-2798). 'It brings out the flimsy pretexts for quarrel, the veiled ambition of the Indian Government to secure a political foothold at Lhasa, the deplorable slaughter, the inability of a weak minister in London to control his subordinates in India, and the futility of the entire proceedings for any practical purpose' - Introduction.
2836. Seaver, G. 1952. *Francis Younghusband; explorer and mystic*. London, J. Murray. 391 p.
[Reviewed: H.O. Clarke, *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 41: 63-65, 1954; K.Mason, *Himalayan J.* 18: 181, 1954; *Geogr. J.* 119: 359-360, 1953]
2837. Shah, G. 2003. *Tibet: the Himalayan kingdom: religion, society and politics*. Delhi, Kalpaz Publications. 332 p.
Includes a chapter, 'British missions in Tibet: 1903-1904' (p. 93-129) which contains an account of the Younghusband Expedition, its background, and the negotiations which took place between the British and Tibetans during the progress of the expedition through Tibet. Also includes the major treaties on Tibet.
2838. *Singh, V.P. 1983. Tibetan expedition of 1904 and its subsequent diplomatic relations. Thesis (Ph.D) Rohilkand University. Source: no. 98.
2839. Sion, J. 1907. Le Tibet méridional et l'expédition anglaise à Lhasa. *Annales Géogr.* 16: 31-45.
2840. Solano, E.J. 1904. The crisis in Tibet. *Natn. Rev.* 43: 823-846.
A strong criticism of Britain's Tibet policy which he considers weak and timid. Suggests that if Britain is to remain an Asiatic power it must devise a consistent policy to keep India's frontiers free from the influence of other powers.
2841. Solano, E.J. 1904. Great Britain and Thibet; the Asian crisis. *Blackwood's Edinb. Mag.* 175: 710-730.
Supports Curzon's Tibetan policy and the Younghusband Expedition and strongly criticises the half-hearted support given the Expedition by the British Government and the 'vicious attitude of the Opposition'. He also reviews British relations with Tibet from 1890, and Russian activity in Tibet in the light of the general frontier policy of Britain in Asia.
2842. Song Liming. 1994. The Younghusband Expedition and China's policy towards Tibet, 1903-1904. In: *Tibetan studies: proceedings of the 6th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Fagernes, 1992*. Ed. by P. Kvaerne. Oslo, Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, vol. 2, p. 789-800.
Based on Chinese and British official records it examines the actions of the Wai-wu Pu in Peking and the Ambans, Yü Kang and Yu Tai, in Lhasa, in dealing with the British advance into Tibet.

2843. Spring Rice, C. 1929. *The letters and friendships of Sir Cecil Spring Rice, a record*. Ed. by S. Gwynn. London, Constable. 2 vols.

In 1903 Spring Rice was appointed First Secretary of the British Embassy in St Petersburg. Vol. 1 contains brief references to his views concerning the Younghusband Expedition. Vol. 2 includes comments on a visit by emissaries of the Dalai Lama to the Tsar following the Expedition. There are also brief references to the proposed Anglo-Russian Convention.

2844. Stoddart, D.R. 1992. Geography and war: the “new geography” and the “new army” in England, 1899-1914. *Polit. Geogr.* 11(1): 87-99.

Examines the background to the recognition of geography and cartography in the army in this period and highlights how the conduct of the Younghusband Mission in 1903/1904 symbolized this new attention to geographical matters.

2845. Sykes, P.M. 1942. Lieut. Colonel Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., LL.D. [obituary]. *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 29: 283-284.

2846. *Trott, J.B. 2000. ‘One Turn of Pitch & Toss’: Curzon, Younghusband, and the gamble for Lhasa, 1903 to 1904. Thesis (Ph.D) University of Hawaii. 437 p. Source: no. 30.

2847. Ular, A. 1904. The solution of the Tibetan problem. *Contemp. Rev.* 85: 640-648.

On the effects of the Younghusband Expedition on Russian policy in Central Asia, and on the dilemma Britain faced to try and find a peaceful solution to the Tibetan problem after the Expedition had to fight its way to Lhasa. Ular suggests that the Panchen Lama could replace the Dalai Lama and become an ‘Anglophile Buddhist Pope’ friendly to India.

2848. Ular, A. 1905. The policy of the Dalai Lama. *Contemp. Rev.* 87: 39-50.

Describes the policy of the Dalai Lama prior to the Expedition and the Russian influence in Tibet. Also discusses the Lhasa Convention and urges Britain to consolidate her success in Tibet so as to prevent any possible coalition between the Dalai Lama, Tsar, or Chinese Emperor in the future.

2849. Verrier, A. 1991. *Francis Younghusband and the Great Game*. London, Jonathan Cape. xviii, 238 p.
[Reviewed: W.Peters, *Asian Affairs* 23: 79, 1992.]

The background and career of Younghusband and his part in the ‘Great Game’ between Britain and Russia in Central Asia and Tibet.

2850. Verrier, A. 1992. Francis Younghusband and the Great Game. *Asian Affairs* 23: 34-43.

2851. Vosberg-Rekow, Dr. 1904/1905. Die weltpolitische Bedeutung der englischen Invasion in Tibet. *Asien* 4: 17-20.

2852. Ward, A.W. and Gooch, G.P., eds. 1922-1923. *The Cambridge history of British foreign policy, 1783-1919*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. 3 vols. Reprinted: New York, Octagon Books, 1970.

Vol. 3 includes an account of the Younghusband Expedition and the Anglo-Russian Convention.

2853. Warwick, A.R. 1963. *With Younghusband in Tibet*. London, F. Muller. 144 p.

Popular account derived from the personal reminiscences of Younghusband, O'Connor and Landon.

2854. Wegener, G. 1903/1905. Das Hochland von Tibet, Lhasa und die englische Expedition. *Jber. Frankf. Ver. Geogr. Statist.* 68/69: 159-161.

2855. Wegener, G. 1905. Tibet, Lhasa und die englische Expedition. *Mitt. geogr. Ges. Thüringen* 23: 42-44.

2856. Wegener, G. 1904. *Tibet und die englische Expedition*. Halle a S., Gebauer-Schwetschke. 147 p.

[Reviewed: M.Friedrichsen, *Z. Ges. Erdk. Berl.* 1905 p. 145; K.Oestreich, *Geogr. Z.* 11: 124-125, 1905; *Geogr. J.* 25: 85, 1905]

General information on the development of knowledge about Tibet and of its relations with China, Russia and British India as a background to the Expedition. Also briefly describes the Expedition and its entry into Lhasa.

2857. Wilkinson, G. 1991. 'There is no more stirring story': the press depiction and images of war during the Tibet Expedition 1903-1904. *War & Society* 9(2): 1-16.

A comprehensive survey of British newspaper accounts of the Expedition. They reveal a style of war reporting which portrayed war as 'exciting and glorious' and which sparked interest and excitement in the British public.

2858. Zetland, L.J.L.D., 2d Marquis. 1904. *On the outskirts of the Empire in Asia*, by the Earl of Ronaldshay. Edinburgh, Blackwood. xxii, 397 p.

Includes a chapter on Tibet which describes the Expedition and its background.

See also nos 139, 141, 172, 178, 185, 189, 201, 206, 214, 216, 223-4, 246-9, 255, 259, 262, 265, 278, 464, 523, 667, 711, 898, 1346, 1348, 1549, 1634, 1647, 1739-40, 1791, 1813, 1834, 1879, 1887, 1902-3, 2132, 2396, 2403, 2408, 2410, 2426, 2433, 2439-40, 2446, 2453, 2457-8, 2463, 2470, 2477, 2492-3, 2531, 2536, 2894, 2902, 2912, 2919, 2929, 3044, 3102, 3260, 3362, 3380, 3432, 3572, 4018.

3. THE LHASA CONVENTION

2859. Anon. 1904. Affaires du Thibet. *Bull. Com. Asie fr.* 4(44): 542-543.

On the question of Chinese ratification of the Convention.

2860. Anon. 1904. A blow to Great Britain in Tibet. *Lit. Digest* 29: 609-610, Nov. 5.
European reaction to the Convention. It was considered by some that, as it was not signed by either the Dalai Lama or the Chinese Amban, it may prove 'fragile'. Also comments on how the Convention will affect Russia.
2861. Anon. 1904. The German Emperor and Tibet. *Spectator* 93: 587-588.
The reasons for the opposition of William II to the ratification of the Convention.
2862. Anon. 1904. Lhasa - and after. *Sat. Rev.* 98: 352-353.
On the Convention and speculation on whether the Tibetans will observe it.
2863. Anon. 1904. The mission to Tibet. *N. China Herald* 73: 958-959.
On the success of the Expedition and the treaty signed.
2864. Anon. 1904. Musings without method; the expedition to Thibet. *Blackood's Edinb. Mag.* 176: 403-406.
Criticises the British Government's policy of complete withdrawal from Tibet without leaving a resident in Lhasa, and speculates on what the British would do if the Convention is ignored.
2865. Anon. 1904. Russia, England and Tibet. *Public Opinion* 86: 418-419.
English, Russian, Austrian and German opinion on the Lhasa Convention.
2866. Anon. 1904. Signing the treaty with Tibet. *N. China Herald* 73: 814.
2867. Anon. 1904. Tibet. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Étud. colon. Marseille* 28: 440-442.
Reproduces the main clauses of the Convention.
2868. Anon. 1904. The Tibetan protests. *N. China Herald* 73: 738-739.
Protests from foreign countries concerning the Convention.
2869. Anon. 1904. The Tibetan treaty. *Economist* 62: 1503-1504, Sept. 17.
2870. Anon. 1904. The Tibetan treaty signed. *Public Opinion* 86: 355-356, 390.
2871. Anon. 1904. Le traité anglo-tibétain, par M.Z. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Lyon* 19: 326-328.
2872. Anon. 1904. Le traité anglo-tibétain. *A travers le monde* 10: 310.
2873. Anon. 1904. The treaty with Tibet. *Spectator* 93: 381-382, 417-418.
2874. Anon. 1904. The treaty with Tibet. *Geogr. J.* 24: 480.
2875. Anon. 1904. Triumph of Colonel Younghusband in Tibet. *Lit. Digest* 29: 425-426, Oct. 1.

2876. Anon. 1904/1905. Convention between the governments of Great Britain and Tibet, signed September 7, 1904. *Br. foreign St. Pap.* 98: 148-151. *Am. J. int. Law* 1(suppl.): 80-83, 1907.
2877. Anon. 1904/1905. Vertrag zwischen Grossbritannien und Tibet. *Di. Rdsch. Geogr. Statist.* 27: 90.
2878. Anon. 1905. The government and Tibet. *Spectator* 94: 166-167.
Examines the latest Blue Book and the treaty concluded by Younghusband, and supports Younghusband's handling of the Expedition following his recent censure by the British Government.
2879. Anon. 1905. The true achievement in Tibet. *Spectator* 94: 243-244, 1905.
Considers that the Expedition left a good impression with the Tibetans when it left Lhasa and that the popularity of the British was confirmed by the reception given to Rawling and his party in western Tibet.
2880. Black, C.E.D. 1904. Our new market in Tibet. *Wld's Work, Lond.* 4: 435-436.
The economic importance of the Convention if it is observed, the mineral wealth of Tibet, and on goods which could be exported from India in exchange for Tibetan wool and gold.
2881. Black, C.E.D. 1904. Tibet: the treaty and the trade. *Mon. Rev.* 17(2): 82-92, Nov.
Discusses whether the Convention will secure the political and commercial results which were the aim of the British Government. Also examines the trade which ought to eventuate if the Convention is observed.
2882. Ebray, A. 1904. Le traité anglo-thibétain. *J. Débats* 11: 542-543, Sept. 16.
2883. Mehra, P.L. 1960. The Lhasa Convention and Younghusband's defiance of authority - recent apologists. *Proc. Indian hist. Congr.* 23(2): 68-78.
Outlines Younghusband's defiance of the British Government over the terms of the Convention, and criticises the biography of Younghusband by Seaver (see no. 2836) which supports the actions of Younghusband and condemns those of Brodrick.
2884. *Scott, A.M. 1904. *The negotiations about Tibet.* London. 8 p. Source: no. 65.

See also nos 124, 178, 189, 199, 201, 206, 246, 255, 1367, 2403, 2408, 2433, 2453, 2470, 2517, 2532, 2691, 2705, 2720, 2757, 2789, 2791, 2798, 2807, 2809, 2848, 2896, 2904-5, 2927, 2931, 3126, 3130.

Chapter XII

BRITISH AND CHINESE RELATIONS WITH TIBET 1905-1914

The British gained little from the Younghusband Expedition. There was some exploration of Tibet when, at the termination of the Expedition, a party led by Captain Rawling traced the Tsangpo to its source in Western Tibet. Closer ties evolved with Bhutan and, following Chinese intrigues in that country, a treaty was concluded in 1910 which placed the external relations of Bhutan under the control of the British Government. Friendly relations were also established with the Panchen Lama and in December 1905 he visited India.

In late 1905 with the victory of the Liberals in Britain John Morley replaced Brodrick as 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. In 1906, by the Anglo-Chinese Convention, Britain agreed not to interfere in the administration of Tibet and recognised the special Chinese position there in order to gain Chinese adherence to the Lhasa Convention. The Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 recognised the suzerain rights of China in Tibet and bound both the British and Russian Government not to negotiate with Tibet except through the Chinese Government. In 1908 British troops were withdrawn from the Chumbi Valley and in the same year Britain negotiated new Tibet Trade Regulations with China.

The effect of the 1906 and 1907 Conventions was to give China a virtually free hand in Tibet. But even before these had been signed China had begun taking military measures to restore their control of Tibet. Under the leadership of Chao Erh-feng Chinese troops occupied Eastern Tibet and in 1910 reached Lhasa, forcing the Dalai Lama, who had recently returned to his capital, to flee again, this time to India. The Chinese successes caused some alarm in India but it was the Chinese Revolution which was to save Tibet from being absorbed into the Chinese Empire. Before the end of 1911 the Manchu Dynasty in China had collapsed and the Chinese troops at Lhasa had mutinied against their officers and were under attack from the Tibetans. In the following year most of the Chinese officers and men were evacuated to China by way of India.

The Dalai Lama returned to Tibet in 1912. Although the British refused his requests for active help against the Chinese, they threatened to deny recognition to the new Chinese Republic until an agreement was reached on the status of Tibet. After much initial resistance the Chinese agreed to attend a tripartite conference at Simla in 1913. In April 1914 a Convention was initialled by the British, Tibetan and Chinese delegates, the main result of which was to divide Tibet into an inner and outer zone. The Chinese Government, however, refused to recognise the agreement.

The British also signed new trade regulations separately with the Tibetan delegate to replace those of 1893 and 1908, and took the opportunity to

negotiate a substantial section of the frontier between India and Tibet stretching from Bhutan to Burma. This boundary, known as the McMahon Line, became one of the major areas of dispute between India and China following Indian independence.

1. GENERAL

2885. Anon. 1906. Thibet. Situation générale. *Bull. Soc. belge Étud. colon.* 13: 67-68.

On the general situation in Tibet following the Younghusband Expedition.

2886. Anon. 1908. L'évacuation de la vallée de Choumbi. *Bull. Com. Asie fr.* 8(83): 82.

Brief report on the evacuation of the Chumbi Valley by British troops which commenced in February 1908.

2887. Anon. 1910. L'Angleterre et le Tibet. *Asie fr.* 10(112): 328-329.

Report on the Blue Book published in 1910 by the British Government on British relations with Tibet since 1904 (see no. 2896).

2888. Anon. 1911. Tibet and our relations with it. *Q. Rev.* 214: 45-69.

Emphasis on Anglo-Tibetan relations from 1903 to 1910.

2889. Andreyev, A. 1993. Agvan Dorjiev's secret work in Russia and Tibet. *Tibetan Review* 28(9): 11-14.

Emphasises the importance of new sources for information on Dorjiev. Previously information on Dorjiev's diplomatic work in Russia had come mainly from the Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, whilst the archives of the Ministries of Finance and War and the General Command had generally been ignored.

Documents from the Ministry of Finance reveal the mediating role played by Dorjiev in obtaining loans from Russia for the Dalai Lama in 1908. Also covers Dorjiev's attempts to unify the Buddhist people of Tibet, Mongolia and Russia.

2890. Belov, E.A. 1994. Tibetskaia politika Rossii (1900-1914 gg.): Russkim arkhivnym dokumentam. [Russia's Tibetan policy, 1900-14: Russian archival documents]. *Vostok* no. 3: 99-109, 207-208 [English abstract].

Russian policy toward Tibet between 1900 and 1914 aimed to prevent British control of Tibet. The Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 prevented British expansion in Tibet and British efforts to revise this agreement in 1914 failed due to the resolution of the Tsarist Government. Russia's policy thus aided China.

2891. Cordier, H. 1910. Le Tibet, la Chine et l'Angleterre. *Revue Hebd.* 19(7): 168-194.

General account of Tibet and her relations with Britain since the Chefoo Convention and with China following the Younghusband Expedition.

2892. Freshfield, D.W. 1905. The gates of Tibet. *J. Soc. Arts* 53: 264-273.

Discusses Sikkim's strategic position as the gate to Tibet, and emphasises the importance of the Chumbi Valley especially as a trade route.

2893. Freshfield, D.W. 1905. The Sikhim Himalaya. *Scott. geogr. Mag.* 21: 173-182.

Describes his journey to Kanchenjunga in 1899 and refutes some current misconceptions about Tibet. Also comments on the strategic position of Sikkim and the Chumbi Valley, and emphasises that by keeping the Chumbi Valley Britain would 'not annex part of Tibet but recover a territory to which it had no claim but that of occupation'.

2894. Ghosh, S. 1977. *Tibet in Sino-Indian relations, 1899-1914*. New Delhi, Sterling Publishers. x, 228 p.

[Reviewed: A.Lamb, *J. Southeast Asian Stud.* 10(1): 240-241, 1979; P.Mehra, *India Q.* 35: 385-387, 1979; *Indian foreign Rev.* 15(10): 21-22, 1 Mar. 1978]

2895. Ghosh, S. 1977. Triangular relations between China-India-Tibet 1899-1912: a prelude to the Simla Conference. *China Report* 13(3): 51-62.

An historical account of the foreign relations between China, India, and Tibet prior to the Simla Conference in 1913-14. Maintains it was the Tibetan desire for independence which created an irreconcilable conflict of interest between them and China, and that Britain's desire for a buffer along India's northern frontier without weakening relations with China complicated relations with Tibet.

2896. Great Britain. East India (Tibet). 1910. *Further papers relating to Tibet*. [In continuation of Cd. 2370]. London, H.M.S.O. xvi, 229 p. (Parliament. Papers by command, Cd. 5240). In: *H. of C. Parl. Pap.* LXVIII: 615-859, 1910.

Official documents dated September 1904 to April 1910 concerning British relations with Tibet from the signing of the Lhasa Convention to the flight of the Dalai Lama to India. Includes detailed information on the Tibetan indemnity and its payment, the opening of the Gyantse Trade Mart, and the activity of Chinese troops in Tibet.

2897. Hedin, S. 1910. The policy of the Dalai Lama. *Contemp. Rev.* 98: 140-156.

Reviews British policy in Tibet from 1900-1910 emphasising the effect of the policy of non-interference following the Younghusband Expedition. Also examines the reasons for the Dalai Lama's flight to India in 1910.

2898. Holdich, T.H. 1912. The gates of India. *Imp. Asiat. Q. Rev.* 3s., 33: 62-79, 170-176.

An account with discussion of 'India's northern gates' including the routes between India and Tibet.

2899. India. Army. General Staff. 1910. *Routes in Sikkim*. Simla, Government Monotype Press. ii, 73 p.

Detailed guide to 38 routes in Sikkim with a large scale map of Sikkim on which the routes are marked.

2900. India. Army. General Staff. 1910. *Routes in Tibet*. Simla, Government Monotype Press. 287 p.

Detailed guide to 95 routes in Tibet with a map of Tibet on which the routes are marked. Much of the information was still derived from the reports of the pundits.

2901. Kataphronète. 1912. *La position internationale des annexes de la Chine*. *Asie fr.* 12: 301-310.

Includes an account of the situation in Tibet mainly since the Younghusband Expedition and examines the international status of Tibet at this time.

2902. Kolmas, J. 1964. *Ch'ing shih kao* on modern history of Tibet (1903-1912). *Archiv Orient.* 32: 77-99.

Examines the importance of the *Ch'ing shih kao* for the study of the modern history of Tibet and gives an annotated translation of the section which deals with Tibet in the period 1903-1912.

2903. Koss, S.E. 1969. *John Morley at the India Office, 1905-1910*. New Haven, Yale University Press. ix, 231 p.

[Reviewed: P.D.Reeves, *Bull. Sch. Orient. Afr. Stud.* 34: 174-175, 1971; *Econ. polit. Wkly* 5(14): 596, Apr. 4, 1970; *India Q.* 26: 307-309, 1970]

Includes a brief account of his views on Tibet.

2904. Krüger, H.E. 1940. *Englisch-chinesische Verträge um Tibet; ein geschichtliche Überblick*. *Ostasiat. Rdsch.* 21: 247-250.

A survey of English and Chinese relations with Tibet with emphasis on the 1890 Convention, the 1904 Lhasa Convention, and the 1914 Simla Agreement.

2905. Lamb, A. 1966. *The McMahon Line; a study in the relations between India, China and Tibet, 1904 to 1914*. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul. 2 vols.

[Reviewed: B.Burton, *Geogr. J.* 133: 372-373, 1967; C.C.Davies, *Bull. Sch. Orient. Afr. Stud.* 30(2): 424-425, 1967; S.Gopal, *Jl R cent. Asian Soc.* 54: 193, 1967; M.W.Fisher, *Annals Am. Acad. Pol. Soc. Sci.* 371: 237-238, 1967; R.A.Huttenback, *J.Asian Stud.* 26(3): 507-508, 1967; A.P.Rubin, *Am. J. int. Law* 61: 827-829, 1967; B.Williams, *Hist. J.* 10: 478-481, 1967; W.Kirk, *Mod. Asian Stud.* 2(1): 90-92, 1968; L.E.Rose, *Pacific Affairs* 41: 132-133, 1968]

Vol. 1: Morley, Minto and non-interference in Tibet. Vol. 2: Hardinge, McMahon and the Simla Conference. The major work on this period. It covers all aspects of the political relations between Britain, British India, Russia, Tibet and China from the Younghusband Expedition in 1904 to the Simla Conference in 1914. It also examines British policy towards the North-East Frontier of India as a consequence of Chinese activity in this area between 1909-1913. Chapter XXVI, 'The McMahon Line' (p. 530-566) and Appendix XI, 'Tom Browns from Central Asia' (p. 599-603) are reprinted in A. McKay, ed. *The history of Tibet*. Vol. 3. (see no. 211), p. 101-126, 325-328. See also no. 3233.

2906. Leonov, G. 1984. Istoriiia dvukh portretov. [The story of two portraits]. *Aziia i Afrika Segodnia* no. 5: 58-62.
Discusses two portraits of the 13th Dalai Lama which were recently discovered in the Hermitage Museum. They were drawn in 1905 by N. Kozhevnikov and brought from Tibet by the Russian explorer, Tsybikoff.
2907. Lowe, P. 1969. *Great Britain and Japan 1911-1915; a study of British Far Eastern policy*. London, Macmillan. 343 p.
The importance of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in the formulation of British Far Eastern policy between 1911-1915, including her policy towards Tibet. Also covers Japanese interest in Tibet.
2908. Macdonald, D. 1932. *Twenty years in Tibet, intimate and personal experiences of the closed land among all classes of its people from the highest to the lowest*. London. Seeley, Service. 318 p. Reprinted: Delhi, Cosmo Publications, 1996; New Delhi, Gyan, 2002.
[Reviewed: T. Weir, *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 20: 166-167, 1933; C.H.B., *Geogr. J.* 81: 448, 1933; W.L.W., *Scott. geogr. Mag.* 49: 118, 1933; A.R., *Pacific Affairs* 6: 320-321, 1933]
Macdonald accompanied the Younghusband Expedition to Lhasa in 1904 and later served as British Trade Agent in either Yatung or Gyantse from 1909 to 1924. He also briefly visited Lhasa at the same time as Bell in 1921.
2909. Manandhar, V.K. 1995. The alleged dementia of the Nepalese envoy Kazi Bhairab Bahadur. *Rolamba* 15(4): 2-17, Oct.-Dec. Reprinted in his *Cultural and political aspects of Nepal-China relations*. Delhi, Adroit Publishers, 1999, p. 59-68.
On his strange conduct on his return journey from Peking to Nepal following the completion of his mission (see no. 2910), and reports on his behaviour by Nepalese and British officials.
2910. Manandhar, V.K. 1996. Kazi Bhairab Bahadur's mission to China. *J. Nepalese Stud.* 1(1): 101-108, March; *Rolamba* 16(2): 12-18, Apr.-June, 1996. Reprinted in his *Cultural and political aspects of Nepal-China relations*. Delhi, Adroit Publishers, 1999, p. 45-58.
On the 18th and last Nepalese quinquennial mission to China which reached Peking in 1908. Describes the mission and its reception and also the meetings of Bahadur with the British Minister, Sir John Jordan.
2911. Manning, W.R. 1910. China and the powers since the Boxer Movement. *Am. J. int. Law* 4: 848-902.
Includes an account of British relations with Tibet.
2912. Morrison, G.E. 1976-1978. *The correspondence of G.E. Morrison*. Edited by Lo Hui-min. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. 2 vols.
Morrison was *The Times* correspondent in Peking from 1895 to 1912 and then political advisor to the President of China, Yuan Shih-k'ai. His correspondence

includes many references to Tibet including comments on the Younghusband Expedition, the Dalai Lama in Peking, Chinese activity in Tibet, the actions of Chang Yin-tang in Tibet and China, the reopening of negotiations between Britain and China in 1910 over Tibet, and the Simla Conference. Correspondents include Rockhill and Sir John Jordan.

2913. O'Connor, F. 1931. *On the frontier and beyond; a record of thirty years' service*. London, J. Murray. xiv, 355 p.
[Reviewed: F.E.Y[ounghusband], *Geogr. J.* 78: 67-68, 1931]
Autobiographical account of his years in India, Tibet, Persia and Nepal. It includes details of the Younghusband Expedition which he accompanied, his years in Tibet as British Trade Agent at Gyantse from 1905-1907, the visit of the Panchen Lama to India, and his meeting with the Dalai Lama in Peking in 1908.
2914. O'Connor, F. 1940. *Things mortal*. London, Hodder & Stoughton. 256 p.
Includes an account of his life in Tibet, and the journey of the Panchen Lama to India which O'Connor accompanied.
2915. Paschinger, V. 1913/1914. Die Tasam. *Dt. Rdsch. Geogr. Statist.* 36: 426-428.
On the route between Leh and Lhasa and its importance.
2916. *Pégard, P. 1910. Anglais, Chinois, et Russes au Tibet. *Mois Colon. Marit.* 8: 310-326. Source: no. 88.
2917. Raghuvira, Dr. 1967. The British role in Sino Tibetan relations. *Shakti* 4(5): 7-11, May.
Emphasises that it was the British Government which forced Chinese suzerainty on the Tibetans and that British general policy at the time of the flight of the Dalai Lama to India was to abandon Tibet to China. He examines the British agreements with China in 1890, 1893, 1906, 1908, and with Russia in 1907 to support his contentions.
2918. Rappay, L. 1977. The thirteenth Dalai Lama. *Bull. Tibetol.* no. 2: 25-30.
Marks the centenary of the birth of the 13th Dalai Lama with a general outline of his life with emphasis on the period to 1914.
2919. Richardus, P., ed. 1998. *Tibetan lives: three Himalayan autobiographies*. Historical foreword by A. McKay. Richmond, Surrey, Curzon Press. xxviii, 223 p.
[Reviewed: G.Sparham, *Tibet J.* 24(2): 89-92, 1999; W.Peters, *Asian Affairs* 30: 89-90, 1999]
The reminiscences of Phun-tshogs Lung-rtogs, sKar-ma Sum-dhon Paul, and Ts'an-chih Chen which provide an insight into 'the perspectives of the lower ranks of frontier intermediaries' on events in Tibet in the first part of the twentieth century. Paul was interpreter during the Panchen Lama's visit to India in 1905, translator to Dr Robert Steen at the English Hospital in Gyantse, and also served the British Trade Agent, Bailey, from 1906-1909. Chen served with the Chinese

Amban in Lhasa and his account includes comments on the Younghusband Expedition and the activities of the Chinese which eventually led to their expulsion from Lhasa. The autobiographies provide an alternative view to accounts written by members of the Tibetan elite.

2920. Ruete, S. 1904/1905. *Chinas Vorherrschaft über Tibet in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart. Nach englischen Quelle. Asien* 4: 2-5.

The position of China in Tibet in the past and her present position following the Younghusband Expedition.

2921. Skrine, C.P. and Nightingale, P. 1973. *Macartney at Kashgar: new light on British, Chinese and Russian activities in Sinkiang, 1890-1918*. London, Methuen. xi, 282 p.

Includes comments on the effect of British policy in Tibet in this period on Sinkiang where Macartney was the British representative.

2922. Smith, J.R. Dunlop. 1966. *Servant of India; a study of imperial rule from 1905 to 1910 as told through the correspondence and diaries of Sir James Dunlop Smith*. Ed. by M. Gilbert. London, Longmans. xiii, 266 p.

Smith was private secretary to Lord Minto while he was Viceroy of India from 1905 to 1910. He describes the 1905 visit of the Panchen Lama to India, and the attempt of Hedin to gain permission to enter Tibet from India. Smith was also a close friend of Younghusband and a number of letters from Younghusband to Smith written during and after the Tibet expedition are included. In one letter Younghusband offered to put Smith's name forward as the first British agent at Lhasa.

2923. Solano, E.J. 1905. *Destiny of Great Britain in Central Asia: a theory based upon principles of the economics of imperial expansion. Mon. Rev.* 18(1): 56-84.

Considers that the British action in Tibet will naturally lead to their advance in Central Asia and that 'the destiny of Tibet is inevitably linked with that of Britain'. Convinced that Britain is 'the great civilizing power of the world'.

2924. Uprety, P.R. 1984. *Nepal, a small nation in the vortex of international conflicts, 1900-1950*. Kathmandu, Pugo Mi. xiv, 344 p.

A study of Nepalese diplomacy. It includes a section entitled 'Turmoil in trans-Himalayan politics and Nepal: 1900-1913' which covers the Nepalese reaction to reports of Russia's interest in Tibet and the Younghusband Mission, the Tibetan-Chinese conflict that followed the Mission, and Nepalese attempts to mediate between China and Tibet.

2925. Walsh, E.H. 1906. *An old form of elective government in the Chumbi Valley. J. Proc. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* n.s. 2: 303-308.

The form of government existing in 1906 in Tromo, the Tibetan name for the Chumbi Valley, which had remained virtually unchanged since earliest times. The article emphasises that the inhabitants of the Valley, the Tromowas, are a distinct people from the Tibetans.

2926. Ward, F. Kingdon. 1910. *On the road to Tibet*. Shanghai, Shanghai Mercury. 141 p.

A number of articles reprinted from the *Shanghai Mercury* on the Chinese-Tibetan borderland.

2927. Waterfall, A.C. 1981. *The postal history of Tibet*. 2nd ed. London, Pall Mall Stamp Co. 188 p. [1st ed. 1965].

Indian postal agencies were established at Gartok, Gyantse, Pharijong and Yatung following the treaty signed in Lhasa in 1904. This work includes information on the Younghusband Mission, its route, and the introduction of the British-Indian and Chinese postal agencies in Tibet.

2928. White, J.C. 1907-1908. *Tibet and Lhasa. Photographs by J.C. White Esq., C.I.E.* Calcutta, Johnson and Hoffman. 2 vols.

White accompanied the Younghusband Expedition to Lhasa. The large photos, many of which are of good quality and clarity, were taken during the Expedition and provide a remarkable record of the countryside, Lhasa, and officials such as the Regent, the Sha-pes, the Tsonglo Penlop of Bhutan, Ugyen Kazi and the Chinese Amban. There is a description for each photo and a brief background of the reasons for the Expedition as an introduction. Vol. 1 covers the Expedition as far as the crossing of the Tsangpo via the Chaksam ferry, and vol. 2 the entry into Lhasa with views of the town and the monasteries.

2929. Wolpert, S.A. 1967. *Morley and India, 1906-1910*. Berkeley, University of California Press. 299 p.

[Reviewed: H.Dow, *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 55: 80-81, 1968; R.J.Moore, *Pacific Affairs* 40: 333-340, 1967/1968]

Includes an account of his policy towards Tibet.

See also nos 206, 255, 438, 444, 464, 1194, 1791, 1828, 1845-6, 1848-50, 1882, 1897, 2389, 2392-9, 2400-1, 2403, 2407-8, 2418, 2423-4, 2430, 2433-4, 2437, 2440, 2444, 2446, 2452-4, 2457, 2462-4, 2469-70, 2473, 2485-7, 2490, 2492-5, 2532, 2534, 2564, 2578, 2631, 2689, 2772, 2789, 2838, 3218, 3224-5, 3373.

2. VISIT OF THE PANCHEN LAMA TO INDIA

Following the Younghusband Expedition Captain Frederick O'Connor was appointed as the first British Trade Agent at Gyantse. A great believer in the importance of British influence in Tibet, he soon set about establishing close relations with the Panchen Lama. John Claude White, the Political Officer in Sikkim, supported the policy of O'Connor and in 1905 obtained the permission of Curzon to invite the Panchen Lama to visit India in December to meet the Prince of Wales. In November the Panchen Lama accepted the invitation after O'Connor had convinced him that the British would protect him against any possible retaliation by either the Tibetan or Chinese Governments.

By the time the Panchen Lama reached Calcutta in December 1905 Lord

Minto had replaced Curzon as Viceroy. Morley, who was now Secretary of State for India, deplored the visit and Minto refused to commit himself to aid the Lama. Despite their policy of determined non-interference in Tibetan affairs in the next few years, the visit of the Panchen Lama helped convince the Russian and Chinese Governments that the British still had some ambitions in Tibet.

2930. Anon. 1905. News of the week: [the visit of the Teshu Lama to India]. *Spectator* 95: 1107.

2931. Anon. 1906. Affaires tibetaines. *Bull. Com. Asie fr.* 6(58): 18-20.

On the visit of the Panchen Lama to India, and on British attempts to get the Lhasa Convention ratified by the Chinese.

2932. Anon. 1907. With Tashi Lama in India, by Special Correspondent. *Calcutta Rev.* 124(248): 205-228.

Detailed account of his journey and stay in India. Also includes a list of the members of the Panchen Lama's party and the Indian officials who accompanied him such as O'Connor, R. Steen, Laden La and Prof. Acharyya.

2933. Acharyya, S.C. 1907. *The Tashi Lama's visit to India (8th November 1905-17th February 1906)*. Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 19 p.

Acharyya accompanied the Panchen Lama on his Indian tour. His report is divided into two parts; the first outlines British relations with previous Panchen Lamas; the second gives a detailed account of the Panchen Lama's visit, his staff, his meetings with the Viceroy and the Prince of Wales, his return journey to Tibet, and his impressions of India and the British administration.

2934. Buchan, J. 1924. *Lord Minto, a memoir*. London, T. Nelson. xviii, 352 p.

Includes brief comments on the visit of the Panchen Lama to India, and the Anglo-Russian Convention.

2935. Fraser, D. 1907. *The Marches of Hindustan, the record of a journey in Tibet, trans-Himalayan India, Chinese Turkestan, Russian Turkestan and Persia*. Edinburgh, Blackwood. xvi, 521 p.

[Reviewed: W. Broadfoot, *Geogr. J.* 31: 318-320, 1908; *Imp. Asiat. Q. Rev.* 3s., 26: 183-184, 1908]

A private traveller, Fraser received permission to accompany the Panchen Lama on his return to Shigatse from India in 1906. He includes a detailed account of the Panchen Lama's visit to India and his reception on his return to Tibet. Fraser returned to India via Khamba Dzong. He also discusses the strategic importance of Tibet to India and the possibilities of trade with Tibet. Fraser also visited Kulu, Lahul and Leh.

2936. Magniac, C.V. 1906. A visit to the court of the Tashi Lama. *Nineteenth century and after* 59: 255-270.

Magniac was private secretary to Younghusband in Tibet. Following the Expedition he remained in Gyantse with O'Connor and accompanied him to

Shigatse when he made his first visit to the Panchen Lama. During this visit the Lama made it clear that he had always opposed the hostilities with the British.

2937. Minto, M.C. Elliot-Murray-Kynynmound, Countess of. 1934. *India, Minto and Morley, 1905-1910; compiled from the correspondence between the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, by Mary, Countess of Minto; with extracts from her Indian journal.* London, Macmillan. viii, 447 p.

Minto was Viceroy of India from 1905 to 1910. The work includes an account of the visits to India of the Panchen Lama in 1905 and the Dalai Lama in 1910.

2938. O'Connor, F. 1943. Tibet. *United Empire* 34: 42-46.

Account of the Tibetan Government at this time and of British relations with Tibet. He also describes his close contact with the Panchen Lama following the Younghusband Expedition, and the Lama's visit to India in 1905-1906.

See also nos 131, 255, 404, 2423, 2446, 2490, 2492-3, 2700, 2905, 2913-14, 2919, 2922, 2929, 2980, 3362, 3424, 3453.

3. EXPLORATION OF TIBET

The Indian Government allowed some exploration of Tibet following the Younghusband Expedition. In October 1904 Captain C.G. Rawling, accompanied by F.M. Bailey, C.H.D. Ryder, and Lieut. Wood, set out from Gyantse for Gartok in Western Tibet to open the new trade mart established there by the Lhasa Convention. On their journey across Tibet they surveyed the Tsangpo to its source. In 1905 Charles Sherring, Deputy Commissioner of Kumaon, visited Taklakot and Lake Manasarovar, and in 1906 H. Calvert, Assistant Commissioner of Kulu, also visited Western Tibet.

In 1905 Curzon promised to assist the famous Swedish explorer Sven Hedin to visit Tibet from India, but by the time Hedin reached India in May 1906 Lord Minto had replaced Curzon as Viceroy. Minto would not authorise Hedin to begin his journey without first obtaining permission from Morley, the new Secretary of State for India. Morley immediately refused the request in line with his policy of non-intervention in Tibet. Hedin, however, travelled to Leh and from there succeeded in entering Tibet from Chinese Turkestan. During his journey, which was to last until 1908, he travelled widely in Tibet and visited the Panchen Lama at Shigatse where he stayed six weeks. He also mapped and defined the sources of the Tsangpo/Brahmaputra, Sutlej and Indus Rivers making a significant contribution to the geography of Tibet.

a) General

2939. Anon. 1906. Journey to Western Tibet. *Athenaeum* no. 4124: 588, Nov. 10; *Scott. geogr. Mag.* 23: 43, 1907.

Account of the journey of H. Calvert in 1906 to Gartok and Rudok and other districts of Western Tibet not visited by Sherring in 1905.

2940. Anon. 1906. Mr Calvert's journey in Western Tibet. *Geogr. J.* 28: 633.

Account of his journey in 1906 during which he visited Rudok and the goldfields of Thok Jalung and Thok Dalung. He made a thorough inspection of the goldfields and met the Lhasa official sent to collect the gold tax. He noted that the Tibetans were generally friendly.

2941. Anon. 1907. Explorations H. Calvert et Zugmayer au Tibet. *Annales Géogr.* 16: 189.

2942. Bailey, F.M. 1952. A little-known Sikkim pass. *Himalayan J.* 17: 152-154.

Account of his journey across the Patra La from Sikkim to the Chumbi Valley in August 1905.

2943. Brooke, J.W. *Through China to Tibet in 1906*. London, B. Brown & Son, n. d. 81 p.

Brooke hoped to solve the mystery of the course of the Tsangpo. After being refused permission by the Indian Government to enter Tibet from Assam, he attempted to reach the river from China in 1906 but was turned back by Tibetans. In October 1906 he had an interview with the Dalai Lama who was then in exile.

2944. Browne, E.C.M. 1910. Two ladies in Tibet. *Travel Explor.* 3: 231-237, 298-304.

Account of her journey with another missionary (Miss Sullivan) in 1905 or 1906 to Taklakot where they received permission to visit Lakes Manasarovar and Rakas Tal.

2945. Bruce, C.D. 1907. *In the footsteps of Marco Polo; being the account of a journey overland from Simla to Peking*. Edinburgh, W. Blackwood. xiv, 379 p. Reprinted: Taipei, Ch'eng Wen Publishing Company, 1971; New Delhi, Asian Educational Services, 2000.

Account of his journey from Kashmir across north-west Tibet to Peking in 1905. It includes a description of the Lapchak Missions to Lhasa which were still taking place.

2946. Bruce, C.D. 1907. A journey across Asia from Leh to Peking. *Geogr. J.* 29: 597-626.

2947. Fergusson, W.N. 1911. *Adventure, sport and travel on the Tibetan steppes*. London, Constable. xvi, 343 p. Reprinted with title: *Land and people of Tibet and China in the early twentieth century*. Delhi, Sharda Prakashan, 1989.

Mainly concerns the journeys made by J.W. Brooke through China to the borders of Tibet in 1906-1907 and 1907-1908. It includes an account of the Dalai Lama's arrival at Kumbum and Brooke's meeting with him in 1906 (see also no. 2943).

2948. Hosie, A. 1905. *Report by Mr A. Hosie, His Majesty's Consul-General at Chengtu, on a journey to the eastern frontier of Thibet*. London, H.M.S.O. 87 p. (Great Britain. Parliament. Papers by command, Cd. 2586). In: *H. of C. Parl. Pap.* CIII: 123-213, 1905. Abstract: *J. Soc. Arts* 53: 1032-1033, Sept. 8, 1905. Reprinted with title: *Mr Hosie's journey to Tibet, 1904: a report by Mr A. Hosie, His Majesty's Consul at Chengtu, on a journey from Chengtu to the eastern frontier of Tibet*. London, Stationery Office, 2001.

Account of his journey from Chengtu to the boundary between Tibet and Szechuan where he was turned back by Chinese officials and Tibetan soldiers. His account also includes a description of Tibetan trade.

2949. Key, C.E. 1937. *The story of twentieth century exploration*. London, George G. Harrap. 286 p.

See p. 42-83 'Through the wastes of Asia and Tibet' which includes information on the explorations of Sven Hedin in 1906-1908, Rawling and Hargreaves in 1903, and the Gartok expedition.

2950. Lesdain, J. 1908. *From Peking to Sikkim through the Ordos, the Gobi Desert and Tibet*, by Count de Lesdain. London, J. Murray. xii, 301 p.

Account of the journey made with his wife in 1904-1905 during which they crossed Tibet from north to south encountering little opposition from Tibetan officials. They stayed with O'Connor in Gyantse and White in Sikkim. A map of Tibet is included on which their route is marked.

2951. Longstaff, T.G. 1906. A journey in the Central Himalayas and adjacent parts of Tibet. *Rep. Br. Ass. Advmt Sci.* 76: 627.

Abstract of his paper which describes his mountaineering trip to Kumaon, and also to Tibet when he accompanied Sherring on his mission there in 1905.

2952. Longstaff, T.G. 1906/1907. Six months' wandering in the Himalaya. *Alpine J.* 23: 201-228.

2953. Longstaff, T.G. 1907. Notes on a journey through the Western Himalaya. *Geogr. J.* 29: 201-211.

Includes an account of his journey to Tibet with Sherring in 1905.

2954. Longstaff, T.G. 1950. *This my voyage*. London, J. Murray. 324 p.

Includes an account of his mountaineering expeditions to Kumaon and Garhwal, his journey to Western Tibet with Sherring in 1905, and the second Everest Expedition in 1922 in which he took part. There are maps to illustrate his various expeditions including the one to Tibet.

2955. Noel, J.B. 1919. A journey to Tashirak in Southern Tibet, and the eastern approaches to Mount Everest. *Geogr. J.* 53: 289-308.

Account of his 1913 journey to reconnoitre the approaches to Mt Everest. He

crossed the Tibetan border from north-west Sikkim without permission and was eventually forced to turn back by Tibetan officials.

2956. Sherring, C.A. 1906. *Western Tibet and the British borderland; the sacred country of Hindus and Buddhists with an account of the government, religion and customs of its peoples*. London, E. Arnold. xv, 376 p. Reprinted: Delhi, Cosmo Publications, 1974.
[Reviewed: *Athenaeum* no. 4123: 542-543, Nov. 3, 1906; H.Cordier, *T'oung Pao* n.s. 8: 129-132, 1907; J.Deniker, *Géographie* 15: 352-354, 1907; T.W.Kingsmill, *Jl N. China Brch R. Asiat. Soc.* 38: 227-233, 1907; K.Oestreich, *Geogr. Z.* 13: 715, 1907; C.Puini, *Riv. geogr. Ital.* 14: 172-176, 1907; C.M.R[idding], *Jl R. Asiat. Soc.* 1907, p. 456-458]

Description of the Bhotias of Kumaon and the Tibetans of Western Tibet together with an account of his journey to Western Tibet in 1905 when he was Deputy Commissioner of Kumaon. He describes the passes into Western Tibet and the administration of the border areas.

2957. Ward, F. Kingdon. 1913. *The land of the blue poppy: travels of a naturalist in eastern Tibet*. Cambridge, University Press. xii, 283 p. Reprinted: Taiwan, Ch'eng Wen, 1971; London, Cadogan, 1986.
His experiences in, and observations on, Western China and South-eastern Tibet in 1911.

2958. Young, G.M. 1918/1919. A journey to Toling and Tsaparang in Western Tibet. *J. Panjab hist. Soc.* 7: 177-198.
Account of his journey to Gartok in 1912 'to enquire into the delinquencies of a former trade agent of the Indian Government', and to Tsaparang.

See also nos 924, 2488, 2972, 2982, 3720.

b) Gartok Expedition

2959. Anon. 1905. The expedition to Western Tibet. *Scott. geogr. Mag.* 21: 211.
The journey of Rawling, Ryder, Bailey and Wood following the Younghusband Expedition.
2960. Anon. 1905. The expedition to Western Tibet. *Geogr. J.* 25: 295-296.
2961. Anon. 1905. Geographische Neuigkeiten: Asien. [Rawling's Forschungsreise im westlichen Tibet]. *Geogr. Z.* 11: 347-348.
2962. Anon. 1905. Reconnaissances d'officiers anglais dans le Tibet méridional. *Annales Géogr.* 14: 187-188.
2963. Anon. 1906. Tibet. Exploration Ryder. *Revue fr. Étranger Colon.* 31: 108-111.

2964. Anon. 1917. Brigadier-General C.G. Rawling, C.M.G., C.I.E., [obituary]. *Geogr. J.* 50: 464-466.

2965. Fitzau, A. 1905. Geographische Neuigkeiten: Asien. [England's Vorgehen in Tibet]. *Geogr. Z.* 11: 178.

Mainly concerns the Gartok Expedition.

2966. [Mourey, C.] 1905. Reconnaissances topographiques dans le Tibet occidental: la mission des Capitaines Rawling et Ryder, par C.M. *Bull. Com. Asie fr.* 5(55): 386-388.

2967. Rawling, C.G. 1905. *Report on the Gartok Expedition, including the Brahmaputra, Sutlej, and Indus Valleys, and that portion of Tibet which lies to the west of Gyantse, 1904-1905.* Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 30 p.

Background to the Expedition, its members, objects, and a general description of the journey. A large section of the report is devoted to an account of trade, trade marts, and trade routes into Western Tibet which was mainly compiled by F.M. Bailey, who accompanied Rawling on the Expedition.

2968. Ryder, C.H.D. 1905. Exploration and survey with the Tibet Frontier Commission, and from Gyantse to Simla viâ Gartok. *Geogr. J.* 26: 369-395. Reprinted: *R. Engrs' J.* 3: 53-70, 1906. Abstract: F. Pasteyns, *Bull. Soc. R. belge Géogr.* 30: 142-148, 1906; *Revue Indo-Chin.* 4: 1043-1046, July-Dec. 1905.

Divided into two parts: the first deals with the Younghusband Expedition which Ryder accompanied to Lhasa, and the second with his journey to Gartok with Rawling to open a trade mart there following the signing of the Lhasa Convention.

2969. Ryder, C.H.D. 1905. Report on survey operations on the journey from Gyantse to Simla viâ Gartok. *Gen. Rep. Ops Surv. India* 1903/1904: App. p. xix-xxv.

Also includes an account by Wood on the area he traversed when the survey party split up so as to cover a larger area of Tibet.

See also nos 924, 943, 1337, 1346, 2782, 2879, 2949, 2982, 2986, 2992, 3362, 3751.

c) Sven Hedin

2970. Anon. 1907. Sven Hedin au Tibet. *Revue fr. Étranger Colon.* 32: 298-301.

2971. Anon. 1907. L'explorateur Sven Hedin au Tibet, par A.R.B. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Lille* 47: 324-327.

2972. Anon. 1908. Explorations en Asie Centrale - Sven Hedin au Tibet - Aurel

Stein dans le Turkestan - C.D. Bruce de Leh à Peking. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Lyon* 2s., 1: 46-50.

2973. Anon. 1908. Sven Hedin au Tibet, par E.A. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Lille* 50: 305-306.

2974. Anon. 1908. Sven Hedin au Tibet: ses découvertes. *Revue fr. Étranger Colon.* 33: 541-544, 661-664.

2975. Bacot, J. 1911. Quelques réflexions sur des voyages au Thibet. *Asie fr.* 11(120): 112-119.

A discussion of Landor's claim to have discovered the main source of the Brahmaputra and Sutlej (see chapter V.8f), and the journeys of Sven Hedin, Nain Singh, Ryder etc. in the Lake Manasarovar region. There are maps of Landor's route and those of Hedin and Ryder.

2976. Curzon, G.N. 1909. Journeys in Tibet, 1906-1908. III. Scientific results of Dr Sven Hedin's expedition. *Geogr. J.* 33: 435-436.

Lists the major results of his journey such as determining the true source of the Brahmaputra and Sutlej (see also nos 2981-2983, 2992).

2977. Deniker, J. 1907. La nouvelle expédition du Dr Sven Hedin au Tibet. *Géographie* 16: 171-177.

Mainly contains a translation of Hedin's letter from Shigatse (see no. 2979).

2978. Halbfass, W. 1917/1918. Der Manasarovar nach Sven Hedin. *Mitt. Geogr. Ges. Thüringen* 35/36: 76-80.

The discoveries made by Hedin concerning Lake Manasarovar as revealed in vol. 2 of his *Southern Tibet* (see no. 2986).

2979. [Hedin, S.] 1907. Dr Sven Hedin in Tibet. *Geogr. J.* 29: 539-545. Abstract: *Revue fr. Étranger Colon.* 33: 31-33, 1908.

Extracts from a letter from Hedin dated Shigatse, February 20, 1907. It describes his journey across Tibet, his meeting with the Panchen Lama, and his inability to gain permission to visit O'Connor in Gyantse.

2980. Hedin, S. 1907. My audience with the Tashi Lama. *Harper's mon. Mag.* 115: 345-352.

His stay in Shigatse, contact with Chinese officials there, and audience with the Panchen Lama. Also comments on the visit of the Panchen Lama to India.

2981. Hedin, S. 1909. Journeys in Tibet, 1906-1908. I. General narrative. *Geogr. J.* 33: 353-396; *Scott. geogr. Mag.* 25: 169-195.

General account of his journey with some comments on previous exploration of the area and his difficulties with the British Government. Morley, who was responsible for preventing Hedin entering Tibet from India, took part in the discussion that followed his paper.

2982. Hedin, S. 1909. Journeys in Tibet, 1906-1908. II. Discoveries in Southern Tibet. *Geogr. J.* 33: 396-434.

Reviews information known about Southern Tibet before his journey there in 1906-1908. His paper was followed by an extensive discussion in which Holdich, Clements Markham, Godwin-Austen and Henry Trotter took part.

2983. Hedin, S. 1909. Journeys in Tibet, 1906-1908. V. Reply by Dr Sven Hedin. *Geogr. J.* 33: 439-440.

Reply to no. 2992.

2984. Hedin, S. 1909. Through unknown Tibet. *J. Mnchr geogr. Soc.* 25: 1-17.

Account of his journey in 1906-1908 in Tibet.

2985. Hedin, S. 1909-1913. *Trans-Himalaya; discoveries and adventures in Tibet*. London, Macmillan. 3 vols.

[Reviewed: W. Broadfoot, *Geogr. J.* 35: 322-324, 1910; E. Reynolds-Ball, *Travel Explor.* 3: 42-49, 1910; E. Huntington, *Bull. Am. geogr. Soc.* 42: 215-218, 1910; 46: 379-380, 1914; M. Friederichsen, *Geogr. Z.* 16: 710-712, 1910; 19: 713-714, 1913]

The first two volumes describe his journey to Tibet in 1906-1908, his problems with Morley and the British Government, and includes comments on the policy of Great Britain in Tibet at this time. It also includes an account of his stay in Shigatse and meeting with the Panchen Lama. The third volume contains an historical review of previous exploration in this region.

