

INDO-TIBETAN TRADE DURING THE BRITISH PERIOD :
A CASE STUDY OF THE BHOTIYA TRADERS
OF THE CENTRAL HIMALAYA

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This dissertation entitled "INDO-TIBETAN TRADE DURING THE BRITISH PERIOD - A CASE STUDY OF THE BHOTIYA TRADERS OF CENTRAL HIMALAYA", submitted by Mr. RAMANATH SINGH FONIA for the award of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY DEGREE, has not been previously submitted for the award of any degree of this or any other University. This is his own work.

We recommend the dissertation be placed before examiners for evaluation.


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Needless to say, the responsibility for ideas, errors and omissions, if any, rests solely on me.

30th September, 1983.

R.S. FONIA.

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The central Himalaya comprises the region Uttarakhand including Kumaon and Garhwal. This whole area is replete with marvellous beauty of nature. The nature has given it the pride of place of being the source point of two of our holiest rivers Ganga-Yamuna.

The fiscal sub-division of Uttarakhand called Bhot Mahal¹ comprise in inter Alpine Valley of Snowy range bordering on Mansarovar-Kailash in Western Tibet, Byans and Darma on east, Juhar in middle and Badrinath (Painkhanda Garhwal) on the west. These valleys are the main lines of drainage and along them lie the tract by which trade caravans from India have passed through to western Tibet from the earliest times. On the north side of the Uttarakhand are Tibetans, while the mass population of region belongs to the Khasia² race, but along its border, inhabiting, the great mountains, is the race Dhotiya³ which is certainly one of the most interesting of

-
1. Sir John Strachey, "On the Himalayas in Kumaon and Garhwal", Calcutta Review, 1853. Trellis, "Statistical account of the Bhot Mahal", Asiatic Research, XVI, 1828.
 2. Atkinson who carried out detailed study of the tribes residing in North-West Area belt that Khasias formed main ethnic group from Kabul to Treata.
 3. Bhot or more correctly Bod, Sanskrit expression for Tibet, is perhaps derived from the word Boda occurring in the coins of Kanishka. Percy Gardner, The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria & India, British Museum, Pl. XXXII.

all numerous people of India, and which formed the connecting link between the two countries - India and Tibet - through the medium of trade. Ninty percent of the population are Hindus and the remaining ten percent are made up of Buddhist Hunas.⁴

The adjacent province of western Tibet is here called Hundes and its inhabitants Huniyas. This name was supposed by Moorcroft to Undes⁵ (unmeans wool, i.e. wool country) and by Wilson to be Hundes (Hund means Snow, i.e. Snow country), but the real name is Hundes or country of Hunas. This name is clearly connected with Hiongson of the Chinese records and the Hunas of the inscription.⁶ The name Tibet is derived from the Mongolian Thubet, the Chinese Tufan, the Tai-hebet and Arabic Tubhet.⁷ The people of Tibetan given the name Palbe - to Nepal, Kyanam to Kumaon and Gulaya to Garhwal and Changsa to the Nilang Valley.

-
4. Buddhist missionaries followed traders into central Asia and China, this was the beginning of the spread of Buddhism into these regions. According to Hindu mythology Buddha is 9th incarnation of Vishnu and therefore Buddha may be considered another form of Badrinathji.
 5. Moorcroft, Travels I, p.4.
 6. Atkinson, Himalayan Gazetteers, vol.III, Part II, p.47.
 7. The new Encyclopaedia of Britannica - 1943-1983, p.371.

Traill represents the Bhotiyas as an honest, industrious, orderly race, patient and good humoured, who intrepid traders as they were yearly endure vicissitudes of climate and danger of mountaineering which win outsider's admiration for their many qualities. They have most of the vices of the people of lower hills, but they are superior in energy and industry. The head of Bhotiya villages is often remarkably sensible and well informed. Their intelligence is entirely the result of their own observation and experience; they seldom possess an education beyond the ability to read and write and to keep rough accounts of their trading operation.⁸

Their houses are well built and have some pretence of architecture (some are more than 200 years), they are shrewd traders, willing to be educated and produced such men as Khyat Singh Fonia⁹ (Gasmahali Garhwal), Samvat 1862-1948, a leading trader from Garhwal, who saved his tract from Gurkha plunder, Rai Richan Bahadur Singh (1869-1893) and Nain Singh (1856-1876), the famous pundits of the Indian survey have earned a name for themselves in the exploration and mapping of Tibet.¹⁰

8. Traill, "Statistical account of Bhotmahal", Asiatic Research, vol.XVI, 1826.

9. Khyat Singh Fonia, Manuscript Diary.

10. H.W. Filwan, The Ascent of Nanda Devi, p.54.

Trade and commerce with Tibet had been the backbone of the Bhotia economy since a remote past, and therefore, whereas inhabitants in the Bhot region, provided them nearness to Tibet, simultaneously being a high mountainsous region, it also helped them in keeping the rest of Khasias away from the trade.

They are to be found at the mouth of all passes into Tibet. Those by Mane pass near the holy temple of Badrinathji and those by the Niti Pass are known as Marchas and Tolchas whereas those by the Untadhura pass in Juhar are Saukas (otherwise called Sawats) and amongst them there are also come tolchas and marches. All these compose the western division of Bhotiyas. There are eastern Bhotiyas living in Darma, which is sub-divided into three pattis, i.e. Darma Patti, Choudans and Byans Patti where residents used Lepulekh¹¹ Pass. In Native Garhwal, those of Nilang Pass are known as Jadhs (Buddhists) they have a Tibeto-Burman dialect of their own, and are much nearer a kin to Tibetans. These peoples are said to be direct descendants of Kiratas¹² (Kirat Ta = borderland people) and Kinnars¹³ and have earned reputation for

11. Lepulekh is a Nepali word, 'Lepu' means 'high mountain'.

12. B.D. Pande, Kumaon Ka Itihas, p.517.

13. Rahul Sankritayan, Associates Bhotiyas with Kinnars on the basis of linguistic and phonetic representation in their dialects.

being the sole representatives of Indo-Tibetan trade from ancient times.

Britishers associate Bhotiyas of Tibetan origin, though the leading Bhotiyas still have current among the belief that they are originally Hindus.¹⁴ They state generally that they are Rajput race, who dwelt originally in the hill provinces, south of snowy range, and that they migrated to adjacent sides of Tibet, where after a several generations, they again crossed the Himalaya and established themselves in the district which they now inhabit. It is true that the Tibetan and Chinese histories do speak of Rajput colonies in Tibet in earliest time and they eat and drink freely with Tibetans. Tibetans only traded with those persons with whom they can eat and drink and this preference created a monopoly in favour of Bhotiyas.¹⁵

To understand the political history of Uttarakhand borderland, we must remember that the tract now occupied by Bhotiyas was under Katyuri rulers¹⁶ (first dynasty of Uttara-

14. Since ancient times they have close relation with Badrinath and Mansarovar and also we find some characteristic of Molwa painting on their houses.

15. C.A. Charles, Western Tibet and British Borderland, p.47.

16. Atkinson, op. cit., p.48.

khand) during 6-10th century A.D. When Katyuris shifted their capital from Joshinath¹⁷ (Garhwal) to Baijnath, this tract went in hands of Tibetans until the time that Garhwal became consolidated under the chiefs of Srinager (Garhwal) and Kumaon of Chand dynasty.

Garhwal was divided into British Garhwal and native state of Tehri Garhwal, originally the country was in the hands of a number of petty-chieftains, each with his own fortress or castle; the word 'garh' itself means a castle. It was in 1670 A.D. one portion of these so called Bhotmahal was conquered from Tibet by Bas Bahadur Chand, while the remainder of tract was under Jumlis of Nepal. During the period of the Chand dynasty in Kumaon, the Rawats (ancestor of famous Kishan Singh ruled over the Johar Valley) while in Garhwal, Ponas ruled over the Malla Paikhande garh, after paying a part of revenue to the Garhwal Maharaja. These petty chiefs, migrated to Garhwal from Rajputana during the invasion of Mohammed Ghori (between 1191 and 1193).

In 1790, the Chands were defeated by the Gurkhas and the whole Uttarakhand was overrun by Gurkhas. Who, not content with the acquisition, extend their ravages down to

17. M.N. Sharma, Through the Valley of God, p.214.

the plains and this came into collusion with the new rulers Britishers and brought about Gurkha war 1816, and this tract came also under the British empire. Britishers divided Garhwal into two parts, i.e. Native state of Tehri Garhwal and British Garhwal headquarter at Pauri.

Britishers the new rulers took many steps to reorganise this trade in systematic way during 19th century.¹⁸ The Indo-Tibetan trade through passes of Uttarakhand, had put, Uttarakhand borderland and also province of the NEP & Oudh (Uttar Pradesh) on the external land trade map of British India.¹⁹ It was in 1877 A.D. that four registration posts were established to record trade transacted between India and Tibet through passes of Uttarakhand.

Bhotiya practice is transhuman and, therefore, they have been termed as seminomads.²⁰

By the end of October (usually after Deepawali Festival) they descend to warmer places called Gunsa and by the end of March (usually after Holi) once again ascend upto their usual

18. R.S. Tolia, Trade through Himalayas (typed-sheet), p.14.

19. See Map - Appendix.

20. D.C. Pande, "India's Trans Himalayan Trade with Tibet", Himalayan Research and Development, Nainital, 1982.

places of residence called Maite.²¹ Both the climate and the trade factor governed this transhumance among Bhotiyas.

During the season, the men folk of the valley used to go to Tibet and visit Gyanimis, Gartok and various other trade markets in western Tibet. These markets were dependent on Indian trade for cereals, cotton cloth, gur, sugar, tobacco and all kinds of hardware and exported wood, borax, salt, butter, horses, sheep, goats and also gold, precious stones to India.

Each Indian trader of Utterakhand had a mitra, mused or correspondent in Tibet. Initially their partnership in trade was marked by the splitting of a stone, each keeping, henceforth the Indian traders or his representative would carry the token and sell his goods in the Tibetan market only to his mitra or the mitra's representative who could fit his half of the stone to the Indians.²² Some Tibetans also visited Indian valley with their sheep caravans laden with wool, borax and salt and took back cereals and other Indian commodities.

Tibetan society falls mainly into two classes, the landed

21. Manju Fonia, "Tibet Byapar Ik Sansaran", Madhuri, 1978.

22. I.S. Rawat, Indian Explorers of the 19th Century, p.4.

gentry on the one side, the peasantry and shepherds on the other. The trading community stands between two, forming a middle class aim, but they had so far little power.²³ The trade was conducted on a system of advances, Bhotiya Indian buyers advanced loans to the larger Tibetan merchants. During spring and summer the Tibetan merchants gave advances to the owners of sheep in Tibet and arranged to take delivery from the following October. The Tibetan merchants preferred a steady price for their wool but even so the Tibetan merchant did not gain complete stability. For he brought the wool from sheep owners in Tibetan money and sold it in Indian rupees.