2986. Hedin, S. 1916-1922. *Southern Tibet; discoveries in former times compared with my own researches in 1906-1908*. Stockholm, Lithographic Institute of the General Staff of the Swedish Army. 11 vols in 9. Reprinted: Delhi, B.R. Publishing Corp., 1991.

Describes the exploration and mapping of Tibet from earliest times evaluating the reports of previous explorers. The first four volumes of this detailed work are devoted to the geography and exploration of Southern and Western Tibet. Vols 1 and 2 concern the Lake Manasarovar region and his discovery of the sources of the Tsangpo-Brahmaputra, Sutlej and Indus Rivers, vol. 3, Transhimalaya, and vol. 4, Karakorum and Chang Tang. See also no. 852 for a discussion of the controversy over some of Hedin's discoveries in Western Tibet.

2987. Hedin, S. 1926. *My life as an explorer*. London, Cassell. xii, 498 p.

Includes an account of his journeys to Tibet.

2988. Hedin, S. 1935. *A conquest of Tibet*. Trans. by J. Lincoln. London, Macmillan. 400 p. Also published: New York, Dutton, 1934. Reprinted: Westport, Conn., Greenwood Press, 1974.

A popular account of his journeys to Tibet including that of 1906-1908.

2989. Hedin, S.A. 1986. *To the forbidden land: discoveries and adventures in Tibet*. Selected and adapted from Sven Hedin's *Trans-Himalaya*.

Lucknow, Asian Publications. xv, 144 p. Reprinted: New Delhi, Asian Educational Services, 1998.

2990. [Hedin, S.] 2002. Blessed water: journey to the source of Tibet's Brahmaputra River. *Mercator's World* 7(6): 12-15.
Extract from no. 2985 in which he provides an account of his attempts to discover the source of the Brahmaputra.
2991. Holdich, T.H. 1909. Dr Sven Hedin's explorations. *Travel Explor.* 1: 89-100.
His explorations in Central Asia and Tibet with a map showing the routes of his journeys in 1894-1897, 1899-1902, and 1906-1908.
2992. Holdich T.H. 1909. Journeys in Tibet, 1906-1908. IV. What we have learnt from Dr Sven Hedin. *Geogr. J.* 33: 436-438.
Includes criticism of Hedin's methods of mapping compared with those of Bower, Deasy, Rawling, Ryder and Stein, and praise for the work of Nain Singh. For Hedin's reply see no. 2983.
2993. Kish, G. 1984. *To the heart of Asia: the life of Sven Hedin.* Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press. xiv, 153 p.
2994. Margarie, E. de. 1928. L'oeuvre de Sven Hedin et l'orographie du Tibet. *Bull. Sect. Geogr. Com. Trav. hist. scient.* 43: 1-139. Also published: Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1929.
A detailed geographical review of Hedin's *Southern Tibet* (see no. 2986).
2995. Montel, G. 1964. Sven Hedin and the Panchen Lama. In: T. Schmid. *Saviours of mankind. II. Panchen Lamas and former incarnations of Amitayüs.* Stockholm, Sven Hedin Foundation, Statens Etnografiska Museum, p. 93-103.
On Hedin's meetings with the Panchen Lama on his 1906-1908 expedition and also in Peking in 1926. Montell also met the Panchen Lama in the 1930s.
2996. Oswald, F. 1910/1911. Trans Himalaya and Tibet. *Sci. Progr.* 5: 38-47.
On the Trans-Himalaya region as designated by Hedin.
2997. Ryder, C.H.D. 1908. Dr Sven Hedin's expedition in Tibet. *Geogr. J.* 32: 585-590; *R. Engrs' J.* n. s. 9: 43-48, 1909.
2998. Vohra, S. 1994. Journeys of Aurel Stein & Sven Hedin into Aksai Chin. *J. un. Serv. Instn India* 124(518): 469-473.
Describes journeys into the Aksai Chin region between 1900 and 1908 by Hedin and the British archaeologist Aurel Stein and discusses their findings about the geography and political control of the area.

See also nos 185, 223, 249, 262, 278, 852, 876, 924, 2430, 2905, 2922, 2949.

4. THE DALAI LAMA IN EXILE 1904-1909

On the approach of the British troops towards Lhasa in 1904 the Dalai Lama fled to Mongolia. Here he continued to maintain contact with Russia through the agency of Dorjiev and was involved with the negotiations to build a Buddhist temple in St Petersburg. He also met representatives of other countries including the American, William Rockhill, who visited him in Wu-tai-shan and assured him that the British had no territorial designs on Tibet and recommended that the Dalai Lama establish friendly relations with them. However with the signing of the Anglo-Russian Convention in 1907 the Dalai Lama made an attempt to come to terms with the Chinese, who by this time were consolidating their power in Tibet. In 1908 he visited Peking accompanied by Dorjiev and, after unsuccessful attempts to gain aid from foreign representatives there against the Chinese, he agreed to Chinese terms concerning his return to Lhasa. In December 1909 he returned to his capital after five years exile.

2999. Anon. 1905. Les Russes et le Dalai Lama. *Bull. Com. Asie fr.* 5(47): 83-84.
Report on the arrival of the Dalai Lama in Mongolia.
3000. Anon. 1906. Une visite au Dalai Lama à Ourga. *Bull. Com. Asie fr.* 6(59): 79.
Account of his stay in Mongolia.
3001. Anon. 1908. Le gouvernement chinois et le Tibet. *Bull. Com. Asie fr.* 8(86): 204-205; *Revue Indo-Chin.* 10: 672-673, July-Dec.
On the visit of the Dalai and Panchen Lamas to Peking in 1908.
3002. Anon. 1908. A Grand Lama adrift [editorial]. *Outlook* 90: 283-284.
The activities of the Dalai Lama since 1904.
3003. Anon. 1908. Tibet. Le Dalai Lama à Peking. *Revue fr. Étranger Colon.* 33: 743-744.
3004. Anon. 1908. La visite du Dalai Lama à Peking. *Bull. Com. Asie fr.* 8(91): 427.
3005. Anon. 1909. La Chine et le Tibet. *Bull. Com. Asie fr.* 9(94): 41.
Report on concessions made to the Chinese by the Dalai Lama on his visit to Peking in 1908.
3006. Anon. 1909. Réception du Dalai Lama à Pékin. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Est* 30: 98-100.

3007. Anon. 1909. [Le voyage du Dalai Lama à Peking]. *Bull. École. fr. Extr.-Orient* 9: 416-418.
On the Dalai Lama's visit to Peking and the activities of Chao Erh-feng in Tibet.
3008. Anon. 1910. The Dalai Lama imbroglia, by 'Uszdzang'. *Fortnightly Rev.* n.s. 87: 669-678.
A critical account of the career of the Dalai Lama to 1909; it especially concerns his policies towards India, China and Russia and his activities since his flight from Tibet in 1904.
3009. *Andreyev, A. 1990. Iz istorii peterburgskogo buddiiskogo khrama. [History of the Buddhist temple in Petersburg]. *Minuvshee* no. 9: 380-405. Revised: *Orient* no.1: 6-37, 1992. Source: Author.
3010. Andreyev, A. 1991. Agwan Dorjiev and the Buddhist temple in Petrograd. *Chö Yang* 1991 p. 214-222.
Describes the background to its construction and its subsequent history. The Dalai Lama donated money towards its construction and Andreyev maintains that both the Dalai Lama and Dorjiev 'attached a certain political importance to it in an attempt to win the support of the Russian Government to counterbalance British pressure on Tibet' (p. 215).
3011. *Andreyev, A. 1992. *Buddiiskaia sviatynia Petrograda [The Buddhist shrine at Petrograd]*. Ulan Ude, Agentstvo EkoArt. 124, [2] p. (Vostok na Zapade). In Russian and English. Source: Library of Congress Catalogue and Author.
3012. Andreyev, A. 1994. The Buddhist temple in Petersburg and the Russo-Tibetan rapprochement. In: *Tibetan studies: proceedings of the 6th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Fagernes, 1992*. Ed. by P. Kvaerne. Oslo, Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, p. 1-6.
The temple was mainly a creation of Dorjiev and the 13th Dalai Lama who donated funds and personal gifts. Outlines the history of its construction and Dorjiev's relations with Tibet and the Dalai Lama.
3013. Belov, E.A. 1996. Zapiska Podpolkovnika General 'Nogo Shtaba Khitrovo o Dalai Lame i ego deiatel'nosti 1906 goda. [A note of Lieutenant Colonel Khitrovo of the general staff on the Dalai Lama and his activities in 1906]. *Vostok* no. 4: 136-141.
Discusses a note entitled 'Mission in Peking' written by A.D. Khitrovo, a lieutenant colonel in the Russian Army on the 13th Dalai Lama.
3014. Gale, E.M. 1959. Tibetan associations. *Asiat. res. Bull.* 2(2): 2-4.
Gale joined the American Legation in Peking in July 1906 when Rockhill was in charge. He describes the visit of the Dalai Lama to Peking in 1908-1909 and Rockhill's meeting with him, as well as his own meeting with the Panchen Lama in the 1930s.

3015. Hippisley, A.E. 1915. William Woodville Rockhill [obituary]. *Jl. R. Asiat. Soc.* 1915, p. 367-374.

3016. Irving, C. 1919. Wu-t'ai-shan and the Dalai Lama. *New China Rev.* 1: 151-163.

The Dalai Lama spent part of his exile from Tibet at Wu-t'ai-shan, one of the four famous mountains of Chinese Buddhism. Irving, an Englishman, visited him there in July 1908. He comments on the desire of the Dalai Lama for friendly relations with India at this time, and on the discord between Tibetans and Chinese accompanying the Dalai Lama.

3017. Korostovetz, I.I. 1920. *Pre-war diplomacy; the Russo-Japanese problem; treaty signed at Portsmouth, U.S.A., 1905; diary of J.J. Korostovetz.* London, British Periodicals Ltd. 160 p.

See his diary entry for July 28 - August 9 in which he records a conversation he had with Pokotiloff, who had met the Dalai Lama in Mongolia in 1905. He briefly mentions the Dalai Lama's suspicions of Britain and his hope still of Russian support.

3018. Meyer, K.E. 1998/1999. Close encounters of an American kind: William Woodville Rockhill in Tibet. *Wld policy J.* 15(4): 73-90.

Rockhill made several journeys to Tibet in 1888 and 1891/92 but did not reach Lhasa. He was appointed US envoy to China in 1905 and corresponded with the Dalai Lama whom he met in 1908 in Shanshi and again in Peking. In Peking he facilitated meetings between the Dalai Lama and British representatives. His reports to Roosevelt were also shared with the British.

3019. Norwick, B. 2002. A report on William Woodville Rockhill 1854-1914. In: *Tibet, past and present. Tibetan studies I. PIATS 2000: Tibetan studies: proceedings of the Ninth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Leiden, 2000.* Ed. by H. Blezer with the assistance of A. Zadoks. Leiden, Brill, p. 281-305.

Information on Rockhill's life including his association with the 13th Dalai Lama, and reproductions of some of the pictures from his personal unpublished collection. They include pictures of F.T. O'Connor and the Panchen Lama.

3020. Ollone, H.M.G. d'. 1912. *In forbidden China: the d'Ollone mission 1906-1909, China-Tibet-Mongolia* by Vicomte d'Ollone. Translated from the French of the 2nd edition by B. Miall. London, T. Fisher Unwin. 318 p.

Account of his travels in Northern Tibet and Mongolia. At Wu-t'ai-Shan he met the Dalai Lama who was on his way to Peking. Comments that the Dalai Lama also met Rockhill, the United States Minister, and a Russian Officer, Baron de Mannerheim, who had been exploring in Turkestan and on the borders of Tibet.

3021. Palace, W. 1998. The thirteenth Dalai Lama in Peking: September-December 1908. *Asian Affairs* 29: 171-180. Comment: P. Mehra, 30: 249-250, 1999; Reply: 30: 250-251, 1999.

Describes the intrigues and diplomacy surrounding his visit to the imperial court of China in 1908, including the reaction of the British Minister, Sir John Jordan. The Dalai Lama's relationship and meetings with William Rockhill, the American Minister in Peking, are also examined. The poor treatment of the Dalai Lama by the Chinese led to a breakdown in relations between Tibet and China.

3022. Snelling, J. 1992. *Lamas, tsars, and commissars: Buddhism in Russia*. *Chö Yang* no. 5: 117-121.

History of Buddhism in Russia including information on Dorjiev and the construction of the Buddhist temple in St Petersburg with the support of the 13th Dalai Lama.

3023. Varg, P.A. 1952. *Open door diplomat: the life of W.W. Rockhill*. Urbana, Ill., University of Illinois Press. 141 p. (Illinois Studies in Social Sciences vol. 33 no. 4). Reprinted: Westport, Conn., Greenwood Press, 1974.

Account of his travels on the borders of Tibet and on his contact with the Dalai Lama which dated from 1905. He visited the Dalai Lama in 1908 at Wu-t'ai Shan and later corresponded with President Roosevelt concerning Tibet. He also advised the Dalai Lama that, despite the Younghusband Mission, the British had no designs on his country and that he should establish close ties with India.

3024. Wimmel, K. 2003. *William Woodville Rockhill: scholar-diplomat of the Tibetan highlands*. Ed. With an introduction by B. Norwick. Bangkok, Orchid Press. xv, 254 p.

Comprehensive biography of Rockhill. It includes an account of his meetings with Sarat Chandra Das in Peking in 1885 when Das accompanied Colman Macauley, and his plans to travel with Das to Tibet. Also describes his meetings with the Dalai Lama in 1908 in Wu-tai-shan and Peking.

See also nos 1791, 1868, 1872, 2396-9, 2403, 2423, 2433, 2457, 2461, 2485, 2487, 2492-3, 2616, 2618, 2889, 2902, 2905, 2912-13, 2943, 2947, 3057, 3373, 4015

5. ANGLO-CHINESE CONVENTION 1906

Younghusband failed to gain Chinese acceptance of the terms of the Lhasa Convention whilst he was in Lhasa. This resulted in protracted negotiations in Calcutta and Peking before Chinese adherence was obtained by the Anglo-Chinese Convention, signed in Peking in 1906. This Convention modified the Lhasa Convention to the advantage of China by acknowledging her special position in Tibet, and by British agreement not to interfere in the administration of Tibet. Again, as in the case of the 1890 Anglo-Chinese Convention, the Tibetans were not consulted and did not consent to the terms of the Convention.

3025. Anon. 1905. *Le traité anglo-chinois relatif au Thibet*. *Bull. Com. Asie fr.* 5(52): 295.

Report on Anglo-Chinese negotiations concerning Tibet in 1905.

3026. Anon. 1906. L'Angleterre, le Tibet et la Chine. *Bull. Com. Asie fr.* 6(65): 310-311.
Includes the text of the Convention.
3027. Anon. 1906. Great Britain and Tibet. *Geogr. J.* 28: 506.
3028. Anon. 1906. L'influence anglaise au Tibet. *Bull. Com. Asie fr.* 6(62): 210.
3029. Anon. 1906. Le traité tibétain entre la Chine et l'Angleterre. *Bull. Com. Asie fr.* 6(61): 163.
3030. Anon. 1908. Convention concernant le Tibet entre Grand Bretagne et Chine. *Archives Dipl.* s3., 8: 231-249.
3031. Great Britain. 1905/1906. Convention between the United Kingdom and China respecting Tibet, signed April 27, 1906. *Br. foreign St. Pap.* 99: 171-173. *Am. J. int. Law* 1(Suppl.): 78-80, 1907.
3032. Great Britain. 1906. *Convention between the United Kingdom and China respecting Tibet. Signed at Peking, April 27, 1906.* (To which is annexed the Convention between the United Kingdom and Tibet, signed at Lhasa, September 7, 1904). [Ratifications exchanged at London, July 23, 1906]. London, H.M.S.O. 8 p. (Parliament. Papers by command, Cd. 3088). In: *H. of C. Parl. Pap.* CXXXVI: 119-126, 1906.
- See also nos 124, 148, 199, 255, 1897, 2403, 2433, 2435, 2453, 2631, 2831, 2902, 2905, 2911, 2917, 3130.

6. ANGLO-RUSSIAN CONVENTION 1907

The Anglo-Russian Convention concerning Persia, Afghanistan and Tibet was signed on August 31, 1907. The Convention was the result of repeated efforts made by the British to end Anglo-Russian rivalry in Central Asia and to preserve the status quo there. The agreement concerning Tibet acknowledged Chinese suzerainty in Tibet, and bound both Britain and Russia to abstain from interference in the internal administration of Tibet and to only enter into negotiations with Tibet through the intermediary of the Chinese Government. It also placed restrictions on nationals of both countries visiting Tibet and, in a separate agreement, restricted both countries from sending scientific missions to Tibet for three years.

3033. *Anon. 1907. The Anglo Russian agreement. *Living Age* 255: 323-334.
Source: no. 3037.
3034. Anon. 1907. The recent Anglo-Russian Convention. *Am. J. int. Law* 1: 979-984.

3035. *Boyd, T.F. 1973. Anglo-Russian colonial relations, 1907-1914. Thesis (Ph.D) University of Tennessee. 341 p. Source: no. 97.
Includes an account of their differences over Tibet.
3036. Busch, B.C. 1980. *Hardinge of Peshhurst: a study of old diplomacy*. Hamden, Conn., Archon Books. 381 p.
Includes an account of his negotiations with Russian representatives that eventually led to the signing of the Convention. He was appointed Viceroy of India in 1910.
3037. Churchill, R.P. 1939. *The Anglo Russian Convention of 1907*. Cedar Rapids, Iowa, Torch Press. 365 p.
A comprehensive account of the Convention, its background, and contemporary reactions to it.
3038. De Caix, R. 1907. L'accord asiatique anglo-russe. *Bull. Com. Asie fr.* 7(78): 329-336.
3039. De Caix, R. 1907. L'accord anglo-russe: devant l'opinion. *Bull. Com. Asie fr.* 7(79): 371-374.
Includes comments from Russian newspapers concerning the Convention.
3040. Durand, H.M. 1914. Sir Alfred Lyall and the understanding with Russia. *J. cent. Asian Soc.* 1(3): 20-45.
Background to the Convention.
3041. Great Britain. 1906/1907. Convention signed on August 31, 1907 between Great Britain and Russia, containing arrangements on the subject of Persia, Afghanistan, and Thibet. *Br. foreign St. Pap.* 100: 555-560. *Am. J. int. Law* 1(Suppl.): 398-406, 1907. *Imp. Asiat. Q. Rev.* 3s., 25: 25-35, 1908.
3042. Great Britain. 1907. *Convention signed on August 31, 1907, between Great Britain and Russia, containing arrangements on the subject of Persia, Afghanistan, and Thibet*. London, H.M.S.O. 11 p. (Parliament. Papers by command, Cd. 3750). In: *H. of C. Parl. Pap.* CXXV: 477-487, 1908.
3043. Great Britain. 1907. *Convention between the United Kingdom and Russia relating to Persia, Afghanistan, and Thibet. Signed at St Petersburg, August 31, 1907*. [Ratifications exchanged at St Petersburg, September 23, 1907]. London, H.M.S.O. 16 p. (Parliament. Papers by command, Cd. 3753). In: *H. of C. Parl. Pap.* CXXV: 489-504, 1908.
Copy of the Convention in French and English, including the annexes concerning Tibet in which it was agreed that no scientific mission should enter Tibet for three years.

3044. Great Britain. Foreign Office. 1929. *British documents on the origins of the war 1898-1914. Vol. IV. The Anglo-Russian Rapprochement 1903-7.* Ed. by G.P. Gooch and H. Temperley. London, H.M.S.O. iii, 656 p.
Detailed account of the Convention and its background which include documents on the Younghusband Expedition.
3045. Hamilton, A. 1907/1908. The Anglo-Russian treaty: Afghanistan and Tibet. *Un. serv. Mag.* n.s. 36: 257-268.
3046. Hamilton, A. 1909. *Problems of the Middle East.* London, E. Nash. xvi, 484 p.
Includes a chapter on the Anglo-Russian Convention.
3047. Huntington, E. 1907. The Anglo-Russian agreement as to Tibet, Afghanistan, and Persia. *Bull. Am. geogr. Soc.* 39: 653-658.
3048. Izvolskii, A.P. 1937. *Au service de la Russie. Alexandre Iswolsky, correspondance diplomatique 1906-1911.* Recueillie par H. Iswolski. Paris, Les Éditions Internationales. 438 p.
Includes letters that passed between Izvolskii, the Russian Foreign Minister and Benckendorff, Russian Ambassador in London, concerning the Anglo-Russian negotiations which preceded the signing of the Convention.
3049. Klein, I. 1971. The Anglo-Russian Convention and the problem of Central Asia, 1907-1914. *J. Br. Stud.* 11: 126-147, Nov.
Discussion of the Convention and its effect on the British position in Asia. Proposes that the agreement hindered rather than furthered the British quest for security in Central Asia and suggests that it was anxiety over Russian expansion in this area which led to the aggressive British Tibetan policy of 1913-1914 which attempted 'to establish a veiled protectorate in Tibet'. An examination of Russian resistance to this policy is also made.
3050. Lacoste, H. de. 1907. La Russie et la Grande-Bretagne en Asie Centrale. *Bull. Com. Asie fr.* 7(80): 435-465.
A detailed study of the areas of Central Asia where Russia and Britain were in contact in 1907, including Tibet.
3051. Landon, P. 1907. Views on the Anglo-Russian Agreement. I. Relative loss and gain. *Fortnightly Rev.* n.s. 82: 725-733.
Mainly discusses the section of the Convention concerning Tibet.
3052. Low, A.M. 1907/1908. Russia and England agree. *Forum* 39: 339-342.
3053. Lynch, H.F.B. 1908. The Anglo-Russian Convention. *Imp. Asiat. Q. Rev.* 3s., 25: 307-328.

3054. Middleton, K.W.B. 1947. *Britain and Russia; an historical essay*. London, Hutchinson. 238 p.

Includes a section on the Convention.

3055. Morley, J. 1917. *Recollections*. London, Macmillan. 2 vols.

Includes a brief account of the Anglo-Russian Agreement and comments on Tibet.

3056. Nicolson, H.G. 1930. *Sir Arthur Nicolson, Bart., first Lord Carnock; a study in the old diplomacy*. London, Constable. xvi, 456 p.

Nicolson was British Ambassador to Russia at the time of the negotiation of the Convention. A brief account of Nicolson's part in the discussions is included.

3057. Palace, W. 2001. The Kozlov expedition of 1907-10 and the problem of Kokonor. *Asian Affairs* 32(1): 20-29.

Examines the negotiations leading to the Anglo-Russian Convention and the questions raised by the 1907-1910 expedition led by the Russian general Ivan Kozlov. Kozlov's aim was to explore part of Mongolia and Western China but the expedition also visited Koko Nor (Qinghai) which could mean that it was breaking the provisions of the Convention. As the British were unsure if this land was part of China or Tibet they hired a missionary, H.F. Ridley of the Chinese Inland Mission, to keep a check on the Russian explorers and he reported on their movements and on their meetings with the Dalai Lama. However, the inaccuracy of some of his reports exacerbated existing Anglo-Russian tensions.

3058. Sanders, G. 1982. Diplomacy and the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907. *UCLA hist. J.* 3: 61-72.

Traces the diplomatic negotiations leading to the Anglo-Russian Convention emphasising the difficulties encountered during the negotiations which were only resolved through the efforts of the Russian Foreign Minister, Aleksandr Izvolskii and the British Ambassador, Arthur Nicolson. Opposition to the Convention included the press of both countries, Russian expansionists, the German Government and a pro-German Russian faction.

3059. Siegel, J. 2002. *Endgame: Britain, Russia and the final struggle for Central Asia*. London, I.B. Tauris. xviii, 273 p.

[Reviewed: A.Wynn, *Asian Affairs* 33(3): 377-378, 2002; A.Andreyev, *Jl. R. Asiat. Soc.* 3rd ser., 13(1): 134-136, 2003]

Detailed examination of the background to, and signing of the 1907 Anglo-Russian agreement and the relations between the two countries to 1914 in Central Asia and Tibet. Demonstrates that regional conflicts of interest continued to occur following 1907 and that British and Russian foreign policy makers were far more focussed on the buffer states of Afghanistan, Persia and Tibet in the period 1907-1914 than has previously been acknowledged.

3060. *Sweet, D.W. 1971. *British foreign policy 1907-1909: the elaboration of the Russian connection*. Thesis (Ph.D) Cambridge University. xii, 431 p. Source: no. 98.

Comprehensive study of the evolution of British policy towards the European powers, especially Russia. See especially p. 62-66 'The operation of the Anglo-Russian connection in Asia. Tibet: the evacuation of the Chumbi Valley'.

3061. Vambery, A. 1907. The Anglo-Russian Convention. *Nineteenth century and after* 62: 895-904.

On the weakness of the Convention. He feels that 'as regards Tibet, the bargain made with Russia is quite incomprehensible'.

3062. Williams, B.J. 1966. The strategic background to the Anglo-Russian entente of August 1907. *Hist. J.* 9: 360-373.

3063. Yate, C.E. 1908. The Anglo-Russian Convention. *Imp. Asiat. Q. Rev.* 3s., 25: 1-24.

See also nos 124, 199, 711, 2403, 2424, 2433, 2446, 2453, 2562, 2577, 2592, 2610, 2616, 2631, 2815, 2831, 2843, 2852, 2890, 2905, 2911, 2917, 2929, 2934, 3164, 3191, 3428.

7. TRADE WITH TIBET AND THE TIBET TRADE REGULATIONS OF 1908

The Lhasa Convention established new trade marts at Gartok and Gyantse but it was not long before the Tibetans were ignoring the provisions for their operation. Obstruction was increased by the arrival in Tibet of Chang Yin-tang as Chinese Imperial Commissioner. His aim was to re-establish Chinese administration in Tibet and destroy what remained of British influence there and he set about making the operation of the British Trade Agency in Gyantse as difficult as possible. O'Connor, the British Trade Agent, resisted the Chinese measures, but he received little support from the British Government and in 1907 he was recalled from Tibet. The deteriorating situation forced the British to begin negotiating new Tibet trade regulations with China to replace those of 1893. A Tibetan minister was present at these talks but he took little active part in the negotiations. The resulting regulations signed on April 20, 1908, further strengthened Chinese influence in Tibet as the administration of the trade marts was placed under the supervision and direction of Chinese officers. Despite these obstacles hope still continued that trade would develop between Tibet and India and at one stage there were plans to complete the construction of the Hindustan-Tibet Road begun in the 1850's to promote trade with Tibet.

3064. Anon. 1904. British India - Tibet: new trade route through Bhutan. *Bd Trade J.* 47: 216, Nov. 3.

On plans to open a trade route to Tibet through Bhutan.

3065. Anon. 1904. British India: new trade route to Tibet. *Bd Trade J.* 47: 409, Dec. 1.

Report on the route to be developed through Bhutan.

3066. Anon. 1906. The Hindustan and Tibet Road. *Scott. geogr. Mag.* 22: 494-495.
Report that measures are being taken to finish the construction of the road begun in the 1850's.
3067. Anon. 1906. Les relations de l'Inde avec le Thibet. *Bull. Com. Asie fr.* 6(63): 263.
Report that the first instalment of the Tibetan indemnity has been paid and that an English official is to go to Western Tibet to investigate conditions of trade there. Recommends that the Hindustan-Tibet Road should be completed.
3068. Anon. 1906. Thibet. Route de l'Indoustan au Thibet. *Bull. Soc. belge Étud. colon.* 13: 477-479.
On the Hindustan-Tibet Road in 1906, and the reasons why it was constructed in the 1850's.
3069. Anon. 1906/1907. Handel Britisch-Indiens mit Turkestan und Tibet. *Asien* 6: 146.
On trade passing through Ladakh from Turkestan and Tibet in 1905-1906.
3070. Anon. 1907. Au Tibet. *Revue Monde Musui.* 3: 609.
On the trade of Tibet at this time.
3071. Anon. 1907. Trade with Tibet. *Indian trade J.* 6: 610-612, 728-729.
Trade of Western Tibet with Ladakh, Lahul, Bashahr and Kumaon, especially the trade in wool and borax. Also comments on the uneconomic methods of transport used by the Tibetans.
3072. Anon. 1908. Trade with Tibet. *Indian trade J.* 8: 344-345.
On trade generally with Tibet in 1908, and in particular the import of wool from Tibet.
3073. Anon. 1908. Le commerce anglo-tibétain. *Bull. Com. Asie fr.* 8(84): 129.
The situation of the British Trade Agents in Gyantse and Gartok in 1908.
3074. Anon. 1908. Convention anglo-chinoise au sujet du Tibet. *Revue Indo-Chin.* 10: 447-448, July-Dec.
3075. Anon. 1908. La convention anglo-chinoise relative au Tibet. *Bull. Com. Asie fr.* 8(85): 159-160.
3076. Bailey, F.M. 1911. From the outposts: a quiet day in Tibet. *Blackwood's Mag.* 189: 270-275.
Describes a typical day in Tibet when he was acting as British Trade Agent at Gyantse.

3077. Baker, H.D. 1914. The trade of Tibet. *U.S. daily Cons. Trade Rep.* 17(47): 753-763, Feb. 26.

Reprinted in no. 3078.

3078. Baker, H.D. 1915. *British India with notes on Ceylon, Afghanistan, and Tibet.* Washington, Government Printing Office. 638 p. (U.S. Dept of Commerce. Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. Special consular report no. 72)

The section on Tibet includes details of trade between India and Tibet in 1911-1912 and 1912-1913, China's trade with Tibet, and information on trading posts in Tibet, and Tibetan trade products. Also contains advice for American commercial travellers wishing to enter Tibet for trade.

3079. Black, C.E.D. 1908. The trade and resources of Tibet. *Jl E. India Ass.* 41(48): 1-26. *Imp. Asiat. Q. Rev.* 3s., 26: 87-104, 163-170.

Describes the main trade routes to Tibet from India and China, the main articles of trade from Tibet to India - wool, borax and gold, and speculates on the possibility of introducing Indian tea into Tibet. He also outlines the difficulties hampering trade between Tibet and India at this time such as communications and transport.

3080. Bradley-Birt, F.B. 1908. *Report on the trade frontier stations in Bengal.* Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press. 6, xlv p.

Report on the trade stations situated along Bengal's frontier with Nepal, Sikkim, and Bhutan which register the trade that passes between these countries and India. Trade with Tibet is excluded from this report as it is registered at Chumbi, an office controlled by the Government of India rather than Bengal.

3081. Bruce, C.G. 1914. *Kulu and Lahoul.* London, E. Arnold. 307 p.

Account of his mountaineering trip to these areas in 1912. It includes information on trade between Tibet and Lahul, Kulu and the Kangra Valley at this time.

3082. Connell, J. 1959. *Auchinleck: a biography of Field-Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck.* London, Cassell. xxiii, 975 p.

Briefly describes the experiences of Auchinleck in Tibet in 1906 when he was stationed at Gyantse as part of the military escort to the British Trade Agency.

3083. Great Britain. 1908. *Regulations respecting trade in Tibet (amending those of December 5, 1893) concluded between the United Kingdom, China and Tibet. Signed at Calcutta, April 20, 1908.* [Ratifications exchanged at Peking, October 14, 1908]. London, H.M.S.O. 6 p. (Parliament. Papers by command, Cd. 4450). In: *H. of C. Parl. Pap.* CV: 317-324, 1909. Reprinted: *Br. foreign St. Pap.* 101: 170-175, 1907/1908.

3084. Hamilton, W.S. 1910. *Notes on Tibetan trade.* Lahore. 14 p.

Compiled for the Government of the Punjab. It gives a detailed report on trade between Western Tibet and India from 1903 to 1910.

3085. Hutchison, J. 1906. *Indian brick tea for Tibet. Report on a mission to Ssu-chuan*. Calcutta, Printed at the City Press. 61 p.

Mission to investigate the methods of manufacture of Chinese brick tea to discover how Indian tea could be adapted to make it more acceptable to Tibetans. As well as describing his journey Hutchison gives a detailed account of the brick tea trade between Tibet and China and its manufacture and makes recommendations for the adaptation of Indian tea.

3086. Kwanten, L. 1969. Indian trade marts in Tibet. *Courr. Extr. Orient* 3(29): 45-53.

History of the establishment of trade marts in Tibet from 1904.

3087. Rabot, C. 1905. Une nouvelle route de pénétration commerciale au Tibet. *Géographie* 11: 226.

Information obtained from nos 3064-3065.

3088. Schütze, W. 1906. Die grosse Strasse von Indien nach Tibet. *Globus* 90: 66-67.

On hopes of improving trade with Western Tibet and on plans to finish the construction of the Hindustan-Tibet Road.

3089. Sherring, C.A. 1906. Notes on the Bhotias of Almora and British Garhwal. *Mem. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 1(8): 98-119.

Includes a brief account of the trade of the Bhotias with Tibet in the previous few years, including the value of the trade via the different passes between India and Tibet.

See also nos 124, 148, 199, 2403, 2408, 2424, 2453, 2896, 2905, 2908, 2917, 3198.

8. CHINESE ACTIVITY IN TIBET 1905-1913

The defeat of the Tibetan forces by the British Government, the flight of the Dalai Lama from Lhasa in 1904, and Britain's subsequent policy of non-interference in Tibetan affairs, left a political vacuum in Tibet which the Chinese hastened to fill. In an all out attempt to bring Tibet under their control they used both administrative and military measures. In 1906 Chang Yin-tang was appointed Chinese Imperial Commissioner in Tibet. He not only set about reorganizing the Tibetan administration and eliminating the remaining influence of the British in Tibet, but also endeavoured to assert Chinese suzerainty over Nepal and Bhutan. By the time he left Tibet in late 1908 he had laid the foundations of a Chinese dominated administration in Tibet. A further policy of sinification was followed by the Amban, Lien Yu.

In Eastern Tibet military measures by the Chinese had begun even before Younghusband left Tibet. They had little success, however, until the appointment in 1905 of Chao Erh-fêng, a ruthless and efficient general, as leader

of the Chinese forces. Within five years he had brought Eastern Tibet under control and in February 1910 Chinese troops entered Lhasa. The Dalai Lama was forced to flee once again - this time to refuge in India. By an Imperial Decree the Chinese deposed him as ruler of Tibet.

In 1911 revolution broke out in China and this was to have a decisive influence on Tibet. Before the end of the year Chao Erh-fêng was dead, fighting between Chinese and Tibetan forces was occurring in Eastern Tibet, and the Chinese troops in Lhasa had surrendered. They were repatriated, after British mediation, via India. In 1912 the Dalai Lama was able to return to Tibet and soon after demonstrated the independence of his country from China by signing a treaty with Mongolia in January 1913. He also issued a proclamation which is generally considered to be a declaration of the independence of Tibet.

a) General

3090. Anon. 1905. News of the week: [the murder of the Chinese resident in Tibet]. *Spectator* 94: 626.
Report on his murder near the Chinese-Tibetan border.
3091. Anon. 1906. Le Thibet. *Revue Indo-Chin.* 5: 812-813, Jan.-Jne.
Report on the revolt in Eastern Tibet against the Chinese forces.
3092. Anon. 1907. Une expédition chinoise au Thibet. *Bull. Com. Asie fr.* 7(70): 33-34.
On the activities of the forces of Chao Erh-fêng.
3093. Anon. 1907. L'indemnité thibetaine. *Bull. Com. Asie fr.* 7(72): 103.
Brief report that the Chinese are about to pay the second instalment of the Tibetan indemnity to the British.
3094. Anon. 1908. Nouvelle organisation du Tibet. *Revue Indo-Chin.* 9: 870, Jan.-Jne.
On Chao Erh-fêng's plans to reorganise Tibet.
3095. Anon. 1908. Recent events on the Western Chinese frontier. *Geogr. J.* 32: 181-182.
Abstract of no. 3103.
3096. Anon. 1909. Tibet: le dalai-lama et la Chine. *Revue fr. Étranger Colon.* 34: 122-123.
On the situation between China and Tibet in 1909.
3097. Anon. 1910. La Chine s'installe au Tibet. *A travers le monde* 16: 86-87.
Activities of the Chinese in Tibet since 1905.

3098. Anon. 1910. The Chinese in Tibet. *Lit. Digest* 40(12): 533-534.
On reports in British newspapers of the Chinese advances in Tibet which show 'the progress China has made in the modern art of war'.
3099. Anon. 1910. La politique chinoise au Tibet. *Asie fr.* 10(107): 99-100.
Reports that the Chinese are preparing to extend their domination of Tibet to Lhasa.
3100. Anon. 1911. La Chine au Thibet. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Est.* 32: 81-82.
Chinese activity in Eastern Tibet.
3101. Anon. 1911/1912. The Durbar and after. *Round Table* 2: 395-421.
See p. 414-421. It concerns Chinese activity in Tibet following the Younghusband Expedition and the resulting danger to the north-east frontier of India.
3102. Adshead, S.A.M. 1984. *Province and politics in late imperial China: viceregal government in Szechuan, 1898-1911*. London, Curzon Press. 139 p. (Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies. Monograph series, no. 50)
Includes an account of the situation on the Tibet-China border during this period and the effect of the Younghusband Expedition on Chinese attitudes and activities in this area and in Tibet. There is a detailed examination of the viceroalties of Hsi-liang (1903-1905) and of the Chao brothers, Chao Erh-fêng and Chao Erh-sün, from 1907 to 1911.
3103. Bacot, J. 1908. [Conférence de M. Jacques Bacot sur la politique chinoise dans le Sud-Est du Tibet]. Réunion du 19 février [1908]. *Bull. Com. Asie fr.* 8(83): 44-62.
Bacot explored along the Chinese-Tibetan border in 1907. He describes Tibetan resistance to Chinese attempts to regain control of Tibet following the Younghusband Expedition.
3104. Bacot, J. 1909. *Dans les marches tibétaines; autour du Dokerla. Novembre 1906 - Janvier 1908*. Paris, Plon-Nourrit. iii, 215 p. [Reviewed: M.Z., *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Lyon* 2s., 2: 82-83, 1909; *Asie fr.* 10(108) 165-168, 1910; *Scott. geogr. Mag.* 25: 658-659, 1909]
A description of his journey in the Chinese Tibetan border region. No. 3103, which describes the fighting between the Chinese and Tibetans, is reprinted in an annexe. A map of Bacot's journey is included.
3105. Bacot, J. 1911. A travers le Tibet oriental. *Géographie* 23: 241-248.
Account of his journey in 1909 to Eastern Tibet with comments on Chinese military activity in the areas he visited.
3106. Bacot, J. 1912. *Le Tibet révolté. Vers Népémakö, la terre promise des Tibétaines*. Paris, Hachette. 364 p. Reprinted: Paris, Phébus, 1997. [Reviewed: H.Cordier, *T'oung Pao* 14: 136-138, 1913; *Geogr. J.* 40: 551, 1912]

Account, with a map, of his second journey to Eastern Tibet in 1909-1910. It includes a description of the recent fighting between the Tibetans and the forces of Chao Erh-fêng and the resulting devastation of the countryside.

3107. Bacot, J. 1962. *Introduction à l'histoire du Tibet*. Paris, Société Asiatique. xxiv, 138 p.

General information on Tibet including a brief account of Tibet's relations with India and China. There are a number of appendices including 'Relations du Tibet avec les pays limitrophes' (no. XV) which mainly concerns Tibet's relations with China following the Younghusband Expedition, and 'Fuite aux Indes du Dalai Lama en 1910' (no. XVI).

3108. Bons D'Anty, P. 1908. Les projets de réorganisation des Marches tibétaines. *Bull. Com. Asie fr.* 8(88): 279-283.

Includes the text of a report by Chao Erh-fêng on new regulations concerning the Tibetan Marches which contain plans for Chinese colonisation of the area.

3109. Chang Chiu-wen. 2000. Zhao Erhfeng yu Xiangcheng Zhi Yi, 1905-1906. [Chao Erhfeng and the Battle of Hsiangcheng, 1905-06]. *Bull. Inst. Mod. Hist., Academia Sinica* 33: 159-182.

Maintains that the Battle of Hsiangcheng was as important as Chao's victory at Batang in influencing the reassertion of Chinese authority in Szechuan and Tibet. In Chinese with English summary.

3110. Chuan, Shaoching H. 1912. The most extraordinary city in the world: notes on Lhasa - the mecca of the Buddhist faith. *Natn. geogr. Mag.* 23: 959-995.

General account of Lhasa and the government of Tibet by the medical officer of the Chinese mission to Lhasa in 1906-1907.

3111. Coleman, W.M. 2002. The uprising at Batang: Khams and its significance in Chinese and Tibetan history. In: *Khams pa histories: visions of people, place and authority. PIATS 2000: Tibetan studies: proceedings of the Ninth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Leiden 2000*. Ed. by L. Epstein. Leiden, Brill, p. 31-56.

Analyses the events occurring at Batang in 1905 and their aftermath and discusses Chao Erh-fêng's influence in the area.

3112. Dessirier, J. 1923. *A travers les marches révoltées. Ouest Chinois. Yunnan - Se-tchouen - Marches Thibétaines*. Paris, Plon. vii, 316 p.

Includes some comments on Chinese activity in Tibet in 1910-1911.

3113. Edgar, J.H. 1908. *The Marches of the Mantze*. London, China Inland Mission. viii, 67 p.

Account of the frontier region between Tibet and China. Includes a brief account of Russian influence in Lhasa when Edgar, a missionary, arrived at Tachientu in 1902, and also an account of Chinese activity in Tibet after 1904.

3114. Elder, C. 1993. The man who found Shangri-la: James Edgar Huston [sic]. *N.Z. Jl east Asian Stud.* 1(2): 21-48.

The New Zealand missionary, James Huston Edgar, spent most of his life on the Sino-Tibetan border with the China Inland Mission from 1903 to 1936. He travelled widely in the area and took advantage of Chao Erh-fêng's successes to extend his missionary activities in the early 1900s. From 1909-1911 he lived in Batang and in 1911 accompanied Bailey on the early stages of his travels from China to Assam (see no. 3279). Information on the later conditions on the Sino-Tibetan border is also included.

3115. Giraudeau, Mgr. 1906. Thibet [lettre]. *Miss. Cathol.* 38: 531-532.

Reports on the fighting between Tibetans and Chinese in Eastern Tibet.

3116. Goré, F. 1939. *Trente ans aux portes du Thibet interdit 1908-1938*. Hong Kong, Société des Missions-Etrangères de Paris, Maison de Nazareth. v, 388 p.

Divided into three parts. The first gives an account of exploration in Tibet, and the history, politics and religion of Tibet; part 2 contains a history of the Catholic Missions in Tibet during the period 1900-1920 and includes an account of the activities of Chao Erh-fêng, and the fighting during the first World War; part 3 is devoted to describing the Chinese-Tibetan frontier region after 1920.

3117. Manandhar, V.K. 1996. China's enlistment of Nepalese mongrels. *Rolamba* 16(1): 7-15, Jan.-March. Reprinted with title: 'China's enlistment of people of mixed Nepalese-Tibetan ancestry' in his *Cultural and political aspects of Nepal-China relations*. Delhi, Adroit Publishers, 1999, p. 89-92.

On attempts by Chang Yin t'ang to enlist Nepalese soldiers for use as guards for the Amban in Lhasa in 1907. The Nepalese Government refused the request but nine Nepalese-Tibetans (known as mongrels or Khacharas) were recruited.

3118. Reynolds, V. 1972. Journey to Tibet: one man's experience, 1904-1922: photographs from the Dr Albert L. Shelton Archive. *Museum* 24(2 & 3): 11-59.

Account of the experiences of the American missionary, Albert Shelton, in Tibet, illustrated by many of his photos.

3119. Reynolds, V. 1998. The journey to Tibet of Dr. Albert L. Shelton 1904-1922. *Lungta* no. 11: 20-24.

His experiences in eastern Tibet and the part he played in negotiations between the Chinese and Tibetan forces.

3120. *Shelton, A.L. 1925. *Pioneering in Tibet: a personal record of life and experience in mission fields*. New York, F.H. Revell Co. 214 p. Source: Library of Congress Catalogue.

3121. Shelton, F.B. 1923. *Shelton of Tibet*. New York, G.H. Doran. 319 p.

Shelton served as an American missionary on the borders of Tibet from 1904 to 1922 when he was murdered outside Batang after an attempt to travel into Tibet. This biography by his wife includes descriptions of the fighting between the Tibetans and Chinese after 1904 and during the first World War. It also contains criticisms of some aspects of Chinese rule in Tibet and gives her impressions of supposed British influence in Lhasa after the Simla Conference.

3122. Sigel, L.T. 1966. Ch'ing Tibetan policy (1906-1910). *Harvard Univ. Pap. China* 20: 177-201.

Examines the diplomatic context of Chinese suzerainty over Tibet from the time of Curzon and the Younghusband Mission, and discusses in detail the efforts of the Chinese to reassert their authority in Tibet concentrating on the policies of Chang Yin-tang and Chao Erh-fêng.

3123. Spengen, W. van. 2002. Frontier history of southern Kham: banditry and war in the multi-ethnic fringe lands of Chatring, Mili, and Gyethang, 1890-1940. In: *Khams pa histories: visions of people, place and authority. PIATS 2000: Tibetan studies: proceedings of the Ninth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Leiden 2000*. Ed. by L. Epstein. Leiden, Brill, p. 7-29.

Discusses the social and political chaos on the eastern Tibetan border in the twentieth century with emphasis on the period from 1905, the conquests of Chao Erh-feng, and the unrest that followed.

3124. Sperling, E. 1976. The Chinese venture in K'am, 1904-1911, and the role of Chao Erh-feng. *Tibet J.* 1(2): 10-36. Reprinted in A. McKay, ed. *The history of Tibet. Vol. 3.* (see no. 211), p. 69-91.

Outlines the actions taken by the Chinese to bring Kham under its control in this period and the harsh measures employed by Chao Erh-fêng.

3125. Templeman, D. 1998. J.H. Edgar: an Australian missionary in the Tibetan Marches. *Lungta*: no. 11: 25-33.

The life and travels of Edgar in the Tibetan border region. It includes his views on the activities of Chao Erh-fêng.

3126. Werake, K.M.M. 1980. Foreign policy of Yuan Shih-k'ai with special emphasis on Tibet, 1912-1916. Thesis (PhD) University of Washington. vi, 272 p.

Includes an historical background of Sino-Tibetan relations prior to 1911 before discussing the varied measures adopted by the Chinese Government under Yuan Shih-k'ai to re-establish Chinese control over Tibet. A large section of the thesis is devoted to a discussion of Chinese policy at the Simla Conference and negotiations following the Conference in attempts to reach a settlement with Britain over Tibet. The military, administrative and legislative measures adopted by China to try and maintain her control over Eastern Tibet are also covered.

3127. Wilson, E.H. 1913. *A naturalist in Western China with vasculum, camera and gun: being some account of eleven years' travel, exploration, and*

observation in the more remote parts of the flowery kingdom. London, Methuen. 2 vols. Reprinted: New York, Doubleday, Page & Co., 1930; Sakonnet, R.I., Theophrastus, 1977; London, Cadogan Books, 1986.

His travels from 1899 mainly in the Chinese-Tibetan borderlands. He was in Tachienlu in 1903-1904 and in his chapter 'Tachienlu, the gate of Thibet' he comments on the activities of the 13th Dalai Lama who threatened to force Chala, the most easterly of the Tibetan areas with its capital at Tachienlu, under his control. This area had always been independent of Lhasa in temporal matters. The British Expedition to Tibet prevented the Dalai Lama carrying out this threat. He also comments on the activities of the Chinese under Chao Erh-fêng, and notes that it is impossible to define the political boundary between Tibet and Szechuan.

See also nos 178, 199, 2392, 2396-9, 2403, 2408, 2433, 2440, 2453, 2457-8, 2473, 2477, 2495, 2532, 2705, 2894, 2896, 2902, 2905, 2908, 2912, 2918-19, 2924, 2926, 3007, 3157, 3227, 3270, 3272-3, 3275, 3279-81, 3285, 3288, 3328, 3380, 3425, 3840, 4019.

b) Flight of the Dalai Lama to India

3128. Anon. 1909/1910. Das Schicksal des Dalai Lama. *Dt. Rdsch. Geogr. Statist.* 32: 473.

Position of the Dalai Lama in 1910.

3129. Anon. 1910. Les affaires du Tibet. *Revue Indo-Chin.* 13: 453-459, Jan.-Jne.

The occupation of Lhasa by the Chinese and the flight of the Dalai Lama to India. The edict deposing the Dalai Lama is also reproduced.

3130. Anon. 1910. China, Tibet and Great Britain [editorial]. *Outlook* 96: 252-253.

The Lhasa Convention and subsequent agreements between China and Britain on Tibet, and the present situation in Tibet after the flight of the Dalai Lama to India.

3131. Anon. 1910. Les Chinois au Thibet; fuite du dalai-lama. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Est.* 31: 159-160.

3132. Anon. 1910. Le dalai-lama. *Asie fr.* 10(109): 202-204.

A translation of the Chinese decree deposing the Dalai Lama, and a report on his journey to India.

3133. Anon. 1910. La déchéance du Dalai Lama, par C.R. *Revue fr. Étranger Colon.* 35: 339-346.

Chinese activity in Tibet, the flight of the Dalai Lama to India, and the Chinese decree deposing him as ruler of Tibet.

3134. Anon. 1910. The land of the lamas. *Outlook* 94: 556-557.

The flight of the Dalai Lama to India, the events which precipitated this, and a discussion of the possible results of his action.

3135. Anon. 1910. Le retour du dalai-lama à Lhassa. *Asie fr.* 10(114): 406.
Speculation about the conditions under which the Dalai Lama would return to Tibet.
3136. Anon. 1910. La situation au Tibet. *Asie fr.* 10(115): 443-444.
The situation in Tibet following the flight of the Dalai Lama.
3137. Anon. 1910. Die Wolken über Tibet. *Export* 32: 547-548.
Chinese activity in Tibet culminating in the flight of the Dalai Lama to India, and speculation on British reaction.
3138. Anon. 1912. La situation en Mongolie, au Turkestan et au Tibet. *Asie fr.* 12: 251-252.
Includes a description of the departure of the Dalai Lama from India for Tibet.
3139. Ashencaen, D. and Leonev, G. 1995. A collection of 288 photographs of Tibet. In their *The mirror of mind: art of Vajrayana Buddhism; to be exhibited for sale by Spink and Son Ltd...* London, Spink, p. 102-103.
Collection of photos taken by Henry Martin during the period when he manned the telegraph in Tibet following the Younghusband Expedition. They include photos of the 13th Dalai Lama on his flight to India as well as photos of Gyantse, the Panchen Lama, and British, Chinese and Tibetan officials.
3140. Hedin, S. 1910. Die Flucht des Dalai-Lama nach Indien. *Petermanns Mitt.* 56(1): 181-182.
3141. *Knockaert, P. 1910. La fuite du Dalai Lama du Thibet. *Miss. Belges* 12: 206-210. Source: Royal Geographical Society Library catalogue.
3142. Le Colloc'h, B. 1990. Events surrounding a painting of the 13th Dalai Lama. *Tibet J.* 15(2): 40-51.
The painting was by a French artist, P.E. Grignon, from a photograph. It depicts the arrival at Kalimpong of the 13th Dalai Lama with his escort in March 1910 after he fled Tibet. An account of the reasons for his journey and his subsequent stay in India are given.
3143. Mourey, C. 1910. L'action chinoise au Tibet et la situation politique dans l'Asie Centrale. *Asie fr.* 10(108): 114-117.
The occupation of Lhasa by the Chinese and the flight of the Dalai Lama.
3144. *Waterkeyn, A. 1910. L'exode du Grand-Lama. *Miss. Belges* 12: 241-250. Source: Royal Geographical Society Library catalogue.

See also nos 1791, 2396-9, 2403, 2408, 2433, 2446, 2461, 2477, 2485, 2487, 2492-3, 2896-7, 2905, 2908, 2911, 2917, 2937, 3107, 3277, 3373, 3404, 3673-4.

c) Situation in Tibet 1912-1913

3145. Anon. 1912. La situation du Thibet. *Revue Indo-Chin.* 17: 432-433.
The situation in 1912 and its background.
3146. Anon. 1912. La révolution au Thibet et les affaires de Chine. *Revue Indo-Chin.* 18: 267-268.
On the fighting in Lhasa.
3147. Anon. 1912. Les affaires thibetaines. *Revue Indo-Chin.* 18: 268-270.
Return of the Dalai Lama to Lhasa and fighting in Eastern Tibet.
3148. Anon. 1912. La campagne thibetaine - les soldats chinois sont dans une situation désespérée. *Revue Indo-Chin.* 18: 469-470.
The situation of the Chinese troops in Tibet.
3149. Anon. 1912. Le cas du Tibet, par R.J. *A travers le monde* 18: 357-358.
The situation in 1912.
3150. Anon. 1912. Le Dalai Lama et la Chine. *Revue Indo-Chin.* 18: 552-553, July-Dec.
On the evacuation of the Chinese troops from Tibet, and the independent position of Tibet in 1912.
3151. Anon. 1912. L'insurrection du Tibet. *Asie fr.* 12: 160-161.
On rebellion in Tibet and the Tibetan attack on the Chinese garrison in Lhasa.
3152. Anon. 1912. Question of Tibet. *Independent* 73: 588-589.
The position of Tibet in 1912.
3153. Anon. 1912. La situation au Tibet. *Asie fr.* 12: 202.
The surrender of the Chinese garrisons in Shigatse and Gyantse, and a report on the situation in Lhasa.
3154. Anon. 1912. Tibet: le Dalai Lama réintégré. *Revue fr. Étranger Colon.* 37: 678.
The Dalai Lama reinstated as ruler of Tibet.
3155. Anon. 1913. Mongolie et Tibet. *Asie fr.* 13: 94-95.
On the Mongolian-Tibetan treaty.
3156. Anon. 1913. La Mongolie et le Tibet. *Asie fr.* 13: 139.
Russian activity in Mongolia, and Dorjiev's efforts in arranging the Mongolian-Tibetan treaty.