During the early years of 19th century, the Tibetan Franka had risen as high as three and fallen as low as seven per rupee. It varies from year to year and month to month. If there were a large wool crop and the price was good, more rupees came to Tibet and the value of rupees falls. And if the wool was poor, the value rose. And also with other exports, but there being on a far smaller scale, their influence was correspondingly less.²⁴

23. Sir Charles Bell, The People of Tibet, p.109.

24. Ibid., p.117.

The chief products of Tibet exported to India are wool, Yak tails, hides, the soft wool of shawl, borax, salt, musk, medicinal herbs, ponies and mules and also gold dust and precious stones. Food grains, cotton cloth and other necessary commodities were imported from India. As Yak tails which were exported to India in larger quantities, some find places in Hindu temples. Salt is found in many parts of Tibet at the banks of river and lake, i.e. Mekong in eastern Tibet.²⁵

Thus the trade with Tibet had two aspects. First it provided employment through its continuance, to a large section of skilled and unskilled hill population of Uttarakhand and secondly it encouraged cultivation of crops by ensuring ready purchase of the same and its transportation to a dearer market, i.e. Tibet. In exchange the trade helped to bring several articles which were either non-existent in the hill region or the other parts of the province or were liked here.

Although this trade with Tibet was such obvious importance to the economy in general, there are few studies that attempt to analyse its structure. The present study is mainly

25. Eric Feichman, Travels in Eastern Tibet, pp.190-91.

based on the extensive and intensive field studies of the Uttarakhand borderland. An analysis of the published literature upto 1947 on the Himalayan borderland reveals that lot of materials are available and we get first hand idea about the people of Uttarakhand. These publications are mostly travelogues, trader's diary, mountaineer, political agents, explorers and administrators, etc. During the period 1947-1970, though not much, but yet quite a number of books and articles have been published mostly by specialists, such as Historians, Sociologists, Anthropologists, Economists, Geographers, etc. The present study deals with the fiscal subdivision of Uttarakhand of Uttar Pradesh. Across the six passes, trade caravans from India have passed through to Western Tibet from earliest times. Nilang, Niti, Mana, Untadhura, Byans and Dehma lie at points where remarkable Bhotiya traders have made their home. It is from here that the passes lead pilgrims to the holy Lake of Mansarovar and Mount Kailash.

Be it the land of Gods, a museum of rare flora and fauna or the image of ignorance and paucity, to the seeker it is the land for all quests. A Pilgrimage that may come once in a life time, a holiday that may be repeated over and over again or a study tour that may offer unlimited scope for research and search within and without.

CHAPTER II

INDO-TIBETAN TRADE - A HISTORICAL SURVEY

Among the hardy industrious, intelligent and merchantile races of the world, the Bhotiyas of Central Himalaya occupy a place of distinction due to their trade with Tibet and Central Asia. Crawling upon the narrow, precipitous and snowy ranges of Himalayas, crossing of the passes between 17,000 ft - 19,000 ft, collecting gold dust, borax and precious stones and other articles from Central Asia and Tibet and exporting these articles to the various towns and ports of India - are some of the many glorious episodes of the life and culture of Bhotiya Traders.

The sub-division of Central Himalaya, so called Bhot Mahal have a long Hindu history. From the 8th to the 10th century A.D. it was ruled by the Katyuri dynasty whose original capital at Joshimath in Garhwal was later shifted to the Katyuri Valley in Kumaon. There is evidence to suggest that during the Katyuri Kings, the Bhotiyas of Kumaon and Garhwal formed good relationship between two countries of India and Tibet through the medium of trade. From the Pandukeshwar temple near Badrinath¹, three copper

1. Official Report, p.78.

plate inscriptions of this period were discovered which described the northern boundary of the Katyuri state which corresponds to the traditional alignment up to the Himalayan watershed. Due to Muslim invasions, the medieval period is said to have been a time of destitute and degeneration for this trade.²

The Katyuris were succeeded by the Chands in Kumaon and the Pales in Garhwal. The Mughal Historian, Ferishta, stated that the Raja of Garhwal "possess an extensive dominion and a considerable quantity of gold is procured by washing the earth mounds in his country which also contains copper mines". As to the boundary of Garhwal, Ferishta added:

"His territory stretches to the north as far as Tibet on the South reaches to the Sambhal... he retains in pay an army of 80,000 men both in cavalry and infantry and commands great respect from the emperors of Delhi;... the sources of the Jamuna and the Ganges are both to be found within his territory".³

Bah Bahadur Chand, a brave warrior who invaded Tibet and captured the fort of Takbakot, was the ruler of Kumaon

2. Rahul Senkritiyan, Kumaon, 1951, pp.86-88.

3. Tarikh-Ferishta, vol.4, pp.547-49.

from 1640 to 1678. There are records to show that he controlled all the passes leading to Tibet lying on the Sutlej - Ganges watershed. Being a pious Hindu, he received the revenues of five villages nearer the passes for providing clothing and lodging to the pilgrims on their way to Manserover and Mount Kailash. During the Chand period, Bhotia trade was once again regenerated and reorganized in the sixteenth century.

With the rise of Nepal as the most powerful Indian frontier state Kumeon and Garhwal passed under Nepalese subjection. After the Anglo-Nepalese war of 1815 they were annexed to the dominions of the East India Company. In 1815 G.W. Traill, Assistant to the Company's Commissioner for Kumeon and Garhwal, reported: "The Northern boundary (of Garhwal and Kumeon) as recognised by the Tibetan Government extends to the commencement of the tableland".⁴ Britishers the new rulers took many steps to reorganise the trade in systematic way⁵ during 18th and 19th centuries. The complete dominance of the Tibetan trade by the Bhotia traders of Central Himalaya compelled Britishers to be friend with the inhabitants of the passes who completely monopolised this very important trade.

4. Col. H.F. Brook, "On the sources of Ganges in the Himala-gari", Asiatic Research, vol.XI, Calcutta, 1820.

5. J.C. Pant, Bhotantik Sama; Ka Arthik Adhyayan (unpublished), Agre University, 1977, p.141.

Their method of trading with Tibet was interesting and romantic. Bhotiya traders used to buy grain, cloth furen lower valleys of Kumaon and Garhwal and carry it on sheep and goats to Tibet, where obtained wool, borax and salt by barter. Goats, sheep, Juba,⁶ hill ponies were the important animals used as pack animals. The trade articles were packed in big or small leather bags according to the capacity of pack animal.

Bhotia traders excitedly hurried their journey through passes because of their own fears and anxiety to occupy a convenient place in Tibetan marts out of these marts taklakot was the nearest and safest from trade point of view. Historical facts reveal that traders from as many as thirty parts of Tibet visited this mart.⁷ Cyanima mart, as usually visited by Juhari Bhotia trader was reputed for the transaction of costlier items like Tibetan horses, mules, borax, wool, tea, etc. In Gartok a mart, a big commercial fair was organised officially where in gold, silver and precious stones were transacted.⁸

6. A Cross breed of horse and Tibetan Yak.

7. Swami Pranevanand, Kailash Mansarovar, p.73.

8. D.C. Pande, "India's Trans Himalayan Trade with Tibet", Himalayan Research and Development, Nainital, 1982.

Similar to Tibet, within Indian territory also there were marts in the Kumaon and Garhwal. There these traders sold the articles brought from Tibet. In these marts, goods were transacted during the different trade fairs.⁹ The articles imported from Tibet commanded a market upto Delhi, Kenpur and Punjab and some times as the evidence prove, reached Rome, Greece and neighbouring countries.¹⁰

Trade Relationship

Between the Indian traders and their Tibetan correspondents, called Muse, artic or Mitras. At the time of friendship there was a tradition called Gulji-Milji,¹¹ according to this custom, a leading Bhotia trader used to drink a type of locally distilled liquor called chaung and (jha) calty tea with his Tibetan trade partner. This was regarded as a symbol of friendship and considered an essential pre-stop for any kind of trade. So great an influence had this practice of drinking and eating together had on their method of trade that it is commonly said that the Tibetans would only trade with those persons whom they would eat and drink, and as this

9. The important trade fairs were those of Jauljibi, ... Dageshwar, Gaucher, Uttarkashi and Gopeshwar.

10. S.P. Debral, Uttarakhand Ke Itihās, p.247.

11. S.P. Debral, Uttarakhand Ke Bhotantik, p.105.

preference creates a monopoly in favour of the Bhotias.¹²

Due to illiteracy in Bhotia society and in Tibet, the trade agreement was made on Singchyaed¹³ custom. It was generally in the shape of wooden or stone broken into two pieces each retained by one party which was later tallied to ensure the contract. At the time of trade agreement, certain rituals were also followed in order to make a trade pact more sincere and strong.¹⁴

From 14th century onward, between Bhotia trader and his Tibetan correspondent, the transaction took place in barter and in IOC (debts) or the outstanding amounts were converted into written promissory note, giving the details of the trade agreement called Gamgya.¹⁵ Gamgya took the shape of ^apromissory note written and also sealed with a family and name seal of Tibetan counterpart. The Tibetan did not put any signature on any correspondence and all papers bore their seal.

In the Bhotia community, it was given the importance as a capital asset. Another fact regarding this document was

12. C.A. Sherring, Western Tibet and British Borderland, p.69.

13. S.P. Dabral, Uttarakhand Ke Bhotantik, p.104.

14. Khyat Singh Fonia, Manuscript diary (Samvat 1940).

15. Ibid. See Gamgya-letter. *Appendix*.

its transferability for a Bhotia trader. A Bhotia trader was free to sell it to any body in his community. Although such exigencies were rare, however they occurred, they were either due to the illness or poverty of a Bhotia trader.¹⁶

Generally the Gangya documents were kept in personal possession of a Bhotia trader. It was so because normally Bhotia traders were mobile between India and Tibet, whereas Tibetan rarely visited India. Whenever a Bhotia trader went to Tibet he used to stay with his Gangya counterpart in Tibet. Tachha¹⁷ or the stamp was marked on the Gangya document while making a trade agreement by both the parties. It was generally in the shape of wooden, rubber seal bearing the name or the trade-mark of trademen.

Tachha carried wide recognition among the Bhotia community. Whenever the Bhotia trader halted in between their journey while going to Tibet or coming back to India, he put a tachhiamark on the heap of his goods signifying his ownership. This was regarded as a sure guarantee of safety.

Trade Journey

There were two trade trips from India to Tibet, in one

16. Khyat Singh Fonia, Manuscript Diary (Samvat 1940).

17. See Gangya-letter. *Appendix II*

UTTARAKHAND COMMUNICATION ROUTES



calender year. As the foodgrains made an important part of the items exported from India into Tibet, these trips were generally performed at the end of harvest when all trade routes were worthy of making such trips.

Before the start of the first trip in the month of June, Jong-pong (the district officer of Western Tibet) sent his trade agent called Sarji¹⁸ into India to make an enquiry on the following points:

1. Whether Uttarakhand region is in a grip of any virus or epidemic disease;
2. Is there any risk or possibility of an aggression by an enemy; and
3. Is there a prospect of good harvest or famine?

Because Tibet produced very little grain and largely dependent on imports from India, wheat, barley, rice, sugar were the chief articles carried by these traders.

In Garhwal, after Sarji comes, a leading trader called Funya (Fonia)¹⁹ went up first to report Jung-pong. He also

18. R.S. Tolia, Trade through Himalaya, p.153.

19. Fonia (Phunya in Garhwali language means warden of marches) is a title given by Garhwal Maharaja to Kunwar brothers who on their journey to holy Kailash-Mansarovar, formed trade relationship with Tibet. Their original home is Kansen in Garhwal. After closing the trade with
(contd...on next page)

conveyed his greetings to Tibet as an emissary of Garhwal Mahareja. Before embarking on the trade journey to Tibet all the traders of Garhwal used to assemble at the house of Ponia. This was the tradition since Ponia took many steps to reorganise the trade in systematic way and obtained the permit for trade with Tibet from Garhwal Mahareja.

There are six principal passes across the range which separate India from Tibet, and on which the trade reports had been registered. These are in order from west to east.

1. Nilang Pass - Western corner of native Garhwal-
 leading from Nilang to puling mandi.
2. Mana Pass - British Garhwal, leading from Mana...
 18,402 ft (10,500 ft) to Daba in Tibet a very
 long and difficult pass.
3. Niti Pass - British Garhwal, leading from Niti
 16,560 ft villeg (11,460 ft) to Mansarovar.
 It has three trade routes to Tibet -
 Niti to Gyaniima-Kailash (Damjon-Marg);
 Niti to Gyaniima-Kailash (Chor Hoti

(contd...)

Tibet in 1962, Govt. of India recognised them as Bhotia, which is a misnomer, perhaps their lucrative trade with Tibet which put them untouched with cultural relation with lower valley people is responsible for this misnomer.

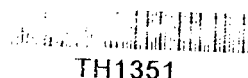
Marg); and Niti to Gyanima-Kailash (Ganesh Ganga-Marg).

4. Juhar Pass Untadhura Pass - Leading from village Milam to Gyanima-Kailash (Untadhura-Marg).
5. Darma Pass - East of Juhar, Darma valley (18,510 ft) to Gyanima-Kailash (Darma-Marg).
6. Byans Pass - The extreme east of our boundary, leading from Garbyang (10,330 ft) to Taklokot-Kailash (Lipulekh-Pass). It is the easiest of all passes.

The journey to Tibetan through these passes is hazardous and as Tibet was infested with robbers, the relatives of the traders gave them touching send-offs and on their return a befitting welcome. They were happy and proud of their man.. retiring home safely with their horses, sheep and goats fully laden with valuable Tibetan goods. This happy and carefree atmosphere is no more seen in this border region due to the dislocation of the Indo-Tibetan trade.

The traders (Shotic) crossed these passes and travelled between different fairs and markets held in British India and Tibetan territory. Those by Byans passes crossed the Indian marts of Barmacedo and the Tibetan fairs of Taklokot. Those by Darma and Juhar passes followed the trade between Bageehwar,

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Pilibhit and Ramnagar on the Indian side and Tara, Misser, Gyanima and Gartok in Tibet. Niti and Mane traders followed trade between Gander Uttarkashi, Gopeshwar in Indian side and Tibetan fairs of Daba, Shib, Chilam and Thoring. Further west, at the Nilang pass, the Bhotia did not appear, this place being occupied by Jadhs and Khampas (Buddhist) a tribe of Bushaharies, who devoted themselves entirely to trade. These latter (Jadhs and Khampas) are said to be only traders who had the privilege of travelling all over Tibet without question. The main Tibetan mart for this route was Tseprang.²⁰

Fuller has described the manner in which the trade was transacted by Bhotias and non-Bhotia traders.

Bhotia traders started their trade journey to Tibetan marts, loaded their sheep and goats with Indian produce, there they met their Tibetan correspondents in borax, salt, wool and gold dust, who had brought these goods from places some distance beyond. Exchanging their grain, sugar, cloth, etc. for these articles, they returned to their home.

From there they journeyed during the winter months in time to arrive at the fairs held in Bageshwar, Jauljibi, Thal,

20. Review of the Trade by Land of British India, 1879,
pp.8-9.

Goucher and Utterkashi. There they met traders from lower hills or plains beyond them, with whom they bartered their Tibetan goods for grain, sugar and cloth, which were to be formed their next venture.

If their goods did not sell at these trade fairs, they marched to the bigger markets of Pilibhit, Ramnagar, Kotdwara at the foot of Himalaya. Occasionally more enterprising these traders reached Delhi, Agra, Kanpur and even sea ports, returning, however, so soon as the hot water begins to set.²¹ Commenting upon the method of transaction used in this trade, Fuller records, "most of the trading is done by barter system. Horses and Pashmina (best quality wool) are said to be usually paid for in cash, and it seems that certain articles are considered especially exchangeable for one another. On this principle, gold-dust is said to be chiefly given in exchange of cotton cloth, the most valuable of the regular exports. British coins are readily received preference in Tibet. A small silver coin is current, called Timasha valuing about six annas. To represent three annas the Tomashi was cut into two halves. Chinese coins were occasionally used which were in the primitive form of bar of silver stamped. The Bhotias

21. Ibid., p.9.

enjoyed a monopoly of the trade with Tibet, which appeared to be lucrative one inspite of the many taxes imposed by the Tibetans. It would suffice to say that in the trade of British India the trade with Tibet, which was exclusively carried in by the Bhotia traders of Kumaon and Garhwal was quite significant as compared to trade which was transacted through similar geographical conditions. Also Bhotia trade with Tibet, which put Kumaon and Garhwal quite prominently in the trade map of British-India.

CHAPTER III
SYSTEM OF REVENUE

The fiscal sub-division of tract called Shot comprise internal-pine valley of snowy range bordering on Hundes, Byans, Chaudens and Darma in east, Jubar in middle and Pain Khanda (Garhwal) on the West. When this tract¹ became the subject of hill states the assessment had fixed at the quitrent payable in gold dust. A knowledge of this circumstances at once explains the nature of the denomination in which the revenues of these tracts were calculated, the Kanch, tola, maskha and rati. The detailed cess fixed under this system became the standard of estimate upto Batten's settlement,² and was equated to the mode of measurement in use elsewhere. In practice the value of Kanch varied considerable and was subsequently fixed at 12 rupees.³

In Niti, the measurement⁴ was similarly fixed on a

1. Atkinson, Himalayan Gazetteer, pp.143-47.
2. Walton, Gazetteer of British Garhwal, 1910, p.3.
3. Niti is the last village before Tibet in Garhwal.
4. The only practical mode computing land which existed Niti at the British occupation was by the plough of the yoke or bullock. The quality of land which could be cultivated by such means in the day from sunrise to sunset paid one rupee a year towards the gross assessment.

standard called damcula equal to half of Kanch or Six rupees. Mana appeared to had been from the first granted in Sadabart ... to the Badrinath temple there in situated. The revenue due from Byans was given as it stood whilest belonging to Jumla and omitting the few villages east of the Kali river still belonging to Nopal. Mutual convenience led to cumulative of the original article of Tibet and at the conquest of Bhot Mahal in 1670 by Bas Bahadur Chand, the value of Kanch was fixed at 12 rupees⁵ and a permanent valuation was made of the commodities the produce of Tibet or Bhot, which were to be received as payment in kind.

As the value of these articles fell below the notes in the original schedule, it became an object with the Bhotiyas to extend their payments in them. This became a fruitful source of conflict between the collectors of revenue and the Bhotiyas, and resulted in an agreement by which, Traill reported; "The proportion of the payment was ultimately established at an half in kind, and the rest in coin, and the event of the Bhotiyas being required to pay the whole of their assessment in money, a deduction of 25 percent was allowed on the position payable in merchandise - such being, in point of fact, the actual depreciation in the current

5. To Board 28th April, 1821.

prices from the rates final in the original appraisement. During the government of the Garhwal Rajas, the public demand continued unaltered, through subject in its liquidation to the variations arising from the depreciation above noticed. The greater part of the revenue was assigned to the garrison of the forts in the mouth of the passes and of the payment of the civil local functionaries. The residue was collected on the spot by an officer annually deputed from the court for adjudicating the civil and criminal pleas pending among the Bhotiyas. The internal management was left to the deftairs or patwaris and to the Pradhan (head of the villages) by whom also the detailed cess was apportioned, being laid every third year wholly on the land, and during the intervening period levied in the shape of a capitation, or rather of a property tax".⁶

The garrisons appear to have been retained in the passes principally to protect the inhabitants from the incursion of Bhotiyas from the other passes, especially the Jats of Jumla on the Nepal side of the river Kali. On the Gurkha invasion 1790⁷ A.D. the principal opposition of their arms was made

6. Atkinson, Himalayan Gazetteer, p.144.

7. J.R. Batten, Report on the Settlement of the District of Garhwal, 1838.

by the Bhotiyas for the period of 9 years, after the submission of the rest of Kumaon.

In Kumaon under the Gurkha Government a complete revision of the land revenue system had taken place. The new settlement had been made by a commission, was especially deputed from Kathmandu. As Traill has mentioned, "it was formed an actual inspection of the resource of each village, but as the estimated profits of the traders carried on by the residents was taken into consideration the assessment be viewed rather a tax founded on the number of inhabitants, than on the extent of cultivation.

This mode of assessment weighed heavily on the Bhotiya traders who were perhaps the worst sufferers of the Gurkha assessment. The residence on the part of Bhotiya to the Gurkha rule, "joined to an exaggerated reputation for wealth, marked with out for peculiar exaction". The increase in assessment in the case of Bhot region of Niti was from Rs.1,200 during Garhwal Meharaja time to Rs.7,000.⁸ This resulted in the dissipation of the capital and stock of the traders of Niti area, when their means and credit were exhausted, took the emigration. Similar increase in demand

8. E.K. Paul, Tenth Settlement of Garhwal District, p.105.

was made all over the Bhot regions of Kumaon and Garhwal.

Hearing of this abnormal increase in demand, a representation from the Bhot region who went to (Nepal) Kathmandu to protest against it, the Nepal government sent an officer of reputation Bhagti Thapa, to resettle the Bhot region. The revenue was subsequently (resettlement) reduced.

Traill in his assessment of year 1818 A.D. got all customs and transit duties - abolished and the tax on the profits of trade hitherto levied from the Bhotiye partaking of the same nature was included in that measure, a partial remission on the same account was made jama of the some lower villages. In addition for the Bhot region, the items of musk, bees, wax and hawks were struck out of the available assets.⁹

Traill's curtailment of the Bhot regions can be illustrated in the case of the assessment made for the Niti Garhwal where the demand of Gurkha time was Rs.1,016 was reduced to Rs.436 in 1880 samvat settlement.¹⁰ Similar reduction in revenue demand took place over the entire Bhotiye region of Kumaon and Garhwal.