3157. Anon. 1913. Le futur statut du Tibet. *Asie fr.* 13: 359-360.
Comments on the proposed Simla Conference, the Mongolian-Tibetan treaty, and the continued fighting between the Chinese and Tibetans in the Tibetan Marches.
3158. Anon. 1913. La question thibétaine. *Revue Jaune* 3: 187-188.
Concerns the declaration of Tibet's independence by the Dalai Lama.
3159. Anon. 1913. La situation au Thibet. *Revue Indo-Chin.* 19: 480-482.
On the fighting in Eastern Tibet and the successes of the Tibetans.
3160. Anon. 1913. Tibet. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. comm. Paris* 35: 415-416.
Reprinted with title: L'Independance du Tibet. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Lyon Sem.* 1: 87-88.
On Tibet's declaration of independence and her treaty with Mongolia.
3161. *Günther, S. 1913. Die Erschliessung Tibets. *Geist des Ostens* 1: 457-466. Source: no. 56.
3162. McCabe, D.A. 1966. Tibet's declaration of independence. *Am. J. int. Law* 60: 369-371.
Presents evidence that Tibet had declared her independence by 1912 (see also no. 3167).
3163. Mehra, P. 1967. The Mongol-Tibet treaty of January 11, 1913: a footnote. *Proc. Indian hist. Congr.* 29(2): 243-262.
Details of the treaty which was signed on behalf of the Tibetans by Dorjiev, its background, British reaction to it, and its effect on the Simla Conference.
3164. Mehra, P. 1969. The Mongol-Tibetan treaty of January 11, 1913. *J. Asian Hist.* 3: 1-22. Reprinted in A. McKay, ed. *The history of Tibet. Vol. 3.* (see no. 211), p. 175-190.
Details of the treaty, its importance, and its effect on the Simla Conference. Also includes information on British attempts in 1913-1914 to persuade Russia to relax some of the Tibetan clauses of the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907.
3165. Rahul, R. 1960/1961. Three-point agreement between the Chinese and Tibetans, 12 August 1912. *Int. Stud.* 2: 420-424.
English translation of the Tibetan version of the agreement reached between representatives of Tibet and China in Lhasa under which the Chinese garrison left Tibet. The Chinese text of this agreement has not been seen and there is doubt if it ever reached China, but the Nepalese version is identical to the Tibetan.
3166. Rahul, R. 1979. The 1912 agreement between the Chinese and the Tibetans. *Tibetan Review* 14(2): 20-22.
On the background to the agreement and an English translation of the Tibetan version of the Treaty. The British could not be directly involved due to the

provisions of the Anglo-Russian Convention but they provided advice to Nepal to expedite the settlement through their agents in Tibet.

3167. Rubin, A.P. 1966. Tibet's declaration of independence? *Am. J. int. Law* 60: 812-814.
3168. Shelton, F.B. 1912. *Sunshine and shadow on the Tibetan border*. Cincinnati, Foreign Christian Missionary Society. 141 p.
Includes a chapter on the situation on the Tibetan border in 1911-1912.
3169. [Surugue, R.] 1913. La question thibétaine. *Revue Indo-Chin.* 19: 84-86, 330-333, Jan.-Jne.
Comments on the Mongolian-Tibetan treaty, the situation in Eastern Tibet, and British attempts to force China to recognise the autonomy of Tibet.
3170. Ward, F. Kingdon. 1923. *The mystery rivers of Tibet, a description of the little-known land where Asia's mightiest rivers gallop in harness through the narrow gateway of Tibet, its peoples, fauna and flora*. London, Seeley, Service. 316 p. Reprinted: Lucknow, Asian Publications, 1985.
Account of his travels in the Chinese-Tibetan border region in 1913 with some comments on the unrest and fighting between China and Tibet in this region.
3171. Willoughby, M.E. 1912. *Report on the work of the mission engaged on the repatriation of the Chinese garrison of Lhasa which surrendered to the Tibetans in August 1912*. Simla, Government Central Branch Press. 47 p.
Willoughby was in charge of the mission to repatriate the Chinese troops through India. He describes in detail the problems involved in arranging their repatriation, and the preparations made to receive them in Sikkim. A map showing routes from the Chumbi Valley to Darjeeling is included.
3172. Yang, S.C. 1933/1934. The revolution in Szechuan, 1911-12. *Jl W. China Border Res. Soc.* 6: 64-90.
Includes an account of the murder of Chao Erh-fêng.

See also nos 2400, 2408, 2433, 2458, 2461, 2477, 2485, 2501, 2503, 2894, 2902, 2905, 2919, 2924.

9. BRITISH REACTION TO CHINESE ACTIVITY IN TIBET 1910-1913

After reaching India in 1910 the Dalai Lama appealed to the British Government for help to expel the Chinese from Tibet. Morley was not particularly alarmed at Chinese control of Tibet and it was only in regard to Chinese intrigues in Nepal and Bhutan that protests were made to the Chinese

Government. The Indian Government, more aware of the realities of the situation in Tibet, stationed troops at Gnatong in Sikkim to reinforce the trade agencies in Gyantse and Yatung if needed. It was also alarmed at the increasing activity of the Chinese on the North-East Frontier of India where, for a short time, they occupied Zayul and Pome, and the Abor Expedition and Miri and Mishmi Missions were largely a response to this situation (see chapter XIII.3a). Hardinge by this time had replaced Minto as Viceroy of India, and the Marquess of Crewe was in charge of the India Office. By 1912 the Indian Government had begun taking measures to establish closer ties with Tibet. In May 1912 it decided to send Laden La, a native of Sikkim, to Lhasa to arrange a cease fire between the Tibetans and the Chinese. He set out for Tibet before the British Government could protest and was eventually recalled just before he reached Lhasa. The Indian Government was, however, successful in arranging for four Tibetan boys to go to Britain to gain a Western education. They arrived at Rugby School in 1913.

In April 1912 Yuan Shih-k'ai, the President of the new Chinese Republic, issued a decree which proclaimed that Tibet should be regarded as a province and an integral part of China. At the same time a military expedition was sent to the Tibetan border. These events, together with the realisation that the internal autonomy of Tibet was necessary for the peace of India's northern borders, caused the British Government to reconsider its Tibetan policy. On August 17, 1912, Jordan, the British Minister at Peking, presented a memorandum to the Chinese Government which stated that although the British Government recognised Chinese suzerainty over Tibet, it did not recognise the right of China to intervene in Tibet's internal administration, or to keep unlimited troops in Tibet. Until written acceptance of this position was received the British Government would not recognise the Chinese Republic and all communications with Tibet via India would be closed to the Chinese. Despite these threats it was almost a year before the Chinese could be persuaded to participate in tripartite talks at Simla to discuss questions raised by this memorandum.

a) General

3173. Anon. 1910. Les Anglais et le Thibet. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Lille* 54: 187-188.

Examines British policy of non-intervention in Tibet following the Younghusband Expedition, and reports that British troops have once again been sent to the Tibetan frontier.

3174. Anon. 1910. La Chine, l'Angleterre, la Russie et le Tibet. *A travers le monde* 16: 295.

Report on two articles by Younghusband in the *Times* on the present situation in Tibet, and the attitude of Russia to conditions there.

3175. Anon. 1910. Chinese "reforms" in Tibet. *Sat. Rev.* 109: 291-292.

Blames the military occupation of Lhasa by the Chinese on the 'blundering' policy of Britain which has given China a virtually free hand in Tibet.

3176. Anon. 1910. India, China and Tibet. *Sat. Rev.* 110: 194-195.

Condemns Britain's weak policy in Tibet following the Younghusband Expedition and her misinterpretation of Chinese policy towards Tibet.

3177. Anon. 1910. The Tibetan problem. *Spectator* 105: 228.

On unrest in Tibet and the preparedness of the Indian army. Feels that Britain should be careful not to adopt an anti-Chinese policy in Tibet 'as the Chinese are much more likely to prove easy neighbours than a purely Lamaist Government'. Urges that Britain come to an agreement with China over Tibet.

3178. Anon. 1910. Sir Francis Younghusband on Tibet, by Z.W.R. *Spectator* 105: 554.

In favour of Younghusband's proposal in the *Times* that a British agent be located in Lhasa.

3179. Anon. 1911. Le chemin de fer de la vallée de Tchoumbi. *Asie fr.* 11(126): 432.

Report that permission has been given in Simla for a railway to be built to Lebung at the entrance to the Chumbi Valley.

3180. Anon. 1912. Great Britain, China and Tibet. *Spectator* 109: 325-326.

On Britain's demand that China recognise the autonomy of Tibet, and a review of events in Tibet since 1904. Also discusses the possible appointment of a British political resident in Lhasa.

3181. Anon. 1912. La question du Tibet. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Lille* 58: 359. *Asie fr.* 12: 531.

Short note on China's reaction to the British memorandum on Tibet.

3182. Anon. 1912. Tibet: une note anglaise à la Chine. *Revue fr. Étranger Colon.* 37: 550.

Britain's memorandum to China and Tibet.

3183. Anon. 1913. L'Angleterre, la Chine et le Tibet. *Asie fr.* 13: 38.

On Britain's demand that China recognise the status quo in Tibet.

3184. Anon. 1913. L'Angleterre et le Tibet. *Asie fr.* 13: 189.

On a report that China is to send an ambassador to London to discuss the status of Tibet.

3185. Anon. 1913. Les négociations sino-russo-mongoles. *Revue Jaune* 3: 51-63.

Includes comments on Anglo-Chinese negotiations on the subject of Tibet in 1912.

3186. Anon. 1913. Thibet et Mongolie. Russie et Angleterre. *Revue Jaune* 3: 107-111.

Reproduces the demands made by Britain in its memorandum to the Chinese Government regarding Tibet, the articles of a secret Anglo-Tibetan agreement which would guarantee the autonomy of Tibet, the articles of a secret Anglo-Russian agreement regarding Tibet and Mongolia, and the text of the Mongolian Tibetan treaty negotiated by Dorjiev.

3187. [Bacot, J] 1912. La question du Tibet. *Asie fr.* 12: 371.

The British attitude to the status of Tibet and a letter from Jacques Bacot on the subject.

3188. Burrard, G. 1913. The Tibetan frontier. *J. un. Serv. Instn India* 42: 425-426.

A lecture with slides by Lieut. Burrard on the frontier. His lecture is not printed but the speech by Sir Henry McMahon following it is; in this he talks of Tibet generally and its geographical, and briefly its political, importance.

3189. Ch'en, J. 1961. *Yuan Shih-k'ai, 1859-1916; Brutus assumes the purple*. London, Allen & Unwin. 290 p.

Includes brief comments on Britain's memorandum to the Chinese Government in 1912, and the Simla Conference.

3190. Dhondup, K. 1984. The thirteenth Dalai Lama's experiment in modern education. *Tibet J.* 9(3): 38-58.

Account of the experiences of the four Tibetan boys, Gongkar, Mondo, Kyipup, and Ringang, who were sent to Britain in 1913 for their education, and on their subsequent careers in Tibet.

3191. Great Britain. 1914. Exchange of notes between Great Britain and Russia relative to the lapse of the agreement preventing the entry into Thibet of scientific missions, St Petersburg, September 23, 1910 and January 9, 1911. *Br. foreign St. Pap.* 107: 554-555.

Decided to let the agreement lapse as it had been ineffective in preventing missions from other countries visiting Tibet e.g. the journey of Sven Hedin.

3192. Great Britain. Foreign Office. 1933. *British documents on the origins of the war 1898-1914. Vol. IX. The Balkan Wars. Pt 1. The prelude; the Tripoli War*. Ed. by G.P. Gooch and H. Temperley. London, H.M.S.O. lxxvi, 873 p.

Includes a report on discussions between Sazonov, the Russian Foreign Minister, and Sir Earl Grey and the Marquess of Crewe in September 1912 on Tibet. In these the British explained their current desires in Tibet and why they opposed the Chinese invasion of Tibet.

3193. Kellas, A.M. 1912. The mountains of Northern Sikkim and Garhwal. *Alpine J.* 26: 113-142.

Kellas made a mountaineering journey to Sikkim in 1911. He notes that much of North-East Sikkim was in the hands of Tibetans, and comments on the anomaly of their free access to Sikkim when Europeans are still forbidden to enter Tibet.

3194. Landon, P. 1912. Tibet, China and India. *Fortnightly Rev.* n.s. 92: 655-662.
- Discusses the disastrous results of Britain's weak Tibetan policy following the Younghusband Expedition, and comments on its more positive policy in 1912 which has resulted in the Abor Expedition and Britain's memorandum to the Chinese Government on Tibet.
3195. Manandhar, V.K. 1998. Republic China's intrigues against Nepal. *Voice of History* 13(1): 57-68, July. Reprinted in his *Cultural and political aspects of Nepal-China relations*. Delhi, Adroit Publishers, 1999, p. 117-132.
- On Chinese attempts to claim suzerain rights over Nepal and her invitation to Nepal in 1913 to join China in a union of the 'Five Affiliated Races' (Chinese, Manchus, Mongolians, Tibetans and Muslims).
3196. Shakya, Tsering. 1986. Making of the Great Game players. Tibetan students in Britain between 1913 and 1917. *Tibetan review* 21(1): 9-14, 20.
- Detailed account of the experiences of the four Tibetan boys sent to England for their education in 1913. Examines problems encountered, including clashes with the Chinese over the choice of their school, information from their school reports and comments of their teachers.
3197. Strong, A. 1912. Great Britain and Tibet. *Spectator* 109: 300.
- Urges the revision of Britain's Tibetan policy in the light of recent events.
3198. Strong, A. 1912. Some aspects of the Tibetan problem. *Contemp. Rev.* 102: 527-533.
- The effect of Chinese activity in Tibet on trade with India and on the stationing of British troops in Sikkim in 1910. Also discusses recent British notes to China over Tibet and recommends that a British consular agent be appointed to Lhasa.
3199. Younghusband, F.E. 1910. British action and its results. *T'oung Pao* 2s., 11: 527-534.
- Traces events since his mission in 1904 and discusses the need for Britain to have direct relations with Tibet. Suggests that instead of Britain and Russia agreeing to a hands off policy in Tibet which only benefits China, they should intervene and work together in Lhasa to effectively protect the interests of both their countries in Tibet.
3200. Younghusband, F.E. 1910. *Our position in Tibet*. Read November 2, 1910. London, Central Asian Society. 15 p. (Proceedings of the Central Asian Society)

Reviews the position of Tibet in 1910 and the events of the preceding six years since his mission. Recommends that a British officer be sent to reside permanently in Lhasa as has been requested by the Tibetans.

See also nos 178, 255, 2137, 2408, 2453, 2473, 2894, 2905, 2912, 3255, 3373, 3453, 3474.

b) Policy towards Bhutan

Although Britain largely ignored Chinese activity in Tibet in the period 1904 to 1910, the fear of Chinese intervention in the affairs of the Himalayan states eventually provoked the British into making a forward move in Bhutan. Since the Younghusband Expedition closer ties had developed with Bhutan through the visits of John C. White, the Political Officer for Sikkim, in 1905 and 1907. In 1908 news that the Chinese Amban in Lhasa had declared Bhutan to be under Chinese suzerainty and that a Chinese mission had visited Bhutan, led the British Government to authorise Charles Bell, who had replaced White in Sikkim, to negotiate a new Anglo-Bhutanese treaty. This was signed in 1910 and placed Bhutan's external relations under the control of the British Government.

3201. Anon. 1905. L'Inde anglaise et le Bhoutan. *Bull. Com. Asie fr.* 5(55): 409.

The position of Bhutan following the Younghusband Expedition.

3202. Anon. 1911. Traité entre l'Angleterre et le Bhoutan. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Lyon* 2s., 4: 62-64.

British relations with Bhutan and the 1910 treaty.

3203. Kohli, M. 1980. China factor in Indo-Bhutanese relations. In: S. Chopra, ed. *Studies in India's foreign policy*. Amritsar, Guru Nanak Dev University, p. 260-271. Reprinted in *Encyclopaedia of SAARC nations. Vol. 6. Bhutan*. Ed. by V. Grover. New Delhi, Deep & Deep, 1997, p. 735-746.

Provides the background to the signing of the 1910 Treaty and traces the historical connection between Tibet and Bhutan as a background to the China factor in contemporary Indo-Bhutanese relations.

3204. Labh, K. 1974. The international status of Bhutan before 1947. *Int. Stud.* 13(1): 75-93. Reprinted in *Encyclopaedia of SAARC nations. Vol. 6. Bhutan*. Ed. by V. Grover. New Delhi, Deep & Deep, 1997, p. 242-262.

Examines the political and strategic importance of Bhutan and her past relations with British India and China from the time of the Younghusband Mission. Main emphasis is on the period leading up to Bell's mission to Bhutan and the signing of the 1910 treaty, the status of Bhutan under this treaty, and Chinese reaction to it.

3205. Minto, J.R. 1974. *Graham of Kalimpong*. Edinburgh, William Blackwood. xviii, 202 p.
Biography of the Scottish missionary Dr John Anderson Graham who lived in Sikkim from 1889. It describes his contacts with, and impact on, the main tribes of the area – Lepchas, Bhutias and Nepalese, and his contacts, interest and plans for the development of Bhutan where he was friend and adviser to the Maharaja.
3206. Rahul, R. 1997. *Royal Bhutan: a political history*. New Delhi, Vikas Pub. House. vii, 101 p.
Study of Bhutan since its emergence as a monarchy in 1885.
3207. White, J.C. 1907. Across unknown Bhutan. *Wide Wld Mag.* 19: 219-226, 322-327.
Account of his visit to Bhutan in 1905 to present the K.C.I.E. to the Tongsa Penlop.
3208. White, J.C. 1909. My journey in Bhutan. *Wide Wld Mag.* 23: 13-23, 179-185.
His journey to Bhutan in 1907 to represent the Indian Government at the installation of Sir Ugyen Wangchuk as the Maharaja of Bhutan.
3209. White, J.C. 1910. Journeys in Bhutan. *Geogr. J.* 35: 18-42.
Describes the five journeys he made to Bhutan between 1905-1908.
3210. White, J.C. 1914. Castles in the air; experiences and journeys in unknown Bhutan. *Natn. geogr. Mag.* 25: 365-455.
Account of Bhutan and his journeys there with emphasis on his trip in 1907 to attend the installation of the Tongsa Penlop as Maharaja of Bhutan.
3211. [Younghusband, F.E.] 1918. Obituary: Mr. John Claude White C.I.E., by F.E.Y. *Geogr. J.* 51: 407-408.
- See also nos 124, 255, 1389, 1613, 1616, 1632, 1635-7, 1643, 1749, 2905.

10. THE SIMLA CONFERENCE AND THE MCMAHON LINE 1913-1914

The purpose of the Conference which opened at Simla in October 1913 was to discuss the status and borders of Tibet. After much resistance by the Chinese, the representatives of the Tibetan, Chinese and British Governments took part on an equal footing. Sir Henry McMahon was the British delegate and acted as chairman of the Conference, Lönchen Shatra was the Tibetan delegate, and Ivan Chen represented China. McMahon was assisted by Charles Bell as adviser on Tibet and Archibald Rose as advisor on China. The main result of the Conference, incorporated into a draft Convention initialled in April 1914 by all

delegates, was to divide Tibet into two zones - Outer and Inner Tibet. Outer Tibet, with Lhasa as its capital, was to be autonomous, whilst Chinese activity in Inner Tibet was to be virtually unrestricted though they could not convert the area into a Chinese province. Chinese suzerainty over the whole of Tibet was recognised. The border between Inner and Outer Tibet ran roughly along the divide between the Upper Yangtse and Mekong Rivers. The Convention also provided for the British Trade Agent at Gyantse to visit Lhasa to negotiate directly with the Tibetan Government when necessary.

The Chinese Government repudiated the action of its delegate in initialling the Convention as they considered the provisions regarding the border as unacceptable. Further negotiations followed and in July 1914 McMahon and Lönchen Shatra signed a joint Anglo-Tibetan declaration stating that they accepted the Convention as binding on their Governments. It was, however, left open for the Chinese to sign the Convention in the future if they desired to do so.

The British also took advantage of the Simla Conference to conclude separate agreements with the Tibetans concerning trade and the Indian Tibetan border. Trade regulations to replace those of 1893 and 1908 were signed, and the border between India and Tibet stretching from Bhutan to Burma defined. This boundary which followed roughly the crest of the Himalayas has become known as the McMahon Line. It included within British territory large areas of tribal country in the Assam Himalayan Region including Tawang, whose people had maintained close ties with Tibet for centuries.

3212. Anon. 1913. La question du Thibet. *Revue Jaune* 3: 132.

3213. Anon. 1913. Les affaires du Thibet. *Revue Jaune* 3: 505-506.

3214. Anon. 1913. La question du Tibet. *Asie fr.* 13: 243, 394.

3215. Anon. 1913. Tibet: negociations. *Revue fr. Étranger Colon.* 38: 658-659.

3216. Anon. 1914. L'autonomie du Tibet. *Mouv. Géogr.* 31: 329-330.

3217. Anon. 1914. Le statut du Tibet; le nouveau traité anglo-chinois. *Asie fr.* 14: 179-181.

3218. Anon. 1920. The Tibetan problem. *Far East. polit. Sci. Rev.* 2(2): 98-113.

Relations between China, India and Tibet in the period 1900-1919 with emphasis on the negotiations at Simla in 1914, and attempts by Britain between 1914-1919 to get China to sign the Simla Convention.

3219. Anon. 1940. *The boundary question between China and Tibet; a valuable record of the tripartite Conference between China, Britain, and Tibet held in India, 1913-1914.* Peking. 150 p.

Contains a selection of official papers presented at the Simla Conference including the Tibetan, Chinese and British statements on the limits of Tibet.

3220. Anon. 1959. The McMahon Line. *New Statesman* 58(1484): 213, Aug. 22.
On the declaration by Nehru that the Indian Government regards the McMahon Line as India's firm northern border.
3221. Anon. 1959. North-East Frontier of India. *India Q.* 15: 393-395.
Justification of India's claims to the area south of the McMahon Line. Discusses the Simla Conference and the drawing of the Line which 'merely formalized the traditional frontier between India and Tibet'.
3222. Anon. 1964. Texts of some important treaties between Tibet, China and India. *Natn. Integr.* Independence issue: 34-40.
Includes the Simla Convention, and the treaty between Tibet and Ladakh in 1842.
3223. Ainscough, T.M. 1914. The Marches of Chinese Tibet. *J. Manchr geogr. Soc.* 30: 1-26. Reprinted in his *Notes from a frontier*. Shanghai, Kelly & Walsh, 1915. 90 p. Reprinted: Taipei, Ch'eng Wen Publishing Co., 1971.
Ainscough spent four months on the Chinese-Tibetan border region in 1913. He describes the conditions existing in this area, and refers to the Simla Conference, pointing out the practical impossibility of defining the political boundary between Tibet and China. He also describes the Chinese-Nepalese War of 1792 to illustrate the fact that Tibet is accessible to Chinese armies, Indian activity on the North-East Frontier, and the exploration of Bailey and Morshead.
3224. Appadorai, A., Pillai, R.V. and Kumar, M. 1959/1960. Bases of India's title on the North-East Frontier. *Int. Stud.* 1: 351-387.
Examines the history of the defining of the North-East Frontier of India with emphasis on the events leading to the Simla Conference, the Conference itself, the legal validity of the McMahon Line, and the status of Tibet in international law.
3225. Bhattacharya, S.S. 1964/1965. Facts about the north-eastern frontier of India: the McMahon Line. Paper read at the combined 51st and 52nd annual session of the Indian Science Congress Association, Calcutta, Dec./Jan. 1964/1965. 12 p. Abstract: *Proc. Indian sci. Congr.* 51/52(3): 287.
Reviews the background to the Simla Conference and examines the Conference itself which he maintains confirmed, in drawing up the McMahon Line, the traditional north-eastern frontier of India.
3226. Bhattacharya, S.S. 1965. The McMahon Line. *Mod. Rev.* 117: 140-145.
Background to the agreement defining the boundary, and a description of the location of the Line.
3227. Bhutani, V.C. 1986. Chinese case on the Tibet-China frontier as presented to the Simla Conference 1913-14. In: N.R. Ray, ed. *Himalaya frontier in historical perspective*. Calcutta, Institute of Historical Studies, p. 276-295.

A detailed examination of the statements of Fu S'ung-mu in 1912 and Ivan Chen in 1913-1914. Fu succeeded Chao Erh-feng in Tibet. He wrote an account of Chao's campaigns and made a plea for the creation of a Chinese frontier province which he called Hsi-kang (the Tibetan region of Kham). Chen also based his claims on areas that had been occupied by Chao Erh-feng.

3228. Caroe, O. 1963. The Sino-Indian question. *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 50: 238-251.

Discusses the question with reference to a number of historical maps which are reproduced. They include the maps attached to the Simla Convention.

3229. Chakrabarty, P.B. 1978. China's inconsistent attitude towards McMahon Line. *Tibetan Review* 13(9): 18-19.

On the history of the establishment of the Line and controversy over the North East Frontier of India.

3230. Chakravarty, S. 1981. *Anatomy of the Raj: Russian consular reports*. New Delhi, People's Publishing House. xii, 455 p.
[Reviewed: A.Guha, *Indian hist. Rev.* 7(1-2): 331-333, 1980/1981]

The Russian Blue Books containing secret consular despatches from Calcutta to St Petersburg from 1912 to 1917 were published in 1918. This translation includes despatches concerning the Simla Conference and Britain's relations with frontier states. There is also a substantial introduction to the work to place the despatches in an historical context.

3231. Choudhury, D.P. 1970. The North-East Frontier of India. *Mod. Asian Stud.* 4: 359-365.

Mainly concerns the Simla Conference and the negotiations leading to the definition of the McMahon Line.

3232. Choudhury, D.P. 1978. *The North-East Frontier of India 1865-1914*. Calcutta, Asiatic Society. xiii, 186 p.
[Reviewed: P.Bhattacharyya, *Q. Rev. hist. Stud.* 20(2/3): 73-75, 1980/1981; P.Mehra, 6(1-2): 339-342, 1979/1980]

Analyses British policy on the North-East Frontier of India as a background to a detailed account of the negotiation of the McMahon Line boundary in 1914 during the Simla Conference

3233. Eekelen, W.F. van. 1967. Simla Convention and the McMahon Line. *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 54: 179-183. Reply: A. Lamb, 54: 183-184.

Critical review of Lamb's *The McMahon Line* (see no. 2905).

3234. Frank, S.H. 1965. A history of the McMahon Line and its controversy (summary). *Proc. Indian hist. Congr.* 27: 300-301.

3235. Füller-Haimendorf, C. von. 1959. On the McMahon Line. *Swiss Rev. wld Aff.* 9(7): 11-12, Oct.

3236. Great Britain. Foreign Office. 1938. *British documents on the origins of the war 1898-1914. Vol. X. Pt II. The last years of peace.* London, H.M.S.O. lx, 921 p.
- Includes documents on Anglo-Russian negotiations in May to July 1914 concerning Tibet, including discussions on the Simla Conference.
3237. Green, L.C. 1960. Legal aspects of the Sino-Indian border dispute. *China Q., Lond.* no. 3: 42-58. Comment: H. Richardson, no. 5: 150-152, 1961.
- Discusses the legal validity of the McMahon Line and outlines the relations of Tibet with Britain and China prior to 1947. Richardson's reply concentrates on the Simla Convention and the McMahon Line.
3238. Guha, A. 1970. The McMahon Line in contemporary history. In: M.S. Rajan, ed. *Studies in politics, national and international. Prepared in honour of Dr. A. Appadorai.* Delhi, Vikas Publications, p. 431-460.
- Maintains that the first attempt at a scientific delimitation of the frontier between North East India and Tibet only occurred about 1910 and considers that the justification of the McMahon Line 'lies not in its archaic traditionality but in its being based on such scientific principles as the high-ridge-cum-watershed principle determining the natural boundary'. Guha examines the history of British, Tibetan and Chinese relations with the tribal areas of Tawang, the Mishmi and Abor Hills and West Kameng and provides tables listing British India's agreements with Abor tribes from 1862-1866 and Monpa tribes from 1844-1853.
3239. Gupta, K. 1980. Distortions in the history of the Sino-Indian frontiers. *Econ. Polit. Wkly* 15(30): 1265-1270.
- Examines the official distortions of the British Indian Government and the post 1947 Indian Government on the facts of both the eastern and western sectors of the frontier. Concentrates on the origin of the McMahon Line, the details of the Simla Conference, and on the status of Aksai Chin in the west.
3240. Inlow, E.B. 1964. The McMahon Line. *J. Geogr.* 63: 261-272.
- Detailed account of the McMahon Line including its background, the Simla Conference, and the Chinese and Indian positions regarding the Line today.
3241. Kao, Teh. 1963. A Chinese view on the "McMahon Line". *East. Wld* 17: 13-14, Feb.
- Examines the Simla Conference and points out that 'only as late as 1936 did the illegal McMahon Line appear for the first time on the official maps of India'.
3242. Khan, C.K. 1992. Sino-British rivalry and Tibet's struggle for autonomy: 1908-1914. In B.H.-K. Luk, ed. *Contacts between cultures. Vol. 4. Eastern Asia: history and social sciences.* Lewiston, N.Y., Edwin Mellen Press, p. 50-54.
- On the Simla Conference and its results. In spite of McMahon's satisfaction at the conclusion of the Conference, no clearly defined or permanent relations were established between China, India and Tibet, and the struggle for power between China and Tibet continued near the eastern frontiers of Tibet.

3243. Kolmas, J. 1991. Some formal problems of negotiations and results of the Simla Conference. *Tibet J.* 16(1): 108-114.
 Outlines the problems caused by the actions of the British party which were not always legal or fair.
3244. Kolmas, J. 1992. Was Tibet of 1913-1914 fully *sui iuris* to enter into treaty relations with another state? *Archiv Orient.* 60(1): 72-78.
 Reprinted: *Tibetan Review* 28(2): 12-16, 1993.
 Contends that Tibet was not legally qualified to participate at Simla.
3245. Lu, Chih H. 1986. *The Sino-Indian border dispute: a legal study.* Westport, Greenwood Press. x, 143 p.
 Discusses the dispute in the context of international law and reviews the history of Tibet's relations with China and British India including an analysis of the Simla Conference and the reasons for its failure.
3246. McMahon, H. 1935. International boundaries. *Jl R. Soc. Arts* 84: 2-16.
 Discusses the varied forms of international boundaries and his own experience concerning boundary delimitation using the Simla Conference as an example.
3247. Mehra, P. 1976. Lu Hsing-chi, the Simla Conference and after. *J. Asian Hist.* 10(1): 49-71.
 Discusses the rivalry between Britain, China and Tibet in 1912-1913 and the negotiations between Sir John Jordan, the British Minister in Peking, and the Wai-wu Pu which led to the Simla Conference. In the preliminary negotiations it was Lu Hsing-chi, a Chinese 'fur trader' in Calcutta who played the most significant role in setting forth the Chinese position on Tibet and, after the Conference, was the most important Chinese figure in Peking rather than Ivan Chen, the official delegate. Lu was recognised by the British as being 'one of the principal forces operating against a settlement of the Tibetan question'.
3248. Mitter, J.P. 1962. *Truth about McMahon Line.* Calcutta, S. Ghosh. 38 p.
 Examines the Simla Conference and its background, and British exploration of the North-East Frontier of India from 1911-1914 which provided the information on which the McMahon Line was based. A study of Sino-Tibetan relations and the status of Tibet in the twentieth century are also included.
3249. Richardson, H. 1960. The myth of 'suzerainty'. *United Asia* 12: 384.
 Emphasises that as China never signed the Simla Convention, the British Government has not recognised Chinese suzerainty over Tibet.
3250. [Simpson, B.L.] 1917. *The fight for the Republic in China*, by B.L. Putnam Weale [pseud.]. New York, Dodd, Mead. xiii, 490 p.
 The appendix contains an account of the main outstanding cases between China and foreign powers compiled by Dr C.C. Wu, Councillor at the Chinese Foreign Office. It gives the Chinese viewpoint concerning Tibet, Manchuria, Mongolia and Macao. The Tibetan section covers Anglo-Chinese-Tibetan relations since 1911 with emphasis on the Simla Conference.

3251. Singh, B. 1967. The legality of the McMahon Line: an Indian perspective. *Orbis* 11: 271-284.

Detailed account of the McMahon Line and the Simla Conference. He stresses that the Line followed the 'existing traditional frontier'.

3252. Sinha, N.C. 1964. The Tibetan signature. *Bull. Tibetol.* 1(2): 35.

On whether the Tibetan plenipotentiary at the Simla Conference initialled or signed the Convention on July 3, 1914.

3253. Sinha, N.C. 1966. Was the Simla Convention not signed? *Bull. Tibetol.* 3(1): 33-37.

Questions Lamb's contention in his *The China-India border* (see no. 203) that the Simla Convention was not signed.

3254. Sinha, N.C. 1977. The Simla Convention 1914: a Chinese puzzle. *Bull. Tibetol.* no. 1: 35-39. Reprinted in his *How Chinese was China's Tibet region? Essays & notes on Tibet & the neighbouring countries*. Calcutta, Firma KLM Private, 1981, p. 94-101. Reprinted with an addenda in *Bull. Tibetol.* no. 2: 5-12, 1987.

Examines the legality of the 1914 Simla Convention and refutes the main criticisms of it - that a tripartite agreement signed by two parties is invalid, that the Convention was initialed but not signed by the British and Tibetan delegates, and that Tibet had no right to sign the agreement after China had left. Also examines the ramifications of the Convention and subsequent attempts by China to gain recognition for her claim to suzerainty over Tibet. The addenda notes that India continued to have extra-territorial rights in Tibet until 1954 and that whilst Britain renounced extra-territorial rights in 'all the territories of the Republic of China' by the Chungking Treaty in 1943, it continued to have extra-territorial rights in Tibet as Tibet was not considered a Chinese territory.

3255. Van Walt van Praag, M.C. 1985. Whose game? Records of the India Office concerning events leading up to the Simla Conference. In: B. Aziz and M. Kapstein, eds. *Soundings in Tibetan civilization*. New Delhi, Manohar, p. 215-230.

Covers the period from 1911 to the Simla Conference in 1913 based on the records contained in the Political and Secret files of the India Office. It examines the policy of the Republic of China and Yuan Shi-k'ai towards Tibet and the British reaction to this, and the attempts by China to avoid attending a tripartite conference trying instead to reach a separate agreement with Tibet.

3256. Werake, M. 1986. The Simla Conference and the Sino Indian border dispute. *Mod. Sri Lankan Stud.* 1(2): 81-96.

Detailed discussion of the Simla Conference. It highlights the close agreement of the British and Tibetan delegates and the pressure and intimidating tactics exerted on the Chinese delegate by McMahon which Werake considers was a crucial factor in persuading Chen to initial the draft convention. Also examines the influence of Lu Hsing-chi on the refusal of the Chinese Government to accept the convention.

3257. Younghusband, F.E. 1914. The Tibet Conference. *J. cent. Asian Soc.* 1(3): 57.

Brief note on the Simla Conference. He urges that care be taken to ensure that China is not allowed to create unrest and uncertainty in Tibet in the future.

See also nos 124, 127, 129, 142, 178, 203, 222, 238, 255, 269, 273, 279, 898, 1187, 1897, 1902, 2097, 2127, 2129, 2137, 2160, 2210, 2336, 2389-90, 2392-3, 2396-400, 2402, 2408, 2424, 2426-7, 2433, 2435, 2437-9, 2453, 2455, 2467, 2470, 2473, 2477, 2480, 2492-4, 2585, 2610, 2894-5, 2904-5, 2912, 3049, 3059, 3121, 3126, 3157, 3163-4, 3189, 3260-1, 3263, 3269, 3328, 3355, 3366, 3389, 3392-3, 3396, 3398, 3402, 3419, 3433, 3452, 3836-8, 3842-6, 3850, 3860, 3882.

Chapter XIII

ASSAM HIMALAYAN REGION 1905-1914

In 1910 Chinese activity in Tibet was extended to Pome and Zayul. These two districts had borders to the south with the tribal areas of the Assam Himalayan Region into which the Chinese also infiltrated, especially along the Lohit River. Chinese consolidation of control in Eastern Tibet posed a direct threat to the security of the North-East Frontier of India and forced the British to consider extending more direct administration over the tribal regions. It was not, however, until the murder of Noel Williamson, Assistant Political Officer at Sadiya, by Abors in 1911 that direct action was taken. A punitive expedition was sent against the Abors, and friendly missions to Mishmi and Miri controlled territory. In 1913-1914 an expedition known as the Aka Promenade was sent to visit Aka territory and Tawang. The exploration and survey work accomplished during and after these missions, especially that of Bailey and Morshead, was to provide the information from which the McMahon Line was drawn at the Simla Conference in 1914 (see chapter XII.10).

1. GENERAL

3258. Anon. 1907. Une route commerciale de l'Inde en Chine. *Bull. Com. Asie fr.* 7(74): 187.

Report on an article in the *Pioneer* of Allahabad which urged the opening of a trade route from Assam to China via Rima.

3259. Bhutani, V.C. 1977. The study of the North-East Frontier of India and its sources: the significance of Assam Archives. *Proc. Indian hist. Congr.* 38: 595-602.

On the records of the Assam Administration and their importance in examining the exploration and survey work on the North East Frontier. Emphasises the importance, in particular, of the diaries kept by the political officers who toured the frontier areas. These revealed details of the tribal populations and the extent of Tibetan impact on these areas.

3260. Bhutani, V.C. 1988. Source of frontier studies: the North-East Frontier of India. *China Report* 24(3): 299-375.

Reviews government documents and private papers relevant to the making of the northeastern boundary of India at the beginning of the twentieth century. Also examines documents and papers relevant to the Younghusband Expedition.

3261. Bose, M.L. 1979. *British policy in the North-East Frontier Agency*. New Delhi, Concept Publishing. xiii, 236 p. Revised ed. with title: *History of*

Arunachal Pradesh. New Delhi, Concept Publishing, 1997. xiv, 298 p.
[Reviewed: D.P.Choudhury, *Q. Rev. hist. Stud.* 20(2/3): 72-73, 1980/1981;
D.P.Choudhury, *J. Indian Hist.* 62: 284-285, 1984]

Account of the land, people and culture of the region and the development of British relations with the tribes of the North East Frontier. The active development of a frontier policy came mainly after Chinese activity in Tibet in 1910 and there is a detailed account of the negotiations leading to the drawing of the McMahon Line. The appendices include the 1873 Inner Line Regulation, and the Exchange of notes between the British and Tibetan Plenipotentiaries on the India-Tibet frontier in 1914.

3262. Bouterwek, K. 1918/1919. Das Land der meridionalen Stromfurchen im indo-chinesisch-tibetanischen Grenzgebiet. Eine oro-hydrographische Studie auf Grund neuerer Forschungen. *Mitt. geogr. Ges. Münch.* 13: 161-341.

A very detailed account of this area with an extensive bibliography of published sources for the study. It includes a section on the Dihang, Dibang, and Lohit Rivers and their exploration.

3263. Choudhury, J.N. 1983. *Arunachal Pradesh: from frontier tracts to union territory*. New Delhi, Cosmo Publications. xiv, 380 p.

Traces the historical situation of the tribes over the ages, and their relations with the British. It contains a detailed account of the background to the drawing of the McMahon Line, including the exploration and surveys of the hill areas prior to the Simla Conference, and subsequent attempts to bring the frontier tracts under administrative control.

3264. Dunbar, G. Duff-Sutherland. 1915. Notes on the North East Frontier. *J. un. Serv. Instn India* 44: 189-204.

General information on the border areas, the tribes inhabiting them, and tribal war tactics.

3265. Dunbar, G. Duff-Sutherland. 1915. Tribes of the Brahmaputra Valley. *Jl R. Soc. Arts* 63: 290-303.

Describes the tribal areas and the Abors, Mishmis and Daflas.

3266. Hirst, F.C. 1912. *Notes on the clearing and marking of boundaries in Eastern Bengal and Assam, 1911*. Shillong, Eastern Bengal and Assam Secretariat Printing Office. 37 p.

Hirst was Director of Surveys in Assam. In these notes he defines the different kinds of boundaries, the difficulty of marking them adequately, and makes suggestions for methods to be used for marking boundaries in the future.

3267. Rose, A. 1911. *Report on the Chinese frontiers of India*. Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 32 p.

Deals mainly with the borders of India's North-East Frontier and Burma, and the tribes who inhabit these areas. He considers that the Chinese would prove the 'best

of neighbours' for the British. In a confidential memorandum on frontier affairs at the end of his report he gives details of the present political situation on the frontiers and military activity there. A number of maps of the area are included.

3268. Rose, A. 1912. Chinese frontiers of India. *Geogr. J.* 39: 193-223.

Discusses the frontiers of China and Britain in Asia with emphasis on the North-East Frontier of India. Information is also given on the frontier tribes in this region, and an account of journeys he made while British consul at Teng-yueh in Yunnan.

3269. Sali, M.L. 1998. *India-China border dispute: a case study of the eastern sector*. New Delhi, A.P.H. Publishing Corp. xv, 313 p.

Examines the status of Tibet and the validity of the McMahon Line, and Chinese claims to territory in Arunachal Pradesh. Also reviews the various attempts to determine the Sino-Indian border in this area and notes that, notwithstanding the treaties of the past, India's border was only delineated on the then existing maps. It was never demarcated on the ground due to the inaccessibility of the region.

3270. Shakespear, L.W. 1912. The North-Eastern Frontier - Assam. *Army Rev.* 3: 430-445.

Reviews British relations with Assam and the border tribes to 1911, with emphasis on relations with the Abors and Mishmis. Gives some causes for the failure of British policy towards these tribes, and an account of Chinese activity in Eastern Tibet in 1910-1911. A map of Assam and surrounding countries is included.

3271. Ward, F. Kingdon. 1921. *In farthest Burma: the record of an arduous journey of exploration and research through the unknown frontier territory of Burma and Tibet*. London, Seeley, Service & Co. 311 p.

Account of his travels at the time of the Simla Conference. In his last chapter he warns of the the future threat posed by China to the North-East Frontier of India by way of northern Burma and eastern Tibet.

See also nos 124, 203, 273, 1868, 2090, 2096-9, 2104, 2108, 2113, 2115-16, 2127, 2137, 2146, 2150, 2160, 2210, 2408, 2428, 2444, 2446, 2453, 2455, 2470, 2894, 2905, 3232, 3238, 3452.

2. CHINESE ACTIVITY ON THE NORTH-EAST FRONTIER OF INDIA AND BRITISH EXPLORATION 1907-1911

Chinese control of the Tibetan districts of Pome and Zayul was brief, lasting less than two years from 1910 to 1912. During this time they established some contact with the Assamese tribes especially with the Mishmis along the Lohit River, and also placed boundary markers near Walong.

British officials in Assam were urging the abandonment of the policy of non-interference in the tribal areas even before the Chinese established their control over Pome and Zayul. Amongst these officials was Noel Williamson who had succeeded Needham as Assistant Political Officer at Sadiya in 1905, and who,

from 1907 to 1911, made a number of unofficial journeys into the tribal areas. In 1907-1908 Williamson travelled up the Lohit River to Sati, not far from Walong, and in 1909 he reached Kebang on the Dihang River in Abor controlled country. In 1909-1910, and again in early 1911, he travelled up the Lohit River and reported on Chinese influence there. In March 1911 he set out on another journey to visit the Abors hoping to investigate the extent of Chinese infiltration along the Dihang River, but he and his companions were murdered by Abors near the village of Komsing.

Frederick Bailey was another explorer to report on Chinese activity in Eastern Tibet and along the Lohit in this period. In 1911 he travelled from Peking to India via Rima and the Lohit, at a time when Chinese activity in these areas was at its height.

3272. Anon. 1910. La politique chinoise au Tibet et l'Angleterre. *Asie fr.* 10(117): 546-547.

The occupation of Rima by the Chinese and its importance to Britain.

3273. Anon. 1910. Tibet. *Export* 32: 321.

Chinese activity in Tibet and the possible danger to the border areas of India.

3274. Anon. 1911. Noel Williamson [obituary]. *Geogr. J.* 37: 571-572.

3275. Anon. 1911. Tibet: les Chinois et l'Inde. *Revue fr. Étranger Colon.* 36: 121.

Note on disquiet felt in India at the news of the occupation of Rima by the Chinese.

3276. Anon. 1913. Exploration Bailey au Tibet. *Revue fr. Étranger Colon.* 38: 49-50.

3277. Bacot, J. 1911. l'Angleterre et la Chine au Tibet. *Asie fr.* 11(118): 22-25.

The geographical position of Rima, exploration in the area by Krick and Boury, Needham and Williamson, and the current activity of the Chinese. Also includes a note on the changed attitude of the Dalai Lama who was then in exile in India.

3278. Bacot, J. 1912. Exploration du Capitaine F.M. Bailey au Tibet. *Géographie* 26: 214-215.

3279. Bailey, F.M. 1945. *China - Tibet - Assam; a journey, 1911*. London, J. Cape. 175 p.

[Reviewed: R.N.Reid, *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 34: 108-110, 1947; B.G., *Geogr. J.* 107: 253-254, 1946]

Bailey hoped to solve the question of the course of the Tsangpo on this journey. He gives an account of previous attempts to trace the river's course, especially the journey of Kinthup, before describing his own journey from Chengtu to Sadiya via Rima. He also comments on the severity of Chinese actions in Eastern Tibet, and on evidence of Chinese influence in the Mishmi Hills, including the presence of Chinese flags.

3280. Bailey, F.M. 1912. Journey through a portion of South-Eastern Tibet and the Mishmi Hills. *Geogr. J.* 39: 334-347; 40: 657. Reprinted: *Scott. geogr. Mag.* 28: 189-203.

3281. Choudhury, D.P. 1986. Evolution of British tribal policy on the North-East Frontier of India (1865-1914). In: N.R. Ray, ed. *Himalaya frontier in historical perspective*. Calcutta, Institute of Historical Studies, p. 113-126.

British tribal policy with emphasis on the period before and during the Chinese threat to the area in 1910-1914.

3282. Holdich, T.H. 1912. The North-Eastern Frontier of India. *Jl R. Soc. Arts* 60: 379-392.

Principally an account of the physical geography of the North-East Frontier, and on the exploration of the area especially in the last few years.

3283. Lumsden, D.M. and Williamson, N. 1911. A journey into the Abor country, 1909. *Geogr. J.* 37: 621-629.

Lumsden and the Rev. W.L.B. Jackman of the American Inland Mission accompanied Williamson on this journey. Lumsden hoped to solve the mystery of the Tsangpo Falls and Williamson to establish friendly relations with the Abors. The account is taken mainly from Lumsden's diary. A map of their route accompanies the article.

3284. [Mourey, C.] 1912. Du Tibet aux Indes par le pays des Mishmis, par C.M. *Asie fr.* 12: 206-207.

Bailey's journey in 1911 from China to Assam via Eastern Tibet.

3285. Mourey, C. 1912. La politique chinoise au Tibet et au Yunnan et l'avenir des relations anglo-chinoises. *Asie fr.* 12: 190-192.

On Chinese activity in Eastern Tibet and on the Assam border, and their future relations with Britain.

3286. Panda, S. 1997. Abor Rebellion 1911-12, a post mortem of the murder of Noel Williamson. In: S. Dutta, ed. *Studies in the history, economy and culture of Arunachal Pradesh*. Delhi, Himalayan Publishers, p. 147-157.

Williamson and members of his party were murdered in Komsing which was beyond the jurisdiction of the British. The entire Abor group of tribes who were affected by previous British actions were party to the murder. The article examines the background to the discontent of the Abors with the interventionist policies of the British over the years.

3287. Sangma, M.S. 1997. Attempts to christianize the people of Arunachal by the American Baptist missionaries (1836-1950). In: S. Dutta, ed. *Studies in the history, economy and culture of Arunachal Pradesh*. Delhi, Himalayan Publishers, p. 459-470.

Account of their tours in Abor, Miri and Mishmi regions and their work with these tribes. Some of their tours were taken without the permission of the Government but others were sanctioned by the British, and Rev. Jackman accompanied Williamson to Abor territory in 1909.

3288. Williamson, N. 1909. The Lohit-Brahmaputra between Assam and South-Eastern Tibet, November 1907 to January 1908. *Geogr. J.* 34: 363-383.

Account of his journey along the Lohit to Sati, with brief comments on previous explorers to the area, on trade between Assam and Tibet, and on Chinese activity in Tibet. A map showing his route accompanies the article.

See also nos 203, 2408, 2453, 2905, 3263, 3310-11, 3328, 3334, 3336, 3362-3.

3. BRITISH EXPLORATION OF THE NORTH-EAST FRONTIER OF INDIA 1911-1914

a) The Abor Expedition, Mishmi and Miri Missions, and Aka and Walong Promenades.

The immediate reason for the Abor Expedition was the murder of Williamson, but the objects of this expedition, and the missions despatched to Mishmi and Miri country at the same time, were far wider than merely punitive. One of their main aims was to explore and survey the unknown sections of the tribal regions in order to obtain information for use in defining a new frontier between India and Tibet. They were also to investigate the extent of Chinese influence in the different regions, and it was hoped that exploration by the Abor Expedition would prove that the Tsangpo and Brahmaputra were the same river. The Abor Expedition was to explore the Dihang River; the Mishmi Mission in two columns was to explore the Dibang and Lohit Rivers, and the Miri Mission the Subansiri River and its tributaries. Parties continued to explore these areas until late 1913.

In 1913-1914 an expedition known as the Aka Promenade was sent under Captain G.A. Nevill to explore the area occupied by the Akas. This expedition also visited Tawang and Nevill recommended that a permanent British official be sent there.

In 1914 the Walong Promenade under T.P.M. O'Callaghan removed Chinese boundary pillars south of Walong. The expedition also visited Rima.

3289. Anon. 1912. Geographical work of the Abor Expedition. *Geogr. J.* 39: 279-280.

3290. Anon. 1912. Exploration work with the Abor Expedition. *Geogr. J.* 39: 394.

3291. Anon. 1912. The geographical results of the Abor Expedition. *Geogr. J.* 39: 487-488.

3292. Anon. 1912. The surveys of the Abor Expedition. *Geogr. J.* 40: 84.
3293. Anon. 1913. Abor Expedition. *Commonw. milit. J.* 4: 107-108.
3294. Anon. 1914. The Akha Promenade, North-East Frontier of India, November 1913 to April 1914. *Geogr. J.* 44: 228-229.
3295. Anon. 1914/1915. L'expédition contre les Abors et le problème du Brahmapoutre-Tsangpo. *Annales Géogr.* 23/24: 90-92.
3296. Anon. 1915. Surveys on the North Eastern Frontier of India 1911-13. *Geogr. J.* 45: 438-439.
Summary of the survey work described in no. 3322.
3297. Anon. 1924. *A brief history of the Royal Bombay Sappers and Miners.* Kirkee, Royal Bombay Sappers and Miners Press. 38 p.
Includes a brief account of their participation in the Mishmi Expedition in 1912-1913.
3298. Alix, A. 1913. Exploration dans le pays des Abors. *Géographie* 28: 326-327.
3299. Bentinck, A. 1913. The Abor Expedition: geographical results. *Geogr. J.* 41: 97-114.
Bentinck accompanied the Expedition as Political Officer to General Bower who commanded the force.
3300. Bentinck, A. 1913. The Tsang-po and the Dihong. *Geogr. J.* 41: 499-500.
Comments on nos 2064 and 3333.
3301. Bonin, C.-E. 1911. Les tribus de frontière et la pénétration anglaise du Haut-Assam. *Asie fr.* 11(123): 284-293.
Account of the frontier tribes, their contact with the British, and exploration of the tribal areas as a background to the murder of Williamson and the Abor Expedition.
3302. Bonin, C.-E. 1911. L'expédition anglaise du Haut-Assam. *Asie fr.* 11(129): 545-547. Abstract: *Revue Troupes colon.* 10: 232-235, Jan.-Jne 1912.
Background to the Abor, Mishmi and Miri Missions, including the murder of Williamson.
3303. Bonin, C.-E. 1912. L'exploration du Haut-Assam. *Asie fr.* 12(135): 239-240.
The geographical results of the Abor, Mishmi and Miri Missions.

3304. Britten, W.E. 1934. Mishmi, 1912-13. *R. Engrs' J.* n.s. 48: 275-285.
A detailed account of the 'Mishmi Road Expedition' which began the construction of a road from Sadiya to the Indian-Tibetan border in order to counter Chinese influence in the Mishmi area.
3305. Burkill, I.H. 1924/1925. The botany of the Abor Expedition. *Rec. bot. Surv. India* 10(1&2): 1-420.
Pt 1 contains an account of the area covered by the Expedition, the nature of the country, and details about the Abors; pt 2 is purely botanical. A map of the Abor Hills accompanies the report.
3306. Coggin Brown, J. 1912. A geological reconnaissance through the Dihong Valley, being the geological results of the Abor Expedition, 1911-1912. *Rec. geol. Surv. India* 42: 231-253.
Mainly geological but includes some remarks on the Expedition and the economic geology of the region.
3307. Cook, K. 1914. Notes from the north-east. *J. Supply Transp. Cps Indian Army* no. 12: 37-47.
Describes supply and transport work in Mishmi country during 1912-1913 serving the party which was to establish a line of military posts from Sadiya 'to a point opposite Rima'.
3308. Dunbar, G. Duff-Sutherland. 1915. Abors and Galongs: Pt I. Notes on certain hill tribes of the Indo-Tibetan border. *Mem. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 5(extra no.): 1-86.
A detailed account of the Abors and Galongs, a tribe inhabiting territory north-west of the Abors on the borders of Tibet. It includes information on their boundaries, trade contacts, trade marts, and communications with Tibet and Assam.
3309. Dunbar, G. Duff-Sutherland. 1916. Abors and Galongs: Pt III. Personal narrative of a visit to Pemakoichen. *Mem. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* 5(extra no.): 93-113.
Account of his visit to Pemakoichen in the Upper Dihang area just below the Tsangpo Gorge in June and July 1913. There is a map of the Dihang River area showing the position of Pemakoichen, and the areas occupied by the Galongs, Abors, and Mishmis.
3310. Dunbar, G. Duff-Sutherland. 1932. *Frontiers.* London, Nicholson & Watson. xiii, 320 p.
Mainly concerns his experiences on the North-East Frontier of India from 1909 to 1914. He describes British relations with the Abors and the death of Williamson before giving an account of the Abor Expedition and the survey of the Dihang River which followed it, in which he took part. Comments on the exploration of Kinthup and Bailey and Morshead are also included.

3311. Great Britain. East India (North East Frontier). 1911. *Operations against Abors*. London, H.M.S.O. iv, 22 p. (Parliament. Papers by command, Cd. 5961). In: *H. of C Parl. Pap.* LV: 631-656.

Official documents concerning the journey and murder of Noel Williamson by the Abors, and plans for the Abor, Mishmi and Miri Missions, dated March to November 1911.

3312. Great Britain. East India (Wars on or beyond the borders of British India). 1914. *Return setting out (1) wars and military operations on or beyond the borders of British India in which the Government of India has been engaged since 1908, in chronological order; (2) the causes of such wars or operations; (3) the locality in which troops operated; (4) the results attained; (5) the numbers approximately of the troops employed; (6) the cost of such wars or operations...* (in continuation of Parliamentary paper no. 338 of session 1908). London, H.M.S.O. 2 p. (Parliament, 1914. House of Commons. Reports and papers, 184). In: *H. of C. Parl. Pap.* LXIII: 1047-1048, 1914.

Includes details of the Abor Expedition 1911-1912.

3313. Gunter, C.P. 1915. The Mishmi Mission Survey Detachment. *R. Engrs' J.* n.s. 21: 1-28.

Account of the work of the Detachment which accompanied the Mishmi Mission in 1911-1912, and of survey work in the Mishmi Hills in 1912-1913, mainly in the Dibang Valley. Reprinted from no. 3322.

3314. [Hamilton, A.] 1912. The Abor Expedition, by the author of "In Abor jungles". *Un. serv. Mag.* n.s. 45: 153-167. Reprinted: *Commonw. milit. J.* 3: 71-84.

3315. Hamilton, A. 1912. *In Abor jungles; being an account of the Abor Expedition, the Mishmi Mission and the Miri Mission*. London, E. Nash. xi, 352 p. Reprinted with title: *In Abor jungles of North-East India*. Delhi, Mittal Publications, 1983.

[Reviewed: T.H.H[oldich], *Geogr. J.* 41: 274-275, 1913; L.Scherman, *Petermanns Mitt.* 62: 420-421, 1916; *Scott. geogr. Mag.* 29: 49-51, 1913]

Detailed account of the missions and their background including information on the tribes and the exploration of the Indian pundits in trying to trace the course of the Tsangpo. Appendix I contains an extract from Major-General Bower's despatch to the Indian Government which gives details of officers and men who distinguished themselves on the missions. A map of the areas visited by the missions is included.

3316. Hamilton, A. 1912. The Mishmi Mission. *Fortnightly Rev.* n.s. 91: 553-565.

Description of the Mission, the main object of which was to 'ascertain the precise extent of the Chinese Tibetan encroachment on the Mishmi-Abor border and to set up a correct boundary line between Tibet and the Abor Marches in a northerly direction and between China and the Mishmi border to the east'.

3317. Holdich, T.H. 1914. Explorations on the North-East Frontier of India. *Nature* 94: 286-287, Nov. 12.
General account of exploration in the period 1911-1914.
3318. Huddleston, P.G. 1916. Geographical surveys, N.E. frontier. Survey operations with the Aka Promenade. *Rec. Surv. India* 7: 170-173.
Huddleston, a member of the Survey of India, accompanied Captain Nevill on the tour he made in 1913 in Aka country, an area not visited since 1883-1884. He gives an account of the area travelled, previous knowledge of the country, and the extent of the survey work accomplished.
3319. Huddleston, P.G. 1930, 1931. The Abor military and political mission, 1912-13. *R. Engrs' J.* n.s. 44: 253-262, 413-420, 667-675; n.s. 45: 77-84, 242-250.
A detailed account with maps compiled from Huddleston's diary of the mission.
3320. India. Army Headquarters. 1913. *Frontier and overseas expeditions from India: official account of the Abor Expedition, 1911-1912*. Simla, Government Central Branch Press. iv, 241 p. Reprinted: Delhi, Mittal Publications, 1983. (Frontier and overseas expeditions from India, vol. 7).
Detailed account of the background, objects, operation, and results of the Expedition. There are a number of appendices. These include extracts from reports detailing the organisation of the force, the troops employed, information on scientific specialists accompanying the Expedition etc. The despatch by the leader of the Expedition, Major-General Bower, on the operations against the Abors, is also included. A large-scale map of the Abor country accompanies the report.
3321. India. General Staff. 1911. *Hand book on the Abor country, 1911*. Simla, Government Monotype Press. 48 p.
Account with maps of the area. It includes information on the history of British relations with the Abors, and details of their fighting strength, resources, communications etc. There is also a guide to nineteen routes in Abor country.
3322. India. Survey of India Dept. 1914. *Explorations on the North-East Frontier during 1911-12-13*. Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 91 p. (Records of the Survey of India, vol. 4)
Includes accounts of the Mishmi Mission Survey 1911-12 and the Mishmi Exploration Survey by Capt. C.P. Gunter; the Abor Expedition, 1911-12 and Abor Exploration Survey, 1912-13, by Capt. O.H.B. Trenchard; and the Miri Mission Survey, 1911-12, by Lieut. C.G. Lewis. A sketch map of the North-East Frontier accompanies the reports.
3323. Le Breton, E.P. 1922. An unknown frontier. *Blackwood's Mag.* 211: 427-438.
Account of the Mishmi Mission which he accompanied.
3324. Lindsay, A.B. 1913. Expedition against the Abors, 1911-12. *Army Rev.* 4: 343-358.

3325. Lindsay, A.B. 1976. Letters from the Abor Expedition 1911-12. *J. Soc. Army hist. Res.* 54(219): 149-163.
Reprints a number of letters written by Major A. B. Lindsay between 10 September 1911 and 28 February 1912 to his grandmother concerning his actions during the course of the Abor Expedition of 1911-12. The article also contains a letter written to Lindsay from an officer at General Bower's headquarters.
3326. Millington, P. 1912. *On the track of the Abor.* London, Smith, Elder. xii, 218 p.
[Reviewed: *Scott. geogr. Mag.* 29: 273-274, 1913]
Light hearted account of the Expedition. Millington was involved in the communications side of the Expedition.
3327. Nath, J. 1997. The battle of Kekar Monying. In: S. Dutta, ed. *Studies in the history, economy and culture of Arunachal Pradesh.* Delhi, Himalayan Publishers, p. 165-176.
Account of the major battle of the Abor Expedition of 1911. The significance of this last battle in the expansionist policy of the British in North-East India is stressed, the importance of the survey work highlighted, and the reasons for the Abor defeat analysed.
3328. Nath, J. 1997. Murder of Capt. Williamson and the McMohan [sic] Line. In: S. Dutta, ed. *Studies in the history, economy and culture of Arunachal Pradesh.* Delhi, Himalayan Publishers, p. 133-146.
Examines the circumstances leading to Williamson's murder, including the activities of agents of Chao Erh-feng in Eastern Tibet, and the Abor Expedition which followed it. Claims it was the murder that aroused the British Government to the need to survey the border between India and Tibet. The Abor Expedition coincided with the Mishmi and Miri Missions which explored and surveyed other areas of the border. The McMahon Line was drawn on the basis of these surveys.
3329. Neogy, A. 1997. Sir Henry Cotton and the Abor Expedition. In: S. Dutta, ed. *Studies in the history, economy and culture of Arunachal Pradesh.* Delhi, Himalayan Publishers, p. 158-164.
Cotton was one of the most enlightened Chief Commissioners of Assam. Although the Abor Expedition occurred after he returned to England he strongly criticised Williamson's trip to the Abor region and condemned the punitive expedition that was sent following his murder. Frederick Mackarness also wrote criticising the Expedition.
3330. Nosworthy, F.P. 1913. The Delei River suspension bridge, Mishmi Country. *R. Engrs' J.* n.s. 18: 193-196.
The bridge was built in 1912-1913 during the construction of a six foot wide graded mule road from Sadiya towards the Assam-Tibet border.
3331. Poole, E.F.G. 1912, 1913. The Abor Expedition. '*Snapper*' 7: 65-66, 78-79, 105-106, 121-122, 144-145, 165-166, 189, 205-206; 8: 2-5, 42-44.
Poole was the official war correspondent with the Expedition.

3332. Poulter, J. 1914. Transport with the Mishmi Work Party, 1912-13. *J. Supply Transp. Cps Indian Army* no. 12: 22-31.
The Mishmi Work Party was involved in building the road from Sadiya to Walong. Poulter describes the difficulties encountered by the Supply and Transport Corps during its construction. A sketch map of the road is included.
3333. Preller, C. du R. 1913. The Tsang-po and the Dihong. *Geogr. J.* 41: 293-295, 500-502.
Two letters from Dr Preller. In the first he disputes the theory of Captain Bethell that the Tsangpo and Dihang are separate rivers as outlined in the discussion following Bentinck's paper (see no. 3300). In the second he queries some of the information in the same paper by Bentinck.
3334. Pritchard, B.E.A. and Waterfield, F.S. 1913. *Report on a journey by Captains Pritchard and Waterfield on the North-East Frontier, 1912-13*. Simla, Government Monotype Press. 68 p.
The object of the expedition was to 'report on the track up the left bank of the Lohit and the passes over the Lohit-Irrawaddy watershed [and] report on and map the Salween-Irrawaddy divide north of latitude 27°40' N, especially noting Chinese influence in the valleys of the Nam Tamai, Deblu, Tadzu and Taron Rivers'. Their report includes comments on fighting in the Rima area and on Tibetan influence south of the border. An account of the road up the left bank of the Lohit is included in the appendices.
3335. Richardson, E.H. 1913. Dogs in war. *J. un. Serv. Instn India* 42: 265-273.
Includes an account of the part played by dogs in the Abor Expedition.
3336. Shakespear, J. 1920. Recent events on the Assam frontier. *Jl R. un. Serv. Instn* 65: 502-522.
Mainly concerns exploration on the North-East Frontier in the period 1911-1914 when a large section of the frontier from Tawang to Rima was partially explored.
3337. Shakespear, L.W. 1912-1924. *History of the 2nd King Edward's Own Goorkha Rifles (The Sirmoor Rifles)*. Aldershot, Gale & Polden. 2 vols.
An account of their participation in the Abor Expedition is contained in vol. 2.
3338. *Stansfield, C. 1914. *The road to Rima*. Shillong. Source: no. 279.
3339. Trenchard, O.H.B. 1915. The Abor Expedition Survey Detachment, 1911-12 and the Abor Exploration Survey Detachment, 1912-13. *R. Engrs' J.* n.s. 21: 221-241, 268-292.
Reprinted from no. 3322. Describes survey operations in the Dihang River area in the years 1911-1913.
3340. Tylden-Pattenson, E.C. 1913. Abor Expeditionary Force report on engineering operations. *R. Engrs' J.* n.s. 17: 364-373.

Tylden-Pattenson was the Assistant Director of Works on the Abor Expedition. He describes the work done by the Sappers and Miners during the Expedition in making roads, building bridges etc.

3341. 'Wanderer'. 1912. With the Abor Expeditionary Force, by Wanderer. *Blackwood's Mag.* 192: 311-321.

Describes the Expedition, its background, and the fighting tactics of the Abors. A brief extract from Bower's final despatch on the Expedition is included.

3342. Whitehead, J. 1989. *Far frontiers: people and events in North-Eastern India, 1857-1947*. Putney, London, BACSA (British Association for Cemeteries in South Asia). xix, 204 p.

Includes chapters on British relations with the Abors with emphasis on the murders of Williamson and Dr. Gregorson and the subsequent Abor Expedition. It also includes information on earlier relations of the British with the Abors and on Bailey and Morshead's exploration of the Tsangpo.

See also nos 203, 216, 247-8, 279, 852, 2131-2, 2156, 2276, 2294, 2781, 2832, 2905, 3194, 3223, 3248, 3263, 3281, 3361, 3840, 3854, 3914, 3925.

b) The exploration of Bailey and Morshead

In 1913, towards the end of the survey of the Mishmi country, Captains Frederick M. Bailey and Henry T. Morshead set out on a journey during which they surveyed the Upper Dihang River and the Tsangpo Gorge. They then travelled west through Southern Tibet and returned to India through Tawang, being the first Europeans to visit this region. Their journey proved that the Tsangpo turned south in a great loop to flow via the Dihang River into the Brahmaputra.

3343. Anon. 1913. Explorations in the Dibong and Dihong valleys. *Geogr. J.* 42: 491.

The exploration of Bailey and Morshead, and Trenchard and Pemberton following the Abor Expedition. The aim of both these expeditions was to solve the problem of the course of the Tsangpo and to reach the Tsangpo Falls. Trenchard and Pemberton reached the Tsangpo above Gyala 'about six days above the supposed locality of the falls'.

3344. Anon. 1913. Le problème du Brahmapoutre. *Asie fr.* 13: 492-493.

The Brahmaputra controversy solved by the journey of Bailey and Morshead.

3345. Anon. 1913. The Tsangpo expedition of Captains Bailey and Morshead. *Geogr. J.* 42: 571.

3346. Anon. 1914. The Bailey-Morshead expedition to the Tsangpo. *Geogr. J.* 43: 80.

3347. Anon. 1914. Le problème du Brahmapoutre. *Mouv. géogr.* 31: 67-69. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Lyon* 1914 p. 70-72.
Rennell's hypothesis that the Tsangpo flowed into the Brahmaputra proved correct by the exploration of Bailey and Morshead.
3348. Anon. 1931. Lieut.-Colonel Henry Treise Morshead, D.S.O., Survey of India [obituary]. *Geogr. J.* 78: 320.
3349. Anon. 1967. Lieutenant-Colonel Frederick Marsham Bailey C.I.E. [obituary]. *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 54: 223-225.
3350. Anon. 1967. Lt.-Col. F.M. Bailey, C.I.E. 1882-1967 [obituary]. *Geogr. J.* 133: 427-428.
3351. Bailey, F.M. 1914. Note on the exploration of the Tsangpo. *Geogr. J.* 43: 184-186.
3352. Bailey, F.M. 1914. Note on the falls of the Tsang-po. *Scott. geogr. Mag.* 30: 90-92.
3353. Bailey, F.M. 1914. Exploration on the Tsangpo or Upper Brahmaputra. *Geogr. J.* 44: 341-364. *Scott. geogr. Mag.* 30: 561-582.
3354. Bailey, F.M. 1914. *Report on an exploration on the North-East Frontier 1913*. Simla, Government Monotype Press. 153 p.
Detailed account of the country traversed and information on the tribes of the region and their relations with the Tibetans. He also reports on Chinese actions in Pome, the Lhasa army, and describes the travels of Kinthup. Bailey's diary, and a route guide of his journey, is also included.
3355. Bailey, F.M. 1957. *No passport to Tibet*. London, Hart-Davis. 294 p. [Reviewed: D.Curruthers, *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 44: 147-148, 1957; C.Summerhayes, *Geogr. J.* 123: 399, 1957]
Account of his journey with Morshead. It includes comments on the extent of Tibetan influence in the tribal areas, and information on the Simla Conference and its results.
3356. Dalal, J.A.F. 1985. Henry Treise Morshead - Macgregor Medal recipient, 1914. *J. un. Serv. Instn India* 115(481): 280-283.
On his career, exploration with Bailey, and participation in the 1921 and 1922 Everest Expeditions.
3357. Fitzau, A. 1906-1914. Geographische Neuigkeiten: Asien. [Die Erforschung des Durchbruchs des Brahmaputra durch den Himalaja]. *Geogr. Z.* 12: 464, 1906; 18: 51-52, 224, 469, 1912; 19: 702, 1913; 20: 48, 1914.
On attempts to establish the connection between the Tsangpo and the

Brahmaputra, the Abor Expedition, and the solution of the problem of the course of the Tsangpo by Bailey and Morshead.

3358. Mason, K. 1932. Henry Treise Morshead 1882-1931 [obituary]. *Himalayan J.* 4: 157-163.
3359. Morshead, H.T. 1914. *Report on an exploration on the North East Frontier 1913*. Dehra Dun, Office of the Trigonometrical Survey. 21 p.
Account of his journey with Bailey and details of previous exploration in this area and further west by the pundits of the Survey of India.
3360. Morshead, H.T. 1921. An exploration in South-East Tibet. *R. Engrs' J.* n.s. 33: 21-40.
An account of his journey with Bailey in 1913 together with a brief sketch of the Tsangpo problem and previous attempts at its solution. A map of the North East Frontier and Tibet showing their route is included.
3361. Morshead, I. 1982. *The life and murder of Henry Morshead*. Cambridge, Oleander Press. xiv, 207 p.
[Reviewed: P.Mason, *Asian Affairs* 14: 91-93, 1983; *J. un. Serv. Instn India* 116(483): 85-87, 1986]
Includes an account of his exploration with Bailey, his participation in the 1912 Mishmi Mission which he accompanied as a surveyor to explore the Dibang and Lohit Rivers, and his participation in the 1921 Everest Expedition.
3362. Swinson, A. 1971. *Beyond the frontiers: the biography of Colonel F.M. Bailey explorer and special agent*. London, Hutchinson. xiii, 246 p.
[Reviewed: G.Wheeler, *Asian Aff.* 59: 82, 85, 1972]
Bailey accompanied the Younghusband Expedition to Lhasa and was also a member of the Gartok Expedition. In late 1905-1906 he acted as British Trade Agent at Gyantse while O'Connor was on leave, and he escorted the Panchen Lama back to Tibet from India. In 1911 he travelled from Peking to Assam via Eastern Tibet and in 1913 made his famous journey of exploration with Morshead. From 1921 to 1928 Bailey was Political Officer in Sikkim and visited Bhutan in 1922 and Lhasa in 1924. He was also involved in the controversy over the Everest Expeditions.
3363. Yate, A.C. 1914. Captain F.M. Bailey's latest exploration. *J. cent. Asian Soc.* 1(1): 14-19. *Scott. geogr. Mag.* 30: 191-197.
Although prompted by Bailey's journey in 1913, Yate also discusses the journey made in 1911 by Bailey through Eastern Tibet, and the exploration in the last twenty-five years of the border area where Assam, Burma and Tibet meet.

See also nos 852, 2002, 2066, 2376, 2382, 2388, 3223, 3336, 3342, 3629, 3890, 3892.

Chapter XIV

BRITISH AND CHINESE RELATIONS WITH TIBET 1914-1947

In the period 1914-1947 Tibet existed for all intents and purposes as an independent, neutral state. However its status was not guaranteed by any recognised agreement and therefore, during this period, there was continued interest within Tibet in efforts to gain Chinese adherence to the Simla Convention both by direct negotiation with China and through British mediation. With no settlement eventuating Tibet tried to maintain friendly relations with both China and Britain without allowing either country to obtain too much influence in its affairs. In fact the popularity of Britain and China waxed and waned in Tibet during these years. Thus whilst border clashes occurred between Tibet and China in 1917-1918 and 1931-1932, British help in the limited modernisation of Tibet caused some ill-feeling in certain sections of the Tibetan community. A further irritation was the British refusal to supply Tibet with all the arms the Dalai Lama requested from time to time. The decision by the Dalai Lama in the late 1920s to reduce the power of the military and retreat from the policy of modernisation, which he had previously promoted, was to have far reaching consequences for Tibet. Also important was the lack of strong leadership following the death of the Dalai Lama in 1933 when Tibet was ruled by Regents.

Restrictions on travellers to Tibet were, to some extent, relaxed in this period, especially following the visit of Charles Bell to Lhasa in 1920-1921. An increasing number of Tibetans also travelled to India for training and education. The British Political Officers in Sikkim visited Lhasa at regular intervals after Bell's visit in 1920-1921, coinciding in some cases with Chinese missions to the capital. Following Gould's visit to Tibet in 1936, a British representative remained in Lhasa with Hugh Richardson the first occupant of this post. In 1947 when British obligations and rights in Tibet under existing treaties passed to the newly independent Government of India Richardson, who was again in charge of the British mission, continued as head of the Indian mission until forced to leave Tibet by the Communist Chinese invasion.

1. GENERAL

3364. Anon. 1923. Le Tibet indépendant, par XXX. *Revue Pacif.* 2: 455-463.

General information on Tibet with emphasis on the period since 1912.

3365. Anon. 1924. Le Tibet indépendant, by R.P. *Chine* 56: 44-51.

General article on Tibet and its political situation since 1912.

3366. Addy, P. 1978. The controversial Britain-Tibet relations [letter]. *Tibetan Review* 13(1): 25-26.
- Speculates on whether the outcome for Tibet would have been different if the Tibetans who favoured modernisation, and the British frontier officials who tried to gain government support to draw Tibet into a close relationship with India, had succeeded. This could have changed the archaic character of the Tibetan administration allowing it to develop as a strong and reliable buffer on India's north. Notes that the views of progressive Tibetans such as Palja Dorje Shatra, who led Tibet's delegation at the Simla Conference, were unacceptable to the powerful lamaist clergy.
3367. Ardley, J. 2002. *The Tibetan Independence Movement: political, religious and Gandhian perspectives*. London, RoutledgeCurzon. xii, 211 p.
- Includes a brief discussion of the relationship between religion and politics in Tibet prior to the 1950 Chinese invasion especially the activities of the Regents after the death of the 13th Dalai Lama.
3368. Bertsch, W. 2001. Tibetan army badges. *Tibet J.* 26(1): 35-72.
- Information on the Tibetan Army from 1912 and a detailed description with illustrations of all the badges used by the Army.
3369. Bruce, C.E. 1934. The northern frontier of India. *R. Engrs' J.* n.s. 48: 413-420.
- General account of Ladakh, Baltistan and Gilgit with information on the military situation in each area in 1934.
3370. Burman, B.R. 1976. Thirteenth Dalai Lama's plan for modernization of Tibet. *Tibetan Review* 11(12): 12-14.
- On his attempts to gradually modernise Tibet and improve the Tibetan army. Notes the admiration that Tibet had for the Japanese and also examines the part played by Charles Bell. Bell warned the British that if they remained aloof Tibet might turn to China and Japan. Also analyses the reasons why Tibet rejected modernisation in the 1920s.
3371. Chhetry, D.B. 1989. The 1923 Treaty of Friendship between Great Britain and Nepal and its achievement. *Rolamba* 9(3): 3-8.
- This treaty recognised Nepal as an independent and sovereign country.
3372. Clark, G. 1924. *Tibet, China and Great Britain; notes on the present status of the relations between these countries*. Peking, Peking Leader Press. 57 p.
- A detailed discussion of Tibet's relations with Britain and China from 1904 to 1924, and the situation existing at the time of the Panchen Lama's flight to China in 1923 from a Chinese point of view. Emphasises the need for a new agreement between Tibet, China and Britain on the exact status of Tibet.

3373. Dhondup, K. 1986. *The water-bird and other years: a history of the thirteenth Dalai Lama and after*. New Delhi, Rangwang Publishers. vi, 224 p.
- Analyses the life and achievements of the 13th Dalai Lama, and the aristocratic and monastic intrigues which followed his death in 1933 which reduced the strength and unity of Tibet when it was most needed. The appendices include a number of recollections by Tibetans who personally participated in, or had first hand information about this period. They include a translation of the last testament of the 13th Dalai Lama in which he warned of the dangers of a Communist takeover of Tibet, the fate of the English school in Lhasa opened in 1944, and recollections of Lungshar, the regents, Reting and Taktra, and Kunphela. The chapter 'Tsarong, Lungshar and Kunphela' (p. 64-91) is reprinted in A. McKay, ed. *The history of Tibet. Vol. 3.* (see no. 211), p. 514-530.
3374. Dutt, S. 1980. Propaganda where India and China meet. *China Report* 16(3): 8-13.
- Traces several propaganda myths and their history in the Himalayan region. These include the phrase 'five fingers of China', an allusion to China's claims in the Himalayas which was first used in 1908 by Charles Bell, and the idea of a Himalayan federation which originated with members of Britain's India Political Service in the 1940's and was later revived by Western powers, China, and the Himalayan states to intimidate India.
3375. Edgar, J.H. 1930/1931. Notes on trade routes converging at Tachienlu. *Jl W. China Border Res. Soc.* 4: 5-8.
- Includes a description of the main route to and from Tibet.
3376. Fader, H.L. 2002. *Called from obscurity: the life and times of a true son of Tibet, God's humble servant from Poo Gergan Dorje Tharchin. With particular attention given to his good friend and illustrious co-labourer in the Gospel Sadhu Sundar Singh of India*. Kalimpong, Tibet Mirror Press.
- The first of three volumes on the life of Tharchin who founded the Tibet Mirror Press and the *Tibet Mirror* newspaper. This volume covers the first twenty-five years of his life whilst the subsequent volumes will cover his later years and his involvement with Tibet and Tibetans and his work for the British.
3377. *Ferestonov, D. 1934. Angliiskii imperializm v Tibete. [English imperialism in Tibet]. *Na zarubez. Vostoke* 2(7): 70-80. Source: no. 72.
3378. Gelek, Surkhang Wangchen. 1982. Tibet: the critical years (part I). The 13th Dalai Lama. *Tibet J.* 7(4): 11-19.
- Political events in Tibet until his death in 1933.
3379. Gelek, Surkhang Wangchen. 1983. Tibet: the critical years (part II). The 6th Panchen Lama. *Tibet J.* 8(1): 20-29.
- Generally known as the 9th Panchen Lama. Account of his relationship with China and the 13th Dalai Lama.

3380. Goldstein, M.C. 1982. Lhasa street songs: political and social satire in traditional Tibet. *Tibet J.* 7(1/2): 56-66.

Although Tibet had no newspapers, open political and social criticism thrived in the form of street songs in which political lyrics were set to traditional melodies. A number of the songs are reproduced together with a political background to the events they portrayed. The subjects include the Younghusband Expedition, the occupation of Lhasa by Chao Erh-feng, the attempted coup d'état of Lungshar in 1934, and commentary on the regents who ruled Tibet from 1934 to 1949.

3381. Goldstein, M.C. 1989. *A history of modern Tibet, 1913-1951: the demise of the Lamaist State*. With the help of Gelek Rimpoche. Berkeley, University of California Press. xxxvi, 898 p.
[Reviewed: A.T.Grunfeld, *China Q.*, Lond. no. 121: 144-145, 1990; P.J.Hopkins, *J. Asian Stud.* 49: 901-902, 1990; J.Bray, *Asian Affairs* 23: 338-339, 1992; M.Hutt, *South Asia Research* 9(2): 167-170, 1989; W.H.Newell, *Econ. Polit. Wkly* 26(41): 2354-2355, 1991; G.Sparham, *Tibetan Review* 27(1): 17-19, 1992; E.Sperling, *J. Asian Hist.* 25: 195-198, 1991; D.Gillard, *Engl. hist. Rev.* 108(428): 767-768, 1993; L.W.J.van der Kuijp, *Indo-Iran. J.* 36: 269-272, 1993]

Based on Tibetan, Chinese and British sources and oral interviews, this is a major work on the period. It covers in detail the rivalry between conservative forces in Tibet as represented by the power of the monasteries, and the attempts to modernise and reform by some sections of the aristocracy. It also covers Tibet's relations with other countries, the problems that resulted from the official British policy which acknowledged Chinese 'suzerainty' over Tibet, and Tibetan attempts to gain international recognition after World War II. The work is illustrated with interesting historical photos. Chapter 3 'The Dalai Lama, the Army and the Monastic Segment' (p. 89-138) which analyses changes in Tibet's policy direction in the 1920s, and 'Conclusion: the demise of the Lamaist State' (p. 815-824) are reprinted in A. McKay, ed. *The history of Tibet. Vol. 3.* (see no. 211), p. 342-374, 531-538.

3382. Goldstein, M.C. 1991. The dragon and the snow lion: the Tibet question in the 20th century. *Tibetan Review* 26(4): 9-26.

Briefly interprets the historical relationship between Tibet and China and the role of Britain before concentrating on post-1950 relations (see also no. 3410).

3383. *Gourou, P. 1928. Le Tibet: quelques aspects éternels; quelques problèmes actuels. *Extreme-Asie* n.s. 28/30: 169-175. Source: no. 66.

3384. Hopkinson, A.J. 1950. The position of Tibet. *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 37: 228-239.

Hopkinson was British Trade Agent at Gyantse and Yatung from 1926 to 1928, and succeeded Gould as Political Officer in Sikkim in 1945. He discusses Tibet's position between China and India and the interests of these nations in Tibet, and the relations between Tibet, China and Britain since 1912.

3385. Husain, A. 1966. Nepalese-British cooperation in World War I. *Asian Stud., Quezon City* 4(3): 479-490.

Discusses the reasons for Nepalese support during World War I and notes that Nepal hoped that this support might stop Britain giving Tibet more support than she gave Nepal.

3386. Jagou, F. 1996. A pilgrim's progress: the peregrinations of the 6th Panchen Lama. *Lungta* no. 10: 12-23. Reprinted in A. McKay, ed. *The history of Tibet. Vol. 3.* (see no. 211), p. 419-433.

Account of the life of the 6th (generally known as the 9th) Panchen Lama, his disagreements with the 13th Dalai Lama, his activities in Mongolia and China after leaving Tibet, and his contacts with the Nanking Government.

3387. *Jagou, F. 1999. Le 6e Panchen Lama: traître ou visionnaire? Thesis (PhD) L'Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris.

Biography of the 6th Panchen Lama focussing on his religious and political roles. Also examines his failed attempts to return to Tibet from the different perspectives of the various protagonists, including the British, and the activities of his followers after his death.

3388. Jagou, F. 2002. The Sixth Panchen Lama's Chinese titles. In: *Khams pa histories: visions of people, place and authority. PIATS 2000: Tibetan studies: proceedings of the Ninth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Leiden 2000.* Ed. by L. Epstein. Leiden, Brill, p. 85-102.

Discusses the political symbolism underlying the titles granted to the 6th Panchen Lama by the Chinese, and analyses what both the Panchen Lama and China hoped to achieve from their association after the Panchen Lama left Tibet in 1923.

3389. Lamb, A. 1989. *Tibet, China and India 1914-1950: a history of imperial diplomacy.* Hertingfordbury, Roxford Books. viii, 594 p. [Reviewed: W. Peters, *Asian Affairs* 22: 190-191, 1991]

The third in his series of major works that cover British relations with Tibet from the latter part of the eighteenth century (see also nos 206, 2905). Based on primary sources, it completes his study up until the Chinese takeover of Tibet in 1950 and deals comprehensively with Tibet's longest span of independence in this century revealing the intricacies of Chinese and British relations with Tibet during this period. The first chapter: 'Introduction: the situation in 1914', p. 1-27 is reprinted in A. McKay, ed. *The history of Tibet. Vol. 3.* (see no. 211), p. 127-149.

3390. Macdonald, D. 1930. *Touring in Sikkim and Tibet.* Kalimpong, the Author. 142 p. Reprinted: New Delhi, Asian Educational Services, 1999.

General account of Sikkim and Tibet together with information required by a traveller planning to visit these areas in 1930.

3391. *McGranahan, C. 2001. Arrested histories: between empire and exile in 20th Century Tibet. Thesis (Ph.D) University of Michigan. 401 p. Source: no. 30.

Focuses on 'three interrelated histories: first a series of boundary disputes between the governments of Tibet, China and British India in the eastern Tibet region of

Kham, second the story of a Khamta trading family, the Pangdatsangs, members of which challenged the social, political and economic aspects of the Tibetan status quo, and third the Tibetan resistance movement' following the Communist takeover. (Abstract)

3392. McGranahan, C. 2003. Empire and the status of Tibet: British, Chinese, and Tibetan negotiations, 1913-1934. In: A. McKay, ed. *The history of Tibet. Vol. 3*. London, RoutledgeCurzon, p. 267-295.
- Examines British and Chinese attempts to decide the eastern borders of Tibet in this period according to their own imperial interests together with a consideration of Tibetan responses to these British and Chinese efforts. It includes a detailed analysis of the Simla Conference which ultimately failed because of the question of the boundary between Tibet and China, of the 1918 Chamdo and Rongbatsa Agreements, and the subsequent British and Chinese negotiations on Tibet.
3393. McGranahan, Carole. 2003. From Simla to Rongbatsa: the British and the "modern" boundaries of Tibet. *Tibet J.* vol. 28(4): 23-46.
- Contains similar information to that included in no. 3392.
3394. McKay, A.C. 1992. The Cinderella of the foreign service: the role of the British trade agents in Tibet 1910-1920. *South Asia Research* 12(2): 119-134.
- Examines the success of the British Political Officer in Sikkim and the British trade agents stationed in Tibet to ultimately convince the British government to approve missions to visit Lhasa, and thus bring Tibet more closely into Britain's 'informal empire.'
3395. McKay, A.C. 1992. David Macdonald: the early years. *Tibet Soc. U.K. Newsl.* no. 4: 15-16, Winter.
- Background on the life of Macdonald who served as Trade Agent in Yatung and Gyantse from 1909 to 1924 and accompanied Bell to Lhasa in 1920-1921.
3396. Mehra, P.L. 1964. Tibet and Outer Mongolia vis-a-vis China (1911-36). *J. Indian Hist.* 42: 727-761. Also published: Asian History Congress, 1st, New Delhi, 1961. *Studies in Asian history*. London, Asia Publishing House, 1969, p. 238-259.
- Discusses attempts made by China to gain control over Tibet and Outer Mongolia in this period.
3397. Neogi, P. 1939. Kalimpong - Bengal's gate-way to Sikkim and Tibet: its importance as a trade centre. *Mod. Rev.* 66: 39-42.
3398. Norbu, Dawa. 2000. Tibetan views of Tibetan autonomy: an agenda for the 21st century. In: *Tibetan autonomy and self-government: myth or reality? Report of the Proceedings of a Workshop held in November 1999*. New Delhi, Tibetan Parliamentary and Policy Research Centre, p. 213-248.

Includes an examination of Tibet's historical status which compares the Kuomintang and Communist positions on Tibet. Comments on his paper by Mirasinha Bhattacharjea (p. 249-261) and P.L. Mehra (p. 267-278) include information on British and Chinese relations with Tibet in the twentieth century.

3399. Nyman, L.-E. 1973. The Great Game: a comment. *Asian Aff.* 60: 299-301. Comments: O. Caroe, 61: 119-120, 1974; H.E. Richardson, 61: 120-121, 1974.

Written as a comment on no. 904. It describes the methods and people used by the British to collect information about Sinkiang and Tibet in the period between the two world wars, and proposes that these details prove the existence of a British spy network. Both Caroe and Richardson deny the existence of spy rings in Tibet.

3400. O'Connor, F. 1937/1938. Tibet in the modern world. *Geogr. Mag., Lond.* 6: 93-110.

Account of the relations of Tibet with Britain and China from 1904 to 1936.

3401. Otte, F. 1931/1932. Tibet und die asiatische Politik. *Z. Polit.* 21: 584-591.

The rise in importance of Tibet in Asian politics, and her relations with China and Britain with emphasis on the increase of British influence in Tibet and the attitude of the Kuomintang towards Tibet in 1931.

3402. Rahder, K. 1993. The Tibetan claim to statehood. *Issues & Studies* 29(6): 97-118.

Examines the history of the period 1911-1950 when Tibet had *de jure* or *de facto* statehood, with emphasis on the Simla Conference and the events occurring after the death of the 13th Dalai Lama especially the conflict between rival groups of Tibetans. It also examines the significance of the Tibetan Trade Mission and Tibet's status in the international community at this time.

3403. Rahul, R. 1962/1963. The government of Tibet: 1912-1933. *Int. Stud.* 4: 169-193.

Describes the government and the major personalities in Tibet in this period, emphasising the role of the Tibetan army and the influence of its Commander-in-Chief, Tsarong, on Tibetan affairs in the early 1920's.

3404. Spence, H. 1991. Tsarong II, the hero of Chaksam, and the modernisation struggle in Tibet, 1912-1931. *Tibet J.* 16(1): 34-57.

Tsarong (1886-1959) was prominent in Tibetan politics for almost 40 years. He continually attempted to achieve reforms in Tibet and prepare the way for a modern society but was eventually defeated through the influence of the monasteries in the 1920s. He was particularly involved in attempts to establish an effective defence force.

3405. *Spence, H. 1993. British Policy and the 'development' of Tibet, 1912-1933. Thesis (Ph.D) University of Wollongong. ix, 316 p. Source: University of Wollongong Library Catalogue.

3406. Spence, H. 1997. Britain: protector of Tibet? 1912-1933. In: *Tibetan studies: proceedings of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Graz, 1995*. Ed. by H. Krasser et al. Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, p. 917-922.
- Maintains that the loss of Tibet's independence stems directly from the failure of the Younghusband mission in 1904 to achieve Curzon's aim to keep Tibet as a buffer and to ensure the predominance of British influence in Lhasa. Britain again had the opportunity after World War I to become Tibet's protector but the British did not give sufficient aid and support in the 1920s and 1930s when that support was most needed. By 1930 international politics had redefined Britain's priorities and the Tibetans were left 'to their own resources'.
3407. Teichman, E. 1938. *Affairs of China: a survey of the recent history and present circumstances of the Republic of China*. London, Methuen. 312 p.
- Includes a chapter on 'Frontiers and Dependencies' which mainly concerns China's relations with Mongolia and Tibet.
3408. Tharchin, G. 1975. G. Tharchin: pioneer and patriot. *Tibetan review* 10(12): 18-20. Extract reprinted in: *Lungta* no. 11: 11-12, 1998.
- Interview with Tharchin conducted by Dawa Norbu (see also no. 3411).
3409. Thompson, D. 1962. China and Tibet, 1911-1961. *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 49: 266-276.
3410. Thonden, P. 1991. On the dragon's side of the Tibet question. *Tibetan Review* 26(5): 12-20. Reply: M.C. Goldstein, *Tibetan Review* 26(9): 18-22.
- Response to Goldstein's article (see no. 3382). He claims that Goldstein distorts Tibetan history and comes dangerously close to 'toeing the official Beijing line'.
3411. Tsering, Tashi. 1998. The life of the Rev. G. Tharchin, missionary and pioneer. *Lungta* no. 11: 9-10.
- Tharchin published a newspaper in Kalimpong, the *Tibetan Mirror*, from 1925 to 1963, which included reports on the activities of Government officials of Bhutan, China, Britain and Sikkim and of the Tibetan aristocracy. The paper also debated the question of the status of Tibet. Tharchin was a personal friend of both the 13th and 14th Dalai Lamas.
3412. Wiggins, L.R. 2000. Sino-Tibetan relations and tributary ideology. *Tibet J.* 25(1): 63-73.
- Emphasises the continuity of Chinese policy as regards Tibet over the centuries, with emphasis on the Nationalist and Communist periods. Includes details of the discussions that took place between the British Foreign Secretary, Anthony Eden, and Dr T.V. Soong concerning Tibet during World War II.
3413. Willoughby, M.E. 1924. The relation of Tibet to China. *J. cent. Asian Soc.* 11: 187-203.

Account of the relations of Tibet with China and India with emphasis on the period 1904-1918. Warns that as soon as China is strong enough she will try to re-establish control over Tibet. Comments by John Jordan and Younghusband follow his lecture to the Society.

3414. Winnington, A. 1957. *Tibet, record of a journey*. London, Lawrence & Wishart. 235 p.

Winnington was the first English journalist to visit Tibet after the Communist invasion. His account includes a review of British relations with Tibet and the influence of Tsarong in Tibet in the early 1920's.

3415. Young, E.P. 1977. *The presidency of Yuan Shih-k'ai. Liberalism and dictatorship in early Republican China*. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press. viii, 347 p.

Comments on Chinese reaction to Tibet's attempts to establish its independence.

See also nos 124, 1827, 1846, 1862, 1868, 1882, 1902, 2389-90, 2392-402, 2406, 2408, 2424, 2433, 2438, 2444-6, 2449, 2453-5, 2461-2, 2464, 2469-70, 2473, 2477, 2480-1, 2485-7, 2490, 2492-5, 2498, 2501, 2504, 2534, 2578, 3126, 3218, 3237, 3239, 3550, 3836-8, 4017.

2. THE CHINESE-TIBETAN BORDER REGION 1914-1919

The failure of the Simla Conference to settle the Chinese-Tibetan border question, and political strife in Western China, resulted in continued unrest and sporadic fighting in the frontier region between Tibet and China during World War I. The death of Yuan Shih-k'ai in June 1916 led to a breakdown in the control of the Chinese Central Government and to an era of Chinese warlordism especially in the western provinces of Yunnan and Szechuan. Tibet, on the other hand, had reorganised its army under the command of the Kalon Lama, and had also received a small supply of arms from the British Government. Thus when armed conflict broke out between the troops of General P'eng Jih-sheng, the Chinese Commander at Chamdo, and the Tibetans in late 1917, the Tibetans were soon successful and captured Chamdo in April 1918. The rapid advance of the Tibetans towards Tachienlu led the local Chinese leaders on the frontier to request the mediation of Eric Teichman, the British Consular Agent in Western China from 1917 to 1919, to take the initiative to try and arrange a truce between the forces. In late 1918 he secured the Truce of Rongbatsa with the local Tibetan and Chinese forces which led to the withdrawal of troops by both sides and provisionally placed the boundary between Szechuan and Tibet roughly along the course of the Upper Yangtse. However, the dispute over the border was not finally resolved and fighting broke out again between Chinese and Tibetan forces in the 1930s (see chapter XIV.4b).

Up until 1921 there were hopes that the Chinese might adhere to the original draft convention initialled at Simla in 1914. In 1915 the Chinese held talks with the Tibetans at Tachienlu and also unsuccessfully tried to reopen talks with the

British. In 1919 Anglo-Chinese negotiations on the Tibetan question were held in Peking. However the negotiations were abruptly concluded in August 1919 when the Tibetans rejected the modifications to the Simla Convention proposed by the Chinese, and the Chinese independently withdrew their proposals. The Chinese withdrawal was on the grounds of internal dissention and civil war in China, and also due to Chinese popular opposition to the Tibetan talks and the influence of the Japanese in Peking. Attempts by the British to again reopen the negotiations in 1921 failed.

3416. Anon. 1919. Current events: Tibet. *Far East. polit. Sci. Rev.* 1(3): 50-52, Nov.

On negotiations between Britain and China over Tibet in 1919 and anti-British propaganda by Japanese newspapers regarding the Tibetan question.

3417. Anon. 1919. Tibet and British imperial policy. *Nation* 109: 645-646.

On the negotiations being conducted in 1919 by Sir John Jordan, British Ambassador at Peking, concerning the future status of Tibet.

3418. Behrmann, W. 1922. Eric Teichmans Reisen an der Grenze von Tibet und China. *Z. Ges. Erdk. Berl.* 1922 p. 59-61.

Report on the journeys made by Teichman based on no. 3431.

3419. Christie, C. 1976. Great Britain, China and the status of Tibet, 1914-1921. *Mod. Asian Stud.* 10: 481-508. Reprinted in A. McKay, ed. *The history of Tibet. Vol. 3.* (see no. 211), p. 150-170.

Discusses foreign relations between Britain and China over the political status of Tibet concentrating on the years 1919-1921 when attempts were made to settle Tibet's status both territorially and politically. Highlights the role of Sir John Jordan, the senior British official in Peking who was against any collusion with Tibet, and his successor, Beilby Alston, and Eric Teichman who favoured the development of relations with Tibet without reference to China. Also examines Bell's mission to Tibet in 1920 and its effect on future Anglo-Tibetan relations.

3420. Coales, O. 1919. Eastern Tibet. *Geogr. J.* 53: 228-253.

Coales was a member of the British Consular Service in China who was stationed at Tachienlu for two years from 1915. This account of his journey from Tachienlu to Chamdo and Riwoche in 1916-1917 includes a brief history of Kham and the previous activities of Chao Erh-feng in the area. A detailed map of his route is included in vol. 54 of the *Geographical Journal*.

3421. Coales, O. 1919. Economic notes on Eastern Tibet. *Geogr. J.* 54: 242-247.

Describes the trade and possible mineral wealth of Eastern Tibet.

3422. Coales, O.R. 2003. Narrative of a journey from Tachienlu to Ch'amdo and back via Batang. In: A. McKay, ed. *The history of Tibet. Vol. 3.* London, RoutledgeCurzon, p. 202-238. Also included in no. 2408.

Previously unpublished report dated May 19, 1917 to the British Minister in Peking on his journey made in Dec. 1916 to early 1917 with notes on the districts traversed and the monasteries visited.

3423. David, A. 1920. La question du Tibet. *Mercure Fr.* 140: 366-375, June 1.
Concerns the resumption of the Anglo-Chinese negotiations on Tibet.

3424. Fraser, D. 1919. Tibet, the land of the lamas. *Far East. Rev.* 15: 544-547, Aug.

Account of Tibet, his own journey there in 1906 (see no. 2935) and comments on the current proposal by China to resume the negotiations broken off at Simla over the boundaries and status of Tibet.

3425. King, L.M. 1927. *China in turmoil. Studies in personality.* London, Heath Cranton. 233 p.

First hand information on the situation in Eastern Tibet from 1913 to 1922 when King was twice stationed at Tachienlu as Special Assistant from 1913-1916 and 1919-1922. Includes an account of his dealings with the Kalon Lama, the Tibetan Commander in the East since 1913, with an analysis of his character. King became a channel of communication between the Chinese and the Kalon Lama during the later years of this period. There are photos of the Kalon Lama and his major Chinese adversaries. Chapter 5 'The Soldier' (p. 58-65), which describes the experiences of a Chinese soldier who took part in the Chinese expedition to Lhasa in 1909-1910 and the following retreat, and 'A frontier incident' (p. 180-208) (see no. 3426) are reprinted in A. McKay, ed. *The history of Tibet. Vol. 3.* (see no. 211), p. 92-94, 256-266.

3426. King, L.M. 1927. A frontier incident. *Blackwood's Mag.* 221: 89-103.

King was British Consular Agent at Tachienlu when he was asked to mediate in this dispute between the Tibetans and Chinese. He describes the border region following the truce arranged by Teichman in 1918 and provides a detailed account of the Kalon Lama who was in charge of the Tibetans.

3427. Klein, I. 1971. British imperialism in decline: Tibet 1914-1921. *Historian* 34: 100-115, Nov.

'International politics and the changing balance of power in Asia, and the potential collapse of China...rather than simply Chinese popular opposition or British disinterest explain the British inability to obtain a Tibetan settlement.' (p. 114). The article emphasises the importance of the influence of Russia, and especially Japan on both Chinese and British policy towards Tibet in this period.

3428. Kolbe, F. 1916. England, Japan und Tibet. *Dt. Polit.* 1(34): 1489-1491.

British activity in Tibet despite the terms of the Anglo-Russian Convention, and the importance of the growing power of Japan in Asia.

3429. Pratt, J. and Clive, R. 1945. Sir Eric Teichman, G.C.M.G., C.I.E. [obituary]. *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 32: 5-7.

3430. Reid, G. 1922. *China, captive or free? A study of China's entanglements*. London, G. Allen & Unwin. ix, 332 p.
Includes a brief report that Britain presented China with twelve demands concerning Tibet in 1917. The demands were kept in abeyance until after World War I when Britain raised them again in 1919.
3431. Teichman, E. 1922. Journeys through Kam (Eastern Tibet). *Geogr. J.* 59: 1-19.
Account, with map, of the journeys he made in Eastern Tibet in 1918.
3432. Teichman, E. 1922. *Travels of a consular officer in Eastern Tibet, together with a history of the relations between China, Tibet and India*. Cambridge, University Press. xxiii, 248 p.
[Reviewed: P.T.Etherton, *J. cent. Asian Soc.* 10: 254-256, 1923; W.R.C., *Geogr. J.* 61: 297-299, 1923; *Scott. geogr. Mag.* 40: 47, 1924]
A survey of Tibet's relations with Britain and China to 1918. It is especially valuable for its account of events in the Sino-Tibetan border region between 1914-1918 in which Teichman was personally involved. The survey is followed by a record of his journeys in Eastern Tibet in 1918 in connection with his peace negotiations between the Chinese and Tibetans. Parts 1 (p. 1-8) and 5 (p. 47-58) of the Historical Introduction to this work are reprinted in A. McKay, ed. *The history of Tibet. Vol. 3* (see no. 211), p. 239-255. They cover the relations between China and Tibet up to the British expedition to Lhasa in 1904 and a summary of events on the Chinese Tibetan border from 1914 to 1918.
3433. Tong, H.K. 1919. British and Chinese Governments again considering Tibetan question. *Millard's China natn. Rev.* 9: 5-11, June 7.
Describes the Anglo-Chinese negotiations on Tibet in 1919 and their background. An account of Tibet's relations with India and Mongolia in the past and the position in 1919 is also included.
3434. Trott-Helge, E. 1918/1919. Indiens Vorposten. *Asien* 16: 237-239.
Brief account of British relations with Tibet since 1914, and the refusal of China to ratify the Simla Convention. The significance of Japan's growing power in Asia is also discussed.
- See also nos 1820, 2400, 2408, 2424-5, 2433, 2453, 2455, 2457, 2470, 2477, 2480, 2492, 3114, 3116, 3121, 3218, 3242, 3381, 3389, 3391-3, 3568.

3. BRITISH RELATIONS WITH TIBET 1920-1928

By 1920 British prestige was waning in Tibet due to her failure to gain Chinese adherence to the draft Simla Convention, and her ban on the supply of further munitions to Tibet. However, following the visit of a Chinese mission to Tibet sent by Chinese authorities in Kansu in 1920 headed by Li Chung-lien, the British decided to accept the repeated invitations of the Dalai Lama to Charles

Bell to visit Lhasa in order to convince the Tibetans of British goodwill. Bell, who had recently retired as Political Officer in Sikkim, was recalled to active service so that he could undertake the visit. Permission for such a visit, which would have contravened the terms of the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, had previously been refused due to fears of Russian protests, but the Russian Revolution had removed this obstacle. It has also been claimed that Bell's mission 'represented a diplomatic attempt to frighten China [into a Tibetan settlement] which failed' (see no. 3427 p. 111).