9. Ibid., p.106.

10. Atkinson, Himalayan Gazetteer, p.145.

This light assessment continued till the arrival of Batten in Garhwal, the new settlement officer with experience of work in the plain in 1837.¹¹

Battern commenced his settlement operations in Garhwal on the Paikhande region, a Bhot pargana, as he informed to his superior officer, "the first which must be settled owing to the early winter consequent prevention of all locomotion from the heavy fall of snow."¹² By September 1838 A.D., Battern was in position to submit his new revenue assessment to the government. Batten has pointed out, "traffic is the life and soul of Bhotiyas, all attempts on the part of the revenue officials to assess the Bhot region had of necessity of touch upon their trading activities, the latter being inextricably attached to the former. So to find detailed description of the Bhotiyas and their region in the various settlement reports of Kumaon and Garhwal of the British period."¹³

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11. J.R. Batten, who joined settlement officer in 1837 in Garhwal, by the order of Board he was considered as direct incharge of both settlement and administrator of Garhwal, and retained as Commissioner of Kumaon in 1858 A.D.
 12. Batten's letter to I.J. Turver, Officiating Commissioner, Bareilly, 12 Sept. 1837, vol.I, UPSA, Lucknow, pp.68-69.
 13. Batten was the settlement officer of the district of Garhwal in the province of Kumaon, 19 April 1942. Final settlement on Kumaon of 1946, UPSA, Lucknow.

On Bhotiya traders, Batten commented, "In fact, the capabilities of the real Bhot village may be estimated as greater or small in really exact proportion to its vicinity to omniscience from the snow. In other words, to the hardness of soil, and impracticability of cultivation; for the more daringly these latter evils are encountered, that is nearer the valley to Tibet frontier, the greater are the trading advantages... The Bhotiyas whom Traill... treats as the monopolisers of the carrying trade, appear to me equally the monopolisers of the export and import of trade itself".¹⁴ he further commented, "Bhotiyas buy grains and cloth, etc. from lower valleys of Kumaon and Garhwal and carry it on sheep and goats to Tibet and when they travel home again their sheep and goats are laden with wool, salt, and borax, which they have obtained by barter". So the monopoly of the carriage is undoubted because the Bhotiyas are the carriers they are not therefore deprived of the character of merchants. Between them and the Khempas of Tibet there was existed a very ancient tradition of wool trade. The Tibetan authorities levied some kind of tax on them for the privilege of trading with Khempas when they

14. Battern's letter to I.J. Turver, Officiating Commissioner, 3rd Division, Bareilly, 12 Sept. 1837, pp.68-69.

entered Tibetan territory. When the East India Company arrived Garhwal, it found difficult to collect money from the Bhotiyas of the Barahoti area.¹⁵

In 1842 J.H. Batten reported, "There being no surplus produce from which rent or revenue could be deprived, a land tax appeared to me absurd. I thought that the form of lease should be a settlement per village according to its present trading prosperity, viewed with reference to the government demand paid previous to the abolition of the custom duties and to the consolidation of all demands into the so called land revenue". The Sudder Board instructed Batten, "not to attempt any fictitious mode of settlement, according to rates of assessment on the land, but to make as fair arrangement as I could between the government and the Bhotiyas with reference to general capabilities of their respective villages".¹⁶

Thus on receipt of these orders and remembering the duties levied on the Bhotiya traders by the Tibetan Government, Batten did not consider himself authorised to make any greater account under the head on the profits of trade,

15. Ramesh Sanghvi, India's Northern Frontier and China, p.111.

16. Reports on the Revenue Settlement, vol.II, Part II, Banaras, 1863, p.542.

than the late commissioner (Traill) had already in fact, though not nominally, through the calculation of the respective Jumas demandable from the villages and he accordingly kept the existing formula Painkhanda¹⁷ unaltered.

Batten settled the Bhotiya villages of Kumaon on the year 1841-42. The Bhotiyas of Kumaon were given due notices for being present at Bageshwar Thul, or Munsyari at the appointed date.¹⁸

Batten submitted his settlement report of the Bhot Mahal (Kumaon) and Northern pargana of Kumaon proper (distinguished) from Garhwal which was also a part of Kumaon at that time, on 30th June, 1843.

Batten described Kumaon Bhot region the puttie of Mala Juhar, Byans and Derma and mentioned the fact about their being inhabitant for only five months of the year. Barley, wheat, phaphar (a little wheat) and turnips were not sufficient to feed the inhabitants of the region and as there was

17. Malla Painkhanda - inhabitants of Niti and Mana Pass. See Appendix, The report on the settlement of the districts of Garhwal, in the province of Kumaon, published in the report of revenue settlement, vol.III, Part II, Benaras, 1863, p.548. Remarks on the assessment of the Bhot Mahal.

18. Letter from J.R. Batten to G.F. Lushingtri, Commissioner of Kumaon, 27 Nov. 1840, Year 1839-1842, vol.VI, No.53, p.156.

no surplus worth the name question of a surplus the purpose of land revenue, yet, "noticed Batten, paying tribute to hardy merchantile race of Bhotiyas; are the occupants of this dreary region and unkindly soil, the most enter-prising, and the most thriving of our hill subject,¹⁹ and as observed by me on a former occasion, a Bhotiya village is removed from a genial climate from the pomp of groves and garniture of the fields, the nearer is placed to the source of its wealth.

So in some villages of Juhar, owing to the less population, bad situation, and other revenue demand, and though these decreases were partially compensated by slight increments in other villeges, the result was deficiency on the pre-view assessment. At the time of settlement, Debu Patwari and the head men among the Bhotiyas willingly agreed to distribute the increase to make up the deficiency among the flourishing villeges of the upper pattis and the total amount of land revenue was left the same, as before. Those on whom the differences were assessed, however, some complaint, and the Bhotiyas were relieved from the additional burden.²⁰

19. Report on the Revision of Settlement of Kynson Division, 1863, p.172.

20. Atkinson, Himalayan Gazetteer, vol.III, Part III, pp.147-48.

Batten adds, "Though a friend of light assessment, I am still of opinion that the Bhotiyas pay to government a smaller share of their profit than the inhabitants of the province, and the introduction considering their increased and increasing resources, are reduction (consequence on the expulsion of the Gurkhas, and ^{into} the province of British principles of taxation), made in the revenue of the passes, as compared to that made in the revenue of the agricultural commodities, as disproportionately large. Independent of revenue considerations, however, political reasons exist for depriving our frontier subjects of all grounds of complaint". Batten, in his inimitable style, has described in his report, "the relative economic and social condition of the Bhotiya community of his time with that of the Tibetan on one hand and that of the Khasias on the other vis-a-vis that of the Bhotiyas." He also comments in a pithy sentence "the extremely adverse conditions under which Bhotiya eke out his living which not be latter as tribute to his hardiness, industry and indomitable spirit". Traffic is the life and soul of a Bhotiya, and were the trade between the hills and Hunies to become closed (though the want of Tibetans and their dependence on India for so many of the necessities and luxuries of life may always be supposed to render such an event improbable) he would soon to become an half starved savage; or abandoning altogether his present

station at the out posts between human endeavour and the extreme horrors of unconquerable nature, would rapidly merge into the common herd of Chinese Tartars, or of Khasias.²¹

While settling the Juhar valley, Batten found that the Malle Juhar was separated from Talla Juhar by an interval of 20 miles of most difficult country. The flourishing state of Bhotiya and their region can be best described in the words of Batten itself.

Batten observed during his settlement of Kumaon province: "The villages of Munchheeree valley, the centre spot of the trade between the passes and Bageshwar, these villages are remarkably good and possess some of the largest and most substantial houses in the province. This certainly is some praise of the economic and legal condition of the Bhotiyas of that period, coming as it does from an authority who had, by the time, given final shape to his report, i.e. in 1843, an enviable opportunity to have seen most of Garhwal portion of Kumaon and Kumaon proper also. The Bhotiya traders, by that time with their superior means and

21. Batten was correct as far the dependence of the Tibetans on the Bhotiyas of India for provision of the necessities and luxuries of life was concerned but his improbability of the event was to be proved wrong as trade with Tibet closed in the year 1962.

influence, succeeded in obtaining a large part of this tract and also in lower part of putti and the original inhabitants had to depend on Bhotiyas.²² Batton during his settlement time found except in the case of five villages situated to the snowy peaks, there were two harvest in Tulla Juhar, both the Rubee and Khareef produce and most remunerative market on the spot. The pasture tracts were also notoriously good, and the fine breed of sheep and goats used by the Bhotiyas and the hill zamindars for the carriage of salt, borax, wool and grain, etc., were the main source of wealth to the inhabitants. The taxation of Bhotiyas was one of the principal considerations with the British in the Sangchennath - capital area of the Juhar Mahala right from 1815. After a lot of controversy, the principles laid down by Batton were accepted, in justification, it was stated: "It is quite fair that they (Bhotiyas) should pay because they occupy an immense tract of country to the exclusion of all others. For six months they graze their sheep and cattle all over the country. They have the benefits of the roads and ridges made at a great expenses and with these advantages they made great profit".²³

22. Settlement Papers of Bhot Mahala and Northern pargana of Kumaon proper, p.561.

23. Report on the Revision of Settlement of Kumaon Division, 1863, pp.172-73.

Thus the settlement of the whole pargana of Juhar was completed by Datten without making any change in the total amount of government demand. The Bhotiya (saukas) represented against this retention of the old assessment and on their complaint the loss was allowed to fall on the government, as a result all the Bhotiya villages of Kumaon proper like in case of Garhwal Bhotiya village were relieved from their additional burden.