Bell reached Lhasa in November 1920 and remained there for almost a year. His visit resulted in closer ties between Britain and Tibet and a strengthening of Tibet's position vis-a-vis China. On the assurance that any military supplies would only be used in self-defence, a small quantity of arms and ammunition was exported from India to Tibet, and some military training was given to the Tibetan Army. Help was also given in the modernisation of Tibet and the development of her resources: a telegraph line was constructed from Gyantse to Lhasa; machinery for a small hydro-electric plant at Lhasa was procured; the geologist, Sir Henry Hayden conducted a survey of the mineral resources of Tibet for the Tibetan Government; Laden La of the Darjeeling Police was sent to Lhasa to reorganise the Tibetan Police Force; and an English school was established for a short period at Gyantse. Bell also recommended that a small number of European visitors be allowed to visit Tibet and in 1921 permission was granted for an expedition to visit Mt Everest. It was decided that a permanent British officer should not be stationed at Lhasa unless the Chinese Amban was readmitted. Instead contact was maintained by the visits of the Political Officers in Sikkim, and in 1924 Frederick Bailey visited Lhasa.

There was some reaction in Tibet to these limited attempts to modernise their country, especially from the monasteries. This increased when, after disagreements with the Dalai Lama, the Panchen Lama fled to China in 1923. Their dispute was never resolved and, despite British efforts to arrange his return, he remained in China until his death in 1937. Relations with Britain also cooled as a result of these developments, from misunderstandings over the Everest Expeditions, and from the fact that Britain had still been unable to gain Chinese adherence to the Simla Convention upon which Tibet's hopes for a guaranteed independence rested. In 1925 Tsarong, one of the main supporters of the British, lost much of his power when he was dismissed as commander in chief of the Tibetan army.

These years also saw some revival of earlier Anglo-Russian rivalry in Asia and there was a renewal of Soviet interest in Tibet and concern at the growing British activity there especially after Bell's visit to Lhasa. Several Soviet missions were sent to Tibet with the aim of establishing relations with Lhasa and undermining British influence, and their members met with the Dalai Lama and Tibetan officials. Bailey's 1924 visit to Lhasa coincided with one of these Soviet missions and he warned the Dalai Lama of the dangers of dealing with the 'Red Russians'. He was also influential in advising the Tibetans when other Soviet backed missions visited Tibet.

Independent of these developments negotiations took place in Western Tibet on two sections of the border between Tibet and India. In 1924 discussions were

held on the alignment of the Ladakh-Tibetan border and in 1926 on the Tehri Garhwal-Tibet border.

a) General

3435. Anon. 1921. La modernisation du Tibet. *Asie fr.* 21: 74.
3436. Anon. 1922. Tibet et Angleterre. *Asie fr.* 22: 80-81.
Account of Bell's mission to Lhasa in 1920-1921.
3437. Anon. 1924. Hello central - give me Lhasa! *Far East. Rev.* 20: 442-444.
On the construction of the telegraph line to Lhasa.
3438. Anon. 1924. Electricity in Tibet: British firm providing first generating plant for Lhasa. *Far. East. Rev.* 20: 547, Nov.
3439. Anon. 1925. Bengalee postal officers not to be posted in Tibet. *Mod. Rev.* 37: 75-76.
On the refusal by the British to allow Bengalis to work as post officers in Tibet.
3440. Anon. 1925. Sir H.H. Hayden's journey in Central and South-Eastern Tibet. *Geogr. J.* 66: 377-378.
Account of his journey made in 1922.
3441. Anon. 1925. The Mount Everest film of 1924. *Geogr. J.* 65: 62-63.
Account of the film made by Noel of the 1924 Everest Expedition, and information on the Tibetan monks brought to England by Noel. The visit of these monks caused much consternation in Lhasa. See also nos 3362, 3459, 3480.
3442. Anon. 1925. Surveys in Tibet. *Nature* 116: 28.
Brief report on the surveying work accomplished by Hayden's expedition to Tibet in 1922.
3443. Anon. 1925. Le Thibet vu de la frontière sino-thibétaine, par XXX. *Asie fr.* 25: 274-276.
The situation in Tibet in the 1920's and her attitude to foreigners entering Tibet during this period.
3444. Anon. 1945. Sir Charles Bell and Tibet, by One of his colleagues [obituary]. *Asiat. Rev.* 41: 294-296.
3445. Anon. 1945. Sir Charles Bell, 31 October 1870 - 11 March 1945 [obituary], by J.L.M. *Man* 45: 132.
3446. Bell, C.A. 1924. The Dalai Lama; Lhasa 1921. *J. cent. Asian Soc.* 11:

36-50. Reprinted in A. McKay, ed. *The history of Tibet. Vol. 3.* (see no. 211), p. 313-324.

Account of the Dalai Lamas of Tibet and of his mission to Lhasa in 1920-1921. Comments by Younghusband, McGovern, and Jordan follow his lecture to the Society.

3447. Bell, C.A. 1924. A year in Lhasa. *Geogr. J.* 63: 89-105.

Account of his mission to Lhasa and of his journey with Col. Kennedy to Reting along the northern route from Lhasa to Mongolia. There are sketch maps of Lhasa and of the country between Lhasa and Reting. In the discussion that followed his lecture to the Royal Geographical Society there are comments by Younghusband and Jordan.

3448. Bell, C.A. 1930. The North-Eastern Frontier of India. *J. cent. Asian Soc.* 17: 221-225.

Outlines the relations between India and Tibet particularly in the 1920's, and warns of the danger to India if it ignores its responsibilities to Tibet and allows that country to fall under the influence of China or Russia.

3449. Campos, M. de. 1929. O Tibete moderno. Os progressivos e os reaccionários. *Bolm Soc. Geogr. Lisb.* 47: 77-78.

Reports that although there are some modern tendencies in Tibet, travellers are still experiencing difficulties as illustrated by the recent troubles of Roerich's expedition in crossing Tibet (see no. 3494).

3450. Cecil, G. 1926/1927. Gold in Tibet. *J. Can. bank. Ass.* 34: 440-443.

Account of the education of a Tibetan in England as a mining engineer, and of the mining for gold in Tibet and its cessation through the influence of the monasteries.

3451. Chev , V. 1924. Une ann e   Lhasa. S jour de Sir Ch. Bell. *Bull. Soc. G ogr. comm. Havre* 41: 1-12.

3452. Christie, C.J. 1977. Sir Charles Bell: a memoir. *Asian Affairs* 64: 48-62.

Traces his career and outlines his importance in influencing the evolution of British policies towards the Himalayan states and Tibet in the first part of the twentieth century.

3453. Cooper, J. 1986. The West and the modernisation of Tibet: 1900 to 1950 - a short introduction. *Tibetan Review* 21(11): 9-19.

Attempts to modernise Tibet began following the Dalai Lama's two exiles and the visit of the Panchen Lama to India in 1905/1906. Traces these attempts and highlights the British who went to Tibet and their work with the Tibetan boys who had been sent to Rugby School. Notes that J. Fairley visited Lhasa before Bell in 1920 whilst surveying a new telegraph line from Gyantse to Lhasa.

3454. De L'Orme, E. 1926. Modern tendencies in Tibet. *Spectator* 137: 301-302, 474.

Reviews the work of Tsarong, his efforts to modernise the Tibetan Army, and the resistance to modern ideas in Tibet by the monasteries. This is given as one of the reasons for the refusal by Tibet to allow another Everest Expedition at this time.

3455. Flack, G. 1994. Tibet and the Universal Postal Union. *Postal Himal* no. 79: 46-50. Reprinted: *Tibetan Review* 30(3): 16-18, 1995.

In 1924 Tsarong approached Bailey on the subject of Tibet joining the Universal Postal Union. Includes extracts from Bailey's report on the request and his comments on the Tibetan postal system at that time.

3456. Funnell, V. 2002. Cecil Polhill-Turner and Tibet. *Asian Affairs* 33(2): 238-241.

Polhill-Turner worked as a missionary in western China, Darjeeling and Kalimpong. From 1926-1927 he worked with Tharchin, David Macdonald and Dr Graham in Kalimpong. When Tharchin visited Lhasa in late 1927 he took a letter from Polhill-Turner to the Dalai Lama requesting permission to visit Tibet. Details of Tharchin's visit are provided and a copy of the Dalai Lama's letter to Polhill-Turner included.

3457. Gopalchari, K. 1963. The India-China boundary question. *Int. Stud.* 5: 33-42.

Examines the background of the boundary question with emphasis on the disputes that arose in the first quarter of the twentieth century over the Ladakh-Tibet and Tehri-Tibet borders.

3458. Gould, B.J. 1959. Sir Charles Alfred Bell (1870-1945). In: *The dictionary of national biography, 1941-1950*. London, Oxford University Press, p. 68-70.

3459. Hansen, P.H. 1996. The dancing lamas of Everest: cinema, orientalism, and Anglo-Tibetan relations in the 1920s. *Am. hist. Rev.* 101(3): 712-747. Reprinted in A. McKay, ed. *The history of Tibet. Vol. 3.* (see no. 211), p. 375-404.

Tibetan permission for British Everest expeditions in the early 1920s depended not only on the supply of weapons to Tibet but also on British respect for Tibetan religious beliefs and cultural practices. John Noel's film 'The epic of Everest' shown in London in 1925 offended Tibetans in the way they were portrayed. Also, before each screening a group of Tibetan lamas, brought to Britain by Noel, performed music, chants and dances. Hansen examines the background to the Everest Expeditions, the making of the film and the reactions of the press to it and the appearances of the 'dancing lamas'. Tibetans also complained about actions of members of the 1924 Everest Expedition but it was Noel's film and the dancing lamas that generated most complaints and caused the cancellation of future Everest expeditions. It also helped to tip the balance of power in Tibet from the military and attempts at modernisation, to the monasteries. Also examines the reaction of Noel and the Royal Geographical Society who blamed Bailey and the India Office for the Tibetan response to the film.

3460. Hansen, P.H. 2001. Tibetan horizon: Tibet and the cinema in the early

twentieth century. In: T. Dodin and H. Räther, eds. *Imagining Tibet: perceptions, projections & fantasies*. Boston, Wisdom Publications, p. 91-110.

Examines the way Tibet was portrayed in documentary films and the reaction of Tibetans to these films, especially those taken during the Mount Everest expeditions in the 1920s and the Gould missions to Tibet in the 1930s and 1940s.

3461. Hayden, H.H. and Cosson, C. 1927. *Sport and travel in the highlands of Tibet*. London, R. Cobden-Sanderson. xvi, 262 p.

[Reviewed: E.Pascoe, *Himalayan J.* 1: 108-110, 1929; 2: 172-173, 1930; F.E.Y[ounghusband], *Geogr. J.* 71: 395, 1928; *Scott. geogr. Mag.* 44: 173-175, 1928; *Alpine J.* 40: 205-206, 1928]

Description of the journey made by Hayden in 1922 following the request by the Tibetan Government that a geologist be sent to advise them on the development of their mineral resources. Hayden was accompanied by Cosson and an Indian surveyor of the Survey of India. His account includes detailed comments on life in Lhasa in the early 1920's and on Tibetan officials such as Tsarong.

3462. Heber, A.E. and Heber, K.M. 1926. *In Himalayan Tibet: a record of 12 years spent in the topsy-turvey land of Lesser Tibet; with a description of its cheery folk, their ways & religion, of the rigours of the climate & beauties of the country, its flora & fauna*. London, Seeley Service. 283 p. Reprinted with title: *Himalayan Tibet & Ladakh: a description of its cheery folk...* Delhi, Ess Ess Publications, 1976.

Includes a brief account of the journey made by Dr Heber in 1924 when he accompanied Major Robson, the British Joint Commissioner in Ladakh, to Dokpo-Karpo to discuss a dispute arising from uncertainty over a small section of the boundary between Ladakh and Western Tibet.

3463. Impey, L. 1927. Britain and Russia and the Panchen Lama. *China wkly Rev.* 41: 30, June 11.

Concerns the flight of the Panchen Lama to China, his opposition to Bolshevism, and Russian activity in Chinese Turkestan at this time.

3464. King, W.H. 1924. The telegraph to Lhasa. *Geogr. J.* 63: 527-531.

Account of the construction of the line by King and W.P. Rosemeyer and of their stay in Lhasa following its completion. It includes information on leading Tibetans at this time such as Kyipup, who had attended Rugby School in England, and Tsarong, and on Tibetans being trained in India to work the telegraph.

3465. King, W.H. 1937. The first telegram from Lhasa. *Listener* 18: 394-396, Aug. 25.

Account of the construction of the telegraph line from Gyantse to Lhasa by King and Rosemeyer of the Indian Posts and Telegraph Department in 1922. Rosemeyer visited Lhasa every alternative year to repair the line until his death in 1935. The first telegram sent from Lhasa was from the Dalai Lama to King George V.

3466. Leclercq, J. 1924? *Les derniers explorateurs du Thibet. I. A l'assaut du Mont Everest. II. Une année à Lhasa.* Bruges, Desclée, De Brouwer & Cie. 18 p.
Account of the 1922 Everest Expedition and Bell's mission to Lhasa in 1920-1921.
3467. Morshead, H.T. 1924. The topographical results of Sir H.H. Hayden's expedition to Tibet in 1922, compiled from the verbal narrative of Surveyor, Gujjar Singh. *Rec. Surv. India* 18: 113-115.
Account, with map, of the areas surveyed by this expedition.
3468. McGranahan, C. 2002. Sa spang mda' gnam spang mda': murder, history, and social politics in 1920s Lhasa. In: *Khams pa histories: visions of people, place and authority. PIATS 2000: Tibetan studies: proceedings of the Ninth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Leiden 2000.* Ed. by L. Epstein. Leiden, Brill, p.103-123.
Account of the murder of Pangda Nyigyal, the head of the Pangdatsang family, in Lhasa in 1921. Pangda Nyigyal was a Khampa trader who had settled in Lhasa and had become a favourite of the 13th Dalai Lama. This article examines the background to his rise to national prominence and speculates on who was responsible for his murder. It also comments on British protests against the favouritism shown to the Pangdatsang family over trade arrangements.
3469. McKay, A.C. 1994/1995. Major Cairncross: a rogue on the Tibetan frontier. *Tibet Soc. U.K. Newsl.* 36(4): 16, Winter.
Cairncross (also known as Cross, Brown and Cancross) was dismissed from the British Army in 1918 and fled to Yatung in Tibet in 1921 to avoid charges of deception pending against him in Calcutta. Claiming to be a trader he received help from Macdonald, the trade agent there. Forced to return to India, he later claimed to be an agent and mining manager of the Dalai Lama and conducted lecture tours in Switzerland and England under various names.
3470. McKay, A.C. 1997. Tibet 1924: a very British coup attempt? *Jl R. Asiat. Soc.* 3rd ser., 7(3): 411-424. Reprinted in A. McKay, ed. *The history of Tibet. Vol. 3.* (see no. 211), p. 405-418.
Suggests that F.M. Bailey, the Political Officer in Sikkim from 1921 to 1928 and who had immediate charge of Anglo-Tibetan relations, attempted to promote a coup in Tibet in 1924 in order to transfer secular power from the Dalai Lama to Tsarong Shape, the Commander-in-Chief of the Tibetan Army. Following the failure of Tsarong's supporters to take secular power British prestige in Tibet declined as the conservative forces in Tibet became dominant. McKay discusses in detail reports on the participation of Bailey's representative in Lhasa, Laden La, in the plot against the Dalai Lama, on opposition in Tibet to modernisation, and the Dalai Lama's reaction to these events. See no. 3474 for an alternative view of these events.
3471. Nyman, L.-E. 1983. Modernisierungsversuche in Tibet während der Zwischenkriegszeit. *Central Asiat. J.* 27(1/2): 101-111.
Attempts to modernise Tibet in the period between the World Wars.

3472. Poole, M. 1935. My visit to the Living Buddha. *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 22: 250-269.

Description of the audience of an English girl with the Panchen Lama in 1928 whilst he was in exile in China.

3473. Rank, M. 2003. Frank Ludlow and the English School in Tibet, 1923-1926. *Asian Affairs* 34(1): 33-45, plates 1-4.

Ludlow was appointed headmaster of the new school in Gyantse in 1922 on a three year contract. Examines the background to his appointment, his problems with Tibetan officials in establishing and running the school, the curriculum taught, and the reasons for its closure in 1926. The main purpose of the school was to increase British influence in Tibet as it was hoped that the students would eventually become top officials. Ludlow was also convinced that the school was essential if Tibet was to survive in the modern world. A similar school, opened in Lhasa in 1944, only lasted a few months due to monastic opposition.

3474. Rhodes, D. and Rhodes, N. 2003. Sonam Wangfel Laden La - Tibet 1924 and 1930. *Tibet J.* 28(4): 47-60.

Disputes McKay's contention that Laden La was involved with Bailey and Tsarong Shape in a plot to remove secular political power from the 13th Dalai Lama in 1924 (see no. 3470) and defends his integrity. Describes Laden La's career and service to the British and Tibetan Governments and provides a detailed account of the events that occurred in 1924, the possible part played by Lungshar, and the reasons why McKay's conclusions concerning Laden La are incorrect. Also disputes McKay's interpretation of Laden La's part in the events of 1929 and 1930 when the arrest of Sherpa Gyalpo almost led to war between Nepal and Tibet. Laden La's part in resolving this dispute and obtaining an invitation for Weir to visit Lhasa is also examined.

3475. Rhodes, N.G. 1984. A motorized mail service in Tibet. *Postal Himal* no. 38: 24.

Describes the attempt by the British to introduce this service in 1926-1927.

3476. Shakya, Tsering. 1985. Tibet and the League of Nations with reference to letters found in the India Office Library, under Sir Charles Bell's collections. *Tibet J.* 10(3): 48-56. Reprinted in A. McKay, ed. *The history of Tibet. Vol. 3.* (see no. 211), p. 329-336.

The letters dated 28 Sept 1927 to 9 Jan. 1928 concern Tibetan attempts to acquire more information about the League and the possibility of admission as a member. Two of the letters are reproduced – one from Sonam Wangyal Palhese, who visited Britain at the invitation of Sir Charles Bell, and the other the reply from Dr. G.F. Barbour, an academic closely associated with the League of Nations Union.

3477. Sherap, P. 1926. *A Tibetan on Tibet. Being the travels and observations of Mr Paul Sherap (Dorje Zödba) of Tachienlu: with an introductory chapter on Buddhism and a concluding chapter on the devil dance.* Ed. by G.A. Combe. London, T. Fisher Unwin. xvi, 212 p. Reprinted: Kathmandu, Ratna Pustak Bhandar, 1975.

Sherap was born in 1887 in Rongbatsu and travelled widely including to Darjeeling where he learnt English. Combe was in charge of the Chengdu Consulate in 1924 when he met Sherap who was then a merchant in the Szechuan-Tibet trade. Combe engaged him to relate his story and to provide information on Tibet. The stages on the roads across Tibet from Tachienlu to Lhasa are included in an appendix.

3478. Shuttleworth, H.L. 1923. Wool mart of the Indo-Tibetan borderland. *Geogr. Rev.* 13: 552-558.

On trade between Tibet and the Punjab via Lahul and Kulu at this time.

3479. Sykes, P.M. 1945. Sir Charles Bell, K.C.I.E., C.M.G., I.C.S. [obituary]. *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 32: 134.

3480. Unsworth, W. 1981. *Everest*. London, Allen Lane. xiv, 578 p. 2nd ed.: London, Grafton, 1991; 3rd ed. with title: *Everest: the mountaineering history*. London, Bâton Wicks, 2000.

The major work on the background to the mountaineering expeditions to Everest. It includes a chapter on 'The affair of the dancing lamas' which examines in detail Noel's Everest film of the 1924 Expedition and the taking of Lamas to Britain to promote it. Highlights the controversy between Bailey, Noel, the Everest Committee and the India Office and its effect on Anglo-Tibetan relations. Also covers the complaints of the Tibetans about the geological work of Heron and the unofficial travel of Morshead following the 1921 Expedition, and of J. de V. Hazard, who also travelled beyond the area allowed on his passport following the 1924 Expedition.

3481. Walsh, E.C.H. 1945. Sir Charles Bell, K.C.I.E., C.N.G, F.R.G.S. [obituary]. *Jl R. Asiat. Soc.* 1945 p. 112.

See also nos 129, 141, 255, 2080, 2397-9, 2406, 2408, 2410, 2418, 2423, 2425, 2428, 2430, 2438, 2446, 2449, 2452-5, 2458-9, 2461, 2463, 2470, 2473, 2477, 2480-1, 2485-7, 2490, 2492-3, 2707, 2908, 2995, 3362, 3366, 3370, 3372-3, 3378-9, 3383, 3386-9, 3391-6, 3398, 3403-6, 3419, 3516, 3544, 3552, 3576, 3593, 3693, 3698, 3723.

b) Soviet missions to Tibet

There was a renewal of interest in Tibet by Soviet Russia from around 1919 and between 1922 and 1928 three missions comprising Buryats and Kalmyks were sent to Lhasa. The aims of these missions were to establish relations with the Tibetan authorities and to determine the extent of British influence there and if possible to undermine it. These missions were the 1920-1922 Khomutnikov Mission, the 1924 Borisov Mission, and the 1927 Gombodchin-Chapchae Mission. Agvan Dorjiev again was prominent in supporting these missions and in promoting good relations between Soviet Russia and Tibet. The Soviet Government's interest in Tibet in this period was partly due to the influence the Dalai Lama exercised over the whole Buddhist world, especially Soviet subjects in Mongolia, and the fear that Tibet would become a British protectorate. They

also hoped to generally undermine British influence in Asia.

The 1924 Borisov Mission arrived in Lhasa at the same time that Bailey was there and he warned the Dalai Lama of the dangers of the Bolsheviks. Despite this they were granted an audience with the Dalai Lama and had dealings with Tsarong Shape. Some military training was also provided for some young Tibetans from 1924, and the 1927 Gombodchin-Chapchaev Mission was accompanied by a Kalmyk military officer, Matsak Bimbaev, who reported on the Tibetan Army. This mission hoped to take advantage of the deterioration in Anglo-Tibetan relations which had followed the change of policy by the Dalai Lama in favour of the conservative clergy, rather than the military headed by the pro-British Tsarong Shape. However, by the time the mission reached Lhasa in 1927, there was concern about reports of the persecution of Buddhists in Outer Mongolia by the Bolsheviks which led to Tibetan distrust of the 'Red Russians'. Bailey also sent his personal assistant, Norbu Dhondup, to Lhasa when he heard news of this mission to try and counteract any influence it might have with the Tibetans and to get first-hand reports on its progress. During this same period (1927-1928) Nicholas Roerich entered Tibet on an expedition which seems to have been both religious and political and which had some Soviet backing. The expedition was prevented from reaching Lhasa after Bailey warned the Tibetan Government of Roerich's Bolshevik sympathies. Roerich was also a strong supporter of the Panchen Lama and had hoped to be able to help him return to Tibet. Bailey met Roerich in Darjeeling in 1924 and again in May 1928 in Sikkim after Roerich eventually managed to cross Tibet to return to India.

3482. Anon. 1928. Tibet renounces western progress. *Lit. Digest* 98(4): 16, July 28.

Reports that the Tibetans have abandoned efforts to modernise and are again preventing westerners from visiting their country. Also reports on the treatment of Prof. N. Roerich's 1924-1928 expedition which had tried to cross Tibet from Central Asia after it had been refused permission by the British to enter from Sikkim.

3483. *Andreyev, A. 1996. Pochemu russkogo puteshestvennika ne pustili v Lhasu. Novie materialy o Mongol-Tibetskoi ekspeditsii P.K. Kozlova. [Why the Russian traveller was not admitted to Lhasa. New material on P.K. Kozlov's Mongolian-Tibetan Expedition, 1923-1926]. *Ariavarta* Inaugural Issue: 199-223. Source: Author.

Kozlov's expedition was financed by Moscow and funds were also allocated for presents for the Dalai Lama and other leading Tibetans. Support, however, was withdrawn when the expedition was in Urga due to suspicions about Kozlov's loyalty.

3484. Andreyev, A. 1996. Soviet Russia and Tibet: a debacle of secret diplomacy. *Tibet J.* 21(3): 4-34. Reprinted in A. McKay, ed. *The history of Tibet. Vol. 3.* (see no. 211), p. 434-454.

Detailed account of the Moscow-Lhasa dialogue from 1922 to 1928 and its background. The ultimate goal of the Bolsheviks in this period was the expulsion of the British from Asia. Examines the three missions which were sent to Lhasa

during the period, the 1920-1922 Khomutnikov Mission, the 1924 Borisov Mission and the 1927 Gombodchin-Chapchaev Mission. Also discusses the possible connection between the third mission and that of Nicholas Roerich, the flight of the Panchen Lama from Tibet, and the actions taken by the British to counteract the threat of Soviet influence in Lhasa.

3485. Andreyev, A. 1997. The Bolshevik intrigue in Tibet. In: *Tibetan studies: proceedings of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Graz, 1995*. Ed. by H. Krasser et al. Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, p. 7-15.
- Examines the dealings between the Soviet and Tibetan governments in the 1920s which aimed to undermine British influence in Lhasa, based on Russian archival documents. It provides further information on the Khomutnikov, Borisov and Gombodchin-Chapchaev Missions and discusses the part played by Dorjiev in this period. Other contacts between Russia and the Dalai Lama are also examined and brief information given on the training of young Tibetans in military techniques in Russia from 1924. Andreyev also provides some information on contacts between Soviet agents and the Panchen Lama.
3486. *Andreyev, A. 1997. *Ot Baikala do sviastchennoi Lhasy. Novic materialyi o russkikh ekspeditsiakh v Tsentralnuiu Aziyu v pervoi polovine xx veka*. [From Lake Baikal to the sacred Lhasa. New material on the Russian expeditions to Central Asia in the first half of the XX century]. St Petersburg, Samara, Prague. Source: no. 3487.
3487. Andreyev, A. 2001. Russian Buddhists in Tibet, from the end of the nineteenth century to 1930. *Jl R. Asiat. Soc.* 3 ser., 11(3): 349-362.
- Based on KGB files from the Archives of Ministries of Security in the Republics of Buryatia and Kalmykia and military records, it surveys the religious contacts between Tibet and Russian Buddhists with emphasis on missions in the 1920s. Maintains that the information obtained from these records shows that Buryat and Kalmyk pilgrims were convenient pawns used by both the Tsarist and Soviet Governments for political purposes and that they include references to their participation in secret missions to Tibet in 1904-1905, 1921-1922, 1923-1925 and 1926-1928. Also highlights the visit to Tibet in late 1921 or early 1922 until 1927 of Zambo Khaglyshev (Khaldinov in British records) who was on good terms with Bell and Bailey and alerted Bailey of the arrival in Lhasa of the Borisov Mission in August 1924.
3488. Andreyev, A. 2003. *Soviet Russia and Tibet: the debacle of secret diplomacy, 1918-1930s*. Leiden, Brill. xxi, 433 p.
- Based on newly available Russian sources, Andreyev examines the history of relations between Tsarist and Soviet Russia with Tibet from the 17th Century, with emphasis on the least known period from the 1920s to the early 1930s. Includes a discussion of the reaction of the British, and especially of Bailey, to the Soviet missions to Tibet and the Roerich expedition, and the role of Dorjiev in the relations of both the Tsarist and the Soviet Governments with the Dalai Lama.
3489. *Andreyev, A. and Iusupova, T.I. 2001. *Istoriia odnogo ne sovsem obychnogo puteshestviia: Mongolo-Tibetskaia ekspeditsia P.K. Kozlova*

(1923-1926) [A journey to Inner Asia: P.K. Kozlov's Mongolian-Tibetan Expedition, 1923-1926]. *Voprosy istorii estestvoznaniia i tekhniki* no. 2: 51-74. Source: no. 49 and Author.

Examines how Soviet internal politics affected Kozlov's 1923 expedition to Tibet and Mongolia.

3490. *Bembeev, V. S. 1991. *Chelovek iz legendy* [The man from a legend]. Moscow, Elista. Source: no. 3484.

Biography of Khomutnikov and information about his mission to Tibet.

3491. Decter, J. 1989. *Nicholas Roerich, the life and art of a Russian master*. Rochester, Vermont, Park Street Press. 224 p.

Includes an account of his expedition to Central Asia and Tibet as well as his visit to Moscow in 1926.

3492. *Dekroa, N. 2000. *Tibetskie-stranstviia polkovnika Kordashevskogo: (s ekspeditsiei N.K. Rerikha po Tsentralnoi Azii)*. [The Tibet journeys of Col. Kordashevsky: (with N.K. Roerich's expedition in Central Asia)]. [V.A. Rosov, posleslovie]. Sankt Petersburg, Aiurveda Plius. 355 p. [First published: 1999]. Source: British Library Catalogue and A. Tulskeya, personal communication.

The diaries of Col. Nikolai Kordashevsky which were written under the pen-name of N. Dekroa. Kordashevsky joined Roerich's expedition as head of the convoy and covered a good part of the route travelled by the expedition.

3493. *Fosdick, S. Lichtmann. 1998. *Moi Uchitelya. Vstrechi s Rerikhami, 1922-1934. [My teacher: meetings with Roerich 1922-1934]*. Moscow, Sfera. Source: no. 223 and A. Tulskeya, personal communication.

Sina Lichtmann (later Fosdick) was a disciple of Roerich and was in Moscow when Roerich visited there in 1926.

3494. Roerich, G.N. 1931. *Trails to inmost Asia; five years of exploration with the Roerich Central Asian Expedition*. New Haven, Yale University Press. xx, 504 p. Reprinted: Delhi, Book Faith India, 1996.

Account of their journey from Kashmir to Khotan, Asiatic Russia, the Gobi Desert, and across Tibet to Sikkim in 1925-1928. It includes a description of their delays and difficulties in crossing Tibet even although they held valid passports, and their contacts with Bailey in Sikkim both before and after their journey.

3495. Roerich, N. 1929. *Altai-Himalaya: a travel diary*. New York, Stokes. xix, 407 p. Reprinted: Kempton, Ill., Adventures Unlimited Press, 2001.

Written during his Central Asia Expedition from 1924 to 1928 it contains an account of his travels and hardships interspersed with musings on the esoteric arts and mysteries of Central Asia.

3496. *Rosov, V.A. 2002. *Nikolai Rerikh - Vestnik Zvenigoroda: Ekspeditsii N.K. Rerikha po okrainam pustyni Gobi. Book 1: Velikij Plan*. [Nikolai

Roerich - the Herald of Zvenigorod: N.K. Roerich's expeditions on the fringes of the Gobi Desert. Vol.1: The great plan]. St Petersburg, Aleiteia Publishers. 272 p. Source: Library of Congress Catalogue and A. Andreyev and A. Tulskaya, personal communication.

Account of the Central Asian expeditions of the Russian artist and mystic, Nicholas Roerich, and his search for a promised land where he could create a new independent area based on Buddhist beliefs. Before his Tibetan expedition (1927-1928) Roerich met with leading Bolsheviks in Moscow such as G.V. Chicherin and discussed with them his plan for the unification of the peoples of Asia in a Buddhist state in opposition to the imperialist British. Maintains that his Tibetan expedition was in fact a secret diplomatic mission of western Buddhists to the Dalai Lama in Lhasa.

3497. Rupen, R.A. 1979. Mongolia, Tibet and Buddhism or, A tale of two Roerichs. *Canada-Mongolia Review* 5(1): 1-36. Reprinted in A. McKay, ed. *The history of Tibet. Vol. 3.* (see no. 211), p. 455-488.

Discusses the role played by Nicholas Roerich and his son, George, as participant-observers in the development of relations of Mongolia and Tibet in the twentieth century. They were considered to be simultaneously Buddhists, Communists, Russian Nationalists, and Americans and actively pursued both Buddhist and Tibetan studies. The historical context of the relations between Russia and Tibet including the activities of Dorjiev is provided as a background to their travels including their Central Asian Expedition of 1924-1928.

3498. *Ryabinin, K.N. *Razvenchannyi Tibet. [Tibet uncrowned]*. Magnitigorsk, Amrita-Ural, 1996. Source: no. 223 and A. Tulskaya, personal communication.

The diaries of Konstantin Ryabinin, a physician who joined the Roerich expedition in Mongolia and accompanied it to Tibet.

See also nos 223, 1777, 2610, 3449.

4. THE LAST YEARS OF THE XIII DALAI LAMA, 1929-1933

Relations between Nepal and Tibet, always uneasy, deteriorated considerably in 1929 and almost led to war. The dispute originated in the arrest in 1928 of a trader, Sherpa Gyalpo, who claimed to be Nepalese but whom the Tibetans claimed was Tibetan. He escaped and was granted asylum in the Nepalese Residency in Lhasa. In August 1929 Tibetan police and troops surrounded the Residency and recaptured Sherpa Gyalpo who subsequently died in prison. After a number of exchanges between the two governments, which also involved complaints by Nepal at the general treatment of Nepalese subjects in Tibet, Nepal mobilised its forces. Great concern was felt in India at the possibility of war and advice was offered to both sides. The crisis passed with the death of Chandra Shamsher of Nepal in 1929 and after the Dalai Lama apologised in the following year for the incident.

Tibet had at no time broken off relations with China and in 1930 a deputation from the Dalai Lama was reported to be in Nanking. Two Chinese missions were also permitted to visit Lhasa. The first by Yungon Dzasa, the abbot of the Yungon Monastery in Peking, carried a letter from the Nanking Government which urged the Dalai Lama to re-establish friendly relations with China. The second was a semi-official mission led by Miss Liu Man-ch'ing, a translator in the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission of the Nanking Government. She met the Dalai Lama and conveyed the greetings of Chiang Kai-shek and his wish for closer ties between Tibet and China. However, possibly as a counter measure, Colonel Leslie Weir, the Political Officer in Sikkim, was invited to visit Lhasa in the same year to discuss problems that had arisen since Bailey's visit in 1924. Weir also visited Bhutan in 1931 to confer the insignia of the KCIE (Knight Commander of the British Empire) on the King of Bhutan. He supported the continued independence of Bhutan especially at a time of increased Chinese pressure on Tibet. In 1933 Frederick Williamson, who had succeeded Weir as Political officer in Sikkim, also visited Bhutan and Lhasa.

Towards the end of 1930 fighting broke out between two monasteries east of the Yangtse River. The Chinese sided with one of the monasteries and the Tibetans with the other. In 1931 representatives of the Nanking Government negotiated a truce but fighting continued sporadically in the border region until 1932 when the Dalai Lama requested the help of the Indian Government to try and end the dispute. Weir once again visited Lhasa and E.M.B. Ingram from the British Peking Legation visited Nanking to discuss the conflict with the Nationalist Government there. The British efforts were rejected by the Chinese but by the end of 1932 the fighting was gradually coming to an end and an armistice was concluded locally between the two forces. Whilst in Lhasa Weir also attempted to mediate in the dispute between the Panchen and Dalai Lamas, and to facilitate the return of the Panchen Lama to Tibet.

a) General

3499. Anon. 1930. Strange world intrigue in Central Asia. *China wkly Rev.* 52: 311-312, Apr. 26.

On a report, distributed through the Russian Tass News Agency, which maintains that the British Government is inciting the Nepalese Government to sever its relations with Tibet in the hope that the resulting conflict would bring Tibet completely under British influence. Also on a Chinese report which maintains that the Dalai Lama has appealed to China for help against the Nepalese Army.

3500. Anon. 1930. Representatives of Dalai Lama arrive in Nanking. *China wkly Rev.* 54: 39, Sept. 6.

Brief report on the arrival of the representatives who carried a letter from the Dalai Lama to the Nationalist Government.

3501. Anon. 1933. British Foreign Office denies facts of Tibetan policy. *China wkly Rev.* 63: 464-465, Feb. 18.

Discussion of the alleged agreement between Britain and Japan concerning Tibet and the denial by the British Foreign Office that 'a free hand in Tibet ... has [ever] been the ambition of' the British. The author considers this an 'extraordinary denial of established fact' and gives the reason for his opinion.

3502. Anon. 1933. The partition of West China. *China wkly Rev.* 65: 258-259, July 15.

On British activity in Szechuan as well as in Tibet.

3503. Bell, C.A. 1931/1932. Tibet's position in Asia today. *Foreign Affairs* 10: 134-144.

Account of Tibet's relations with, and attitudes towards Japan, Mongolia, Nepal, China, Britain and Russia at this time. Bell also discusses the growing influence of China in Tibet as instanced by recent Chinese missions to Lhasa.

3504. Burton, W. 1933. Next imperialist drama in Asia to be staged on high tablelands of Yunnan and Tibet. *China wkly Rev.* 66: 238-241, Oct. 7.

Examines the influence of France in Yunnan and Britain in Tibet. He also comments on possible developments in Tibet if the pro-British Dalai Lama dies and the pro-Chinese Panchen Lama returns to Tibet.

3505. Cressey, G.B. 1930. The new map of China. *Geogr. Rev.* 20: 652-656.

On the new map issued in 1930 showing the political divisions of China. The article also discusses the difficulties of determining the exact borders of areas such as Tibet at this time.

3506. Favre, B. 1930. La question mongole et la question tibetaine. *Revue de Paris* 37(1): 595-615.

The position of China in 1930 when Russia dominates Mongolia, the British Tibet, and Japan Manchuria. In discussing the Tibetan question Favre outlines Chinese-Tibetan relations in the past and the growing British power in Tibet in the twentieth century.

3507. Godwin, F. 1933. Britain's hand in Tibet. *People's Tribune* n.s. 4: 273-284.

Critical account of the history of British relations with Tibet and of the methods by which she gained her current influence in Tibet.

3508. Lee, D.J. 1930. National China re-establishes relations with the kingdom of Nepal. *China wkly Rev.* 55: 148-149, Dec. 27.

Report on the Chinese mission which visited Nepal in May 1930 led by a Councillor of the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission, and which Lee accompanied as secretary.

3509. Lumley, J. 1997. *Joanna Lumley in the kingdom of the thunder dragon*. London, BBC Books. 160 p.

Account of her visit to Bhutan retracing the route of her grandfather, Col. Weir, who was Political Officer in Sikkim from 1928 to 1932. Weir visited Bhutan in 1931 to confer the insignia of the KCIE on the King of Bhutan and Lumley's account includes historical photos and excerpts from journals kept by the Weirs during their trip.

3510. Manandhar, V.K. 1996. The Chinese missions of 1930 and 1932 to Nepal. *Rolamba* 16(3): 12-14, July-Sept. Reprinted in his *Cultural and political aspects of Nepal-China relations*. Delhi, Adroit Publishers, 1999, p. 101-106.

The 1930 mission was the first official mission to Nepal since the establishment of the Republic and aimed to establish friendly relations between the two countries. The 1932 mission was a special mission sent by the Nationalist Government of Chiang Kai-shek to confer honours on the Nepalese Prime Minister.

3511. Meng, C.Y.W. 1930. China's interest in the complications between Tibet and Nepal. *China wkly Rev.* 52: 329-333, Apr. 26.

Critical account of 'British attempts to annex Tibet' from 1772 and British subjugation of Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan as an explanation of the Nepalese 'invasion' of Tibet at this time. The views of a member of the Tibetan and Mongolian Affairs Commission at Nanking on current British aims in Tibet are also given.

3512. Meng, C.Y.W. 1930. The first Mongolian Conference in Nanking. *China wkly Rev.* 52: 525-528, May 31.

Strongly supports the holding of the Conference on Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs, the aim of which was to unite Tibet and Mongolia firmly within the Union of China. Interesting for its account of the Nationalist Government's policy and pronouncements towards these two areas in 1930.

3513. Meng, C.Y.W. 1930. Miss Liu's mission to Tibet. *China wkly Rev.* 54. 22-24, Sept. 6. Abstract entitled: The exploit of Miss Liu. *Lit. Digest* 107: 16, Nov. 1.

Report on his interview with Liu Man-ching who went on a mission to Tibet on behalf of the Nationalist Government in 1929-1930. During her three months in Lhasa she had several interviews with the Dalai Lama and established close relations with Lungshar before returning to China via India. She makes brief comments on the unrest between Nepal and Tibet which she said had been settled 'due to the mediation of the British consul'.

3514. Michael, F. 1982. *Rule by incarnation: Tibetan Buddhism and its role in society and state*. Boulder, Colorado, Westview Press. xii, 227 p.

Analyses the concepts that are central to Tibetan Buddhism and applies them to the social and political order in Tibet. It includes the last testament of the 13th Dalai Lama translated by Lobsang Lhalungpa as Appendix 1.

3515. Mishra, T.P. 1986. British role in the Nepal-Tibet crisis (1928-1930). *Voice of History* 9-11(1): 19-27.

This crisis, which followed the arrest of Sherpa Gyalpo in Lhasa in 1928, almost led to war between the two countries. This article provides details of the crisis and discusses the part played by the British through their representative, Laden La, in helping to solve the dispute.

3516. [Mojumdar, K.] 1990. Nepal, Tibet, China and India 1923-33: tangled web of Himalayan politics, by K. Majumdar. *South Asian Studies* 25(1-2): 144-168. Reprinted in *Encyclopaedia of SAARC nations. Vol. 5. Nepal*. Ed. by V. Grover. New Delhi, Deep & Deep, 1997, p. 514-545.
- Nepal-Tibet relations during this period were constantly strained. Political problems were caused by boundary disputes, Nepal's extra-territorial rights in Tibet, and Tibet's obligation to pay an annual tribute to Nepal. Crises were only averted by intense diplomatic efforts by the British. The article describes these crises concentrating on the Sherpa Gyalpo incident from 1928-1930 which almost resulted in war. During this period both Nepal and Tibet demanded arms from India. Also discusses the renewed contacts between Tibet and China.
3517. Mullin, G.H. 1987. The Great Thirteenth's last New Year sermon. *Tibetan Review* 22(10): 14-19; 22(11): 18-20.
- On his final testament issued shortly before his death in which he recounts the major themes of his life and advises his people on how they should proceed in the future. The second part of the article contains a translation of the Dalai Lama's last sermon.
3518. Penzel, H. 1931/1932. Tibet und die russisch-englische Spannung. *Kunstwart* 45: 731-734.
- Analyses the current relations of Tibet with Britain, Russia and China, and the tensions existing between these countries.
3519. Sauzey, J.A. 1933. Les influences étrangères en Chine. *Revue des Deux Mondes* 8 per., 14: 885-895.
- Includes a section 'L'action anglaise au Thibet' which examines British aid to, and interest in Tibet at this time.
3520. Stoddard, H. 1993. La mort du treizième dalai lama. *Lungta* no. 7: 2-7.
- Examines various versions of the last days of the 13th Dalai Lama and the confusion that followed his death.
3521. Xeirab Nyima. 1991. A special envoy of the Nanking regime. *China's Tibet* 2(4): 39-42.
- On Liu Manqing (Liu Man-chin) and her mission to Lhasa on behalf of the Kuomintang Government to investigate and strengthen ties between Tibet and China.

See also nos 2397-9, 2407-8, 2433, 2438, 2446, 2453, 2455, 2457-8, 2461, 2470, 2473, 2477, 2480-1, 2490, 2492-3, 3366, 3373, 3378, 3381, 3389, 3392-3, 3401, 3405-6, 3413, 3470-1, 3474, 3576, 3594, 3642, 3694-5.

b) Chinese-Tibetan border conflicts

3522. Anon. 1932. Une offensive tibétaine sur la frontière chinoise. *Asie fr.* 32: 313-314.
3523. Anon. 1932. The war on China's far-west border. *China wkly Rev.* 61: 351, Aug. 6.
3524. Anon. 1933. What's back of renewed Tibetan advance into Chinghai? *China wkly Rev.* 64: 248-249, Apr. 15.
Examines British military influence in Tibet and her supply of modern arms to, and training of, the Tibetan Army.
3525. Anon. 1933. Gen. Liu Wen-hui goes to Sikong to check Tibetan invasion. *China wkly Rev.* 66: 143, Sept. 23.
3526. Anon. 1933. Tibetan invaders repulsed by Yunnan troops. *China wkly Rev.* 66: 143-144, Sept. 23.
3527. Duncan, M.H. 1952. *The Yangtze and the yak; adventurous trails in and out of Tibet.* Alexandria, Virginia, the Author. x, 353 p.
Account of his journeys in the Chinese-Tibetan border region between 1929 and 1936 which includes information on the border wars of this period, especially the fighting in 1932 which he describes in the chapter 'Battles of Batang'.
3528. Edgar, J.H. 1930/1931. The great open lands; or What (a) is China's policy in the Tibetan Marches; and (b) its relation to mission programmes? *Jl W. China Border Res. Soc.* 4: 14-21.
A missionary's favourable view of Chinese activity in the border region of Tibet as he hopes that Chinese conquest might open Tibet to missionary endeavour.
3529. Lin, Hsiao-ting. 2002. National image, war, and tripartite interrelations between the Nationalists, Tibet, and the warlords in the early Nationalist era. *JOSA: J. orient. Soc. Aust.* 34: 16-45.
Examines the reasons for the development of an official relationship between Tibet and the Nationalist Chinese Government in 1929-1930 suggesting that it was the 13th Dalai Lama who initiated proceedings in order to try to rescue Tibet from a deteriorating financial crisis. The historical background to the Chinese-Tibetan relationship, the reasons for the currency crisis in Tibet, and the relations between Tibet, China and Britain since 1914 are discussed, as well as the border clashes which occurred between Tibet and the semi-independent warlord regimes of the Chinese South-West in 1930-1932. These revealed the inability of the Nanking Government to control the warlords and the weakness of the Nationalist regime.
3530. Meng, C.Y.W. 1931. Quarrel between two temples starts Central Asian war. *China wkly Rev.* 56: 199-200, Apr. 11.
On the invasion by Tibetan troops of the newly created province of Sikong, which forms a buffer between Tibet and Szechuan.

3531. Meng, C.Y.W. 1932. Szechuen-Sikong-Tibet tripartite entanglement. *China wkly Rev.* 61: 280-282, July 23.

Account of the fighting in the Chinese-Tibetan border region, the reasons for the dispute, and efforts made by the Nationalist Government to settle it. Also discusses the alleged secret Anglo-Tibetan agreement, lists its terms, and quotes the report made on it by the Moscow *Pravda*.

3532. Peng Wenbin. 2002. Frontier process, provincial politics and movements for Khampa autonomy during the Republican period. In: *Khams pa histories: visions of people, place and authority. PIATS 2000: Tibetan studies: proceedings of the Ninth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Leiden 2000*. Ed. by L. Epstein. Leiden, Brill, p. 57-84.

Analyses the Khampa autonomous movements of the 1930s on the Sino-Tibetan frontier.

See also nos 2408, 2425, 2438, 2446, 2453, 2455, 2470, 3389, 3392-3, 3552, 2568.

5. BRITAIN, CHINA AND TIBET 1933-1940

The XIII Dalai Lama died in December 1933 and for the next sixteen years Tibet was ruled by regents. In the period until the discovery of the new Dalai Lama Sino-British rivalry dominated Tibet's foreign relations. In 1934 a Chinese mission led by General Huang Mu-sung visited Lhasa ostensibly to pay tribute to the late Dalai Lama but in reality to promote closer relations with Tibet and to study conditions in Lhasa and also conditions on the Chinese-Tibetan border. As a counter measure the Indian Government sent Rai Bahadur Norbu Dhondup, a member of the staff of the Political Officer in Sikkim, to Lhasa. Soon after his arrival Huang began negotiations with the Tibetans in an attempt to settle the remaining differences between China and Tibet. Although these were unsuccessful the Tibetan Government agreed to the return of the Panchen Lama on the condition that a Chinese escort did not accompany him. This condition was ignored by the Nationalist Government which went ahead with its plans to send Chinese armed troops to Tibet with the Panchen Lama. To try and negotiate a settlement between the Lhasa Government and the Panchen Lama, Frederick Williamson, the Political Officer in Sikkim, visited Lhasa in 1935, but died there soon after his arrival. His successor, Basil Gould, arrived in Lhasa the following year accompanied by Brigadier P. Neame of the Indian Eastern Command who was to advise the Tibetans on military matters. After five months Gould returned to Sikkim leaving H.E. Richardson, the British Trade Agent at Gyantse, and a wireless officer, Reginald Fox, in Lhasa to maintain contact between Tibet and India. The establishment of this mission was largely to counteract the presence in Lhasa of two Chinese officers with a wireless transmitting set. These men had remained in Lhasa when General Huang Mu-sung returned to China.

Tibet was determined to resist by force the return of the Panchen Lama with Chinese troops but he died in December 1937 after reaching Jyekundo. China was also now involved in war with Japan and her attention was thus deflected from the Tibetan situation.

In 1938-1939 a German expedition led by Dr. Ernst Schäfer visited Tibet. Despite some opposition by the Indian Government Schäfer managed to get an invitation from the Tibetan Government and the expedition spent five months in Tibet with two months in Lhasa. Whilst in Lhasa they established good relations with Tibetan officials despite the opposition of Hugh Richardson, the British representative there.

Gould again visited Lhasa in 1940 to attend the installation of the XIV Dalai Lama. The Chinese were represented at this ceremony by Wu Chung-hsin, the Chairman of the Commission of Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs.

a) General

3533. Anon. 1933. Dalai Lama reported dead, Sikong dispute continues. *China wkly Rev.* 67: 148, Dec. 23.

Brief report on his death and on the military clashes which were again occurring in the Chinese-Tibetan border region.

3534. Anon. 1933. Death of Dalai Lama may give rise to complications in Tibet. *China wkly Rev.* 67: 208, Dec. 30.

Measures to be taken by the Nationalist Government at Nanking to bring Tibet under its control including the return of the Panchen Lama to Tibet.

3535. Anon. 1933. *Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet. List of chiefs and leading families.* Calcutta, Government of India Press. 26 p.

Includes information on Tibetan officials such as Lungshar, Tsarong, Ringang etc. and their contacts with the British.

3536. Anon. 1934. The crisis in Tibet and the Panchen Lama: lull in Tibetan invasion of West China. *China wkly Rev.* 67: 368-370, Feb. 3.

On the possibility of closer ties between China and Tibet through the influence of the Panchen Lama. Also discusses the modernisation of Tibet and the influence of Britain in Lhasa. Considers that unless the Panchen Lama makes his peace with the British he will be prevented from returning to Tibet.

3537. Anon. 1934. When is the Panchen Lama to go to Lhasa? *China wkly Rev.* 67: 466, Feb. 24.

Discusses the reasons for his delay and the continued British influence in Lhasa.

3538. Anon. 1934. Nanking takes steps to strengthen control over Tibet. *China wkly Rev.* 67: 477-478, Feb. 24.

Includes account of the planned appointment of a resident envoy in Lhasa and the return of the Panchen Lama.

3539. Anon. 1934. New alignment of British-Tibetan-Chinese relations. *China wkly Rev.* 68: 236-237, Apr. 14.
Reports that the modern and military party has gained control in Tibet and considers that even if the Panchen Lama returns to Tibet British influence in Lhasa will not be weakened.
3540. Anon. 1935. China's Tibet. *China Critic* 8(8): 173-174, Feb. 21.
Report on General Huang Mu-sung's mission to Tibet, British influence in Lhasa (through the army, postal and telegraph services, trade etc.), and the necessity of developing the highway between Tibet and Szechuan.
3541. Anon. 1936. F. Williamson, C.I.E., I.C.S., P.O. in Sikkim [obituary]. *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 23: 550-551.
3542. Anon. 1937. Panchen Lama dies in exile in Western China. *China wkly Rev.* 83: 40, Dec. 11.
3543. Anon. 1938. *Who's who in Tibet*. Corrected to the autumn of 1937 with a few subsequent additions up to February 1938. Calcutta, Government of India Press. 79 p.
A greatly expanded and revised edition of the Tibetan section of no. 3535.
3544. [Bailey, F.M.] 1941. On the Sino-Tibetan border incident, by F.M.B. *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 28: 379.
Comment on no. 3552. Criticises the author's anti-British and inaccurate account of the reasons why the Panchen Lama left Tibet in 1923.
3545. Bell, C. 1937. Tibet and its neighbours. *Pacific Affairs* 10: 428-440.
A study of the relations of Tibet with India and China in the twentieth century and the problems facing Tibet in 1937. Bell also mentions his influence with the Tibetans in the 1930's when both the Tibetan Government and agents of the Panchen Lama in China were seeking his advice.
3546. *Beger, B. 1998. *Mit der deutschen Tibetexpedition Ernst Schäfer 1938/39 nach Lhasa*. Wiesbaden, Schwarz. 280 p. Source: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.
3547. Benn, W. 1937. Tibet's place in the modern world. *Listener* 18: 279-281, Aug. 11.
Queries whether a theocracy like Tibet can continue to exist in the modern world. Describes recent events in Tibet, the rivalry between the Dalai and Panchen Lamas, and his own audience with the Panchen Lama in Hangchow. With the Panchen Lama about to return to Tibet Benn speculates on what his policy will be and whom he should fear most - China or Japan.
3548. Bernard, T. 1939. The peril of Tibet. *Asia* 39: 500-504, Sept.

Examines Tibet's strategic importance and mineral resources and warns of the danger of her being exploited by 'modern militarist powers previously held in check by the might of the British Empire' - especially Japan and to a lesser extent Germany and Italy. Also comments on some moves within Tibet for modernisation which he noticed when he visited Lhasa (see no. 3633)

3549. Bhatta, K.A. 1939. Die Grenzprobleme Indiens. *Z. Geopolitik* 16: 93-103.

Discusses the problems associated with India's borders at this time including her border with Tibet.