The officers of the Anglo-Indian Government occasionally travelled beyond their immediate concern of raising more money, from the people of the border areas. They recorded sociological facts about the Bhotiya people. The Hukum Nama for Jadheng in an instance, "There are... houses of mud roofing, one with planks roof and one with state roof. Besides sixteen grain stores (Kuthar) have state roofs. The houses are crowded together and are simple structures with verandahs. There are two families of Rawat, six of Rawa, three of Riastu, three of Guriyate and two of Dhiral. Some Nilang families have settled here. Three Malgusars appointed for village Nilang look after this village also. Malguzar Panch Ram has also permanent house in the village. Rights regarding grazing of cattle and collection of land revenue, etc., already decided for village Nilang would be considered the same for this village which is hamlet of the

village of Nilang. There is also a temple of Goodess in the left bank of river Thang-Thong. Between 3 and 10 kuri (local weight) of fabra, maista and salt are given annually by every family to its penda as Dadwar a local tax for puja.²⁴

After some years, assessment was increased and its results were observed by another officer in 1866 who opposed any proposal to tax^{on} the Bhotiya's trade with Tibet in these words: "On the several grounds that the tax on trade was undesirable, and particularly so in the case of Tibetan trade, which affords employment to the thousands in the most sterile part of Garhwal, and provides a market for produce in the same region, thus encouraging agricultural, which without this stimulus would inevitably languish, and that with enhancement of land revenue of the whole district at the present settlement limited to fifty percent, there was no necessity for taxing the trade of the Bhotiyas".²⁵

24. Ibid., p.89.

25. Report on the Revision of Settlement of Kumaon Division, 1866, p.9.

CHAPTER IV
TAXATION SYSTEM

We have already seen that the British revenue authorities from the very inception of the British rule had decided that a tax on trade was undesirable. Traill's abolition on all customs and profits of trade was also included, and Batten's recollection of the duties levied by the Tibetan government on the Bhotiyas had helped in encouraging the Bhotiya and non-Bhotiya (updeasis) traders to expand their trade with Hundees. Later on the same view was maintained, considering the Tibetan trade, which afforded employment to thousands in most sterile part of Garhwal and Kumaon, and provided market for produce in the same region, this engaging agriculture, which without this stimulus would inevitably languish.¹

The trade of the Bhotiyas was interesting and romantic, which mostly deals with Hundee and to some extent with Nepal. It appears that every article whether of import or export, was subjected to taxation, and this taxation was not only heavy but had the further disadvantage of being so complex

1. E.K. Pauw, The Tenths Settlement of the district Garhwal, 1898, p.167.

as to be altogether beyond the comprehension of the traders who had to pay it.²

These taxes were also not levied by the Tibetan government directly but were leased out to the contractors. Obviously the operations of these contractors were such, which prevented applications of any effectual... control on the part of the Tibetan government. The contractors consequently went ahead with extracting the utmost from an unintelligible tariff.³

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Traill's early account on the taxes levied on the Bhotiya or non-Bhotiya traders, were not completed and apparently he was also not aware of the various kind of taxes which differed in the cases of traders of different valleys, Nilang passes (under Tehri Garhwal at that time), Mana and Niti Passes (under Kumaon division of British Garhwal) were the three passes from Garhwal, Juhar, Darma and Byane passes were the three passes from Kumaon.

Traill's information about the taxes levied by the Tibetan on these traders of Garhwal and Kumaon, was limited

2. J.S. Fuller's Annual Report in the Foreign Trade of the NWP and Oudh, 1882, p.1.

3. Ibid., p.1.

to Sinh-Thal (land revenue), Ya-Thal (Tax on Sunshine) and Kyun Thal (Tax on profits of trade). Treill also did not mention about any distinction in the kind of taxes levied on the traders of various villoges. The Sinhthal was assessed at 12 polas (laks) of gur (about Rs.100 in value), per konch on the Khalsa land (the extent of a konch is also not stated). The aggregate payments were reported to be very trifling under this load. The ya-thal was assessed at one cake of balma (dried yeast-for wine) per house. The Kyun Thal was levied in the shape of Transit duties at the rate of 10 percent on grain, which was taken at the first mart visited by traders(local) but only on the first investment of each trader during the entire trading season. The load of every tenth sheep together with the wool on its back as taken under Kyun-Thal. As the duty was levied according to an ancient tariff, broad cloth and many articles, the export of which commenced at a comparatively recent date, passed untaxed.⁴

In fact detailed reporting on the Foreign Trade on the N.W.P. and Oudh (Uttar Pradesh) consists only from the year 1877-78.⁵ These annual reports throw very interesting light

4. E.K. Pauw, The Tenth Settlement of the District of Garhwal, p.105.

5. Ibid.

on the taxation system of Tibet and also on the character and complexity of the Tibetan taxation policy on trade, from these reports we may be in a position to understand the relative position of each valley of Uttarakhand, vis-a-vis a Tibetan Government and also the fluctuation in the quantum of trade. These records also focus our attention on the difficulties which were encountered by the traders in their trade with Hundos, and also the causes of almost a constant trade which very seldom exhibits any sign of a marked improvement or declining notwithstanding all external efforts to push it up or at times to clamp it down.⁶

From one of the earliest reports we came to know of a dispute which was current at that time in 1897, "the dues... which are separate from the regular custom duties levied on imports". H.A. Grey, Dy Commissioner of Almorah, informed: "In case of Tibet a dispute at present going on with regard to the realisation by the Tibetan officials of certain dues from the traders of Kumaon and Garhwal. The Collection of the dues was last year prohibiting but the matter is yet far from finally settled".⁷

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6. The Annual Report of the United Province of Asia and Oudh. A monthly statement of the traffic was also submitted to the Government of India in the Dept. of Finance and Commerce. Annual Report of 1886.
 7. J.S. Weston's Annual Report of Foreign Trade, 1897, Para-6(a), p.1.

No duties were levied on the articles which the Bhotiya traders brought from Hundes. The articles, which were imported from India into Tibet, the following taxes were levied and realised according to the rates prescribed for each article.

La Thal (Toll for crossing the mountains) consisted of one cake of gur, and the square piece of coarse cloth. It was levied from a group of 12 families of Juhari traders. This tax was collected by the Pradhan of Milan village and was handed over to Tibetan authorities.⁸

Chhunkal (1/10 of the articles of commodity) was realised from the Darma. It was by the time of reporting realised only rationally from them. This 10 percent levy on the articles of trade which was earlier demanded, had been abandoned and only small quantities of gur and a kind of grain (Hordeum coeleste celestial barley) varying according to the population of Darma village was levied. In exchange for this gur and uwa the Bhotiyas were given salt and borax at the rate of 5 measures for 1 of grain and 3 nalis of 6 seers for 1 cake of gur.

8. A Monthly Settlement of the Traffic was also submitted to the Government of India in the Department of Finance & Commerce. (Annual Report of 1886.)

From the traders of Byans and Chaudans, Naika or Naikhal (20 nalis = 40 seers of uwa) was realised. It consisted of grain and generally uwa. In the case of Byans and Chaudans also were given salt or borax in exchange at the rate of 2 measures for 1 of grain. The Tibetan system was stated to be arbitrary and "one Tibetan took full measure but gave incomplete measure".

It is interesting to note that the Bhotiya traders were grasped for a particular type of tax and the non-Bhotiya traders were taxed differently. Godbul was levied from non-Bhotiya like the Khampas, etc., and it consisted of a tax of 6 annas per trader. The servants were not levied for.

From above it would appear that the traders of Kumaon were taxed lightly while Juharis paid only a toll for crossing over to Hundos, the Darmiens were assessed for an amount which had become only notional of previously levied 1/10th and the traders of Byans and Chaudans paid only Naika. There is no mention in these later reports of the land tax (Sinthal), tax or Sunshine (Ya-Thal) or Kyun Thal being paid by the Kumaonese traders like other Bhotiya traders of Garhwal region.⁹

9. See Appendix of the Annual Report of the Foreign Report of the North-Western Province & Oudh 1901, UPBA. See No.630, p.4. (Notes on the duties levied by the Tibetan Government on the Trade Crossing the frontiers of Almora & Garhwal districts.)

In Garhwal, Bhot region we find that the three main passes were taxed differently and this difference as compared to the Kumaon (Bhot) region was quite marked. The eastern Bhot region of Garhwal, contained Nilang pass into Tibet, the inhabitants of this region are called Jodhs, Nilang valley is in the Bhatwari Tehsil of the Uttarkashi district and during the British period it was in the so called Native State of (Garhwal) Tehri.

The Jodhs paid Rs.70 per annum as land revenue to the Tibetan Government at Chaprang (in Tibet). Interestingly Jodhs were not levied any tax on their trading activity.

The other residents of the east while Tehri State who went to Tibet for trade purpose paid a tax, one phancha¹⁰ of grain out of every 20 carried by them. This was called Lapkacha. The non-Saukyas, Khampas of this state also did not pay any tax on their trade.

From the Bushharis (inhabitants of the state of Bushhar in Himachal Pradesh) who used Nilang Pass was collected at the rate of 8 annas per head. In this case every member of

10. One Phancha is actually the pair of Saddlebag on a back goat/sheep, and on an average contained 10 or 12 seers of grain.

a Bushhari family crossing over to Tibet was levied this tax. It is clear that the inhabitants of Bushhar were levied taxes quite differently from the Jads on one hand and Khampe on the other. In the case of Sauka Bhotiya other than Jads who used this route for their trade, a small tax was also levied in the goods, they imported from Tibet. The Jads unlike all Bhotiyas of Garhwal and Kumaon are Buddhist in their religion. In the report of the Foreign Trade¹¹ a distinction has been made between Jads and Sauka (Bhotiya) when describing the taxes paid by them to the Tibetans.

East of the Nilang Valley and pass is the Mana Pass used by the Mana villegors. From the traders of Mana, one phancha of barley was realised by the Tibetan authorities. Sinh-Thal or land tax was also realised at the rate of Rs.44 (Kachha).¹² From these traders who took British money for the purchases into Tibet a duty called Mul-Thal at the rate of Rs.5, was also realised. Normally the trade was carried on barter basis.

11. See Appendix of the Annual Report of the Foreign Trade NWP W.H. Northland, 1907.

12. Kachha Rupee was equivelated to 13 annas. Ibid. II (II).

The ancient relationship between the Badrinath Temple¹³ in the Nana valley and the Tibetan authorities was maintained through an annual representation by the Jongpen, of one Yak tail, half of a box of tea and 5 yards long woolen cloth to the diety. The Jongpen in return for his presents received 100 yards of coarse cloth, some fruits, coconuts, sandal wood and sugar candy. The messenger who brought the presents of the jongpen, called sarji, was given some cash and 8 seers of rice as his expenses.

Nothing illustrates better the distinctive taxation of the Tibetans as it was followed from the case of the traders using Niti Pass of Garhwal Bhot region. There were 21 villages which used Niti Pass for trade purpose. Some villages which were taxed differently were Gurguti and Mahargeon. Gurguti was inhabited by a mixture of Tibetans, Bushheris (Himachal) and Dermians while Mahargeon was inhabited by the Juhari Saukas. These two villages were taxed differently than the traders of Niti were. It shows that Tibetans followed different taxation policy by different set of people inhabiting in a particular area. It is not

13. Buddhist missionary followed Himalayan traders and into Tibet, central Asia and China. This was the main reason to spread Buddhism in this region...

improbable that this tax pattern had something to do with the relationship while the Tibetan maintained with the concerned people and it revealed to some extent or shortly the background of the peoples taxed. At the first trip, the Niti traders had to pay a tax of two phancha of barley to jongpen who was stationed at Daba. This tax was called 'Thal' or 'pu'.

On their return to the Niti Pass, each trader and his Tibetan correspondent (Arthi & Mitra) was given a box of Tibetan Tea. This tea weighted 1.23 seers and was Rs. 1.00 and 4 annas in value. For this tea the Niti trader and his arthi had to pay Rs. 1 and 8 annas, which they split equivalently, each paying Rs. 4. This tax was called Purir. A toll of two Timashis (6 annas - 6 pice) on each 100 loaded sheep and goats were realised while going towards India. This tax was known as Panthal^{*}. At Daba on sales and purchase of grain, salt and borax 'a duty' of 1 patha (? patha = 2 seers) in every 20 traders was also paid to the bazar Chaudhuri. The bazar Chaudhuri shared the proceeds of this tax equally with the jongpen. This tax was designated as Lepkacha.¹⁴

* There are two chaukis, from Daba to Niti at Juidu and Hoti where these taxes were paid.

14. Legpacha - This is the weighman, Director at Paba, J.M. Clay, 1915. A.R.F.T.

The Niti traders had some houses and godowns of theirs at Daba for which they were levied at the rate of 2 timashis (6 annas and 6 pico) per house.¹⁵

Mahargeon which was inhabited by the juhari traders had to take 7 boxes of tea and consequently paid Rs. 50 was also in addition required to take 1 tax of tea from the chaukidar and paid for it Rs. 8. The chaukidar was stationed at Hoti.

Gothal or a toll tax of 2 timashis per head was also realised from the inhabitants of Gurguti and Mahargeon. At shipomilam, where the villager traded, a (hearth) chule tax of 2 tunashis per hearth was levied and was called Thap thal. A grazing tax called cherin at the rate of Rs. 8 was also realised from the inhabitants of Gurguti.

From the above mode of taxation a few inferences may easily be drawn:

1. The Juhari, Dermic and Byense - chaudans - traders paid no tax on the articles they brought to India.
2. The taxes were paid in different kinds as well as in cash. As we have already seen, Traill was aware

15. Gothang was introduced by the Tibetan authorities in 1905 and after ordering its remittance in 1905, it was reimposed in 1906.

of only 3 types of taxes which were levied on the Bhotiya traders. Traill's information does not give us the clue of cash payment.¹⁶ But on the basis of Foreign trade account and statistical review, we have seen several taxes were paid only in cash which required payment in a currency. Jadsa paid Rs.70 per annum as sinthal or land revenue. The Dushharis (Himachal) who used Nilang Pass for their trade, paid a tax called Gothul at the rate of 8 annas per head.¹⁷

3. The Mana valley traders paid Sinthal or the land revenue at the rate of Rs.44 (Kachha) annually. Similarly for the use of the British coins or money in Tibet every one who carried it to Tibet was required to pay Rs.5 to the Tibetan authorities.¹⁸
4. Those who used Niti pass were statutorily given tea boxes during their return trip, and cash payments were accepted at the rate of Rs.8 tea box. The payment of this type equally shared between the Niti valley traders and their Tibetan correspondent.

16. The Tenth Settlement of the District Garhwal, op. cit., p.105.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid.

The Pugir tax was universal by every one using Niti Pass. The tolls levied were usually in terms of timeshis valuing 3 annas and 3 pice each. Luthal was charged at the rate of two timeshis (6 annas and 6 pice) per hundred loaded sheep and goats, Gothang (house tax) for the houses and godowns maintained by the Niti traders in Daba town of Tibet at the rate of 2 timeshis per house, Pugir at the rate of 2 timeshis from the residents of Mehargson and Gurguti, Thapthal of hearth tax at the rate of 2 timeshis per hearth, 2 timeshis per family crossing Hoti or Juidau chowkis and also the grazing tax (for a few years) charin at the rate of Rs.8 were realised only in cash.

The payment of these various taxes resulted in drain of silver or payment in hard currency to the Tibetan Government and during early 19th century it appeared that the drain of silver or cash payment acquired a different proportion and it was due to the fact that "a system of payment by imports in cash had sprung up... (during very recent years) prior to this, as we are aware the Tibetan used to barter salt, borax and wool, for grain, sugar and cotton

goods".¹⁹ This fact is reflected in a gradual increase in the export of silver to Tibet. This export of silver in the case of a few years is given below.²⁰

Table 4.1: Export of Silver

Year	Amount	Year	Amount
1883	3,216	1908	77,559
1884	14,756	1909	72,090
1885	19,246	1910	77,539
1886	9,257	1911	75,710
1887	12,313	1912	89,150
1892	13,429	1913	103,477
1893	17,919	1914	137,606
1894	22,688	1915	88,260
1899	25,335	1916	113,797
1900	55,187	1921	146,962
1907	74,110	1923	103,235

Source: The Annual Reports of the Foreign Trade of NWP and Oudh of the concerning years, UPSA Lucknow.

19. Report of Dy Commissioner of Garhwal E.K. Pauw. Report by T.S. Nestin, Director, Dept. of Land Records in the Annual Report of the Foreign Trade of the NWP & Oudh, 3 March, 1897, p.8.

20. Alongwith export of silver the export of gold also
(continued...p.54..)

Thus the drain of silver picked up as the mode of transactions between the Bhotiys traders and their Tibetan correspondents changed from barter to cash payments. The export of silver and to some extent gold, included the cash which the traders carried for the payment of various taxes as well.

(continued...)

registered but it was insignificant as compared of silver, which was the main currency. For the export and import of gold and silver the figures were previously given under the used of Jewellery but later under the head, treasure in Reports.

CHAPTER V
COMPOSITION AND STATISTICS OF TRADE

All along in history, there existed a very ancient trade between Bhotiyas and the Khempas of western Tibet. Tibet produced very little grain and was largely dependent on imports from India, therefore, food grains were in chief articles carried in by the Bhotiyas. In the early years of Indo-Tibetan Trade, normally barter system was in vogue. This was known as "balthia trade" and was especially practised when Tibetan salt, borax and wool were exchanged for Indian grains. In such a case, it was not easy to calculate the value of trade but in later years, as the price of grain in India and wool in Tibet grew higher, traders of both countries found it difficult and inconvenient to continue with barter system.¹

During the British rule due to a general awakening and with advancement of education and market economy, the barter system was replaced by the money exchange system. In this context, we come across an interesting example of Bhotiya traders reaching right upto Kavariputnam for their

1. Quoted from manuscript book of late Ram Dayal Singh Ponia leading trader of Garhwal Gamshali.

trade but being unable to follow the language of South India they did not sell their goods till they were convinced of making a good profit out of bargain.²

Trade played vital role in Bhotiya economy. Paww while describing the trade of Garhwal said, "The trade with Hundes, afforded employment to the thousands in the most sterile part of Garhwal, and provide a market for produce in the same region, thus encouraging agriculture, which without this stimulus would inevitably languish".³

Thus the trade with Tibet had two aspects. First it provided employment, through its continuance to a large section of skilled and unskilled hill population and secondly it encouraged cultivation of crops by ensuring ready purchase of the same and its transport to a nearer market, i.e. Tibet.

The above statement was equally applicable to the other region of Uttar Pradesh hills, where the hill economy was considerably dependent on the success of this trade. The above statement would become more relevant and

2. Noti Chandra, Studies in Mahabharata. Shiv Prasad Dabryal, Uttarakhand Ke Bhotantik, p.29.

3. E.K. Paww, Report of the Tenth Settlement of Garhwal District, 1838, p.25.

comprehensible after we have seen and understood the articles which were traded between this hilly region and the neighbouring Tibetan tract called Hundes locally.

The articles which found their way into Tibet through the passes of these hills consisted of: Cotton goods - twist and yarn (European), cotton (Indian); Drugs, which were intoxicating as well as non-intoxicating; Dyeing materials like safflower, Turmeric; Fibrous products like gunny bags; Fruits - Coconuts; Vegetables - Potato, etc.; Grain - wheat, rice, sugar (refined); unrefined Metals - copper, Iron; Tobacco; Raw wool and manufactured wool; precious stones, Borax which was sent to different market centres of Asia, Europe and Egypt⁴; Gold dust, popularly known as pipilika Gold⁵ (Gold dug by ants); Tea; and Musk deer.⁶

In exchange the trade helped in bringing several articles which were either non-existent in the hill region or the other parts of the province or were dearer here.

Export and Import of Cattles

In addition of the above articles of export and import,

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4. Watt (G.), Dictionary of Economic Products of India, p.504.
 5. B.D. Pande, Kumaon Ka Itihas, p.73.
 6. A.F. Rish, NWP and Oudh Province, year 1882-1925.

the trade provided a very thriving business or purchase of articles of live cattles, hides of the cattles and leather goods. Thus the Tibetan trade, while on one side encouraged agriculture by consisting export of grain of several types to Tibet at a higher and remunerative price than that of the hill market, it also promoted animal husbandry, through a brisk trade in live animals and use of the leather through export of the same.

Table 5.1: Export of Sale of Animals

Year	Horresses, Ponies and Mules in number	Cattles in num- ber	Sheep/ Goats	Others
1882	48	61	436	1,002
1883	10	42	1,325	17
1884	83	52	800	45
1885	90	56	10	-
1886	11	46	600	4
1887	99	52	120	16
1891	-	-	200	-
1892	-	12	540	20
1894	90	44	100	48
1896	1	110	3,200	20
1897	13	4	2,528	3
1898	2	56	1,028	216
1899	22	135	15,810	12
1900	15	241	16,126	42
1901	3	87	860	5
1902	42	195	14,229	208
1907	-	37	713	516
1908	9	5	580	-
1909	1	-	105	-
1910	-	-	100	-

(contd...p.58..)

(contd....)

1911	2	-	1,552	-
1921	-	-	428	-
1923	-	-	110	-
1924	-	-	80	1,153
1925	-	-	158	-

Table 5.2: Position of Imports of Animals for Sale

1882	48	61	436	25
1883	408	70	7,071	191
1884	320	81	5,397	334
1885	143	145	7,333	229
1886	296	152	7,722	294
1887	287	119	8,268	388
1891	253	192	7,110	215
1892	199	84	9,706	120
1893	296	1,063	9,706	120
1894	549	298	14,657	361
1895	711	1,063	9,553	479
1896	219	97	9,660	147
1897	282	1,081	24,699	4,344
1898	187	117	23,713	38
1899	315	33	18,856	56
1900	235	152	29,712	62
1901	238	190	27,477	72
1902	221	97	20,844	47
1907	235	153	11,304	142
1908	206	324	7,184	113
1909	206	324	8,101	58
1911	736	169	7,660	76
1919-21	113	170	11,455	54
1923	223	80	28,254	151
1924	300	146	21,950	109
1925	194	144	13,978	64

Source: Annual Reports of the Foreign Trade of NWP and Oudh of the concerning years, UPSC Lucknow.

From the above it is apparent that the import of animals especially of sheep and goats, far exceeded export of the same. The Tibetan goats and sheep were not suited for the climatic conditions of India as they could not stand the heat of the lower paths and places, and therefore they were no use to the Indian traders, as they were consequently unfit as pack animals. The heavy import of sheep and goats was primarily meant for the use of the animal as a sacrificial animal or butcher's meat purpose.⁷ During & after cholera epidemic, items demand used to increase quite substantially in Garhwal and Kumaon.