3550. Burton, W. 1935. Tug-of-war in Central Asia. II. The British in Tibet and Szechwan. *Asia* 35: 610-613, Oct.

Account of British influence in Tibet since 1910, the development and modernisation of the Tibetan Army, and British activity in Western Szechuan. Also discusses the relations between Tibet, China and Britain following the death of the Dalai Lama in 1933.

3551. Cooper, J. 2001. The swastika and Tibet. *Tibetan Review* 36(7): 19-23.

Examines the ideas of Helena Blavatsky and her use of the swastika, and the effect of her views on Germans, especially the Nazis. Discusses the formation of the SS-Ahnenerbe by Himmler and the aims and conduct of the Schäfer expedition to Tibet. Also notes British views on the expedition at the time.

3552. David-Neel, A. 1941. Tibetan border intrigue. *Asia* 41: 219-222, May.

Concerns events on the Chinese-Tibetan border in the three years following the death of the Panchen Lama in 1937 when his supporters intrigued to try and set up a Tibetan state independent of the Lhasa Government. Also discusses the rivalry that had existed between the Dalai and Panchen Lamas, the flight of the Panchen Lama to China and his intrigues there to return to Tibet by force.

3553. Dhondup, K. 1993. Les régents Réting et Tagdra. *Lungta* no. 7: 11-20.

Reting Rinpoche was appointed regent following the death of the 13th Dalai Lama. He was replaced by Taktra Rinpoche in 1940.

3554. Enders, G.B. 1934. A new rôle for the Panchen Lama. *Asia* 34: 462-467, Aug.

Account of the political activities of the Panchen Lama after he reached Nanking in 1932. Enders also describes his interview with the Panchen Lama which led to his appointment as the Lama's adviser, and comments on the rivalry between the Panchen and Dalai Lamas and the contacts of the Dalai Lama with the British.

3555. Enders, G.B. 1936. *Nowhere else in the world*. By G.B. Enders with E. Anthony. London, Hurst & Blackett. 304 p.
[Reviewed: *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 23: 548-549, 1936]

Account of his life on the Indian-Tibetan border near Almora at the turn of the century, and in China where he claims he acted as adviser to the Panchen Lama from 1932 to 1937. Also describes Anglo-Tibetan-Chinese relations from 1900-

1933 with many inaccuracies, and discloses the Panchen Lama's plans for the future of Tibet. For the Panchen Lama's refutation of this work see no. 3581.

3556. Enders, G.B. 1945. *Foreign devil: an American Kim in modern Asia*. London, J. Gifford. 246 p.

Enders claims to have acted as adviser to the Panchen Lama from 1932 to 1937 in China. He describes his association with him, the Lama's activities in China and his attempts to return to Tibet, and events taking place in Tibet during this period.

3557. Engelhardt, I. 2003. The Ernst-Schaefer-Tibet-Expedition (1938-1939): new light on the political history of Tibet in the first half of the 20th Century. In: A. McKay, ed. *Tibet and her neighbours: a history*. London, Edition Hansjörg Mayer, p. 187-195.

Based on primary sources including Schäfer's diaries the article aims to demystify this controversial expedition which many consider to have been sponsored by the Nazis. It gives a short summary of Schäfer's life, a description of the expedition and attempts by the British to prevent it, and information on the Regent, Reting Rinpoche, his contacts with Schäfer and his letter to Hitler. Concludes that Schäfer approached this expedition as a scientist and that the goals of the expedition were scientific not political, esoteric or occult. Its success in both the collection of substantial scientific material and in improving Tibet-German relations was due to the negotiating skills and the personalities of Schäfer and the other members of the expedition. For a different interpretation of this Expedition see no. 3562.

3558. Freyn, H. 1938. Intrigues on the roof of the world. *China J.* 29: 192-196.

Account of the rivalry between the followers of the deceased Panchen and Dalai Lamas and the interest of Britain, China, Russia and Japan in its outcome.

3559. Gelek, Surkhang Wangchen. 1983. Tibet: the critical years (part III). The regent Reting Rinpoche. *Tibet J.* 8(2): 33-39.

Reting Rinpoche became regent following the death of the 13th Dalai Lama and held this post until he was replaced in 1940. His accomplishments and failures are assessed and an account given of subsequent attempts to reinstate him as Regent.

3560. Greve, R. 1995. Tibetforschung im SS-Ahnenerbe. In: T. Hauschild, ed. *Lebenslust und Fremdenfurcht: ethnologie im Dritten Reich*. Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp, p. 168-199.

On Schäfer's Tibet expedition in 1938-1939, its background, and the support of Himmler and the SS-Ahnenerbe. Also examines later German plans for expeditions to Tibet and Inner Asia.

3561. Greve, R. 1997. Das Tibet-Bild der Nationalsozialisten. In: T. Dodin and H. Räther, eds. *Mythos Tibet*. Köln, DuMont, p. 104-113.

On Schäfer's expedition to Tibet and on the Nazi's imagination of Tibet and Tibetans as revealed by the views of both Schäfer and Bruno Beger. Also examines the foundation of the Sven Hedin-Institut für Innerasienforschung and Schäfer's future plans to visit Tibet via Russia which were abandoned in 1943.

3562. Hale, C. 2003. *Himmler's crusade: the true story of the 1938 Nazi expedition into Tibet*. London, Bantam Press. xix, 422 p.

Based on diaries, letters and secret reports it examines the expedition to Lhasa led by Ernst Schäfer and Bruno Beger and its association with Himmler and the Nazi Party. Includes a detailed account of British hostility to the expedition, how this was circumvented by Schäfer to get an invitation to Lhasa, and highlights the antipathy felt by some Tibetan officials to the British at this time. It also covers Schäfer's earlier expeditions with Brooke Dolan to the Sino-Tibetan border in 1931 and 1934-1935 and explores the ideological roots of the Nazi's obsession with racial theory and the occult. For a different interpretation of this Expedition see no. 3557.

3563. Hanson-Lowe, J. 1940. A journey along the Chinese-Tibetan border. *Geogr. J.* 95: 357-367.

Account, with map, of his journey made in 1937 to study geomorphological problems in the area. It includes reference to the unrest and fighting occurring between Chinese and Tibetans at this time.

3564. Howard, H.P. 1934. Dalai Lama's death brings crisis to Tibet. *China wkly Rev.* 67: 341-342, Jan. 27.

Discusses the rivalry in Tibet between the conservative pro-Chinese lamas and the modern pro-British element which was mainly in control of the army.

3565. [Le Palud, A.] 1934. What the Panchen Lama told a French newspaperman. *China wkly Rev.* 67: 456-457, Feb. 17.

On his interview with the Panchen Lama, and the views of the Lama on the death of the Dalai Lama, the army, and the new Regent of Tibet.

3566. Lee, J. 1934. Chinese mission to Nepal. *China wkly Rev.* 70: 400-401, Nov. 17.

Account of the mission sent to Nepal in 1934 by the Nationalist Government. Lee considers that with the new situation in Tibet, relations between China and Nepal will increase in importance.

3567. Lillico, S. 1934. The Panchen Lama. *China J.* 21: 96-99.

Account of the activities of the Panchen Lama since his flight from Tibet in 1923 and especially since the death of the Dalai Lama in December 1933. Comments on General Huang Mu-sung's mission to Lhasa are also included.

3568. Lin, Hsiao-ting. 2002. The 1934 Chinese mission to Tibet; a re-examination. *Jl R. Asiat Soc.* 12(3): 327-341.

Re-examines the mission of Huang Mu-sung (Huang Musong) in the light of newly released Chinese sources. It provides the historical background to the mission and discusses whether it succeeded in restoring China's authority in Tibet. It also examines the significance of the mission for Nationalist China's frontier agenda in the 1930s and highlights the difference of opinion between Huang and Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Jingwei on how to deal with Tibet and the problems on the border.

3569. Lin, Tung-hai. 1935. A six-month sojourn in Tibet. *People's Tribune* n.s. 10; 223-234, Aug. 16.

Lin accompanied the 1934 Chinese mission to Lhasa. He describes their journey, lists the instructions given the mission before it left Nanking, and emphasises the importance of improving the overland route between China and Tibet.

3570. McCarthy, R.E. 1997. *Tears of the lotus: accounts of Tibetan resistance to the Chinese invasion, 1950-1962*. Jefferson, North Carolina, McFarland & Co. v, 290 p.

His account of post 1950 events is preceded by a detailed history of Tibet's relations with China and Britain including the period from 1933 following the death of the Dalai Lama. He also describes the position of the Tibetan Army in the twentieth century.

3571. McKay, A. 2001. Hitler and the Himalayas: the SS Mission to Tibet 1938-39. *Tricycle* 10(3): 64-68, 90-93.

On the diplomatic and quasi-scientific mission led by Schäfer to Lhasa which aimed to establish relations between Nazi Germany and Tibet. It was also to search for the remnants of an imagined Aryan race hidden on the Tibetan plateau which could prove to be the legendary forefathers of the German race. The article explores the theories behind the ideas which led to the myth of German racial superiority and the connection with Tibet. It also examines Schäfer's background and his relationship with the SS-Ahnenerbe, the progress of the mission, and the British reaction to it.

3572. McKay, A. 2002. Swastikas, medicine, and Tibet. *Wellcome History* no. 20: 10-12, June.

Examines the Schäfer expedition to Tibet concentrating on the importance of the expedition to medical historians interested in the encounter between Western and Asian medical systems. Also discusses the history of the introduction of Western medicine to Tibet by the British.

3573. Manandhar, V.K. 1996. The Chinese missions of 1934 and 1946 to Nepal. *Rolamba* 16(4): 4-8. Reprinted in his *Cultural and political aspects of Nepal-China relations*. Delhi, Adroit Publishers, 1999, p. 107-116.

Although Nepal showed no inclination to maintain relations with China, the Nationalist Government sent four missions to Nepal in 1930, 1932, 1934 and 1946 to confer titles and present robes to the Rana Prime Ministers. This article describes the last two missions.

3574. Mason, K. 1936. Frederick Williamson, 1891-1935 [obituary]. *Himalayan J.* 8: 141-142.

3575. Mason, K. 1936. The Himalaya as a barrier to modern communications. *Geogr. J.* 87: 1-16.

On the difficulties of crossing the Himalayas even in 1936 with the advent of the aeroplane.

3576. Maybon, A. 1934. Le Tibet sous le règne et après la mort du Dalai Lama. *Asie fr.* 34: 55-58.

Account of the foreign relations of Tibet during the reign of the 13th Dalai Lama, and speculation on the future of Tibet now that his strong hand has been removed.

3577. Mehra, P. 2003. From conflict to conciliation: Tibetan polity revisited. In: A. McKay, ed. *Tibet and her neighbours: a history*. London, Edition Hansjörg Mayer, p. 177-185.

On relations between the 13th Dalai Lama and the 9th Panchen Lama and the reasons for the failure of negotiations for the return of the Panchen Lama to Tibet in the 1930s as a background to the relations between the 14th Dalai Lama and the 10th Panchen Lama.

3578. Meng, C.Y.W. 1933. Tibet after the death of the Dalai Lama. *China wkly Rev.* 67: 204-205, Dec. 30.

Speculates on the consequences of his death and urges the Nationalist Government to send a strong man to Tibet to take advantage of the situation. Also comments on British influence in Lhasa and their expected opposition to the return of the Panchen Lama to Tibet.

3579. Meng, C.Y.W. 1934. The truth about the Tibet-Hsikong situation. *China wkly Rev.* 68: 297, Apr. 21.

On the end of the fighting on the Chinese-Tibetan border and plans for the return of the Panchen Lama to Tibet including his conversation with Sir Alexander Cadogan, the new British Minister to China. Feels that hopes are bright for Tibetan and Chinese cooperation in the future.

3580. Meng, C.Y.W. 1939. Tibetans are praying for China's victory. *China wkly Rev.* 88: 205, Apr. 15.

Maintains that Tibet is eager to help China in the war against Japan.

3581. [Panchen Lama] 1936. A letter from the Tashi Lama refuting statements in Gordon Enders' book, *Nowhere else in the world*. *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 23: 720.

This letter, signed Panchen Erdeni, is to Mr Basil Crump whom he had known for many years in China and who had brought Enders' book (see. no. 3555) to his notice. In it the Panchen Lama states that 'Enders strange statements [on various commercial and political schemes of the Panchen Lama] are entirely without foundation or fact'.

3582. Pemba, T.Y. 1957. *Young days in Tibet*. London, Jonathon Cape. 184 p.

Pemba grew up in the Chumbi Valley but also spent time in Lhasa where his father worked at the British Mission in the late 1930s. He describes Lhasa at that time and life at the British Mission.

3583. Pemba, T.[Y.] 1977. Tibetan reminiscences. *Tibetan Review* 12(7): 22-25.

His memories of the British in Yatung in the 1930s and his time in Lhasa at the British Mission. Also includes comments on Reting Rinpoche.

3584. *Penzel, H. 1937. Kampf um Innerasien. Um dem englischen Einfluss in Tibet. *Garbe* 20: 240-242. Source: no. 10.
3585. Philby, H.A.R. 1936. Tibet: Bollwerk oder Durchzugsweg? *Z. Geopolit.* 13: 427-435, 512-519.
On the strategic importance of Tibet and her relations with India and China.
3586. Richardson, H. E. 1977. General Huang Mu-sung at Lhasa, 1934. *Bull. Tibetol.* no. 1: 31-35. Reprinted in his *High peaks, pure earth* (see no. 1869), p. 431-436.
Account, derived from Tibetan sources, of the Chinese mission headed by General Huang Mu-sung which was sent to Lhasa following the death of the 13th Dalai Lama. Also includes comments on British reactions to the Mission.
3587. Richardson, H.E. 1995. Direct experience of independent Tibet, 1936-1949. In: A. Kumar, ed. *Tibet: a sourcebook*. New Delhi, Radiant Publishers, p. 62-63.
3588. Rogers, M.J. 2000. The SS-Ahnenerbe and the 1938/1939 German-Tibet expedition. Thesis (M.A.) Georgia State University, College of Arts and Sciences. 102 p. Source: no. 30.
On the German Scientific Expedition led by Dr Ernst Schäfer which conducted research in Tibet and Sikkim in 1938-1939 and was subsidised in part by Heinrich Himmler.
3589. *Schäfer, E. 1943. *Geheimnis Tibet, erster Bericht der deutschen Tibet-Expedition, Ernst Schäfer, 1938/39*. Munich, F. Bruckmann. 183 p. Source: Library of Congress Catalogue.
Account of his mission to Lhasa.
3590. Schäfer, E. 1949. *Fest der weissen Schleier; eine Forscherfahrt durch Tibet nach Lhasa der heiligen Stadt des Gottkönigtums*. Braunschweig, Vieweg. 199 p.
Account of his 1938-1939 expedition to Tibet which was authorised by Tibetan authorities without the mediation of the Political Officer in Sikkim. His work includes comments on his journey and on prominent Tibetan officials at this time.
3591. Song Liming. 1997. General Huang Musong's Mission to Lhasa and the Sino-Tibetan negotiations in 1934. In: *Tibetan studies: proceedings of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Graz, 1995*. Ed. by H. Krasser et al. Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, p. 903-916.
Based on Chinese official records which have only recently become available.

3592. Soong, N. 1940. "See you in Tibet". *Asia* 40: 651-654, Dec.

On the establishment of Sikong Province by the Nationalist Chinese Government on January 1, 1939, which incorporated a large area of Eastern Tibet, the reasons for its establishment, its future prospects and the difficulties encountered.

3593. Thinley, P. 1991. Obituary: Jigme Taring (1908-1991). *Tibetan Review* 26(7): 9-10.

Taring held a number of posts in the Tibetan Government including military officer, construction engineer, and English interpreter to most of the main meetings between British and Tibetan officials. The British also trained him in the use of guns and explosives in the 1920's in Gyantse.

3594. Williamson, M.D. 1987. *Memoirs of a political officer's wife in Tibet, Sikkim and Bhutan*. Written in collaboration with J. Snelling. London, Wisdom Publications. 240 p.
[Reviewed: W.Peters, *Asian Affairs* 20: 82-83, 1989; A.A.Moon, *Tibetan Review* 26(12): 18-19, 1991]

Detailed and interesting account of life, travels and events in these countries from 1933 to 1935 by the wife of Frederick Williamson, Political Officer in Sikkim during this period, who accompanied her husband on his three visits to Lhasa. Her memoirs cover an important period in Tibet's history including the death of the 13th Dalai Lama, the efforts of the Chinese to establish their influence in Tibet following his death, and negotiations concerning the return of the Panchen Lama. There is also information on Tibetan and Bhutanese officials of that time.

See also nos 223, 255, 404, 1777, 1791, 2397, 2406, 2408, 2414, 2423, 2433, 2438, 2446, 2455, 2457, 2470, 2473, 2477, 2480-1, 2486-7, 2490, 2492-3, 3014, 3366-7, 3373, 3378-81, 3386-8, 3389, 3398, 3400, 3402, 3413, 3471, 3641-2, 3778, 4017.

b) Gould's Missions to Lhasa and the discovery of the Dalai Lama

3595. Anon. 1937. Lhasa Mission, 1936: extracts from diary of events. *J. un. Serv. Instn India* 67: 248-260, 434-449.

Extracts dated from July 31, 1936 when Gould's party assembled at Gangtok in order to proceed to Lhasa, to January 31, 1937 when the party was still in Lhasa.

3596. Anon. 1940. Three nations hunt a lama. *Living Age* 357: 430-433, Jan.

Report on the arrival of the Dalai Lama in Lhasa, the interest of Britain, China and Tibet in the new reincarnation, and the difficulty for Britain to carry out her aspirations in Lhasa at this time.

3597. Bailey, F.M. 1957. Sir Basil Gould, C.M.G., C.I.E. [obituary]. *Geogr. J.* 123: 280-281.

3598. Barker, R. 1975. *One man's jungle: a biography of F. Spencer Chapman, D.S.O.* London, Chatto & Windus. x, 374 p.
[Reviewed: O.Caroo, *Asian Affairs* 63: 190-191, 1976]

Includes an account of Gould's mission to Lhasa in 1936 which Chapman accompanied as Gould's personal assistant, together with information on the personnel of the mission. There is also an account of the ascent of Chomolhari.

3599. Billington, J. 1985. Captain H.G. Staunton (I.M.S.), Lhasa 1940. *J. Tibet Soc. U.K.* Summer, p. 10-12.

Staunton was the medical officer attached to Gould's Mission to Lhasa in 1940 and he stayed there until at least 1943. Briefly describes the installation of the Dalai Lama, Staunton's life in Lhasa, and events that occurred during this period.

3600. Chapman, F.S. 1937. Tibetan horizon. *Sight and Sound* 6(23): 122-125, Autumn.

Chapman was in charge of photography on Gould's 1936 Mission. He describes the equipment and film used and the difficulties encountered filming in Tibet. He also describes the interest of the Tibetans in the films he took. The article is illustrated by some of Chapman's photos.

3601. Chapman, F.S. 1938. A kodachrome film of Tibet. *Photogr. J.* 78: 262-266.

Lecture given by Chapman on his visit to Tibet in 1936-1937 with Gould, to accompany the film he made of Tibet.

3602. Chapman, F.S. 1938. Lhasa in 1937. *Geogr. J.* 91: 497-507.

Account of his journey and stay in Lhasa as Private Secretary to Basil Gould, and of his ascent of Chomolhari in 1937.

3603. Chapman, F.S. 1938. *Lhasa: the holy city*. London, Chatto & Windus. xii, 332 p. Reprinted: Freeport, N.Y., Books for Libraries Press, 1972. [Reviewed: H.W.Tobin, *Himalayan J.* 11: 200-201, 1939; E.H.C.W., *Geogr. J.* 93: 259-260, 1939; *Scott. geogr. Mag.* 55: 119-120, 1939]

Detailed account of his experiences as a member of Gould's mission to Lhasa.

3604. Chapman, F.S. 1951. *Memoirs of a mountaineer: Helvellyn to Himalaya [and] Lhasa; the holy city*. London, Chatto & Windus. 446 p.

3605. Chapman, F.S. 1953. *Living dangerously*. London, Chatto & Windus. 190 p.

His experiences travelling to Lhasa and of the ascent of Chomolhari. Very general work derived from broadcasts he made for the BBC.

3606. Croston, R. 2002. The story of AC4YN - a radio adventure in Tibet, 1936. *Radcom* 78(6): 39-40.

Describes the experiences of Lt Evan Nepean who, with Sidney Dagg, was one of the two radio operators who accompanied Gould to Lhasa in 1936. As well as maintaining regular contact with India, Nepean contacted many amateurs using his call sign AC4YN which was also used by Dagg, and later by Reginald Fox who replaced Nepean when he returned to India in 1936. Based on interviews with

Nepean in 2000-2001, and illustrated by photos associated with transporting the radio equipment to Lhasa, and of Nepean.

3607. Gelek, Surkhang Wangchen. 1983. Tibet: the critical years (part IV). The discovery of the XIVth Dalai Lama. *Tibet J.* 8(3): 37-44.

3608. Goodman, M.H. 1986. *The last Dalai Lama: a biography*. London, Sidgwick & Jackson. xiii, 364 p.

The life of the 14th Dalai Lama in an historical context including an account of Sino-Tibetan relations prior to 1950 and attempts by Tibet to demonstrate its independence prior to the Chinese invasion.

3609. Gould, B.J. 1941. *Report on the discovery, recognition, and installation of the fourteenth Dalai Lama*. New Delhi, Printed by the Government of India Press. 25 p. Reprinted with comment by Alastair Lamb in A. McKay, ed. *The history of Tibet. Vol. 3.* (see no. 211), p. 545-572.

Gould attended the installation of the XIV Dalai Lama in Lhasa in 1940. He describes his discovery, the ceremony of his installation, and the audience granted to the British delegation by the Dalai Lama. Also provides background information on Tibet and its government (see also no. 3618).

3610. Gould, B.J. 1946/1947. The discovery of the fourteenth Dalai Lama. *Geogr. Mag., Lond.* 19: 246-258.

Includes paintings of some of the major personalities in Tibet at this time such as the Regent, Reting Rinpoche.

3611. Gould, B. 1950. Tibet. *United Empire* 41: 293-295.

Describes Tibet as he remembers it from his visits there in 1936, 1940, and 1944.

3612. Gould, B.J. 1957. *The jewel in the lotus; recollections of an Indian political*. London, Chatto & Windus. xiv, 252 p.
[Reviewed: J.E.F.Gueritz, *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 44: 246, 1957]

Autobiography which includes an account of his term as British Trade Agent in Gyantse in 1912-1913, and his visits to Lhasa in 1936, 1940, and 1944 when he was Political Officer in Sikkim.

3613. Harris, C. and Shakya, T. 2003. *Seeing Lhasa: British depictions of the Tibetan capital 1936-1947*. Chicago, Serindia. viii, 168 p.

Issued to accompany the exhibition of the same name organised by the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford following the donation of Tibetan photographs, albums and film by Harry Staunton, Evan Nepean and Hugh Richardson. These complemented other Tibetan photographs held at the Museum taken by Charles Bell, Henry Martin and Frederick Spencer Chapman. This richly illustrated work includes many of these photos, some of which are portraits of notable Tibetan figures, both religious and political, whilst others document aspects of Tibet life. The accompanying essays provide an historical background and describe the relations between the British and Tibetans during this period. There are also biographical notes on the British officials and information on their collections in the Museum.

3614. Neame, P. 1939. Tibet and the 1936 Lhasa Mission. *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 26: 234-246.
3615. Neame, P. 1947. *Playing with strife; the autobiography of a soldier.* London, G.G. Harrap. 352 p.
Neame accompanied the Gould mission to Lhasa in 1936-1937 to advise the Tibetan Government on military affairs. His autobiography includes an account of the mission and descriptions of the Tibetan Army and officials at this time.
3616. Richardson, H.E. 1998. Reports on the arrival in Lhasa of the new Dalai Lama. In his *High peaks, pure earth.* Ed. by M. Aris. London, Serindia Publications, p. 672-678.
3617. Tobin, H.W. 1957. Sir Basil Gould, C.M.G., C.I.E. 1883-1956 [obituary]. *Himalayan J.* 20: 139; *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 44: 4.
3618. Wangdu, Khemey Sonam, Gould, B.J. and Richardson, H.E. 2000. *Discovery, recognition, and enthronement of the 14th Dalai Lama: a collection of accounts.* Dharamsala, Library of Tibetan Works & Archives. viii, 119 p.
The first part (p. 1-52) is an eyewitness account by Khemey Sonam Wangdu, an assistant to the principal officer who led the search party to Amdo to discover the Dalai Lama; the second part (p. 53-102) reprints the report by Gould (see no. 3609); the third part (p. 102-119) reprints the article 'Tibetan Lamas in Western eyes' by Richardson (see no 1868)

See also nos 141, 223, 255, 1865, 2397, 2408, 2430, 2446, 2449, 2455, 2463, 2470, 2473, 2477, 2492-3, 3366, 3381, 3389, 3460.

6. TRAVEL IN SOUTHERN AND EASTERN TIBET 1914-1939

Charles Bell, on his visit to Lhasa in 1921, suggested that a small number of European visitors be permitted to visit Tibet, and in the following years a number of official and unauthorised journeys occurred. Bell also gained permission for a reconnaissance expedition to visit Mt Everest. This took place in 1921, and a major expedition followed it in 1922. The Tibetan Government sanctioned a third expedition in 1924, but following misunderstandings resulting from actions by members of this expedition (see nos 3362, 3441, 3459, 3480), permission was withheld for further expeditions until 1932.

a) General

3619. Anon. 1921. [British expedition to Tibet]. *Am. J. phys. Anthropol.* 4(1): 107, Jan/Mar.
Brief report that a British expedition had left Peking for Tibet in December 1920

led by Capt. Eve and Major White. Their main object was to study the geology and population of Tibet.

3620. Anon. 1924. Dr McGovern's visit to Lhasa. *Geogr. J.* 63: 170-171.

Condemnation of his journey (see no. 3654), his sensational style in reporting it [in the *Daily Telegraph*], and the disservice to good relations with Tibet such illegal journeys as his could cause.

3621. Anon. 1929. Minor Himalayan travels: Lieut. J.A. Davies. *Himalayan J.* 1: 97.

Account of his journey with Lieut. E.E.N. Sandeman in April and May 1928 to Gyantse via the Chumbi Valley.

3622. Anon. 1929. Letters from Tibet, by The Wanderer. *Assam Review* 2(5): 379-380, July.

Letter dated June 1, 1929 from Gyantse, Tibet, which describes his journey from Sikkim to Gyantse with the British Trade Agent stationed at Gyantse.

3623. Anon. 1929. Extracts from my diary of a pilgrimage in Tibet, by The Wanderer. *Assam Review* 2(8-10): 123-127, 210-214, 307-310, Oct.-Dec.

Letter dated June 4, 1929 from Gyantse which gives an expanded account of no. 3622.

3624. Anon. 1933. Where the Indian Empire ends: a journey to our outposts in Tibet, by C.L.McD. *Field* 162: 799, Sept. 23.

Brief account of his visit to Gyantse, Tibet.

3625. Anon. 1934. A journey to Bhutan. *Himalayan J.* 6: 143-145.

Account of the 1933 journey to Bhutan of F. Williamson and his wife, and G. Sherriff and F. Ludlow. Williamson travelled on duty as Political Officer in Sikkim, whilst Ludlow and Sherriff, who also crossed into Tibet, travelled on a natural history trip. They visited Yamdrok Tso and Gyantse before returning to India through the Chumbi Valley.

3626. Anon. 1936. With the Tibet detachments, by 'Mugger'. *J. un. Serv. Instrn India* 66: 181-184.

In 1933 he commanded the detachments of his battalion that went to Gyantse to relieve another unit. He describes their life in Gyantse and the conditions there.

3627. Anon. 1941. Journey in Southern Tibet. *Geogr. J.* 97: 267.

Brief note on G. Tucci's journey to Shigatse in 1939.

3628. Bailey, F.M. 1924. Through Bhutan and Southern Tibet. *Geogr. J.* 64: 291-297.

As Political officer in Sikkim, Bailey visited Bhutan in 1922 to present the insignia of the G.C.I.E. to the Maharaja of Bhutan. He describes his journey to Bumtang and from there north to Yam-drok Tso and Gyantse in Tibet. He was

accompanied by H.R.C. Meade of the Survey of India and a short account by Meade of the survey work entitled 'Note on Bhutan and South Tibet surveys 1922' is included in an appendix.

3629. Bailey, F.M. 1925. Note on a portion of the Tsangpo. *Geogr. J.* 66: 519-522.

Describes his journey down the Tsangpo to Tsetang following his 1924 visit to Lhasa. This journey completed the survey of the Tsangpo between the point mapped by surveyors on the Younghusband Expedition in 1904, and Tsetang which Bailey and Morshead reached in 1913. A sketch map of his route is included.

3630. Bailey, F.M. 1930. Travels in Bhutan. *J. cent. Asian Soc.* 17: 206-220.

Account of the visits of previous British officials to Bhutan and his own journeys there in 1913 and 1922.

3631. Bailey, F.M. 1935. Bhutan: a land of exquisite politeness. *Geogr. Mag., Lond.* 1: 85-97.

Account of Bhutan, British relations with that state, and Bailey's journeys there in 1913 with Morshead, and officially in 1922, when he also travelled in Southern Tibet.

3632. Bernard, T. 1939. An American in Lhasa. *Asia* 39: 139-147, March.

Bernard, an American Buddhist scholar, received permission from the Regent of Tibet to visit Lhasa to study Tibetan Buddhism. He describes his stay there and his meetings with Tibetan officials. Illustrated with many photos.

3633. Bernard, T. 1939. *Penthouse of the Gods: a pilgrimage into the heart of Tibet and the sacred city of Lhasa*. New York, C. Scribner's Sons. xii, 344 p. London edition has title: *Land of a thousand Buddhas*.

Account of his journey to Gyantse in 1937 and his visit to Lhasa where he stayed with Tsarong and met many of the leading people in Tibet, both religious and secular.

3634. Brace, A.J. 1935. Brigadier General Pereira. *Jl W. China Border Res. Soc.* 7: 29-30.

Pereira travelled from China to India via Lhasa in 1921-1922.

3635. Brown, M.P. 1922. A welcome guest in forbidden Tibet. *Asia* 22: 179-185, 230, March.

Account of her journey to Gyantse in 1915 with her husband who had been sent to study the art of Tibet.

3636. Buchanan, W. 1919. A recent trip to the Chumbi Valley, Tibet. *Geogr. J.* 53: 403-410. Abstract: *Far East. Rev.* 15: 768-769, Dec.

Describes his journey and the changes that have occurred in the Valley since the Younghusband Expedition mainly due to the disappearance of Chinese influence.

3637. Byron, R. 1933. *First Russia then Tibet*. London, Macmillan. xvi, 328 p.
Reprinted: Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1985.

[Reviewed: T. Weir, *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 21: 342-344, 1934; A.M.W., *Scott. geogr. Mag.* 50: 249-250, 1934]

On his journey in the early 1930s to Gyantse via Sikkim and the Chumbi Valley. Includes information on his contacts with British officials such as Bell and Macdonald and provides an insight into the life of the trade agents in Tibet especially in Gyantse.

3638. Chapman, F.S. 1938. The ascent of Chomolhari, 1937. *Himalayan J.* 10: 126-144.

Chapman gained permission from the Tibetan and Bhutanese Governments to climb the mountain following his return from Lhasa with Gould.

3639. Cooper, J. 1986. Theos Bernard, fact and fiction. *Tibetan Review* 21(4): 11-15.

Examines his account of his visit to Tibet (see no. 3633), his contact with British officials, and the inaccuracies in his book.

3640. Cutting, S. 1936. In Lhasa - the forbidden. *Nat. Hist., N.Y.* 37: 102-126, Feb.

Account of his journey to Shigatse and Lhasa in 1935 (see no. 3642).

3641. Cutting, S. 1938. "Forbidden" Lhasa revealed. *Ill. Lond. News* 192: 430-433, March 12.

Account of Lhasa and the political situation in Tibet following the death of the 13th Dalai Lama.

3642. Cutting, S. 1940. *The fire ox and other years*. New York, C. Scribner's Sons. xviii, 393 p.

[Reviewed: F.M.B[ailey], *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 28: 219-220, 1941; W.L.S., *Geogr. J.* 98: 54-55, 1941]

Suydam Cutting, an American traveller, made three journeys to Tibet in 1930, 1935 and 1937, the latter two to Lhasa at the invitation of the Tibetan Government. On his first journey he began a correspondence with the Dalai Lama which continued up until the Dalai Lama's death in 1933. In this correspondence Cutting was asked to approach the American Government on Tibet's behalf as regards currency and trade. On his 1935 trip Cutting, who had virtually become accepted as the Tibetan representative in the United States, was accompanied by an Englishman, Arthur Vernay. In Lhasa they were treated as official guests and had close relations with Tsarong, and also received British cooperation and help. His description of his 1937 journey includes information on British officials in contact with, and in, Tibet at this time.

3643. Davie, J. 1938. A visit to Bhutan. *Asiat. Rev.* 34: 249-252.

Davie accompanied Sir John Anderson, Governor of Bengal, to Bhutan in 1935 at the invitation of Sir Jigme Wangchuk. He describes their journey which took them to the Chumbi Valley and Phari in Tibet on their way to Bhutan.

3644. Davie, J. 1938/1939. Forbidden Bhutan. *J. Manchr geogr. Soc.* 49: 57-63.
3645. Easton, J. 1928. *An unfrequented highway through Sikkim and Tibet to Chumolaori*. London, Scholartis Press. xii, 133 p. Reprinted: New Delhi, Asian Educational Services, 1997.
[Reviewed: W. Beynon, *J. cent. Asian Soc.* 15: 479-480, 1928]
Describes his journey to just beyond Phari in 1923 with Dr Bishop. On their return McGovern joined them on his way back from Lhasa. An account of McGovern's journey (see no. 3654) is included and also a history of the trade agency at Yatung.
3646. Fawcus, L.R. 1930. Bird notes of a journey to Gyantse. *Himalayan J.* 2: 29-34.
Account of his journey made in August-September 1929.
3647. Fletcher, H.R. 1975. *A quest for flowers: the plant explorations of Frank Ludlow and George Sherriff told from their diaries and occasional writings*. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press. xxix, 378 p.
Detailed account of their seven journeys of plant exploration in Bhutan and south-east Tibet between 1933 and 1949. It also includes an account by Betty Sherriff of her two years in Lhasa from 1943 to 1945 when George Sherriff was in charge of the British Mission. An historical introduction by Sir George Taylor covers plant exploration in Tibet and adjoining areas and outlines the careers of Ludlow and Sherriff. Taylor accompanied Ludlow and Sherriff on one of their explorations.
3648. Goré, F. 1922. Dans le Tibet independant (6-13 Sept. 1920). *Géographie* 37: 237-251.
Account, with map, of his journey from Yerkalo north to Kiangkha in the Chinese-Tibetan border region. Includes some comments on conditions in this area which was then under Tibetan rule.
3649. Grove, L.T. 1931. Two sapper subalterns in Tibet. *R. Engrs' J.* n.s. 45: 690-701.
Account of their journey in 1930 to Gyantse, the object of which was to report on the condition of the buildings constructed for the British Trade Agent in 1911. On their return they reconnoitred a 'third route across the border from Yatung into Sikkim as an alternative route to the two already in existence'.
3650. Hilton, R. 1955. *Nine lives; the autobiography of an old soldier*. London, Hollis & Carter. xii, 226 p.
Includes an account of his visit to Gyantse in 1925 as an attached officer to the company of Indian infantry going to relieve the garrison there, and to Gartok in Western Tibet in 1935 with a party of Tibetan smugglers. He also briefly comments on the visit to Calcutta in 1924 of several Tibetan generals.
3651. Knight, G.E.O. 1930. *Intimate glimpses of mysterious Tibet, and neighbouring countries*. London, Golden Vista Press. 72 p. Reprinted: New Delhi, Asian Educational Services, 1992.

Knight was the self-styled leader of the Buddhist 'British Expedition to Tibet, 1922-23' which hoped to film Lhasa. He received permission to travel as far as Gyantse with four other companions including William McGovern in 1922, but was refused permission to visit Lhasa by the Tibetan Government. He describes their journey from Darjeeling to Gyantse.

3652. Ludlow, F. 1940. Takpo and Kongbo, S.E. Tibet. *Himalayan J.* 12: 1-16.

Account of his journey through Tibet to the Tsangpo Valley in 1938 with George Sherriff, and return to India through Tawang and Eastern Bhutan. An excellent map of South-eastern Tibet showing their routes in the area in 1934, 1936, and 1938 accompanies the article.

3653. Lytton, V.A.G.R. Bulwer-Lytton, Earl. 1942. *Pundits and elephants: being the experiences of five years as governor of an Indian province*, by the Earl of Lytton. London, Davies. 210 p.

Lytton was governor of Bengal for five years from 1922. His work includes a chapter 'Holiday tours' which describes his visits to Sikkim and also to the Chumbi Valley in 1924 when he visited Yatung and Phari with David Macdonald.

3654. McGovern, W.M. 1924. *To Lhasa in disguise; an account of a secret expedition through mysterious Tibet*. London, Butterworth. 352 p.
Reprinted: New Delhi, Asian Educational Services, 2000.

[Reviewed: F.K.Ward, *J. cent. Asian Soc.* 12: 281-282, 1925; *Scott. geogr. Mag.* 41: 308, 1925]

McGovern travelled to Gyantse in 1922 with Knight (see no. 3651). When they were refused permission to proceed to Lhasa by the Tibetan authorities McGovern made the journey there in disguise in 1923. His account of his journey includes observations on conditions in Tibet and information on efforts to modernise Lhasa and to equip the Tibetan Army at this time.

3655. Maybon, C.B. 1924. Le dernier voyage du général Pereira. *Géographie* 41: 418-426.

Account of his career and his last journey made in 1923 to the Tibetan-Chinese border region, where he died in October.

3656. Meade, H.R.C. 1925. Narrative report of the Bhutan and South Tibet Survey Detachment 1922. *Rec. Surv. India* 21: 27-49.

Meade accompanied Bailey on his official journey to Bhutan in 1922 (see no. 3628). He describes their journey and the surveying work accomplished. A large sketch map of the area accompanies the report.

3657. Pereira, C. 1924. Peking to Lhasa (from the diaries of the late Brig.-Gen. George Pereira). *Geogr. J.* 64: 97-120.

Account, with map, of the journey made by George Pereira in 1921-1922 from China to Lhasa and from there to Calcutta (see no. 3664).

3658. [Pereira, G.] 1923. Brigadier-General George Pereira's journey to Lhasa. *Geogr. J.* 61: 124-130.

Account of his journey from China to Lhasa in 1922, extracted from letters received by his brother. Pereira was the first Englishman to enter Lhasa from China. A sketch map of his route is included.

3659. Stearn, W.T. 1976. Frank Ludlow (1885-1972) and the Ludlow-Sherriff expeditions to Bhutan and South-eastern Tibet of 1933-1950. *Bull. Br. Museum (Nat. Hist.) Botany* 5: 243-268.
- Provides a short biography of Ludlow, a list of the Ludlow and Sherriff expeditions with itineraries taken from Ludlow's publications, and a gazetteer of the places they visited.
3660. [Teichman, E.] 1929. The road from Peking to Lhasa. *J. cent. Asian Soc.* 16: 32-34
- Notes on a talk with slides given by Eric Teichman on the road. Comments by Younghusband following the talk concern the journeys of Pereira and A. David-Neel to Lhasa and the travels of Teichman.
3661. Tucci, G. 1940. Nel Tibet Centrale. Relazione preliminare della spedizione 1939. *Boll. Soc. geogr. Ital. 7s.*, 5: 81-85, Feb.
- Account, with map, of his journey from Sikkim to Shigatse in 1939.
3662. Weir, T. 1932. The impressions of an Englishwoman in Lhasa, by Mrs Leslie Weir. *Jl R. Asiat. Soc.* 1932 p. 239-241.
- Abstract of a lecture given by Mrs Weir, who accompanied her husband, the Political Officer in Sikkim, on his visit to Lhasa in 1930.
3663. [Younghusband, F.E.] 1924. Brigadier-General George Pereira, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O. [obituary], by F.E.Y. *Geogr. J.* 63: 67-88.
3664. Younghusband, F.E. 1925. *Peking to Lhasa; the narrative of journeys in the Chinese Empire made by the late Brigadier-General George Pereira, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.*, compiled from notes and diaries supplied by Major-General Sir Cecil Pereira. London, Constable. x, 287 p.
- [Reviewed: F.W.C., *J. cent. Asian Soc.* 12: 281-282, 1925; H.R.D., *Geogr. J.* 67: 456-458, 1926]
- Account of journeys made by Pereira between 1921 and 1923 with emphasis on his journey from China to India via Lhasa in 1921-1922. In Lhasa he visited the Dalai Lama and Tsarong, and also reviewed the Tibetan troops.

See also nos 962-3, 1815, 2424, 2428, 2488, 3863-4, 3885, 3916-17, 3920-2.

b) Alexandra David-Neel

The French traveller, Alexandra David-Neel, was the first European woman to visit Lhasa after she travelled from the Chinese Tibetan border disguised as a Tibetan nun in 1924. She lived undetected in Lhasa for two months before

travelling to Gyantse and south to India. She had earlier visited Sikkim in 1911 where she met the 13th Dalai Lama, and Tibet in 1916 when she travelled without British permission to Shigatse where she met the Panchen Lama. She later spent many years in China.

3665. Chalon, J. 1985. *Le lumineux destin d'Alexandra David-Neel*. Paris, Perrin. 497 p + 8 p. plates. Paris, Librairie Académique. 566 p.
[Reviewed: B.Norwick, *J. Tibet Soc.* 5: 97-98, 1985]

3666. David-Neel, A. 1927. *My journey to Lhasa: the personal story of the only white woman who succeeded in entering the Forbidden City*. London Heinemann. xviii, 310 p. Reprinted: London, Virago, 1983 (with a new introduction by P. Hopkirk). Boston, Beacon Press, 1993 (with a new introduction by D.N. Rowan).
[Reviewed: F.E.Y[oungusband], *Geogr. J.* 71: 85, 1928]

Description of her journey to Lhasa in 1924. Her account includes comments on British influence in Tibet and their efforts to make travel in Tibet difficult.

3667. David-Neel, A. 1975-1976. *Journal de voyage: lettres à son mari*. Paris, Plon. 2 vols.

Her letters to her husband. Vol. 1 covers the period August 1904 to December 1917 and vol. 2 January 1918 to December 1940.

3668. David-Neel, A. 1979. *Le Tibet d'Alexandra David-Neel. Album de photographies*. Paris, Plon. 157 p.

Photos taken by David-Neel of her stay in Sikkim, her visit to Shigatse in 1916 and of her journey to Lhasa in 1923-1924.

3669. Denys, J. 1972. *A. David Neel au Tibet (Un super-cherie dévoilée)*. Paris, La Pensee Universelle. 228 p.

Account of the life of David-Neel concentrating on her journeys to Tibet. Her claim that David-Neel never went to Tibet and that she invented her travels and studies has been refuted by other authors.

3670. Désiré-Marchand, J. 1996. *Les itinéraires d'Alexandra David-Neel: l'espace géographique d'une recherche intérieure*. Paris, Arthaud. 453 p.

Account of her stay in Sikkim in 1913-1914, her journey to Shigatse, and later to Lhasa, and her later travels including excerpts from her notebooks etc. Detailed maps of all stages of her travels are included.

3671. *Désiré-Marchand, J. 1997. *Alexandra David-Néel: de Paris à Lhassa, de l'aventure à la sagesse*. Avec la collaboration de M.-M. Peyronnet et F. Tréguier. Paris, Arthaud. 199 p. Source: Library of Congress Catalogue.

3672. Foster, B. and Foster, M. 1986. Forbidden journey: the real life of Alexandra David-Neel. *North Dakota Q.* 54(4): 195-219.

Excerpts from their forthcoming book (see no. 3673) describing David-Neel's journey to Tibet.

3673. Foster, B.M. and Foster, M. 1987. *Forbidden journey: the life of Alexandra David-Neel*. New York, Harper & Row. x, 320 p.
Major biography which includes an account of her time in Sikkim where she met and interviewed the 13th Dalai Lama, her travels on the eastern Tibet border at the time of Tibetan-Chinese conflicts, and her journey overland to Lhasa which she reached in 1924. After two months in the city she continued her journey to India.
3674. Foster, B. and Foster, M. 1998. *The secret lives of Alexandra David-Neel: a biography of the explorer of Tibet and its forbidden practices*. Rev. ed. Woodstock and New York, Overlook Press. xxi, 329 p.
Revised edition of no. 3673 drawing on sources such as the papers of Sir Charles Bell. Includes an account of her time in Sikkim, meeting with the 13th Dalai Lama and her visit to Tashilhunpo and meeting with the Panchen Lama in 1916, and her contacts with Bell over these events. Also includes an account of her journey and stay in Lhasa with comments on previous and later visitors to the city and a section refuting the claims made by Denys (see no. 3669) that David-Neel had never been to Tibet.
3675. Foster, S. 1990. *Across new worlds: nineteenth century women travellers and their writings*. New York, Harvester Wheatsheaf. ix, 201 p.
Includes a section on women travellers in Tibet including Annie Taylor and Alexandra David-Neel.
3676. Keay, J. 1989. *With passport and parasol*. London, BBC Books. 160 p.
See p. 138-158: "A touching and sympathetic figure": Alexandra David Neel' which describes her visit to the Panchen Lama and conflict with Bell, and her journey to Lhasa.
3677. Middleton, R. 1989. *Alexandra David-Neel: portrait of an adventurer*. Boston, Shambhala. xxv, 206 p.
3678. Mills, S. 1991. *Discourses of difference: an analysis of women's travel writing and colonialism*. London, Routledge. viii, 232 p.
See chapter on Alexandra David-Neel (p. 125-152) which analyses her writings especially the critical reception of her work and the status her text has in terms of 'truth'. Includes discussion of the claims by Denys (see no. 3669) that David-Neel did not go to Tibet.
3679. Norwick, B. 1976. Alexandra David-Neel's adventures in Tibet. Fact or fiction? *Tibet J.* 1(3-4): 70-74.
Criticises and refutes the claims made by Denys that David-Neel had never visited Tibet and that her photos were faked.
3680. Sachse, F. 1984. Alexandra David-Neel 1868-1969. *Middle Way* 59(1): 20-24.
3681. Tiltman, M.H. 1935. *Women in modern adventure*. London, G.G. Harrap. 295 p.

See p. 53-78: 'Fulfilling a vow: the story of Mme Alexandra David-Neel, the first white woman ever to visit the forbidden city of Lhasa, in Tibet'.

See also nos 185, 249, 259, 265, 278, 439, 1771, 1815, 1958, 2408, 2430.

c) Kingdon-Ward

In 1923 the British botanist, Frank Kingdon Ward received permission from the Indian and Tibetan Governments to travel through Tibet to the Tsangpo Gorge. He left Darjeeling in 1924 for Gyantse, accompanied by Lord Cawdor. They then travelled down the Tsangpo and explored the Gorge from the lowest point reached by Bailey in 1913 to Payi. They returned to India through Tawang and Eastern Bhutan.

3682. Anon. 1924. Captain Kingdon Ward's new expedition to Tibet. *Geogr. J.* 64: 495-496.

3683. Anon. 1925. The Ward-Cawdor expedition to Southern Tibet. *Geogr. J.* 65: 367-368.

3684. Lyte, C. 1989. *Frank Kingdon-Ward: the last of the great plant hunters*. London, John Murray. xvi, 218 p.

Biography of Kingdon Ward which covers all his expeditions.

3685. Ward, F. Kingdon. 1924. Yunnan and Eastern Tibet. *J. cent. Asian Soc.* 11: 124-135.

A general account of his travels and the difficulties he encountered in this area. Also comments on Chinese efforts to control Eastern Tibet, and the journeys of other explorers in this area such as Bailey.

3686. Ward, F. Kingdon. 1924-1926. Mr F. Kingdon Ward's eighth expedition in Asia. *Gdnrs' Chron.* 3s., 75: 206-207, 288-289, 381-382, Jan.-June 1924; 3s., 76: 97-98, 148, 214-215, 300-301, July-Dec. 1924; 3s., 77: 236-237, 318-320, 394-395, 434-436, Jan.-June 1925; 3s., 78: 12-13, 50-52, 90-91, 130-131, 191-192, 230-231, 292-293, 330-331, 408-409, 448-449, 482-483, July-Dec. 1925; 3s., 79: 8-9, 47-48, 118-119, 151-152, 190-191, 232-233, Jan.-June 1926.

3687. Ward, F. Kingdon. 1926. Explorations in South-Eastern Tibet. *Geogr. J.* 67: 97-123.

3688. Ward, F. Kingdon. 1926. *The riddle of the Tsangpo gorges*. London, E. Arnold. xv, 328 p.

[Reviewed: F.M.B[aily], *J. cent. Asian Soc.* 14: 94-97, 1927; H.T.Morshead, *Himalayan J.* 1: 110-113, 1929; T.F.C., *Geogr. J.* 69: 166-168, 1927]

3689. Ward, F. Kingdon. 1926. Through the gorge of the Tsangpo. *J. cent. Asian Soc.* 13: 133-147.

3690. Ward, F. Kingdon. 1927. Botanical explorations in Tibet. *Jl R. hort. Soc.* 52: 15-24, 225-234.
3691. Ward, F. Kingdon. 1939. A journey through the Tsangpo Gorge. In: P. Sykes, ed. *Explorers all; famous journeys in Asia*. London, G. Newnes, p. 69-86.
3692. Ward, F. Kingdon. 2001. *Frank Kingdon Ward's Riddle of the Tsangpo Gorges: retracing the epic journey of 1924-25 in South-East Tibet*. Original text by Frank Kingdon Ward. Ed. by K. Cox; additional material by K. Cox, K. Storm, Jr. and I. Baker. Woodbridge, Suffolk, Antique Collectors' Club. 319 p.
[Reviewed: M. Rank, *Asian Affairs* 34(2): 200-201, 2003]
- Reproduces the original Kingdon Ward text with about 50 of his photographs and extensive additional material and photos. These include a brief biography of Kingdon Ward and a history of the exploration and geography of the region. Cox, Storm and Baker spent many years retracing the route of Kingdon Ward and Lord Cawdor.

See also nos 2376, 2382, chapter XV.2b, 3906, chapter XV.3b

d) Everest Expeditions

Expeditions were permitted to visit Mt Everest by the Tibetan Government in 1921, 1922, 1924, 1933, 1935, 1936, and 1938. Items are only included in this section if they contain information on the background of the expeditions or on their route through Tibet. Purely mountaineering articles are excluded. The political controversy following the 1924 Everest Expedition is covered in chapter XIV.3a.

3693. Anon. 1921. The Mount Everest expedition. *Geogr. J.* 57: 73-75.
On news that political obstacles had been removed for an expedition to Mt Everest through the work of Bell in Lhasa.
3694. Anon. 1932. A new Mount Everest expedition. *Geogr. J.* 80: 334-335.
News that Colonel Weir had obtained permission from the Dalai Lama for an expedition to visit Everest in 1933, the first to be permitted for eight years.
3695. Anon. 1933. The Mount Everest expedition and the Mount Everest flight. *Geogr. J.* 81: 153-156.
Concerns plans for the 1933 Everest Expedition for which permission had been granted by the Tibetan Government, and for the flight (see no. 3709) which was authorised by the Nepalese Government.
3696. Anon. 1935. A new Mount Everest expedition. *Geogr. J.* 85: 487.
News of the consent of the Tibetan Government for an expedition to visit Everest in 1935-1936.

3697. Barrère, H. 1923. L'expédition du Mont Everest en 1922. *Montagne* 19: 65-80.

3698. Blakeney, T.S. 1970. A.R. Hinks and the first Everest Expedition 1921. *Geogr. J.* 136: 333-343.

Traces efforts made from 1905 to gain permission for an expedition to climb Mt Everest from Tibet. Describes the work of Charles Bell who obtained the consent of the Tibetan Government in 1921, and of A.R. Hinks, the Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society, who was prominent in making the rushed preparations for the 1921 Reconnaissance Expedition.

3699. Bruce, C.G. 1921. Mount Everest. *Geogr. J.* 57: 1-21.

Traces previous interest in the exploration and attempted ascent of Everest and examines plans for the 1921 Expedition.

3700. Bruce, C.G. 1922. The Mount Everest Expedition of 1922. I. Darjeeling to the Rongbuk Glacier base camp. *Geogr. J.* 60: 385-394.

Account of the arrangements for the expedition and the route followed through Tibet. A map of the route accompanies the article.

3701. Bruce, C.G. 1923. *The assault on Mount Everest 1922*. London, E. Arnold. xi, 339 p.

Bruce was leader of the 1922 Mt Everest Expedition.

3702. Bruce, C.G. 1924. The organisation and start of the expedition. *Geogr. J.* 64: 434-436. *Alpine J.* 36: 241-244.

The 1924 Everest Expedition: includes an account of its progress through Tibet and minor problems encountered with Tibetan officials at Phari.

3703. Bruce, G. 1924. The journey through Tibet and the establishment of the high camps. *Geogr. J.* 64: 443-450. *Alpine J.* 36: 251-260.

The 1924 Everest Expedition.

3704. Chapman, F.S. 1938. The future of climbing in Tibet. *Himalayan J.* 10: 171-176.

Account of British relations with Tibet since the time of Warren Hastings as a background to the consent by the Tibetan Government for expeditions to climb Everest and Chomolhari. He also discusses the possibilities of climbing other mountains in Tibet but feels that the Tibetans are still against allowing many foreigners to visit their country.

3705. Collie, J.N. 1920/1921. A short summary of mountaineering in the Himalaya, with a note on the approaches to Everest. *Alpine J.* 33: 295-303.

Includes a brief account of the background to the first Everest Expedition and on its proposed route through Tibet.

3706. Douglas-Hamilton, J. 1983. *Roof of the world: man's first flight over Everest*. Edinburgh, Mainstream Publishing. 192 p.

By the son of the chief pilot of the 1933 expedition.

3707. Freshfield, D.W. 1924. The conquest of Mount Everest. *Geogr. J.* 63: 229-237; *Alpine J.* 36: 1-11.

Reviews the background and interest in the mountain over the years, the attempts to gain permission to climb it from both Nepal and Tibet, and makes suggestions for future expeditions.

3708. Hinks, A.R. 1921/1922. The Mount Everest maps and photographs. *Alpine J.* 34: 228-235; *Geogr. J.* 59: 131-137, 1922.

The first part of this article concerns the work of the surveyors, Morshead and Wheeler, during the 1921 Expedition and the maps they produced.

3709. Houston-Mount Everest Expedition. 1933. *First over Everest, the Houston-Mount Everest Expedition, 1933*, by P.F.M. Fellowes, L.V.S. Blacker, P.T. Etherton, and the Marquess of Douglas and Clydesdale. London, John Lane. xix, 279 p.

Account of the first flight made over Mount Everest and its background. Permission for the flight was granted by Nepal after the Tibetan Government refused to permit a flight across their territory. Also includes information on the exploration of the Everest area by the Pandits, especially Hari Ram.

3710. Howard-Bury, C.K. 1921. Some observations on the approaches to Mount Everest. *Geogr. J.* 57: 121-124.

Examines the possible routes the expedition could take to Mt Everest.

3711. Howard-Bury, C.K. 1921/1922. The 1921 Mount Everest Expedition. *Alpine J.* 34: 195-214; *Geogr. J.* 59: 81-99, 1922.

Describes the political background to the expedition, the arrangements made, the route followed through Tibet, and the surveying and exploration work accomplished.

3712. Howard-Bury, C.K. 1922. *Mount Everest: the reconnaissance, 1921*. London, E. Arnold. xi, 350 p.

[Reviewed: D.W.Freshfield, *Geogr. J.* 59: 459-462, 1922; E.O.Wheeler, *Can. alp. J.* 13: 260-261, 1923; *Alpine J.* 34: 493-497, 1921/1922]

Howard-Bury was leader of the 1921 Expedition.

3713. Howard-Bury, C.K. and Mallory, G.L. 1991. *Everest reconnaissance: the first expedition of 1921*. Ed. by M. Keaney. London, Hodder & Stoughton. 254 p.

Includes Howard-Bury's diary of the preliminary moves in 1920 to obtain the approval of the Dalai Lama for the expedition and the part played by the Government of India and Sir Charles Bell. Major part of the work is his 'The narrative of the expedition' and Mallory's 'The reconnaissance of the mountain'.

3714. Macdonald, A.W. 1973. The lama and the general. *Kailash* 1(3): 225-233.
Includes passages from the Rongbuk Lama's autobiography on his meetings with Howard-Bury in 1921 and Bruce in 1922 and compares it with the account by the British leaders on their meetings with the Lama.
3715. Morris, C.J. 1923. The gorge of the Arun. *Geogr. J.* 62: 161-173.
Following the 1922 Everest Expedition Morris and Noel explored the Arun River near the Nepal/Tibet border but were unable to cross into Nepal as it was still a closed country to Europeans. Morris describes their journey and reports on the number of semi-abandoned trade routes between Nepal and Tibet. In the discussion that followed his lecture Sir Charles Bell suggested that this was due to the opening of the trade route through the Chumbi Valley.
3716. Morshead, H.T. 1922. Report on the operations of the Mt Everest Survey Detachment, 1921. 1. Narrative report. *Rec. Surv. India* 16: 109-116.
Account of the route followed by the expedition and a description of the journeys of previous travellers to this area of Tibet.
3717. Morshead, H.T. 1923. Mount Everest. *R. Engrs' J.* n.s. 37: 353-368.
Account of the 1921 and 1922 Everest Expeditions which he accompanied, and the difficulties in obtaining permission for these expeditions to enter Tibet.
3718. Mumm, A.L. 1922. Mt Everest. *Can. alp. J.* 12: 1-13.
Background to the 1921 Everest Expedition.
3719. Murray, W.H. 1953. *The story of Everest*. London, J.M. Dent. ix, 195 p.
Mainly concerns the history of attempts to climb the mountain from the north through Tibet.
3720. Noel, J.B.L. 1927. *Through Tibet to Everest*. London, E. Arnold. 302 p.
Reprinted: London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1989.
[Reviewed: R.W.G.H., *Geogr. J.* 70: 580-581, 1927; *Alpine J.* 39: 366-368, 1927]
Noel accompanied the 1922 and 1924 Everest Expeditions as photographer. He also attempted to reach the mountain in 1913 when he crossed into Tibet from North Sikkim (see no. 2955) disguised as a 'Mohammedan from India'. He describes these journeys and the background to the 1921 Everest Expedition.
3721. Norton, E.F. 1925. *The fight for Everest: 1924*. London. E. Arnold. xi, 372 p.
[Reviewed: A.F.R. Wollaston, *Geogr. J.* 67: 69-71, 1926]
Account of the third expedition to Everest after which permission for future expeditions was refused until 1932.
3722. Odell, N.E. and Lloyd, P. 1940. The Chorten Nyima La from the Tibetan side. *Himalayan J.* 12: 107-116.
Following the 1938 Everest Expedition they returned to India by this pass into North-West Sikkim.

3723. Royal Geographical Society, London. 2003. *Everest: summit of achievement*. London, Bloomsbury. 252 p.
Lavishly illustrated with historical photos this work describes the discovery of Everest and attempts to climb it. The major section (p. 70-197) entitled 'The long ascent, 1921-1953' is by Stephen Venables.
3724. Ruttledge, H. 1934. *Everest 1933*. London, Hodder & Stoughton. xv, 390 p.
Includes an account of efforts to obtain permission from both the British and Tibetan Governments to climb Everest through Tibet in the twentieth century.
3725. Ruttledge, H. 1934. The Mount Everest expedition, 1933. *Geogr. J.* 83: 1-17.
3726. Ruttledge, H. 1934. The Mount Everest expedition of 1933. *Himalayan J.* 6: 31-46.
3727. Ruttledge, H. 1936. The Mount Everest expedition of 1936. *Geogr. J.* 88: 491-523.
3728. Ruttledge, H. 1937. *Everest: the unfinished adventure*. London, Hodder & Stoughton. xvi, 296 p.
Account of the 1936 Expedition.
3729. Ruttledge, H. 1937. The Mount Everest expedition, 1936. *Himalayan J.* 9: 1-15.
3730. Ruttledge, H. 1952. The late head lama of the Rongbuk Monastery [obituary]. *Himalayan J.* 17: 159-160.
On his contact with, and help for the Everest Expeditions.
3731. Shipton, E. 1936. The Mount Everest reconnaissance. *Geogr. J.* 87: 98-112.
Account of the 1935 expedition.
3732. Shipton, E. 1936. The Mount Everest reconnaissance, 1935. *Himalayan J.* 8: 1-13.
3733. Smythe, F.S. 1937. *Camp six: an account of the 1933 Mount Everest Expedition*. London, Hodder & Stoughton. xi, 307 p.
3734. Stewart, G.T. 1995. Tenzing's two wrist watches: the conquest of Everest and late imperial culture in Britain, 1921-1953. *Past and Present* no. 149: 170-197. Critical comment: P.H. Hansen, no. 157: 159-177, 1997; reply: no. 157: 178-190, 1997.
Examines the British Everest expeditions from 1921 to 1953 in 'cultural terms as a way of gaining insight into the shaping of the British imperial identity.'

3735. Thompson, E.C. 1934. Everest, 1933. *J. un. Serv. Instn India* 64: 29-56.
3736. Tilman, H.W. 1938. The Mount Everest expedition of 1938. *Geogr. J.* 92: 481-498.
 Permission for an expedition in 1938 was gained by Gould on his visit to Lhasa in 1936-1937.
3737. Tilman, H.W. 1939. Mount Everest. 1938. *Himalayan J.* 11: 1-14.
3738. Tilman, H.W. 1948. *Mount Everest, 1938*. Cambridge, University Press. x, 160 p.
3739. Wager, L.R. 1934. The Lhonak La. *Himalayan J.* 6: 51-53.
 Wager left the main Everest party in 1933 with Eric Shipton and tried to return to Sikkim by this pass.
3740. Ward, M. 1994. The exploration and mapping of Everest. *Alpine J.* 99: 97-108, plates 43-47.
 History of the exploration of Everest and the surrounding regions including accounts of the 1921 and 1935 reconnaissance expeditions.
3741. Ward, M. 1994. Northern approaches: Everest 1918-22. *Alpine J.* 99: 213-217.
 On the background and planning of the 1921 reconnaissance expedition.
3742. Wheeler, E.O. 1923. The Mt Everest expedition, 1921. *Can. alp. J.* 13: 1-25.
3743. Younghusband, F.E. 1926. *The epic of Mount Everest*. London, E. Arnold. 319 p. Reprinted with title: *The epic of Mount Everest: the historic account of Mallory's expeditions*. With an introduction by P. French. London, Pan Books, 2000.
 [Reviewed: D.W.F[reshfield], *Geogr. J.* 69: 76-78, 1927]
 Account of the first three expeditions to Mt Everest based on nos 3701, 3712 and 3721.
3744. Younghusband, F.E. 1936. *Everest, the challenge*. London, T. Nelson. ix, 243 p.
 [Reviewed: K.Mason, *Himalayan J.* 8: 157-159, 1936]
 Account of the Everest expeditions and their background.
- See also nos 1530, 2460, 2954, 3356, 3361, 3441, 3454, 3459-60, 3466, 3480, 3892, 4020.

7. TRAVEL IN WESTERN TIBET 1914-1939

A number of travellers visited Western Tibet during these years. Some were officials such as Hugh Rutledge in 1926 and E.B. Wakefield in 1929 who both visited Gartok to study trade conditions between British India and Tibet. Wakefield also visited Rudok. Others were officers on leave who crossed briefly into Tibet. In 1933 the Italian, Professor Guiseppe Tucci, was given permission to travel in Western Tibet as far as Gartok.

3745. Anon. 1930. A visit to Western Tibet, 1929. *Himalayan J.* 2: 101-103.

Brief account of the journey of E.B. Wakefield (see no. 3765).

3746. Anon. 1933. Messrs F. Williamson and F. Ludlow in Western Tibet. *Himalayan J.* 5: 103-105.

Account of their official journey from Almora to Gartok in August 1932.

3747. Auden, J.B. 1940. A season's work in the Central Himalaya. *Himalayan J.* 12: 17-26.

Includes an account of his work in the Nelang-Gangotri region and comments on the border dispute between Tehri-Garhwal and Tibet which began in 1921. Notes that the political status of the Jadh Ganga remains unsettled (see also no. 3756).

3748. Filchner, W. 1929. My Central Asian expedition of 1925-28. *J. cent. Asian Soc.* 16: 298-307.

Account of his journey with an Australian, Mathewson, through Central Asia and to the borders of Northern Tibet. After the intervention of the Indian Government, the Dalai Lama gave them permission to cross Western Tibet to Leh.

3749. Filchner, W. 1929. *Om mani padme hum: meine China und Tibetexpedition, 1925/28.* Leipzig, F.A. Brockhaus. ix, 352 p.
[Reviewed: H.D. Hayward, *J. R. cent. Asian Soc.* 23: 127-128, 1936; *Geogr. J.* 74: 597-598, 1929; 83: 416-420, 1934; *People's Tribune* n.s. 8: 183-187, Jan./March 1935]

3750. Gorrie, R.M. 1929. Two easy passes in Kanawar. *Himalayan J.* 1: 75-77.

Includes information on the Hindustan-Tibet Road which had been extended to Pu 'with the idea of opening up the route into Tibet via Shipki to Gartok'.

3751. Hamond, R. 1942. Through Western Tibet in 1939. *Geogr. J.* 99: 1-15.

Hamond was granted a pass to travel in Western Tibet in 1939 whilst on leave from his regiment. He describes his journey to Gartok via Niti, and return via Shipki. A map of Western Tibet showing his route and those of Rawling, Ryder, and Bailey in 1904 is included.

3752. Kashyap, S.R. 1929. Some geographical observations in Western Tibet. *J. Proc. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* n.s. 25: 223-236.

Kashyap travelled to Western Tibet in 1922, 1923, and 1926. During 1926 he

travelled for a time with Ruttledge, then Deputy Commissioner of Almora, who was on an official visit to Tibet. He comments on some geographical problems of the area such as the source of the Sutlej.

3753. Lethbridge, J.S. 1934. Spiti and Rupshu. *Can. geogr. J.* 8: 73-87.

Account of several hunting trips to these areas including one in 1929 during which he crossed briefly into Tibet.

3754. Macleod-Carey, C.C.M. 1973. Himalayan journey. In: C.H.T. MacFetridge and J.P. Warren, eds. *Tales of the mountain gunners; an anthology compiled by those who served with them.* Edinburgh, Blackwood, p. 220-227.

Account of his planned trip to Gartok in 1928 on behalf of the government to make a report on trade conditions. Just before he left the trip was cancelled as the government felt that an Indian civil servant should conduct the report. Macleod-Carey instead travelled up the Hindustan-Tibet road and briefly crossed the border into Tibet.

3755. Mason, K. 1922. *Routes in the Western Himalaya, Kashmir, etc., with which are included Montgomerie's Routes, revised and rearranged. Vol. 1: Punch, Kashmir, and Ladakh.* Dehra Dun, Office of the Trigonometrical Survey of India. xviii, 273 p.

Replaces no. 903. It describes one hundred routes including three in Western Tibet.

3756. Ottley, J.F.S. 1940. The Jadh Ganga Valley and the Nela Pass. *Himalayan J.* 12: 27-29.

Account of his journey to Garhwal in 1939. Comments on p. 27 that 'a boundary dispute has been going on over this neighbourhood [of the Bhagirathi Valley] for several years. Tibet claims Nelang and even as far as Harsil. At present there is a compromise. The people who use the village pay a house-tax to Tehri-Garhwal and a stock-tax to Tibet'.

3757. Petech, L. 1989. Ippolito Desideri, Alexander Csoma de Koros, Giuseppe Tucci. *Acta Orient. Acad. Scient. Hungaricae* 43(2-3): 155-161.

Major part of the article concerns the work of Tucci and his journeys to Tibet and the border regions. He visited Ladakh in 1928 and 1930, Rupshu and Lahul in 1931, and Spiti, Guge and Kunawar in 1933. In 1935 he visited the Manasarovar region and in the late 1930s visited Central Tibet travelling from Sikkim.

3758. Ruttledge, H. 1928. Notes on a visit to Western Tibet in 1926. *Geogr. J.* 71: 431-438.

Official visit by Ruttledge to Western Tibet in 1926 to investigate conditions of trade between the Tibetans and the Bhotias. He was accompanied by R.C. Wilson of the Indian Army. A map of his route is included.

3759. Schary, E.G. 1937. *In search of the mahatmas of Tibet.* London, Seeley, Service. 312 p.

[Reviewed: R.K., *Geogr. J.* 92: 461, 1938; R.H.W., *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 25: 130-133, 1938]

Schary, an American, made three attempts to enter Tibet. He was successful in 1918 travelling from Western Tibet down the Tsangpo to Shigatse, and from there to India via Gyantse and Sikkim.

3760. Shuttleworth, H.L. 1922. Border countries of the Punjab Himalaya. *Geogr. J.* 60: 241-268.

Shuttleworth was the district officer in charge of Kulu. He describes Kulu, Spiti and Lahul and journeys he made in these areas, and gives information on their boundaries and trade with Tibet and Central Asia.

3761. Singh, Y. 1917. On the roof of the world. Visits to Tibet. *Chron. Lond. miss. Soc.* 1917 p. 66-69, 81-84. Reprinted in A. McKay, ed. *The history of Tibet. Vol. 3.* (see no. 211), p. 501-508.

Account by an Indian missionary of his journey to Mt Kailas in Tibet in 1916.

3762. Terra, H. de. 1931. On the world's highest plateaus: through an Asiatic no man's land to the desert of ancient Cathay. *Natn. Geogr. Mag.* 59: 319-367, Jan-June.

Terra accompanied two German travellers, E. Trinkler and W. Bosshart, who obtained permission from the Indian Government to travel to Chinese Turkestan from Ladakh as long as they promised to stay out of Tibetan territory. He highlights the vagueness of the boundaries between Kashmir, Tibet and Chinese Turkestan and the inability of British Officials to provide this information.

3763. Tichy, H. 1938. *Tibetan adventure; travels through Afghanistan, India and Tibet.* Translated from the German by I.F.D. Morrow and L.M. Sieveking. London, Faber & Faber. 261 p.

Tichy, an Austrian geologist, crossed into Tibet by way of the Lipu Lekh Pass from Kumaon in the middle 1930's. He visited Taklakot, Lake Manasarovar and Mt Kailas disguised as an Indian pilgrim.

3764. Tucci, G. and Ghersi, E. 1935. *Secrets of Tibet: being the chronicle of the Tucci Scientific Expedition to Western Tibet (1933).* Translated from the Italian by M.A. Johnstone. London, Blackie. xiv, 210 p.
[Reviewed: M.A.S., *Geogr. J.* 88: 76-77, 1936]

Tucci was permitted to travel in Western Tibet as far as Gartok. He describes the expedition, the main aim of which was to explore Spiti and Western Tibet in order to verify the conclusions reached by Francke on the history of this area.

3765. Wakefield, E.B. 1961. A journey to Western Tibet, 1929. *Alpine J.* 66: 118-133, 325-342.

As a member of the Indian Civil Service Wakefield was deputed to inspect the British Trade Agency at Gartok in 1929 as part of a study on the condition of trade between India and Western Tibet. Permission for the visit was granted by Lhasa. He also visited Rudok, a closed town to Europeans. He gives a detailed account of his journey and his contacts with Tibetan officials. A map of his route is included.

3766. Wakefield, E.B. 1966. *Past imperative: my life in India 1927-1947*. London, Chatto & Windus. xi, 226 p.

Includes a detailed account of his journey and on the trade marts of Western Tibet.

8. THE FINAL PHASE 1940-1947

Tibet tried to maintain a position of neutrality during World War II which saw China and Britain allied for the first time against a common enemy, Japan. In 1941 relations between China and Tibet once more deteriorated when Chiang Kai-shek gave orders for a road to be built from Szechuan across the South-Eastern Tibetan district of Zayul to Assam via the Lohit Valley. This route was needed because the Japanese invasion had effectively isolated China from the rest of the world and the only practical route for supplies was by way of Tibet after the closure of the route through Burma. The British Government, however, insisted that the Tibetan Government be consulted about the scheme. Although the Tibetans refused to agree to the construction of the road, the Chinese sent a survey party to the Tibetan border where it was turned back by Tibetan troops. After further pressure from the British and Chinese in 1942 Tibet agreed to allow non-military goods to pass through Tibet to China but refused to permit official participation by China in the transport arrangements despite the threat of Chinese aggression in 1943. In late 1942 two American army officials, Brooke Dolan and Ilya Tolstoy, visited Lhasa during a mission to Tibet to examine routes through that country to China. Permission for their visit was supported by the Indian Government.

In 1944 the Tibetan Government reluctantly agreed to receive a Chinese party led by Shen Tsung-lien, an adviser to Chiang Kai-shek. Gould also again visited Lhasa at this time to check on Chinese influence and to discuss Indian-Tibetan border matters. Shen's visit improved to some extent the strained relations existing between China and Tibet, and, following the allied victory in World War II, Tibet sent a goodwill mission to India and then to China to offer congratulations. Tibet was also represented in 1947 at the Asian Relations Conference convened by the Indian Council on World Affairs in Delhi where they tried to disassociate themselves entirely from the Chinese delegation. In 1947-1948 a Tibetan Trade Mission visited India, China, the United States and Britain, travelling for most of the time on Tibetan passports.

On August 15, 1947 Britain granted India its independence and, as part of the transfer of power, bequeathed to India all the treaties and arrangements that had been made with neighbouring countries. In Lhasa the British Mission formally became the Indian Mission with Hugh Richardson staying on to represent India until forced to leave in 1950.

3767. Anderson, G.D. 2003. Notes on a conversation with Mr J.E. Reid of the General Electric Company. In: A. McKay, ed. *The history of Tibet. Vol. 3*. London, RoutledgeCurzon, p. 586-588.

Previously unpublished document dated 19 January 1950. It records the

impressions of Reid who spent seven weeks in Lhasa in c 1948 in order to investigate equipment needed for a small hydro-electric station in Lhasa. He notes the changed attitude of the Tibetans to contact with other countries and their desire for world publicity for their plight, and their desire to purchase arms and to develop air communications with India.

3768. Asian Relations Conference. 1948. *Asian relations: being the report of the proceedings and documentation of the First Asian Relations Conference, New Delhi, March-April, 1947*. New Delhi. 314 p.
Tibet took part in the Conference as an independent country. Its delegates were four members of the Tibetan Foreign Office in Lhasa and were led by Sampho Theiji and Khenchung Losang Wangyal.
3769. Aufschnaiter, P. 1947. Escape to Lhasa, 1944-45. *Himalayan J.* 14: 116-120.
Description of his route through Tibet with Harrer from the Shipki Pass to Lhasa. A small sketch map of their route is included.
3770. Aufschnaiter, P. 2002. *Peter Aufschnaiter's eight years in Tibet*. Compiled and ed. by M. Brauen. Bangkok, Orchid Press. 208 p. English translation of: *Peter Aufschnaiter: sein Leben in Tibet*. Innsbruck, Steiger Vlg, 1983.
On his travels in Tibet and life in Lhasa with information on Tibetan history, politics, climate and agriculture in the 1940s. Also covers the contributions he made during his time in Tibet, and his subsequent work in India and Nepal. Includes many photos, maps and diagrams by Aufschnaiter, including his town plan of Lhasa which he prepared for the Tibetan Government.
3771. Avedon, J.F. 1984. *In exile from the Land of Snows*. New York, Knopf. xii, 384 p.
Mainly concerned with events after 1950 but includes a chapter on events in Tibet from 1933 to 1950.
3772. Bell, C.A. 1949. China and Tibet. *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 36: 54-57.
This article was found amongst the papers of Sir Charles Bell who died in 1945. It is a passionate appeal for the independence of Tibet.
3773. Billington, J. 2001. A monumental figure on Tibet. Dr Hugh Edward Richardson CIE, OBE, Hon. FBA, Hon. D. Litt. [obituary]. *Tibetan Review* 36(1): 26-27.
3774. Bstan-dzin-rgya-mtsho, Dalai Lama XIV. 1990. *Freedom in exile: the autobiography of His Holiness the Dalai Lama of Tibet*. London, Hodder & Stoughton. ix, 308 p.
[Reviewed: A.A.Moon, *Tibetan Review* 26(1): 17-18, 1991; P.Mehra, *Indian hist. Rev.* 20: 209-214, 1993/1994]
Includes a description of his years in Tibet prior to the Chinese period.

3775. Carnahan, S. 1995. *In the presence of my enemies: memoirs of Tibetan nobleman Tsipon Shuguba*, by S. Carnahan with Lama Kunga Rinpoche. Santa Fe, Clear Light Publishers. xvii, 238 p.

Tsipon Shuguba served for over 40 years as a lay official in the pre-Communist Tibetan Government. Includes much information on the government of Tibet especially during the period of the 14th Dalai Lama. He also accompanied Shakabpa to India in 1945.

3776. Chen, Qianping. 2001. Sino-British relations and the Tibetan crisis of 1943. Ed and trans. by D.P. Barrett. In: D.P. Barrett and L.N. Shyu, eds. *China in the anti-Japanese War, 1937-1945: politics, culture and society*. New York, Peter Lang, p. 89-111.

The crisis arose from Tibetan opposition to the building of a China-India road across a small part of Tibet as Tibet wished to remain neutral during the war and opposed the transport of military supplies. Chen examines the British and Chinese reaction to the crisis and the Chinese threat of military action against Tibet. He also analyses the memorandum which the British drafted on the status of Tibet, and the communications between Eden and T.V. Soong. Tibet eventually compromised over the issue and the crisis dissipated.

3777. Collins, L.A. 1946. The minister from Tibet. *Asia and the Americas* 46(2): 66-68, Feb.

On his meeting with Tsarong in Sikkim in the early 1940's and on Tsarong's desire for the modernisation of Tibet.

3778. Craig, M. 1997. *Kundun: a biography of the family of the Dalai Lama*. London, HarperCollins. xxi, 392 p.

[Reviewed: Z.Fleming, *Asian Affairs* 29: 332-333, 1998; L.Freeman, *Tibetan Review* 32(10): 22-23, 1997]

Includes an account of the period following the death of the 13th Dalai Lama to the Communist invasion with information on British and Chinese contacts with the Dalai Lama and his family and the Tibetan Regents.

3779. Croston, R. 2000. Obituary: Hugh Richardson: Resident British diplomat in Lhasa, Tibet. Scholar and author. *European Bull. Himalayan Res.* 19: 127-131.

3780. Croston, R. 2003. The man who was not there. *Jl. R. Signals Inst.* 24(6): 205-206.

The story of Henry George Baker who briefly replaced Reginald Fox in Lhasa in 1941-1942 as wireless operator. Baker noted that the Chinese also had a radio station in Lhasa 'but of such antiquity, that it was a wonder it worked at all. I intercepted it and obtained and decoded their information before it had even reached China!'

3781. David-Neel, A. 1943. High politics in Tibet. *Asia and the Americas* 43(3): 157-159, March.

On the death of the Panchen Lama and the rivalry between the different groups of

his followers, each of whom had produced a candidate to succeed him, and who were intriguing to have their candidate recognised by the Tibetan Government.

3782. Dolan, B. 1980. Across Tibet: excerpts from the journals of Captain Brooke Dolan 1942-43. *Frontiers* 2: 2-45.

Excerpts from the diary of Captain Brooke Dolan of his journey to Tibet and China in 1942-1943, illustrated with some of the photographs he took on this trip which are held in the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia.

3783. [Eden, A.] 1948. Memorandum explaining British policy on Tibet. London, 5th August 1943. Letter from the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs. *Br. foreign St. Pap.* 151: 89-90.

Letter from Anthony Eden to Dr T.V. Soong in which he explained that Britain regarded Tibet as an 'autonomous state under the suzerainty of China'.

3784. Fife, D. MacD. 1949. Indo-Tibetan trade and routes. *East. Wld* 3: 14-16, Jan./Feb.

The trade situation in 1948.

3785. Ford, C. 1970. *Donovan of OSS*. Boston, Little, Brown. xvi, 366 p.

See p. 213-216 which contains an account of the Tolstoy/Dolan mission to Tibet. It is described as a goodwill mission which might achieve the double purpose of persuading the Dalai Lama of America's friendship and of investigating the possibility of a new supply route through Tibet to China.

3786. Ford, R. 1957. *Captured in Tibet*. London, Harrap. 256 p. Reprinted with title: *Captured in Tibet: with an epilogue by the author*. Hong Kong, Oxford University Press, 1990. 266 p.
[Reviewed: F.M.B[ailey], *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 44: 247, 1957; C.Fisher, *Geogr. J.* 123: 535, 1957; T.Zinkin, *Asian Affairs* 22: 378-379, 1991; T.Wangyal, *Tibetan Review* 25(12): 15-16, 1990]

In 1945, whilst a member of the R.A.F., Ford was temporarily appointed radio officer at the British Mission in Lhasa. In 1948 he joined the Tibetan Government Service as its first radio officer and in 1949 opened a radio station at Chamdo in Eastern Tibet where the Chinese Communists captured him in 1950.

3787. Ford, R. 1990. Tibet 1945-50: before the occupation. *Tibetan Review* 25(9): 15-19.

Background to his employment as Radio Officer with the British Mission in Lhasa in 1945 and his experiences in Lhasa and Eastern Tibet. Also comments on Tibetan attempts to establish their independence in these years.

3788. Gyatsho, K. 1991. Tseppon Wangchuk Deden Shakabpa (1908-89): a brief biography. *Tibet J.* 16(2): 90-94.

Shakabpa was a prominent Tibetan Government official who led the Tibetan trade mission in 1948. He later wrote *Tibet a political history* (see no. 2477), an important Tibetan source for twentieth century Tibetan history.

3789. Harrer, H. 1953. *Seven years in Tibet*. Translated by R. Graves. London, Hart-Davis. xiii, 288 p. Reprinted: London, Granada, 1976; London, Flamingo, 1994, 1997; New York, G.P.Putnam's Sons, 1996. [Reviewed: J.E.F.Gueritz, *Himalayan J.* 18: 185-186, 1954; B.J.G[ould], *Himalayan J.* 18: 186-188, 1954]

Account of his journey with Peter Aufschnaiter to Lhasa following their escape in 1943 from a British internment camp at Dehra Dun, and of their life in Lhasa and contact with Tibetan officials until forced to leave by the Chinese Communist invasion of Tibet in 1950.

3790. Harrer, H. 1954. My seven years in Tibet. *Geogr. J.* 120: 146-155.

3791. Harrer, H. 1992. *Lost Lhasa: Heinrich Harrer's Tibet*. New York, Harry N. Abrams. 223 p.

Historical photographs of Lhasa taken during his stay in that city in the 1940s, together with information on life in Lhasa, Tibetan officials and some comments on the British in Lhasa at that time.

3792. Hicks, R. and Chogyam, N. 1984. *Great Ocean: an authorised biography of the Buddhist monk Tenzin Gyatso His Holiness the fourteenth Dalai Lama*. Shaftesbury, Element Books. xii, 207 p.

Includes an account of the lives of previous Dalai Lamas and information on life in Tibet before the Chinese invasion.

3793. Johnston, G.H. 1947. *Journey through tomorrow*. Melbourne, Cheshire. 400 p.

Includes a description of his journey to Minya Konka in Western China in c. 1945. He provides an interesting account of the use of the trade routes from India across Tibet to China during the war.

3794. Knaus, J.K. 1999. *Orphans of the cold war: America and the Tibetan struggle for survival*. New York, Public Affairs. xi, 398 p.

Although mainly concerned with American covert support for Tibetan fighters following the Communist invasion, it also includes a detailed account of the Tolstoy/Dolan mission to Tibet in 1942/43, the Tibetan peace mission to India and China following the war, and the Tibetan Trade Mission which visited India, China, the United States and Britain in 1948. This mission was led by Shakabpa and travelled on Tibetan passports despite the manoeuvres of the Chinese to prevent this. Also covers Tibet's internal politics in the 1940s.

3795. Kopp, H. 1957. *Himalaya shuttlecock*. Translated by H.C. Stevens. London, Hutchinson. 191 p.

Account of his escape from Dehra Dun Prison Camp twice, in 1943 and in 1944, his first route taking him briefly to Western Tibet, and his second through Western Tibet to Gartok, Lake Manasarovar, Tradom, and into Nepal to Kathmandu.

3796. Levenson, C.B. 1988. *The Dalai Lama: a biography*. Translated by S. Fox. London, Unwin Hyman. ix, 291 p.

Biography of the 14th Dalai Lama preceded by a history of previous Dalai Lamas and their contacts with China, Britain and Mongolia.

3797. Levenson, C.B. 2002. *Tenzin Gyatso: the early life of the Dalai Lama*. Translated by J. Rowe. Berkeley, North Atlantic Books. xi, 155 p.
Emphasis on the social and political aspects of the early years of the 14th Dalai Lama from his arrival in Lhasa in 1939 until his departure from Tibet in 1959. The Testament of the 13th Dalai Lama written in 1933 is included in an appendix.
3798. Liao, H.S. 1990. The United States and Tibet in the 1940s. *Issues & Studies* 26(6): 115-126.
United States contact with Tibet arose from its desire to support China against Japan during World War II, and its attitude was strongly influenced by the Chinese government's Tibet policy. Covers the Tolstoy/Dolan mission which took letters and gifts from Roosevelt to the Dalai Lama in 1943, and the Tibetan Trade mission to the United States in 1948. Also mentions the Tibetan goodwill mission which called on George Merrell of the U.S. Embassy in New Delhi and delivered letters from the Dalai Lama to President Truman. Merrell, like A.J. Hopkinson, the British Political Officer in Sikkim, considered Tibet strategically important, and urged the U.S. to follow up contacts with Tibet after the War.
3799. Lin, Hsiao-ting. 2002. Between rhetoric and reality: Nationalist China's Tibetan agenda during the Second World War. *Can. J. Hist.* 37(3): 485-509.
Argues that Chiang Kai-shek's regime took a more pragmatic view of Tibetan issues than is usually recognised and that attempts to assert Chinese rights in the border areas were mainly based on considerations of regime security and military strategy. Covers in detail Chinese attempts to build a road through Tibet linking China and India, the resistance of the Tibetans, and British efforts to gain Tibetan compliance. Also details the establishment of the Tibetan Foreign Office Bureau in 1942 and the clashes between Chinese and Tibetan troops during the war.
3800. McKay, A. 2001. Hugh Edward Richardson (1905-2000) [obituary]. *IIAS Newsletter* no. 24: 18, Feb.
3801. Mansergh, N. 1947. The Asian Conference. *Int. Aff.* 23: 295-306.
Detailed account of the Conference where Tibet is listed as having eight delegates.
3802. Nyima, G.Q. and Dorje, L.C. 2000. Lhasa English school: short-lived. *China's Tibet* 11(2): 45-46.
The reasons why the school was established in July 1944 and closed five months later due to the opposition of the monasteries.
3803. Pal, P. 1999. H.E. Richardson: an "Old Tibet hand". *Orientalism* 30(1): 45-54.
Account of Richardson's career and life in Tibet, illustrated by historical photos taken by Richardson and others, and interspersed with comments made by Richardson to the author who visited him in Scotland.

3804. Peters, W. 1994. Sir Algernon Rumbold, KCMG, CIE. [obituary]. *Asian Affairs* 25: 242.

Rumbold drafted the text on the British view of Tibet for the meeting between Anthony Eden and T.V. Soong, the Chinese Foreign Minister, in 1943.

3805. Rahul, R.N. 1951. Tibetan missions abroad. *India Q.* 7: 71-75.

Account of the establishment of the Tibetan Foreign Affairs Bureau in 1943-1944 and the subsequent Tibetan missions sent to India and China from 1946.

3806. Rawson, R.R. 1947. Tibet and civil aviation [letter]. *Geogr. J.* 110: 261.

Notes that the operation of civil aircraft from airfields in Tibet is impracticable even though 'on some of the small scale aviation maps prepared in 1941 two landing areas are indicated in Southern Tibet between Yatung and Gyantse'. Rawson had examined these sites from the ground in 1943.

3807. Richardson, H.E. 1980. The Rwa-sgreng conspiracy of 1947. In: *Tibetan studies in honour of Hugh Richardson. Proceedings of the International Seminar on Tibetan Studies, Oxford, 1979.* Ed. by M.V. Aris and Aung San Suu Kyi. Warminster, Aris & Phillips Ltd, p. xvi-xx. Reprinted in his *High peaks, pure earth* (see no. 1869), p. 714-721, and in A. McKay, ed. *The history of Tibet. Vol. 3.* (see no. 211), p. 538-544.

Rwa-sgreng (Reting) Rin-poche was appointed regent following the death of the 13th Dalai Lama in 1933 and held this position until 1940 when he resigned. Richardson gives a first hand account of his encounters with the Regent and describes the background to the conspiracy which aimed to restore him to power and which had sought Chinese support against the government.

3808. Richardson, H.E. 1991. The independence of Tibet. In: P.K. Kelly, G. Bastian, and P. Aiello, eds. *The anguish of Tibet.* Berkeley, Calif., Parallax Press, p. 33-36.

Tibet's status as an independent nation as demonstrated by events during Richardson's time at the British Mission in Lhasa.

3809. Richardson, H.E. 1992. Reminiscences of life in old Tibet. *Bull. Dept. Sanskrit Indian Stud. Harvard Univ.* 2(3): 11-18. Reprinted in his *High peaks, pure earth* (see no. 1869), p. 739-746.

Reminiscences of his time as head of the British mission in Lhasa.

3810. Richardson, H.E. 1993. *Ceremonies of the Lhasa Year.* Ed. by M. Aris. London, Serindia Publications. 133 p.
[Reviewed: T.Huber, *Tibet J.* 20(1): 125-128, 1995; W.Peters, *Asian Affairs* 27: 195, 1996]

Richly illustrated work which describes the main festivals and rituals celebrated annually in Lhasa and its environs during the middle part of the twentieth century as witnessed by Richardson whilst he was the British representative in Lhasa. Richardson's introduction includes comments on his life in Lhasa.

3811. Riencourt, A. de. 1950. *Lost world: Tibet, key to Asia*. London, Gollancz. 317 p. Updated edition: London, Honeyglen, 1987. 335 p. American edition (New York, Rinehart) has title: *Roof of the world: Tibet, key to Asia*.
[Reviewed: W.Peters, *Asian Affairs* 22: 189-190, 1991]
- Describes his journey to Lhasa in 1947 and includes comments on Tsarong Shape and his son, George Tsarong, his meeting with the Dalai Lama and contact with Hugh Richardson. He also gives an account of Tibet's relations with China and Britain in the twentieth century, and of the effect of British withdrawal from India and reactions to it in Tibet.
3812. Shai, A. 1984. *Britain and China, 1941-47: imperial momentum*. London, Macmillan in association with St Antony's College, Oxford. xi, 190 p.
- Briefly covers British attitudes towards Tibet during this period.
3813. Shakya, Tsering W. 1990. 1948 Tibetan trade mission to the United Kingdom. *Tibet J.* 15(4): 97-114. Reprinted in A. McKay, ed. *The history of Tibet. Vol. 3.* (see no. 211), p. 573-585.
- Shakabpa, the Tibetan Finance Minister, led Tibet's first official mission to the West which visited India, China, the United States and Britain. The significance of the mission and the problems it created for the British Government are examined, and some of the correspondence which passed between Shakabpa and the British Government reproduced.
3814. *Sinclair, W.B. 1965. *Jump to the land of God; the adventures of a United States Air Force crew in Tibet*. Based on interviews with Robert E. Crozier. Caldwell, Idaho, Caxton Printers. 313 p. Source: Library of Congress Catalogue.
- Lt Robert Crozier flew the supply route between India and China during the War. In November 1943 he and his four crew members ended up briefly in Lhasa after they baled out of their plane which crashed in southern Tibet near Samye. In Lhasa they stayed at the British Mission with George Sherriff.
3815. Sinha, N.C. 1965. Tibet's status during the World War. *Bull. Tibetol.* 2(2): 31-35.
- Concerns British relations with Tibet and Tibetan neutrality during World War II. Also discusses the treaty signed between Great Britain and China on January 11, 1943 by which Britain relinquished her extraterritorial rights in China. The treaty, however, makes no mention of Tibet.
3816. Smith, R.H. 1972. *OSS: the secret history of America's first Central Intelligence Agency*. Berkeley, University of California Press. xii, 458 p.
- Includes a brief account of the Dolan/Tolstoy mission to Tibet which was the responsibility of the U.S. Office of Strategic Services.
3817. Snellgrove, D.L. 1980. An appreciation of Hugh Richardson. In: *Tibetan studies in honour of Hugh Richardson. Proceedings of the International*

Seminar on Tibetan Studies, Oxford, 1979. Ed. by M.V. Aris and Aung San Suu Kyi. Warminster, Aris & Phillips, pp. vii-xi.

Brief history of European contacts with Tibet and the part played by Richardson in Tibet from 1936.

3818. Stoddard, H. 1985. *Le mendiant de l'Amdo*. Paris, Societe d'Ethnographie. 395 p.

[Reviewed: P.Kvaerne, *Tibet J.* 12(3): 68-74, 1987]

The first part covers the period 1895 to 1951 which provides the context for the actions of the 13th Dalai Lama and his relations with the British and Chinese, and also examines the emerging political consciousness in this period amongst some Tibetans and the rise of the Tibetan Progressist Party. The second part is devoted to a biography of Gedun Chompel, one of the major Tibetan 'modernists'. There is a brief biography and index of the major Tibetan, British and Chinese officials involved in this period.

3819. Stoddard, H. 1986. Tibet from Buddhism to communism. *Govt. Opposition* 21(1): 76-95.

Examines the Tibetan reform movement in the years following the death of the 13th Dalai Lama and the history of the Tibetan Progressist (or Revolutionary) Party which was formed in 1939 in Kalimpong. The careers of a number of the leading Tibetan radicals including Gedun Chompel and other Tibetan officials of this period, and the reaction of the British to the movement, are also examined.

3820. Thomas, L.J. Jr. 1951. *Out of this world; across the Himalayas to Tibet*. London, Macdonald. 238 p.

[Reviewed: B.J.Gould, *Pacific Affairs* 24: 329-330, 1951]

On his journey to Lhasa with his father in 1949 at the invitation of the Tibetan Government. Includes comments on British relations with Tibet in the past, on Europeans in Tibet at the time of their visit, and on prominent Tibetan officials.

3821. Tobin, H.W. 1948. Nanga Parbat to Lhasa: the adventures of two Austrian climbers. *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 35: 168-175.

Includes no. 3769 with comments on the journey of Harrer and Aufschnaiter through Tibet and their life in Lhasa.

3822. Tolstoy, I. 1946. Across Tibet from India to China. *Natn. geogr. Mag.* 90: 169-222.

In 1942 Tolstoy and Captain Brooke Dolan, both of the United States Army, were sent on a mission to Tibet to examine routes for transporting supplies from India to China via Tibet. Tolstoy describes the negotiations made with Lhasa by the British for the trip, their journey, and their meeting with the Dalai Lama to deliver a letter from President Roosevelt. A map showing their route from Darjeeling to Lhasa and from there to Lanchow in China is included.

3823. Tsering, D. 2000. *Dalai Lama, my son: a mother's story*. Ed. and introduced by Khedroob Thondup. London, Viking/Arkana. xii, 189 p.

Includes information on events and officials in Lhasa in the 1940s.

3824. Tsomo, T. and Sharan, S., eds. 1998. *Tibet since the Asian Relations Conference*. New Delhi, Tibetan Parliamentary & Policy Research Centre. ii, 111 p.

Part 1 contains some of the relevant articles and news clippings related to, and prominent speeches made, during the Conference of 1947. Part 2 presents the proceedings of the Seminar on 'Tibet since the Asian Relations Conference' which was organised by TPPRC in September 1997.

3825. Tucci, G. 1956. *To Lhasa and beyond. Diary of an expedition to Tibet in the year MCMXLVIII*. Translated from the Italian by M. Carelli. Rome Instituto Poligrafico dello Stato. 195 p. Reprinted: Ithaca, N.Y., Snow Lion Publications, 1987.

Tucci received permission from the Tibetan and British Governments to visit Lhasa in 1947. He describes the journey he made there in 1948 from Sikkim and includes many comments on pre-1948 Tibet.

3826. Toker, F. 1950. *While memory serves*. London, Cassell. xiv, 668 p.

Account of the last two years of British rule in India when Toker was in charge of the Eastern Command. See Appendix IX, 'India's Mongolian frontier' in which Toker stresses the strategic need for India to prevent the military occupation of the Tibetan plateau by China, and the danger to India if Sikkim, Bhutan, and especially Nepal are alienated. See also no. 3829.

3827. Tung, R.J. 1980. *A portrait of lost Tibet*. London, Thames and Hudson. xvi, 224 p.
Reprinted: Ithaca, N.Y., Snow Lion Publications, 1987; Berkeley, University of California Press, 1996.

A photographic account of Tibet as it was before the Chinese invasion with photographs taken by Ilya Tolstoy and Brooke Dolan as they travelled through Tibet in 1942. The photos are complemented by Tung's text which describes the mission and the society of the time.

3828. U.S. Dept. of State. 1956, 1957. *Foreign relations of the United States. Diplomatic papers: China. 1942, 1943*. Washington, U.S. Govt Printing Office. 2 vols.

See 'Efforts to establish a supply route to China through Tibet: attitude of the United States toward the status of Tibet' 1942, p. 624-631 and 1943, p. 620-644; includes correspondence on the plans to send Tolstoy and Dolan on a mission from India to China via Tibet, on British efforts to obtain Tibetan permission for the passage of supplies across their country, and British and United States views on the status of Tibet.

3829. Wainwright, M.D. 1970. Keeping the peace in India, 1946-7: the role of Lieut.-General Sir Francis Toker in Eastern Command. In: C.H. Philips and M.D. Wainwright, eds. *The partition of India: policies and perspectives 1935-1947*. London, G. Allen & Unwin, p. 127-147.

Wainwright reports that Toker recommended that 'rather than see a Chinese

occupation of Tibet, India should be prepared to occupy the plateau herself, for an invasion of India by various routes through Tibet would be quite practicable with modern equipment' (p. 145).

3830. Waller, D. 1996. "Mud" and "Slug": the first American mission to Tibet. *Southeast Rev. Asian Stud.* 18: 59-71.

Account of the first official American mission to Tibet led by Iliia Tolstoy and Brooke Nolan in 1942-1943 which was organised by the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) which later became the Central Intelligence Agency. The stated aim of the mission was to examine routes through Tibet from India to China which could be used to transport supplies during the war. Permission to visit Lhasa was gained following a request to the Tibetan Foreign Office by Frank Ludlow, the British representative in Lhasa, and information is also provided on Tolstoy and Dolan's relations with Ludlow whilst in Lhasa and their negotiations with the Tibetan officials.

3831. Yang, Yun-yuan. 1987. Controversies over Tibet: China versus India, 1947-49. *China Q., Lond.* no. 111: 407-420.

Analyses disputes between India and Nationalist China in the years 1947-1949 which demonstrated that India initially adopted the British policy of active involvement in Tibet. This was shown by India inviting Tibet to attend the Asian Relations Conference in 1947 in New Delhi, maintaining the validity of the McMahon Line, and retaining Richardson to head its Mission in Lhasa

See also nos 185, 223, 1771, 1838, 2400, 2408, 2426, 2428, 2430, 2433, 2446, 2449, 2453, 2463, 2470, 2473, 2477-8, 2480-1, 2492-3, 2501, 2508, 3254, 3373, 3380-2, 3389, 3402, 3412, 3553, 3559, 3570, 3587, 3608, 3612-13, 3647, 3866.

Chapter XV

ASSAM HIMALAYAN REGION 1914-1947

In 1912-1913 the Assam Himalayan Region was divided into three sections, the Western, Central and Eastern Sections under the control of Political Officers. The Western Section encompassed the Tawang and Subansiri Regions occupied by the Monpas, Akas, Daflas, and Apa Tanis; in 1919 this Section became the Balipara Frontier Tract. The Central and Eastern Sections containing the Dihang and Lohit Regions and occupied by the Abors and Mishmis were combined as the Sadiya Frontier Tract in 1919. These two Tracts formed the North-East Frontier Agency which is now known as Arunachal Pradesh.

World War I diverted attention from the Assam Himalayan Region and it was not until the mid-1930's, when attempts were made to have the existence of the McMahon Line made public, that official interest was again directed to this Region. The Anglo-Tibetan agreement signed during the Simla Conference, which established the McMahon Line as the border between India and Tibet from Bhutan to Burma, had not been officially published; nor had the McMahon Line appeared on Survey of India maps. It was also known that Tibetans were still collecting taxes across the Line in Tawang. In 1935 the question of the McMahon Line was raised by an incident involving the botanist Kingdon Ward, who crossed into Tibet from Tawang without the permission of the Tibetan Government. This led to Tibetan complaints to Williamson, and later to Gould on their missions to Lhasa in 1935 and 1936-1937 respectively, and resulted in Gould discussing the McMahon Line and the status of Tawang with the Tibetan authorities. At this time there was also evidence of renewed Chinese interest and activity in Tibet, and the publication of Chinese maps showing the Assam Himalayan Region as part of Chinese Tibet, was causing alarm in India. In 1938 the British decided to end this unsatisfactory situation by producing a revised edition of vol. XIV of Aitchison's *Treaties* (see no. 124) and substituting it for the same volume issued in 1929 which had not mentioned the existence of the McMahon Line. The revised edition was very similar to the 1929 edition, including the date of publication, except for the passages referring to the Simla Conference which were expanded to include details of the agreements made between the Tibetan and British delegates at the Conference without Chinese participation. Orders were given to destroy copies of the original 1929 edition; however several copies were overlooked and when the 1973 Kraus reprint of this edition of Aitchison's *Treaties* was printed it included the original volume XIV not the revised volume.

In the late 1930's there were several expeditions into the tribal areas by the Political Officers. However, it was not until 1943, when the Japanese in World War II had demonstrated the strategic importance and vulnerability of the Assam Himalayas, that active measures were taken to extend British administration up

to the McMahon Line. Despite this there were still areas of the McMahon Line not visited by the British in 1947.

1. GENERAL

3832. Barpujari, H.K. 1990. New light on the proposed Crown Colony: North-East India. *Proc. Indian hist. Rec. Comm.* 53: 24-30.

On proposals considered by the British in the 1930s and 1940s on the future of North-East India.

3833. Bhattacharya, B. 1963. Some thoughts on "A philosophy for N.E.F.A." *United Asia* 15(4): 327-329, April.

Criticism of no. 3835.

3834. Elwin, V. 1956/1957. The North-East Frontier Agency of India. *Geogr. Mag., Lond.* 29: 405-416.

Includes a brief account of British contact with the tribal areas in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and the work of the Political Officers.

3835. Elwin, V. 1959. *A philosophy for NEFA*. 2nd ed. rev. Shillong, North-East Frontier Agency. xvii, 296 p. [1st ed. 1957]

Includes a chapter on the history of the region which in 1959 was the North-East Frontier Agency including comments on British relations with the hill tribes.

3836. Gupta, K. 1971. The McMahon Line 1911-45: the British legacy. *China Q., Lond.* no. 47: 521-545.

Examines the reasons why the Anglo-Tibetan agreements on trade and the McMahon Line were not published following the Simla Conference, and why the policy was changed in the 1930's. This led to vol. XIV of the 1929 edition of Aitchison's *Treaties* (see no.124) being reissued in 1938 with the sections concerning the Simla Conference changed. Also highlights the views of Henry Twynam, the Acting Governor of Assam in 1939-1940, on Tawang, and the offer made by Gould to the Tibetans in 1944 to change the border to the vicinity of the Se La. Twynam's views are reproduced in detail in the appendix.

3837. Gupta, K. 1974. *The hidden history of the Sino-Indian frontier*. Calcutta, Minerva Associates. xiii, 173 p.

[Reviewed: H.K.Barpujari, *Indian hist. Rev.* 2(1): 238-240, 1975; N.Maxwell, *Int. Aff.* 51(2): 286-288, 1975; A.Rumbold, *Asian Affairs* 64: 210-212, 1977]

Argues that the problems of the Sino-Indian frontier are the fault of the British who bequeathed to India a largely unsettled northern border. Examines the problems of the McMahon Line, the difficulties which resulted from the non publication of details of the Line as set down in the Simla agreements until 1938, and the part played by Sir Olaf Caroe. Also discusses attempts by the British to extend their administration up to the McMahon Line in the late 1930s and 1940s.

3838. Gupta, K. 1982. *Spotlight on Sino-Indian frontiers*. Calcutta, New Book Centre. vi, 178 p.

Collection of mainly previously published articles on the Sino-Indian border dispute. They include nos 2427, 3239 and 3836. There is also a substantial chapter 'In quest of source materials of the Sino-Indian dispute' which examines his research on the subject.

3839. India. General Staff. 1923. *Military report on the Presidency and Assam District, 1922*. Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing, India. iv, 290 p.

Report on the history, geography, resources, administration and military details of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Assam. A map showing the distribution of Assam Rifles outposts in Assam in December 1921 is included.

3840. India. General Staff. 1931. *Military report on the Presidency and Assam District, 1931. Vol. II. Northern Frontier Tracts*. Simla, Government of India Press. viii, 224 p.

Supersedes nos 3883, 3884, 3918 and 3919. It includes a detailed account of British contact with the tribal areas and on the expeditions sent against the hill tribes. The section on the Lohit also contains an account of Chinese activity in Tibet. A large-scale map of the area showing the location of the different tribes and the Assam Rifles headquarters and outposts is included.