The traders (Indian) carried their merchandise on pack animals, such articles as grain, salt, wool, which would be made up into small loads sorts of packs on sheep and goats were used. Goats and sheep were the principal carriers, but Yaks and Jubbas and mules were some times used, and chiefly favoured by the Khampas of Gurguti.⁸ Ponies were not used as pack animals as it was difficult for the ponies to traverse the mere tracks which served for roads in the Passes.⁹ The requirement of pack animals was quite heavy

7. Annual Report 1916-1922, p.27.

8. Pauw, The Tenth Settlement of the Garhwal District, p.251.

9. Ibid.

as the economy considerably based on this trade, and every northern village of Garhwal, who could buy or borrow a flocks of goats and sheeps, travelled between the Indian village and the areas in neighbouring region.

There was romance in trade and not least in this carried on in the grim defiles and over the stern passes of the Himalaya.

But the number of animals imported from Tibet every year so substantial that the entire lot could not possibly have been earmarked for sacrifice, meat purpose or transport alone. The better class of wool for clothing purpose are only produced in fairly temperature climate. The effect of the intense heat of the Indian plain was such that the wool, which was produced here was hard, dry and fissly in character which was entirely devoid of natural greese. The Tibetan wool produced in its cold and dry climate was long and soft wool, deficient in the elasticity and wavy curl which is important to manufacture of finer classes of woollen fabrics.¹⁰ In hills the hair yielding goats are in demand and the goats are known as 'Lakote' or 'Kelete'.¹¹

10. W.P.M. Alam, A Monograph on Woollen Fabric in the MNP and Oudh, Government Press, 1892, p.2.

11. Ibid.

Wool, Trade Industry

Wool was needed locally in the hills as well as was coveted by the woolen mills of the plain areas. The import of wool from the Hundes, as late as the first quarter of twenteenth century, formed a major position of the total wool used in the province of Utter Pradesh. In a study it is estimated that the annual outturn of wool in the entire state was roughly 32,000 maunds (17 lakh sheep yielding, 75 seers of wool per sheep) and against this the import of wool from Hundes was 6,417 maunds, 7,146 maunds and 10,175 maunds respectively during year 1895, 1896 and 1897.¹²

Considerable attention was paid by the authorities on this article as there was no substitute for this import article which was required for the local consumption as well as the woolen mills of the plains. As early as 1877 "four samples of wool usually brought from Tibet, two of pashmina and two of sheep's wool, were sent to England and referred for an opinion as to their value to two different firms, Messrs Helmuth Schwartze & Co. and Messrs Balme and Co.

The samples are priced as below:

12. Ibid.

	<u>Messrs Helmuth Schwartne & Co.</u>	<u>Messrs Bane & Co.</u>
1. Pashmina grey	18 d/lb	12 to 13 d/lb
2. Pashmina white	6-8 d/lb	7-8 d/lb
3. Sheep's wool, fine	16-18 d/lb	14-15 d/lb
4. Sheep's wool coarse	7-8 d/lb	7-8 d/lb

The value of all the samples were assessed and their costs at various points were also estimated. As it was positively cheaper and perhaps also better in quality the possibilities of purchase by European firms were also contemplated.¹³

Importance of wool trade was accentuated owing to the fact that the commodity was required locally as well as by the manufacturing of woolen fabrics. Garhwal alone in 1898 imported as much as 1,200 maunds of wool from Tibet to local use but the activities of the Kanpur woolen mills in securing the Tibetan wool from the Shotiya traders had made it much more difficult for the Garhwalis to obtain a supply of wool.¹⁴ The wool raw material from which a great variety of fabrics manufactured in hill areas of Kumaon and Garhwal,

13. J.B. Fuller, Annual Report on the Foreign Trade of NWP and Oudh, 1877-78, p.98.

14. W.P.H. Alam, op. cit., p.2.

such as Penkhi and Thomas, warm clothes, similar to Blanket. Woolen fabrics made of goats hair were also in huge demand as it was largely used for making coarse cloth.¹⁵

From Tibet, wool was brought to India by the Bhotiya traders against a strong competition for the available wool. In view of the demand in India there were a number of competitors for the wool like the Nepalese and the traders from the Darjeeling side.¹⁶

But the local demand compelled with the demand of the mills notwithstanding the low price fixed by the government for sale of the mills at the Bhabar... was sufficient incentive for more imports of wool from Tibet. Deputy Commissioner of Garhwal wrote in 1917.

"The traders again got as much wool as they wanted and obtained very good prices for it some 25 percent higher than they did last year, as Juhari traders came over into Garhwal with wool during the past season. The import of borax alone brought them half million of rupees. The price of wool rose appreciately and there was a strong local

15. Ibid., pp.11-12.

16. B.R.C. Heiley, Director - In his Annual Report of the Foreign Trade N.W.P and Oudh, 1918, para 6, p.2.

demand for it. Nevertheless on balance of profit and loss, the traders may be said to have enjoyed a very years business, thanks to the war, and I am told that many of them have cleared of a good deal of their debts".¹⁷

The trade as has been observed elsewhere promoted exchange of articles within the neighbouring areas contiguous the villages and between Kumaon and Garhwal for example the people of Badhan, Kaliphat, Pindarwar and West in Pindarwar in Garhwal, not only traded with Niti and Mana areas but also exported mustard oil to Juhar in Kumaon and from there they brought back wool. For this journey, as well as undertaken by the people of above mentioned places of Garhwal and also those of Nalla Dassuli and Paikhanda, sheep and goats were not used. The load were carried by men themselves. The reason, why Juhar was chosen for the purchase of wool instead of Niti Garhwal was that "inferior and cheaper wool was obtainable at the former place, while at the latter only the best shawl wool was available. The wool of eight sheep, estimated as the requirement for a blanket was sold for Rs.1 in Juhar and Rs.3 in Tibet."¹⁸

17. H.R.C. Hailey, Director, Commenting on Commissioner of Garhwal, Report in the Annual Foreign Trade, op. cit., 1917, p.2.

18. E.K. Pauw, op. cit., 1878, p.26.

Thus the trade with Huncoo filled up a major requirement of hill people by supplying to them the coarse wool which was previously used for the local manufacture of woollen cloth and better quality wool was supported to the mills for finer woollen manufacture. The hilly traders reported, a considerable quality of wool was known as "Jara" wool, the production of some Tibetan breed (sheep).¹⁹

Local administration of Kumaon "made suitable arrangements for encouraging the import of wool and extending the trade".²⁰ Consequently, and also owing to good profit it gave the traders, "the improvement in the import of trade was noticeable in every branch, especially in wool, while contributed about one third of the increase in the total increase".

Table 5.3: Import of Raw Wool, 1878-1925

Year	Import of raw material wool from Tibet in Mounds	Year	Import of raw material wool from Tibet in Mounds
1878	6,225	1890	3,497
1884	4,159	1891	8,799
1885	3,092	1893	6,411
1889	7,082	1895	7,965

(contd...p.66..)

19. W.P.M. Alan, op. cit., pp.1-3.

20. T.W. Holderness, Annual Report Foreign Trade NWP and Oudh, 1891, p.7. J.C. Millers, Annual Report of Foreign Trade, 1892, p.5.

(contd...)

1897	10,459	1908	14,014
1898	11,040	1909	13,584
1899	11,488	1911	11,960
1900	10,361	1923	13,140
1901	9,525	1924	15,596
1902	10,863	1925	14,418
1907	12,966		

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- Sources: 1. Report of the Foreign Trade of W.P. and Oudh, 1878.
 2. Review of the External Trade of British India, Lucknow.

In the colder region of Himalayas, it is but natural that the production of wool should be first to develop. It is not possible to say exactly when these commercial improvements were introduced. The shawl of pashmina wool and the carpet industry have the indelible mark of Kashmiri and Persian influence. The local tradition was that the Katyuri Rajas employed Kashmiris to weave shawls for them. There is also possibilities that the common market of Tibet and exchanged their wares and know-how.

Before we explore the woollen production of Uttarakhand, it is not out of place to trace out their origin and introduction in this country. The shawl industry came from Persia with the Muslim invaders. The Muslim rulers specially Qutub-Ud-Din Aibak accorded official patronage to the industry. Akber introduced a new fashion in the use of two

different coloured shawls, one over the other. The Rajas of Kangra employed some Kashmiri weavers at Nurpur and from this industry it travelled to Uttarakhand.²¹ It is interesting to note that on the treaty of 1846 with Kashmir, the British introduced a clause by which the Raja was required to send some shawls to Queen Victoria every year.²² The elderly hilly (Bhotiya) traders still claim that shawls woven by their ladies were presented to 'VILAYAT KI MAHARANI'.

In the development of the wool industry, Warren Hasting played a major role. He was taken in making substantial profits, encouraged one William Moorcroft, to explore the Tibet market, Moorcroft along with Hyder Jang Hearsy crossed into Tibet through Niti Pass. After a market survey, they turned via Lipulekh. They were captured by the Nepalese authorities and freed 'after intervention of two Juhari brothers Bir Singh and Deb Singh. The sons of these traders later became the famous Pandit explorers to Tibet."²³

In the pre-1962 era of the trade from with Tibet, wool

21. M.M. Sharma, Through the Valley of God (Travel in Central Himalaya, p.51.

22. Ibid.

23. I.S. Rawat, Indian Explorers of the 19th Century.

was available in abundance, direct from the market of Bhot. Big market like Gyanimo, mandi and Takalkat, while the men were away from on their trading mission, the women had enough time to devote to the conversion of raw materials into finished goods, which were then marketed in the annual fairs of Uttarkashi, Gaucher, Gopeshwar, Bageshwar, Thal, Devidhura and Jaulijibi.

Food Grain and Salt Trade

The Tibetan trade also provided ready market for the food grains produced in the hills and the foot hills. Large quantities of food grains were exported easily, carrying the years of scarcity of the deficit zones of the Hundes. Considering the difficulties in the transport which was primarily on account of extremely bad conditions of the roads within the hilly region and into the Hundes, it is really a matter of surprise that the food grain was exported to Tibet in thousands of maunds every year. The main food grains which were exported here grain, pulses, wheat, rice husked and unhusked and rain and spring crops of various varieties of food grain may be seen from the statement below. (See table 5.4)

Food grains were exchanged for the salt, which was Tibetan origin. The exchange of salt with grains was a practical trade and in the neighbouring areas of village

Table 5.4: Export of Foodgrains in Maunds

Year	Foodgrains/ Maunds	Year	Foodgrains/ Maunds
1878	26,164	1902	50,010
1879	34,646	1906	65,935
1880	39,239	1907	196,183
1881	43,330	1908	61,636
1882	46,796	1909	50,545
1883	62,416	1910	157,335
1884	59,810	1911	43,391
1885	65,710	1912	46,315
1886	55,500	1913	47,627
1887	42,109	1914	47,200
1888	53,622	1915	32,605
1889	105,444	1916	42,390
1890	46,220	1917	32,200
1891	35,159	1918	38,208
1892	43,594	1919	35,700
1893	51,620	1920	39,148
1894	35,622	1921	43,445
1895	40,479	1922	30,604
1896	48,893	1923	30,558
1897	40,098	1924	43,394
1901	32,997	1925	36,926

Source: Annual Reports of the Foreign Trade of
NWP and Oudh, 1878-1925, UPFA, Lucknow.

and pattis people engaged in this trade. For example, people of western Nagpur, Malla Kaliphat, Paikhende brought grain in Tehri and transported it to Niti and Mana, and brought salt from these trading villages. Similarly in the north of Malla Nagpur and Urgum the salt obtained from the traders, also salt was taken to Chanpur, Dewalgarh, and Dasauli, in

these places it was exchanged for food grains. The people of lower Fainkhanda, Upper Dasauli and Badhan took the salt to the lower villages in Dasauli, Badhan and especially to the Pidarwar pattis. These were the areas which were surplus in food grains.²⁴

The rate of exchange of the salt with various food grains differed from place to place, at the Tolcha and Mercha villages (i.e. trading villages) it was less and when it was exchanged down in the valleys, i.e. Ramnagar, Haldwani, Tanakpur and Kotdwar, the cost of transport was added.