3841. India. General Staff. 1940. *Routes in the Presidency and Assam District, 1939. Vol. II. Frontier Tracts*. New Delhi, Government of India Press. 139, vii p.

Brief details are given for each route. A large-scale map of Assam on which the routes listed are marked, is included.

3842. Jing Hui. 1989. The truth about the eastern sector of the China-India border. *China Report* 25(1): 99-112.

Argues that the traditional customary boundary lies along the southern foot of the Himalayas and that the McMahon Line is not a natural boundary and was a product of an aggressive British policy. Also claims that the British never exercised jurisdiction in the area north of the traditional boundary.

3843. Kolmas, J. 1980. The McMahon Line: the further development of the disputed frontier. In: *Tibetan studies in honour of Hugh Richardson. Proceedings of the International Seminar on Tibetan Studies, Oxford, 1979*. Ed. by M.V. Aris and Aung San Suu Kyi. Warminster, Aris & Phillips, p. 177-184.

The fate of the McMahon Line after 1914, the two versions of volume XIV of the 1929 edition of Aitchison's *Treaties*, and an account of when the McMahon Line first began to appear on British maps - possibly as late as 1940.

3844. Liu Shengqi. 1991. Why Volume XIV of 1929 in *A collection of treaties, engagements and sanads relating to India and neighbouring countries* has two different editions - with comments on the Simla Conference (1913-

1914). In: Hu Tan, ed. *Theses on Tibetology in China*. Beijing, China Tibetology Publishing House, p. 233-289.

Provides an historical perspective on why and how the secret agreements between Tibet and Britain concluded at the Simla Conference, especially the agreement on the eastern border of India with Tibet, were only published in 1938, and describes the measures taken by Olaf Caroe to publicise the existence of the McMahon Line just before the reissue of Vol XIV of Aitchison's *Treaties*. Also notes some of the disagreements between the India Office and the Foreign Office on the issue.

3845. Liu Xuecheng. 1994. *The Sino-Indian border dispute and Sino-Indian relations*. Lanham, Md., University Press of America. xiii, 221 p. [Reviewed: Y. Grover, *Pacific Affairs* 68(3): 417-418, 1995; S. Mansingh, *China Report* 33(1): 111-113, 1997]

Based on both Chinese and western sources it analyses the Sino-Indian border issue from 1947 to 1993, when agreement was reached between India and China on maintaining peace along the line of actual control on the borders, and suggests options for a final settlement. Liu stresses that the border dispute is left over by history and includes a detailed section reviewing the historical origins of the dispute during British rule with emphasis on the Simla Conference and the McMahon Line, British expeditions into the tribal areas on the North-East frontier, and the two versions of Aitchison's *Treaties*. He also deals with the origins of the dispute over the Aksai Chin.

3846. Mehra, P. 1972. A forgotten chapter in the history of the Northeast Frontier: 1914-36. *J. Asian Stud.* 31: 299-308.

Outlines the reasons why Britain did not publish the texts of the Anglo-Tibetan agreements on trade and their border concluded during the Simla Conference until the 1930s. Also traces Chinese activity in Tibet from 1932 and the counter measures taken by the British especially the visit of Williamson to Tibet in 1935.

3847. Mills, J.P. 1950. Problems of the Assam-Tibet frontier. *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 37: 152-161.

In 1943 Mills was given the task of 'making the [Simla] Convention boundary good'. He describes in detail the four main routes from Tibet to the Assam Valley and outlines the problems facing him in each area in 1943, and the problems existing in 1950. He especially emphasises the problems of the Tawang area where Tibetan monastic officials still collected taxes.

3848. Nair, U.B. 1918. Germany and our North-East Frontier. *Hindustan Rev.* 38: 155-158, July/Dec.

Discusses secret military movements against British India as revealed in a recent German-Indian conspiracy trial in San Francisco. Also examines the dangers to the North East Frontier of India in recent years, especially from China, and recent British contacts with tribes in the area.

3849. National Seminar on Hill People of North-Eastern India, Calcutta. 1967. *A common perspective for North-East India: speeches and papers...*; with a general introduction by Shri Pannalal Das Gupta. Calcutta, P. Das Gupta. xvi, 257 p.

A number of the papers include reference to the administration of Assam by the British, and to British contact with the tribal areas.

3850. Nyman, L.-E. 1976. Tawang: a case study of British frontier policy in the Himalayas. *J. Asian Hist.* 10: 151-171.

Traces the development of frontier policy from a cartographic annexation of Tawang at the Simla Conference to the sudden rediscovery and attempts to resolve this boundary question in the 1930s. Concludes that the British carried on two levels of negotiations at Simla in 1914. On one level they dealt with resolving the Himalayan frontier, and on the other there was an Anglo-Tibetan agreement drawn up by Charles Bell under which the Tibetans received various concessions from the British in exchange for not objecting to the British annexation of Tawang.

3851. Palit, D.K. 1984. *Sentinels of the North-East: the Assam Rifles*. New Delhi, Palit & Palit. 344 p.
[Reviewed: R.Rama Rao, *India Q.* 42(2): 216-217, 1986; *J. un. Serv. Instn India* 116(485): 285-289, 1986]

Traces their history from 1824 to the end of the 1970s. Includes accounts of their participation in operations against the hill tribes, their consolidation of the tribal areas after World War I, and the disputes about the McMahon Line in Tawang.

3852. Reid, R. 1943. The hill tribes of Assam. *United Empire* 34: 171-174.

Includes an account of British relations with the hill tribes.

3853. Reid, R. 1944. Assam. *Jl. R. Soc. Arts* 92: 241-247.

General account of Assam including information on its inhabitants, frontiers and present administrative divisions.

3854. Reid, R. 1944. The excluded areas of Assam. *Geogr. J.* 103: 18-29.

Describes the tribes in these areas and their relations with the British.

3855. Reid, R. 1944. India's North-East Frontier. *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 31: 165-174.

Describes the state of communications in Assam and on the North-East Frontier in 1941, and the improvements made during the war when the Japanese threat focused attention on the region. A map of the area is included.

3856. Reid, R. 1966. *Years of change in Bengal and Assam*. London, E. Benn. 170 p.

Reid was Governor of Assam from 1937 to 1942. His work includes an account of British relations with the tribal areas of Assam and his own official contact with the tribes.

3857. Rose, L.E. and Fisher, M.W. 1967. *The North East Frontier Agency of India*. Berkeley, Institute of International Studies, University of California. vii, 95 p. (U.S. Dept of State publication, 8288. Near and Middle Eastern series, 76)

Includes some historical information on the border areas.

3858. Rustomji, N.K. 1971. *Enchanted frontiers: Sikkim, Bhutan and India's north-eastern borderlands*. Bombay, Oxford University Press. viii, 333 p.

Rustomji was appointed Deputy Commissioner of the Lakhimpur District around 1945 and later held government posts in the North East Frontier Agency, Sikkim and Bhutan in the years after Indian independence. He describes his years spent in these areas and comments on their earlier relations with the British.

3859. Shakespear, J. 1920. Reflections on the government of wild tribes of the North-Eastern Frontier of India. *Asiat. Rev.* 16: 217-242.

The problems and experiences of political officers working in the tribal areas and their methods of gaining influence with the tribes.

3860. Song Yue. 1991. On the illegality of the establishment of the "Arunachal State" by India. In: Hu Tan, ed. *Theses on Tibetology in China*. Beijing, China Tibetology Publishing House, p. 387-438.

Examines British, and later Indian, 'expansion and aggression' in the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian boundary and claims that areas of Monyul, Loyul and Lower Tsayul have always been under China's effective administration. Includes a detailed analysis of the Simla Conference and the drawing of the McMahon Line.

3861. Ward, F. Kingdon. 1935. India's North-East Frontier. *Geogr. Mag., Lond.* 1: 66-74.

Outlines the reasons for the lack of contact between India and China through the Assam Himalayan Region. These are mainly the thick impenetrable forest and the lack of salt in this zone. He stresses the importance of salt in determining trade routes etc. in this region.

3862. Wood, R. 1953. The hill tribes of Assam. *J. Bombay Brch R. Asiat. Soc.* 28: 187-214.

Includes a brief account of the Abors, Daflas and Mishmis.

See also nos 124, 127, 2090, 2104, 2108, 2113, 2116, 2127, 2160, 2210, 2408, 2427, 2453, 2455, 2470, 3239, 3241, 3259, 3263, 3269, 3389, 3448.

2. BALIPARA FRONTIER TRACT

Captain G.A. Nevill was the first Political Officer of the Western Section of the North-East Frontier established in 1913, and he was still in charge when the Western Section became the Balipara Frontier Tract in 1919. He visited Tawang in 1914 and urged a forward British policy in the area but his report was shelved and Tibetan officials continued to collect taxes in Tawang.

Although Tawang was visited by travellers such as Ludlow, Sherriff and Kingdon Ward, it was not until 1938 that an official mission was sent there again. This was led by Captain G.S. Lightfoot, the Political Officer in charge of the Balipara Frontier Tract, who was to inform officials in Tawang that the area

was Indian not Tibetan. His visit led to Tibetan protests and a request for his withdrawal. On his return Lightfoot proposed that British officials be permanently stationed in Tawang and that Tibetan officials be made to withdraw from the area. However, his proposals, like those of Nevill, were ignored.

In 1943 J.P. Mills was given the task of 'making good' the McMahon Line. In the Subansiri Region he was assisted by Christoph Füller-Haimendorf who toured the area in 1944 and 1945. After his journeys a new administrative area of the Subansiri was established and Captain F.N. Betts was placed in charge. In the Tawang Region British armed posts had been established south of the Se La by 1947 but Tawang itself continued to be largely taxed and administered by Tibet.

a) General

3863. Anon. 1935. Eastern Bhutan. *Himalayan J.* 7: 148.

Brief account of the 1934 journey made by Ludlow and Sherriff to East Bhutan, Tawang, and Southern Tibet. A map of their route is included in no. 3652.

3864. Anon. 1937. The sources of the Subansiri and Siyom. *Himalayan J.* 9: 144-147.

Account of the 1936 journey of Ludlow, Sherriff and Lumsden through Tawang to the upper regions of these rivers in Southern Tibet. Comments are included on the contacts between the Himalayan tribes and the Tibetans. See also no. 3885.

3865. Ali, I. 1946. *Tour diary of I. Ali, Esq., I.P., Political Officer, Balipara Frontier Tract, from February 1944 to November 1945.* Shillong, Assam Government Press. 27 p.

Account of his tours in the Rupa and Dirang Dzong areas of the Tawang Region, and in Dafla and Aka country.

3866. Bor, E. 1952. *Adventures of a botanist's wife.* London, Hurst & Blackett. 204 p.

Her husband was Political Officer of the Balipara Frontier Tract from 1932 to 1934 and she describes their tours to visit the Monpas, Akas and Daflas during these years. She also comments on Tibetan influence in the tribal areas. They returned to Assam in 1942 and towards the end of World War II got permission to use their leave to visit Yatung and Phari in Tibet.

3867. [Bower, U.G. 1947. The Subansiri area of Assam: letter from Mrs Betts]. *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 34: 112.

Account of their journey to the Subansiri area.

3868. [Bower U.G.] 1949. The Daflas of the Subansiri area, by Ursula Betts. *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 36: 146-154.

Her husband, Lieut.-Col. F.N. Betts, was appointed Political Officer of the newly formed Subansiri area in 1946. Her account outlines their attempts from 1946 to

1948 to extend British administration in the area, and their relations with the Daflas and Apa Tanis. A map of the Subansiri area is included.

3869. Bower, U.G. 1953. *The hidden land*. London, J. Murray. xx, 244 p.

Account of their experiences and exploration in the Subansiri area from 1946 to 1948, and also in Balipara in 1947 when Betts was in charge of this area for a short period. They visited Rupa and Dirang Dzong and she comments on the extent of Tibetan influence in the region.

3870. Brown, W.L. 1946. The lama rides a jeep. *Asia and the Americas* 46: 28-29, Jan.

On the annual celebration in Udalguri of the agreement concluded between the British and Monpas in 1853.

3871. Davy, A.E.G. 1946. *Tour diary of Captain A.E.G. Davy, Additional Political Officer, Balipara Frontier Tract, December 1st 1944 to March 30th 1945*. Shillong, Assam Government Press. 80 p.

Account of his tour in country occupied by the Apa Tanis.

3872. Elwin, V. 1959/1960. The Dalai Lama comes to India. *Geogr. Mag., Lond.* 32: 161-169.

Account of the flight of the 14th Dalai Lama to India in 1959 through Tawang. Includes comments on the ties of Tawang with Tibet.

3873. Fűrër-Haimendorf, C. von. 1947. *Exploration in the Eastern Himalayas: diaries of travel in the Subansiri area 1944 and 1945*. Shillong, Assam Government Press. 137 p. [Cover title: *Tour diaries of the Special Officer Subansiri, 1944-45*]

Fűrër-Haimendorf was appointed Special Officer, Subansiri, in February 1944, with instructions to establish friendly relations with the tribes of the region and to explore the upper reaches of the Subansiri River. His diaries give a detailed account of his travels in the area and his contacts with the Daflas and Apa Tanis. A large-scale map of the Subansiri Region showing the tribal groups is included.

3874. Fűrër-Haimendorf, C. von. 1947. *A note on a tour in the Eastern Dafla and Apa Tani country in November and December 1946*. Shillong, Assam Government Press. 4 p.

Brief account of his tour and of the difficulties facing the newly appointed Political Officer of the Subansiri Region, Lieut.-Col. Betts.

3875. Fűrër-Haimendorf, C. von. 1948. The tribes of the Subansiri Region. *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 35: 238-248.

Describes the Balipara Frontier Tract and his journey in the Subansiri Region in 1944-1945 on behalf of the Government of India. Comments on the trade of the tribes he contacted with both Tibet and Assam, and Tibetan influence in the area are also included.

3876. Furer-Haimendorf, C. von. 1949. Anthropology and administration in the tribal areas of the North East Frontier. *East. Anthropol.* 3: 8-14.

Account of the Subansiri Region which is occupied by the Daflas, Apa Tanis and Hill Miris, and the attitude of the Government to this region since 1944.

3877. Furer-Haimendorf, C. von. 1950. *Ethnographic notes on the tribes of the Subansiri Region*. Shillong. Assam Government Press. 61 p.

Includes an account of the method of government adopted by the British in the Subansiri Region, and of the trade of the tribal groups either with Tibet or with populations under Tibetan influence. Information on communications in the region is also included. There is a map of the region showing the tribal groups.

3878. Furer-Haimendorf, C. von. 1955. *Himalayan barbary*. London, J. Murray. xiv, 241 p.

[Reviewed: J.P.M., *Geogr. J.* 122: 110-111, 1956; C.Lewis, *Geogr. J.* 122: 403-404, 1956; H.W.T[obin], *Himalayan J.* 19: 195-197, 1955/1956]

Account of his travels in the Subansiri Region in 1944 and 1945. It includes much information on tribal contacts with Tibet.

3879. Furer-Haimendorf, C. von. 1960. Primitive peoples of the McMahon Line country: tribal life in a territory now claimed by China. *Ill. Lond. News* 236: 92-95, Jan. 16.

Briefly traces the history of Ahom and British contacts with the Upper Assam tribes, and describes the tribes as they were when he visited the Subansiri Region in 1944-1945. Also includes a brief discussion of Chinese claims to the tribal area.

3880. Furer-Haimendorf, C. von. 1962. *The Apa Tanis and their neighbours; a primitive civilization of the Eastern Himalayas*. London, Routledge & K. Paul. x, 166 p.

[Reviewed: R.Burling, *Am. Anthropologist* 65: 957-958, 1963; R.Needham, *Man* 63(129): 99-100, 1963; J.H.Hutton, *Bull. Sch. Orient. Afr. Stud.* 26: 450-451, 1963]

An ethnological account of the Apa Tanis of the Subansiri Region whom he visited in 1944, 1945 and 1962. It includes comments on their trade in Tibetan goods which reached them through their Dafla and Miri neighbours.

3881. Furer-Haimendorf, C. von. 1983. *Himalayan adventure: early travels in North-East India*. New Delhi, Sterling Publishers. xv, 243 p.

Revised and expanded edition of no. 3878. He was appointed Special Officer, Subansiri in 1944 with the task of establishing friendly relations with the tribes and of collecting information on their economic and social conditions.

3882. Huber, T. 1999. *The cult of Pure Crystal Mountain: popular pilgrimage and visionary landscape in southeast Tibet*. New York, Oxford University Press. xv, 297 p.

A comprehensive account of Tibetan life in the Tsari district of southeast Tibet and of pilgrimage to Dakpa Sheri (Pure Crystal Mountain). During the associated pilgrimage circuit the Tibetan pilgrims passed through the upper Subansiri valley

where they encountered the hill tribes of the region. Also includes a brief account of British attempts to extend administrative control over the tribes of the Subansiri region, and of the drawing of the McMahon Line which included this area as part of India, ignoring the fact that the Tibetans considered the region as sacred and that the pilgrimage circuit went some 20 miles south of the McMahon Line.

3883. *India. General Staff. 1921. *Military report on the Bhareli River area and Tawang 1920*. Calcutta. Source: no. 2905.

3884. India. General Staff. 1921. *Military report on the Subansiri River area*. Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing, India. vi, 30 p.

Report on the area occupied by the Akas, Daflas, Apa Tanis and Miris. It traces the history of British contact with these tribes and gives information on the boundaries, population, resources, fighting strength and communications of each of the tribal areas. Details of six routes are given and these are marked on the large-scale map of the Subansiri River area which accompanies the report.

3885. Ludlow, F. 1938. The sources of the Subansiri and Siyom. *Himalayan J.* 10: 1-21.

Account of his expedition with G. Sherriff and K. Lumsden in 1936 with the permission of the Bhutanese and Tibetan Governments to the upper basin of the Subansiri River in Tibet in search of natural history specimens. A detailed map of their route is included. Also comments on the pilgrimage of Tibetans across the border to the Assam tribal areas.

3886. Mills, J.P. 1946. *Tour note, by J.P. Mills...Adviser to His Excellency the Governor of Assam for tribal areas and states, for 1943*. Shillong, Assam Government Press. 6 p.

Includes reports on his tours in the Balipara and Sadiya Frontier Tracts in November and December 1943.

3887. Mills, J.P. 1946. *Tour notes of J.P. Mills...Advisor to His Excellency the Governor of Assam for tribal areas and states, 1944*. Shillong, Assam Government Press. 6 p.

Includes reports on his tour to the Balipara Frontier Tract in February-March 1944, and to the Sadiya Frontier Tract in December 1944.

3888. Mills, J.P. 1946. *Tour notes of J.P. Mills...Adviser to His Excellency the Governor of Assam for tribal areas and states, 1945*. Shillong, Assam Government Press. 17 p.

Reports on his visits to Udalguri, the Se La Sub-Agency, and the Eastern Dafla and Apa Tani country in 1945. Includes comments on Tibetan influence in the Se La area.

3889. Mills, J.P. 1947. Tours in the Balipara Frontier Tract, Assam. *Man in India* 27: 4-35.

Account in diary form of his tours to Rupa and Dirang Dzong in May-June 1945, and to the Dafla and Apa Tani areas in November-December 1945.

3890. Tilman, H.W. 1939. Peaks of the Assam Himalaya. *Geogr. J.* 94: 402-404.
Account of his journey to Tawang in 1939 with a brief comment on previous travellers to this area - Bailey and Morshead, 1913, Ludlow and Sherriff 1934 and 1936, and Kingdon Ward 1935 and 1938.
3891. Tilman, H.W. 1940. Assam Himalaya unvisited. *Alpine J.* 52(260): 53-62.
On his journey to Tawang in 1939 to climb mountains on the borders of Tibet.
3892. Tilman, H.W. 1946. *When men and mountains meet*. Cambridge, University Press. x, 232 p.
[Reviewed: R.S.Russell, *Himalayan J.* 14: 94-95, 1947]
The first section of this book describes his journey to Tawang in 1939 and gives a brief account of previous visitors to Tawang. It also describes his climbs in Sikkim following the 1938 Everest Expedition.
- See also nos 2150, 2160, 3263, 3381, 3837, 3847, 3850-1, 3854, 3856, 3860.

b) Exploration by Kingdon Ward

Frank Kingdon Ward was a botanist and professional plant collector who spent most of his life on botanical exploration in the mountain regions of Assam, South-East Tibet, West China and North Burma. He made three journeys to the Balipara Frontier Tract. In 1925 after his journey through Tibet to the Tsangpo Gorge, he returned to India through Tawang (see nos 3682-3692). He next visited the area in 1935 when he crossed into Southern Tibet from Tawang and travelled north of the Tsangpo. Three years later, in 1938, he spent six months in the Tawang Region (or Mönnyul as it is called by the Tibetans). Kingdon Ward was a keen observer and his works include many comments on the extent of Tibetan influence in, and the status of, the Balipara Frontier Tract.

3893. Mason, K. 1958. Frank Kingdon-Ward, 1885-1958 [obituary].
Himalayan J. 21: 141-142.
3894. Ward, F. Kingdon. 1935/1936. A sketch of the vegetation and geography of Tibet. *Proc. Linn. Soc. Lond.* 148: 133-160.
Outlines the work of botanists in the exploration of Tibet and its border regions and briefly gives an account of the route he took in 1935 to Tibet, before describing the vegetation of the region.
3895. Ward, F. Kingdon. 1936. Across Southern Tibet. *Jl R. hort. Soc.* 61: 273-276. *Himalayan J.* 8: 125-129.
Account of his 1935 journey to Tawang and Southern Tibet.
3896. Ward, F. Kingdon. 1936. Botanical and geographical explorations in Tibet, 1935. *Geogr. J.* 88: 385-413.

3897. Ward, F. Kingdon. 1936. Exploring for plants in Southern Tibet. *Nature* 137: 750, May 2.

Account of his 1935 journey to Tibet during which he crossed more than twenty passes between 15,000 and 17,000 ft and 'explored 600 miles of unknown routes'.

3898. [Ward, F. Kingdon.] 1936. Journey in Bhutan and Tibet. *Geogr. J.* 87: 185-186.

Brief account of his 1935 journey.

3899. Ward, F. Kingdon. 1936-1937. Mr F. Kingdon Ward's thirteenth expedition in Asia: journey to Tibet. *Gdnrs' Chron.* 3s., 100: 268-269, 302-304, 336-337, 372-373, 408-409, 444-445, July-Dec. 1936; 3s., 101: 8-9, 40-41, 88-89, 120-121, 170-172, 206-207, 240-241, 290-291, 330-331, 364-365, 406-407, 440-441, Jan.-June 1937; 3s., 102: 8-9, 62-63, 142-143, 178-179, 214-215, 252-253, July-Dec. 1937.

Detailed account of his 1935 journey which was originally planned to only explore the Balipara Frontier Tract. He gives details of his meetings with local officials who gave him permission to proceed to Tibet.

3900. Ward, F. Kingdon. 1936/1937. Tibet. *Indian St. Rlys Mag.* 10: 441-451.

Account of his 1935 journey to Tibet.

3901. Ward, F. Kingdon. 1937. Across Southern Tibet in 1935. *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 24: 114-124.

3902. Ward, F. Kingdon. 1938-1939. The Assam Himalaya: travels in Balipara. *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 25: 610-619; 26: 309-324.

The first part of this article contains an interesting political discussion on British relations with the Balipara Frontier Tract in the twentieth century, and on the political, social and economic ties of Tawang (Mönyul) with Tibet. Notes that, despite the McMahon Line, the Indian Government continued 'to pay an annual subsidy to the de facto rulers of Mönyul apparently under the impression that they were independent chiefs' (p. 614). Most of this money was sent to Lhasa. It was not until 1938 that an expedition was sent to Tawang to inform 'the Mönba of Mönyul' that his people were British subjects. The second part of the article describes his journeys in Balipara in 1935 and 1938.

3903. Ward, F. Kingdon. 1940. Botanical and geographical exploration in the Assam Himalaya. *Geogr. J.* 96: 1-13.

Account of his journey in 1938 in the Tawang Region during which he travelled as far north as the Se La. Includes comments on the political status of Dirang Dzong which pays taxes to two Tibetan Dzongpons appointed from Tawang.

3904. Ward, F. Kingdon. 1940. Exploration in Eastern Himalaya. *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 27: 211-220.

General description of the Tawang Region and of his journey there in 1938.

3905. Ward, F. Kingdon. 1940/1941. Through Assam to Mönyul. *Geogr. Mag., Lond.* 12: 168-181.
Account of his 1938 journey.
3906. Ward, F. Kingdon. 1941. *Assam adventure*. London, J. Cape. 304 p.
[Reviewed: W.D.S. *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 28: 223-224, 1941]
Account of his 1935 journey to Southern Tibet from Tawang which he made without the permission of the Tibetan Government. A map of his route accompanies the work.
3907. Ward, F. Kingdon. 1944. Six months in Mönyul. *Jl R. hort. Soc.* 69: 267-272, 305-307.
Account of his journey to Mönyul in 1938 and his stay in the area of Dirang Dzong. Comments on the government and status of this region are included.
3908. Ward, F. Kingdon. 1985. In search of flowers. *Geogr. Mag., Lond.* 57: 421-423.
Exploration and plant collecting in Monyul.
3909. Ward, F. Kingdon. 1990. *Himalayan enchantment: an anthology*. Chosen and edited with an introduction by J. Whitehead. London, Serindia Publications. xviii, 254 p.
Includes passages from his books and essays many of which relate to his travels in Assam and Tibet.

See also nos 94, 3844, 3846, 3890, 3892.

3. SADIYA FRONTIER TRACT

In the Sadiya Frontier Tract the Tibetans also continued to collect taxes in areas south of the McMahon Line in the upper reaches of the Dihang and Lohit Rivers. Unrest in the Dihang River region led to a visit by the Political Officer, W.H. Calvert in 1936-1937, and in 1939 R.W. Godfrey visited the area to report on Tibetan infiltration and to settle intertribal disputes. In the following year Godfrey made a similar tour up the Lohit River to Rima, the first British official to visit the town since O'Callaghan in 1914, although, as in Tawang, travellers such as Kingdon Ward had made journeys to this area and visited Rima.

The outbreak of World War II led to some investigations of the possibility of constructing a road from Sadiya up the Lohit to Rima. Nothing eventuated but from 1943 an active program of extending British administration into the tribal area was carried out under the supervision of J.P. Mills. From 1943 to 1945 the Lohit Valley was placed in the charge of F.P. Mainprice who made extensive tours in this area, and in 1944 reported that some villages south of the McMahon Line were still paying taxes to Rima. Missions in other strategically placed valleys were also carried out and the number of armed posts in the tribal areas

increased. After the British left India in 1947 the new Indian Government continued this active policy in the Assam Himalayan Region.

a) General

3910. Allen, G.T. 1947. *Tour diary of Major G.T. Allen, M.C., Asst Political Officer, Lohit Valley Sub-Agency, for March to December 1946*. Shillong, Assam Government Press. 19 p.

Mainly concerned with his tours between Sadiya and Walong and the state of the tracks in this area.

3911. Assam. 1928. *Assam District gazetteers. Vol. XI. [The Sadiya and Balipara Frontier Tracts]*. Shillong, Assam Secretariat Press. ii, 100, xii p.; 48, vii p.

Continuation of no. 2091. It includes an account of the geography, history, population, trade, administration etc. of each Tract.

3912. Cross, W.E. 1944. *Report of Lt. Col. W.E. Cross..., R.E. officer accompanying the Menal Krai Column on the Lohit Valley Reconnaissance through the Sadiya Frontier Tract, Assam, India, 15th December 1941 - 6th February 1942*. [London]. 4 pts.

This mission was to report on the possibility of constructing a motor road along the old Sappers and Miners path made in 1912-1913 from Sadiya to Menal Krai near Walong, and also the possibility of using Walong as an air base. Pt I contains his report; pt II, map and diagrams; pt III, photographs; and pt IV, sketches.

3913. Duncan, A.W. 1942. One end of the Assam road. *Field* 179: 516-517, 553-554, May.

A member of the military, Duncan spent some time based at Sadiya from where he visited the Mishmi and Abor areas on various assignments.

3914. Godfrey, R.W. 1940. *Report on the tour... up the Lohit Valley to Rima*. Shillong, Assam Government Press. 8, 12, 14 p.

Includes his report and diary of his tour to Rima in December 1939-January 1940, and the report by L.R. Wainwright on the route taken by the Rima Column which accompanied Godfrey. Godfrey comments on the condition of the old Sapper road made in 1912-1913, and on Tibetan activity in the area.

3915. Halliday, H.I. 1928. The Abors of Assam. *United Empire* 19: 339-342.

Includes an account of British relations with the Abors.

3916. Hanbury-Tracy, J. 1938. *Black river of Tibet*. London, F. Muller. xi, 305 p.
[Reviewed: W.H.Lee Warner, *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 25: 647-649, 1938; F.O'C[onnor], *Geogr. J.* 92: 550-551, 1938; T.R., *Scott. geogr. Mag.* 55: 49-50, 1939]

Account of his journey with Ronald Kaulback from Burma to Zayul in 1935, the aim of which was to reach the source of the Mekong River and to explore the upper reaches of the Salween River. They travelled north of Rima and reached Kham before being turned back by Tibetan officials. They then returned to India via the Lohit Valley.

3917. Hanbury-Tracy, J. 1938. Within peaceful Tibet. *Asia* 38: 529-533, Sept.

Account of his visit to Zayul in 1935 and a description of the region and its government.

3918. India. General Staff. 1919. *Military report on the Dibang Valley, 1919*. Simla, Government Monotype Press. 40 p.

Account of the history, geography, resources, military details etc. of the area, and information on British relations with the Mishmis who inhabit it. A guide to ten routes in the area is marked on the detailed large-scale map of the Dibang Valley which accompanies the report.

3919. India. General Staff. 1919. *Military report on the Dihang Valley*. Simla, Government Monotype Press. 91 p.

Contains similar information as in no. 3918, and an account of British relations with the Abors who inhabit the Dihang River Valley. A detailed guide to eighteen routes is marked on the large-scale map accompanying the report.

3920. Kaulback, R. 1937. Eighteen months in South-Eastern Tibet. *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 24: 551-566.

His journey with Hanbury-Tracy to Zayul in 1935 (see no. 3916). A map of their route is included.

3921. Kaulback, R. 1938. A journey in the Salween and Tsangpo basins, South-Eastern Tibet. *Geogr. J.* 91: 97-122.

3922. Kaulback, R. 1938. *Salween*. London, Hodder & Stoughton. xi, 331 p. [Reviewed: K.Mason, *Himalayan J.* 11: 201-203, 1939; T.R., *Scott. geogr. Mag.* 55: 120, 1939]

Account, with map, of his journey to Zayul in 1935.

3923. Mills, J.P. 1946. *Tour notes of J.P. Mills. ... Adviser to His Excellency the Governor of Assam for tribal areas and states for 1946 on Lohit Valley Sub-Agency*. Shillong, Assam Government Press. 18 p.

Detailed report on his tour of the Lohit Valley. It includes comments on trade with Tibet, local Tibetan politics, and suggestions for modifications of the McMahon Line.

3924. Mills, J.P. 1952. The Mishmis of the Lohit Valley, Assam. *Jl R. anthrop. Inst.* 82: 1-12.

General account of the Mishmis including comments on their trade with Tibet and Assam. Information on the work of F.P. Mainprice, who was in political charge of the Lohit Valley from 1943 to 1945, is also included.

3925. Raikar, Y.A. 1979. Some forgotten routes in the Lohit District. *Resarun* 5(2): 1-4.

Describes the history of routes that previously existed such as the Lohit Valley Road which was constructed by the British Government between 1912 and 1916 to connect Sadiya with Dreye near the Indo-Tibetan border.

3926. Ward, F. Kingdon. 1927. The Mishmi country [letter]. *Geogr. J.* 69: 287-288.

General comments on the area and on the fact that the Mishmis are now friendly due to the work of the Political Officers at Sadiya.

3927. Williams, J.H.F. 1945. *Tour diary of J.H.F. Williams...Political Officer, Sadiya Frontier Tract, for the months of September, October and part of November 1944.* Shillong, Assam Government Press. 6, 4 p.

Account of his tour to Walong and the border with comments on the state of communications between Sadiya and Walong and suggestions on how these could be improved.

See also nos 2150, 2160, 2294, 2408, 2424, 3263, 3837, 3847, 3854, 3856, 3886-7.

b) Exploration by Kingdon Ward

Frank Kingdon Ward made many journeys to the mountainous regions where India, China and Burma meet. On some of these he explored the Sadiya Frontier Tract and Zayul, the Tibetan district to the north of the Lohit River. In 1926 after exploring in North Burma he travelled through Zayul and the Mishmi hills to Sadiya, and in 1928 he explored the Delei River Valley in the Mishmi hills. In 1933 he extensively explored Zayul travelling to the area from Sadiya up the Lohit River Valley to Rima. He was accompanied on this journey by Ronald Kaulback.

3928. Kaulback, R. 1934. The Assam border of Tibet. *Geogr. J.* 83: 177-190.

Account of his journey with Kingdon Ward in 1933 from Sadiya to Rima and north as far as the Ata Kang La. Here they were forced to return as the Tibetan Government had not given them permission to travel beyond Zayul. His account includes details of the remains of the road built by the Sappers and Miners in 1912-1913 up the Lohit Valley. Detailed sketch maps of his route are included.

3929. *Kaulback, R. 1934. Exploring in Tibet. *Listener* 12: 19-22, July 4. Source no. 102.

3930. Kaulback, R. 1934. *Tibetan trek.* London, Hodder & Stoughton. 300 p. [Reviewed: F.M.B[ailley], *Geogr. J.* 84: 525-526, 1934; G.J.M.Longden, *Himalayan J.* 7: 183-185, 1935; I.B., *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 22: 141-142, 1935]

Account, with maps, of his 1933 journey to Zayul with Kingdon Ward.

3931. Kaulback, R. 1934. Zayul and the Eastern Tibet border country. *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 21: 435-444.
3932. Ward, F. Kingdon. 1926-1928. Mr F. Kingdon Ward's ninth expedition in Asia. *Gdnrs' Chron.* 3s., 80: 130, 170-171, 290-291, 410-411, July-Dec. 1926; 3s., 81: 10-11, 130-131, 162-163, 194-195, 250-251, 303-304, 394-396, 432-434, Jan.-June 1927; 3s., 82: 90-91, 150-152, 210-211, 268-269, 309-310, 366-367, 406-407, 446-447, 486-487, 522-523, July-Dec. 1927; 3s., 83: 28-29, 64-65, 102-103, 138-139, Jan.-June 1928.
Account of his expedition to the Seinghku River Valley in North Burma in 1926 and his return to India via Zayul, the Mishmi hills and the Lohit River Valley.
3933. Ward, F. Kingdon. 1927. The overland route from China to India. *J. cent. Asian Soc.* 14: 213-226.
Discusses the question of a direct overland route between China and India through Assam, and comments on the route he himself has followed.
3934. Ward, F. Kingdon. 1928-1929. Mr F. Kingdon Ward's tenth expedition in Asia. *Gdnrs' Chron.* 3s., 83: 414-416, 450-451, Jan.-June 1928; 3s., 84: 10-11, 50-51, 87-88, 148-149, 170-171, 230-232, 270-271, 350-351, July-Dec. 1928; 3s., 85: 46-47, 80-81, 120-121, 138-139, 162-163, 202-203, 242-243, 278-279, 310-311, 362-363, 380-381, 405-406, 444-445, 476-477, Jan.-June 1929; 3s., 86: 30-32, 70-71, 110-111, 149-150, 186-187, 206-207, 246-247, 286-287, 326-327, 366-367, 408-409, 427-428, 447-448, 466-467, 484-485, 502-503, July-Dec. 1929.
Account of his expedition to the Delei River Valley in the Mishmi hills with H. Clutterbuck in 1928. He also describes Sadiya and the extent of government administration in the Mishmi hills at this time, and his brief journeys exploring the Dihang and Dibang River areas after his return from the Delei River.
3935. Ward, F. Kingdon. 1929. Botanical exploration in the Mishmi hills. *Himalayan J.* 1: 51-59.
His journey to the Delei Valley in 1928.
3936. [Ward, F. Kingdon] 1930. Plant-hunting on the edge of the world. *J. cent. Asian Soc.* 17: 171-172.
Report on a lecture given by Kingdon Ward on his expeditions to the Seinghku River Valley in North Burma, and the Delei River Valley in the Mishmi hills.
3937. Ward, F. Kingdon. 1930. Plant hunting in untrodden wastes. *Discovery* 11: 154-157.
Account of his experiences in the Mishmi hills.
3938. Ward, F. Kingdon. 1930. *Plant-hunting on the edge of the world.* London, Gollancz. 383 p.
[Reviewed: F.M.B[aily], *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 18: 161-162, 1931; B.O.Coventry,

Himalayan J. 3: 138-140, 1931; *Gdnrs' Chron.* 3s., 88: 366-367, July-Dec. 1930]
Account of his expeditions in 1926 and 1928.

3939. Ward, F. Kingdon. 1930. The Seinghku and Delei Valleys, North-East Frontier of India. *Geogr. J.* 75: 412-435.

Account of his expeditions in 1926 and 1928.

3940. Ward, F. Kingdon. 1931. *Plant hunting in the wilds.* London, Adelphi. 79 p.

[Reviewed: W.L.S., *Geogr. J.* 79: 227-228, 1932]

Isolated incidents from his travels in China, Tibet, Assam and Burma.

3941. Ward, F. Kingdon. 1932. Botanical exploration in Tibet, 1933. *Gdnrs' Chron.* 3s., 92: 410-411, July-Dec.

Outlines plans for his journey in 1933 to the Tsangpo Gorge area in Tibet which he hoped to reach from Zayul. Also describes the journeys of Kishen Singh and Bailey to this area.

3942. Ward, F. Kingdon. 1933/1934. Explorations in Tibet 1933. *Proc. Linn. Soc. Lond.* 146: 110-113.

3943. Ward, F. Kingdon. 1934. The Himalaya east of the Tsangpo. *Geogr. J.* 84: 369-397.

In 1933 Kingdon Ward received permission from the Tibetan Government to botanise in Zayul. He describes his journey and comments on the seasonal movements of the Assamese tribes into Zayul. A detailed map of his route north of Rima is included. In the discussion that followed his lecture to the Royal Geographical Society there are comments by Bailey on his 1911 journey to this area.

3944. Ward, F. Kingdon. 1934. *A plant hunter in Tibet.* London, J. Cape. 317 p.

[Reviewed: F.M.B[ailey], *Geogr. J.* 85: 287, 1935; G.A.Teasdale, *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 22: 492-493, 1935; K.M[ason], *Himalayan J.* 7: 182-183, 1935]

Account of his 1933 journey to Tibet. Includes many comments on the extent of Tibetan influence in the Mishmi hills.

3945. Ward, F. Kingdon. 1934/1935. The last secrets! Exploring in Tibet. *Indian St. Rlys Mag.* 8: 135-143.

Account of his 1933 journey to Zayul.

3946. Ward, F. Kingdon. 1934-1935. Mr F. Kingdon Ward's twelfth expedition in Asia. *Gdnrs' Chron.* 3s., 96: 76-77, 120-121, 156-157, 192-193, 246-247, 282-283, 318-319, 354-355, 390-391, 426-427, 462-463, July-Dec. 1934; 3s., 97: 8-9, 44-45, 78-79, 110-111, 142-143, 176-177, 224-225, 256-257, 288-289, 322-323, 360-361, 396-397, Jan.-June 1935; 3s., 98: 8-9, 44-45, 80-81, 124-125, 160-161, 194-195, 228-229, July-Dec. 1935.

Account of his 1933 journey through the Mishmi hills to Rima and then north through Zayul across the Ata Kang La to Shugden Gompa and the Salween River. He also reached the source of the Dibang River and returned to Sadiya via the Delei Valley.

3947. Ward, F. Kingdon. 1940. The ax of the prophet. *Blackwood's Mag.* 248: 57-70.

Account of his journey to the Delei Valley in 1928.

3948. Ward, F. Kingdon. 1951. The Lohit Valley in 1950. *Jl R. cent. Asian Soc.* 38: 251-260.

Includes a brief account of the past exploration of the Lohit Valley and its strategic importance in 1950.

3949. Ward, F. Kingdon. 1960. *Pilgrimage for plants*. With a biographical introduction and bibliography by W.T. Stearn. London, G.G. Harrap. 191 p.

[Reviewed: K. Biswas, *Himalayan J.* 22: 159-161, 1959/1960]

Account of his life spent plant hunting in China, Tibet, Assam and Burma.

See also nos 94, 2049.

Chapter XVI

INDIA-CHINA BORDER DISPUTES

The departure of Britain from India in 1947 and the occupation of Tibet by the Chinese People's Republic in 1950 brought India and China together along a common border. In 1954 India concluded an agreement with China. This recognised Tibet as part of China and India continued to take a conciliatory attitude to Chinese actions in Tibet until late 1957 when it was found that the Chinese had constructed a road between Sinkiang and Tibet which, in the Aksai Chin, took in parts of territory claimed by India. Numerous books, articles and reports have been written on the subsequent India-China border disputes which led to war in 1962. Almost without exception these contain, in varying degree, summaries of the events leading to the clashes in 1962 and include discussions on the status of Tibet and her relations with Britain and China over the years, especially on the negotiations at the Simla Conference and the resulting McMahon Line in the east and on the history of the Aksai Chin in the west. Only a small sample of this literature is recorded here. Further information can be obtained from many of the sources listed in chapter I.

Works on the India-China border disputes, which are primarily concerned with the historical background of the disputes, are included in the main sections of this bibliography e.g. nos 145, 203 and 242.

3950. Anon. 1959. The challenge of Tibet. *Round Table* no. 195: 218-232.
3951. Anon. 1960. *Documents on the Sino-Indian boundary question*. Peking, Foreign Languages Press. 143 p.
3952. Anon. 1962-1965. *The Sino-Indian boundary question*. Enlarged ed. Peking, Foreign Languages Press. 2 vols.
3953. Addis, J.M. 1963. *The India-China border question*. Cambridge, Mass., Centre for International Affairs, Harvard University. ii, 183 p.
3954. Anand, R.P. 1968/1969. The status of Tibet in international law. *Int. Stud.* 10: 401-445.
3955. Bains, J.S. 1962. *India's international disputes, a legal study*. Bombay, Asia Publishing House. viii, 219 p.
3956. Banerjee, D.K. 1985. *Sino-Indian border dispute*. New Delhi, Intellectual Publishing House. xii, 116 p.
3957. Bhat, S. 1967. *India and China*. New Delhi, Popular Book Services. 260 p.

3958. Caroe, O. 1961. The India-Tibet-China triangle. *Asian Rev., Lond.* 56: 3-13, 1960. *Asian Stud., Bombay* 4(1): 33-44.
3959. Caroe, O. 1963. The Sino-Indian frontier dispute. *Asian Rev., Lond.* 59: 67-81.
3960. Chakravarti, P.C. 1961. *India-China relations*. Calcutta, Mukhopadhyay. 195 p.
3961. Chakravarti, P.C. 1962. *India's China policy*. Bloomington, Indiana University Press. 180 p.
3962. Chakravarti, P.C. 1968/1969. India and the Tibetan question. *Int. Stud.* 10: 446-463.
3963. Chaudhri, A.G.J. 1984. Sino-Indian border dispute. *Regional Studies* 2(3): 39-63.
3964. Eekelen, W.F. van. 1964. *Indian foreign policy and the border dispute with China*. The Hague, Nijhoff. ix, 220 p.
3965. Feer, M.C. 1953. Tibet in Sino-Indian relations. *India Q.* 9: 367-381.
3966. Field, A.R. 1959. Bhutan, Kham and the Upper Assam line. *Orbis* 3: 180-192.
3967. Hoffmann, S.A. 1990. *India and the China crisis*. Berkeley, University of California Press. xvi, 324 p.
3968. India (Republic). Ministry of External Affairs. 1959. *Notes, memoranda and letters exchanged and agreements signed between the Governments of India and China, September-November 1959, and a note on the historical background of the Himalayan frontier of India. White Paper no.II*. New Delhi. ii, 132 p.
3969. International Commission of Jurists. 1959. *The question of Tibet and the rule of law*. Geneva. 208 p.
3970. International Commission of Jurists. Legal Inquiry Committee on Tibet. 1960. *Tibet and the Chinese People's Republic*. Geneva. Reprinted: Delhi, Sterling Publishers, 1966.
3971. Jain, G. 1960. *Panchsheela and after; a reappraisal of Sino-Indian relations in the context of the Tibetan insurrection*. London, Asia Publishing House. 241 p.
3972. Jones, P.H.M. 1963. Passes and impasses: a study of the Sino-Indian border dispute. *Far East. econ. Rev.* 39(9): 443-458, Feb. 28.

3973. Kirk, W. 1962. The inner Asian frontiers of India. *Trans. Inst. Br. Geogr.* no. 31: 131-168.
3974. Krishna Rao, K. 1962. The Sino-Indian boundary question and international law. *Int. comp. Law Q.* 11: 375-415.
3975. Krishna Rao, K. 1963. *International law aspects of the Sino-Indian boundary: All India Radio talks.* New Delhi, Indian Society of International Law. 17 p.
3976. Krishna Rao, K. 1963. The Sino-Indian boundary question: a study of some related legal issues. *Indian J. int. Law* 3: 151-189.
3977. Krishna Rao, K. 1963. *The Sino-Indian boundary question and international law.* New Delhi, Indian Society for International Law. ii, 76 p.
3978. Lamb, A. 1965. Treaties, maps and the western sector of the Sino-Indian boundary dispute. *Aust. Yb. int. Law* 1: 37-52.
3979. Lamb, A. 1970. The Sino-Indian and Sino-Russian borders: some comparisons and contrasts. In: J. Ch'en and N. Tarling, eds. *Studies in the social history of China and South-East Asia.* Cambridge, University Press, p. 135-163.
3980. Maxwell, N. 1970. China and India, the un-negotiated dispute. *China Q., Lond.* no. 43: 47-80. Comment: T.S. Murty, no. 46: 357-359, 1971.
3981. Maxwell, N. 1970. *India's China war.* London, Cape. 475 p.
[Reviewed: B. Burton, *China Q., Lond.* no. 48: 759-761, 1971; A. Lamb, *Mod. Asian Stud.* 5: 389-397, 1971; P. Mehra, *India Q.* 26: 410-416, 1970; Ming Zhi (translated K. Misra), *China Report* 18(1): 55-58, 1982]
3982. Maxwell, N. 1999. Sino-Indian border dispute reconsidered. *Econ. Polit. Wkly* 34(15): 905-918, Apr. 16.
3983. Mehra, P. 1956. India, China and Tibet 1950-54. *India Q.* 12: 3-22.
3984. Mehra, P. 1997. Sino-Indian boundary dispute: an update [with discussion]. In: *Indian press on India-Tibet-China relations: selections from the press.* New Delhi, Tibetan Parliamentary & Policy Research Centre, p. 78-104.
3985. Mitter, J.P. 1964. *Betrayal of Tibet.* Bombay, Allied Publishers Private. 192 p
3986. Moraes, F. 1960. *The revolt in Tibet.* New York, Macmillan. 223 p.

3987. Murty, T.S. 1983. *Paths of peace: studies on the Sino-Indian border dispute*. New Delhi, ABC Publishing House. x, 319 p.
3988. Palit, D.K. 1991. *War in the high Himalaya: the Indian Army in crisis, 1962*. London, Lancer International. xvi, 450 p.
3989. Patil, R.K. 1964. The India-China border dispute: the western sector. *India Q.* 20: 156-179.
3990. Patterson, G.N. 1960. *Tibet in revolt*. London, Faber. 197 p.
3991. Patterson, G.N. 1963. *Peking versus Delhi*. London, Faber. 310 p.
3992. Pochhammer, W. von. 1964. Zum indisch-chinesischen Konflikt im Himalaya. *Geogr. Rdsch.* 16: 69-74.
3993. Rao, T.S.R. 1962. Some legal aspects of the Sino-Indian border dispute. *Indian Yb. int. Aff.* 11: 219-279.
3994. Richardson, H. 1959. Recent developments in Tibet. *Asian Rev., Lond.* 55: 243-257.
3995. Rose, L.E. 1961. Sino-Indian rivalry and the Himalayan border states. *Orbis* 5: 198-215.
3996. Rose, L.E. 1969. Sikkim and the Sino Indian dispute. *Polit. Sci. Rev.* 8: 41-58.
3997. Rowland, J. 1967. *A history of Sino-Indian relations; hostile co-existence*. Princeton, Van Nostrand. xv, 248 p.
3998. Rubin, A.P. 1960. The Sino-Indian border disputes. *Int. comp. Law Q.* 9: 96-125.
3999. Rubin, A.P. 1965. A matter of fact. *Am. J. int. Law* 59: 586-590.
4000. Rubin, A.P. 1968. The position of Tibet in international law. *China Q., Lond.* no. 35: 110-154.
4001. Sanghvi, R. 1962. *India's northern frontier and China*. Bombay, Contemporary Publishers. xiv, 158 p.
4002. Schweinfurth, U. 1965. Der Himalaya - Landschaftsscheide, Rückzugsgebiet und politisches Spannungsfeld. *Geogr. Z.* 53: 241-260.
4003. Sen, C. 1960. *Tibet disappears; a documentary history of Tibet's international status, the great rebellion and its aftermath*. New York, Asia Publishing House. xv, 474 p.

4004. Sen, D.K. 1951. La situation internationale du Thibet. *Revue gén. droit int. Public* 55: 417-438.
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4009. Stephens, M.D. 1966. North East Frontier Agency and India and China. *Asian Rev., Lond.* n.s. 3(2): 49-61.
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4012. Vohra, R. 1979. India-China border question. *J. un. Serv. Instn India* 109(458): 319-335.
4013. Vohra, S. 1988. Issues regarding the India-China border agreement. *J. un. Serv. Instn India* 118(491): 7-13.
4014. Watson, F. 1966. *The frontiers of China*. London, Chatto & Windus. 224 p.

See also nos 127, 145, 161, 168, 194-5, 202-3, 205, 236, 242, 254, 269, 869, 898, 929, 1183, 1185-9, 1194, 2129, 2210, 2402, 3237, 3239-40, 3245, 3269, 3837-8, 3842, 3845, 3860.

Chapter XVII

ADDENDA

4015. Hyer, P. 2003. Japanese expansion and Tibetan independence. In: L. Narangoa and R. Cribb, eds. *Imperial Japan and national identities in Asia, 1895-1945*. London, RoutledgeCurzon, p. 69-89.

Examines the role played by Japanese in Tibet and their relations with the Dalai Lama. Highlights the part played by Teramoto Enga when the Dalai Lama was in exile in Mongolia and on his visit to Peking where he spent time in the Japanese Embassy and where Teramoto 'is credited with achieving a modus vivendi between the British and the Tibetan leader which facilitated the latter's return to Lhasa'. The Dalai Lama saw Japan as a valuable potential ally against China but Tibetan overtures for closer relations with Japan were largely ignored as Tibet was always 'on the fringes of Japan's strategic and political interests in East Asia'.

4016. Keay, J. 1982. 'I anxious' Thomas Manning. In his *Eccentric travellers*. London, John Murray, p. 45-71.

Account of the life of Manning, the first Englishman to reach Lhasa.

4017. Lin, Hsiao-ting. 2003. A reassessment of the issue of the 9th Panchen Lama's return to Tibet, 1934-1937. *J. Asian Hist.* 37(2): 129-154.

Examines the origins of the Panchen Lama's conflict with the 13th Dalai Lama and the traditional accounts of his attempt to return to Tibet, and reassesses his return from 'the perspective of the building of the Nationalist state, the attempt to consolidate the Nanking regime's authority, and the promotion of KMT political propaganda'.

4018. McMillin, L.H. 1999. Enlightened travels: the making of epiphany in Tibet. In: J. Duncan and D. Gregory, eds. *Writes of passage: reading travel writing*. London, Routledge, p. 49-69.

Traces the 'making of the myth that travel to Tibet might bring on a kind of spiritual transformation' which mainly originated with the writings of Younghusband about his time in Tibet. Also draws on the writings of Bogle, Turner, B.H. Hodgson and Waddell.

4019. Mishra, T.P. 2003. Nepalese in Tibet: a case study of Nepalese half-breeds (1856-1956). *Contrib. Nepalese Stud.* 30(1): 1-18.

Khacharas (half-breeds), the sons of Nepalese traders and Tibetan women, played an important part in Nepal-Tibet relations during this period. Mishra examines the number of Khacharas in Tibet, their occupations, the Nepal Government's policy towards them and the attitude of the Tibetan Government.

4020. Ward, M.P. 2003. *Everest: a thousand years of exploration. A record of mountaineering, geographical exploration, medical research and mapping*. Glasgow, The Ernest Press. xxiv, 350 p.

Provides a history of the exploration and mapping of Everest and an account of each expedition to 1953. Also includes a number of maps which illustrate all the exploratory journeys in the Everest region.

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