Wheat and rice were exchanged in the upper valleys, weight for weight with salt. In 1878 the total amount of food grains exported was 28,964 maunds which was nearly the same as exported in 1877. A considerable decrease in export of food grains, out of the year is under study was recorded here in 1884, 1900, 1918, 1909, 1910, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1919, 1922 and 1925, out of those 11 years, only during six years, i.e. 1897, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902 and 1910, food grains was imported to India from Tibet. In 1884 "correspondence to the decrease in salt there was a decrease of an about equal

24. Tenth Settlement of the District of Garhwal, 1898
(E.K. Pauw), p.25.

amount in the export of grain". It was not due to scarcity of food grains. The poor crops accounted for poor export of grain in 1908, 1909, 1910, 1917, 1922 and 1925.

In 1915 the export of grain fell, owing to the abnormally high prices, while in 1916 the fall was due to the disorganisation of business in Garhwal due to severe epidemic and cholera during April and July. In Kumaon "the trade of grain, which in the preceding years had risen by 6,008 maunds, dropped from 16,108 maunds, to 35,900 maunds in 1919. The bulk of decrease occurred in Almora district which accounted for 76 percent of the total export trade with Tibet.²⁵

A favourable crop or increased the export of grain to Tibet in the years 1883, 1902, 1913, 1918, 1920 and 1924. This increase mostly was due to better grain export through Kumaon passes.²⁶

As Mr. Stiffe rightly observed that, it is an interesting article, which was throughout the hill region was Kumaon as Bhotiya salt, which had universal acceptance throughout the hill and in addition to being profitable supplied for

25. Report on the Foreign Trade of the NWP and Oudh, 1878, p.161.

26. Corresponding Annual Report of the Food Grain Trade.

centuries to the hill man an essential commodity of his meals. The story of Bhotiya salt and its replacement by the sambhar salt of the plains is in fact the story of a foreign power trying to wrest the initiative from the hand of the native and look for the resources to its maintenance. The company administration was in constant search of additional revenues for the maintenance of its rule.

In 1878 the total amount of salt imported was 31,709 maunds from Tibet while this import stood at 28,631 maunds in 1876-77. In the former year it valued Rs. 109,072. Tibet salt somewhat resembled the inferior descriptions of the sambhar salt. It was fairly pure containing about 93 percent of Chloride.²⁷

Describing the very required on account of the proposal, taxation of salt in the British dominions, T.B. Fuller, Assistant Director informed in 1878 to the government.

"None of this salt is taxed. It is brought across from salt marches in Tibet by the Bhotiyas and inherent hill traders, and is exchanged by them for grain on which they live, or for money, for which they dispay a great part of

27. Report of the Foreign Trade of the North Eastern Province and Oudh, 1879, p.18. J.B. Fuller, Assistant Director.

the revenue payable to government".

The question of taxing the salt from Tibet was reimposed in 1877 after having been considered in 1869 and 1872 while it appeared that Tibet salt was not after all taxed by the government, sambhar salt found its way into the hills of Kumaon and Garhwal owing to the encouragement given by the local authorities and also due to improved communication much to the betterment of the Bhotiya trade and hardship of those traders of the hills who depended upon this import of article.

Table 5.5: Import of Salt in Maunds

Year	Import of Salt	Year	Import of Salt
1877	28,631	1887	25,105
1878	31,709	1888	32,881
1880	39,785	1889	31,237
1881	37,531	1890	33,806
1882	27,717	1891	28,712
1883	34,946	1892	31,656
1884	32,090	1893	35,624
1885	32,375	1894	37,827
1886	32,569	1895	25,350

(contd..p74..)

(contd...)

1896	31,380	1913	41,622
1897	33,275	1914	29,747
1898	33,545	1915	33,792
1899	37,825	1916	34,424
1900	34,170	1917	29,875
1901	36,812	1918	29,167
1902	34,426	1919	23,167
1907	31,398	1920	31,048
1908	30,868	1921	31,533
1909	23,934	1922	29,530
1910	25,265	1923	23,174
1911	26,656	1924	27,447
1912	29,687	1925	21,747

Source: The Annual Reports of the Foreign Trade of NWP and Oudh of concerned years.

The Annual Reports of the Foreign Trade of United Province of Agra and Oudh of the concerned years.

From the above table, the ouster of the Tibetan salt by the sembar salt is very clear. The decades average was about 33,900 maunds of salt which it recorded in 1925 a clear fall of 12,000 maunds which was quite substantial.²⁸

J.B. Fuller had recorded in 1882, "it is probable that Tibet salt, although the only untaxed salt in India, will not much longer hold, its own before the taxed article from

28. Annual Report of the Foreign Trade, op. cit., 1892, average under salt is given as 33,300 maunds, p.5.

the plains as cheapness of carriage increases.²⁹

Lachman Prasad Barma, commenting upon the barter of salt with other commodities, observed in 1884: "The import of salt by Nilang valley pass fell by 4,064 maunds and increased by 4,870 maunds by Darma, Byans Pass. This complied with a slight decrease by other passes, resulted in a net decrease of 872 maunds. Corresponding to its decrease we find a decrease of 30,905 maunds in the export of grain by Nilang valley pass, with which it is bartered at the rate of 1 of grain to 1.25 to 1.50 of salt."³⁰ In 1887 the sharp fall in the import of salt was common to both Garhwal and Kumaon.³¹

In 1909, W.H. Moreland recorded (commenting on the sharp fall of salt), "The cheap salt of the plains is ousting Tibet salt more and more, and the import of the article, which three years ago exceeded 40,000 maunds have fallen below 29,000 maunds in the year of report."³²

The Tibetan salt again gained ground after lying low for two years, and elicited the surprise of the Deputy

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29. Annual Report on the Foreign Trade, op. cit., 1883, p.5.
 30. Annual Report of Foreign Trade, op. cit., 1884, p.6.
 31. Annual Report of Foreign Trade, op. cit., 1887, p.1.
 32. Annual Report of Foreign Trade, op. cit., 1909, p.2.

Commissioner of Almora in 1911. Moreland wrote: "The Dy Commissioner of Almora writes that he was surprised to see the rise as this was the article of least worth that is carried and he expected the bulk to go down in consequence of the increase. Severity of foot and month decreases. The quantity of salt imported is governed by somewhat complex causes, but is mainly a question of economical loading of the transport animals."³³

The Tibetan salt continued to be imported substantially, in spite of the inroads, made by the salt from the plains which was explained by Deputy Commissioner of Garhwal.

"For some reason there is excessive delay (in obtaining the permission for beginning the trade season) with the result that on arriving at the markets of Garhwal Bhotiyas, find that all the best (commodity) at profitable prices has been shaped up by the Almora Bhotiyas who are exempt from this inconvenience. I think the rise in salt imports is caused by same facts. Though the use of cheap Indian salt is spreading in Northern Garhwal, the Bhotiya traders have, felling wool and borax, to bring some thing back and

33. Annual Report on the Foreign Trade, op. cit., 1911, p.5.

allowing for cost of carriage they are probably able to complete with the Indian article in the northern parts. Salt is apparently the last resource of these traders.³⁴

The import of salt in the year 1913 was one of the highest ever recorded and as against the previous year there was increase during the year of 11,335 maunds. It had the effect of replacing the imports of borax in 1913 and the import of borax was consequently the smallest during the last 17 years". These variations in sharp increase of salt and decline in that of borax chiefly took place in Almora district.³⁵ However, Dy Commissioner of Garhwal commented; "Last year the mone pass of comparatively free of snow and the sarji,³⁶ came early in June. The traders were thus enable to make three or four trips during the season and more business was done in consequent. Particulary noticeable is the rise of the imports of salt. The amount of salt by Tibetan trader shows a small increase (in case of Garhwal) be possibly its taking place of borax and wool with

34. Manual Report on the Foreign Trade, op. cit., 1912, p.2.

35. The Bhot valley of Johar, Darma & Byans at that time were in Almora district.

36. Sarji, a Tibetan officials who always visited the Bhotiya villages before the traders were allowed to enter or leave for Tibet.

the increasing tendency to use salt brought up from the plains in the interior of this district (British Garhwal) it is probably that the import of salt from Tibet will contract rather than expand in the future.³⁷

Clay gives us the barter values of salt in his comments in the year 1915, "Thanks to the paucity of pilgrims to Badrinath temple more rice was available for exports, and this has resulted in a corresponding increase in the import of salt, which is bartered for rice in proportion of about 2 to 1."³⁸

The out-break of the first World War 1919 gave further lease or life to the Tibetan salt which was more assured for regular supply irrespective of the communication system of plains. Consequently the import looked up again and the Deputy Commissioner of Garhwal remarked, "Bhotiya salt commands a better price than it used to in the upper Garhwal possibly owing to the confusion in the plains supply during the war."³⁹ The uncertainties of civil supply system during

37. Annual Report on the Foreign Trade, 1913, p.6.

38. Annual Report on the Foreign Trade, 1915, p.2.
H.N.C. Halley quoting J.H. Clay ICS, Dy. Commissioner of Almora.

39. Annual Report on the Foreign Trade, 1920, op. cit., p.2.

the World War I and by a few years there after kept the demand of the Tibetan salt alive and the import increased again. The import of salt which has risen from 23,523 to 31,046 maunds last year again more to 31,533 showing an increase of 487 maunds.⁴⁰ The drop in import of salt in 1922 was to some extent to the fact that there being scarcity of food grains in Almora and Garhwal districts, some of the salt with which the Bhotiya traders' barter was diverted to Nepal, from where they brought grain in exchange.⁴¹ The imports of the salt registered a fall of 6,356 maunds in 1925 and of 5,700 maunds in 1925 when the communication system of the plains improved and started giving way to what the sub-divisional officer in his report to his superior, had described, the salt from plains which was cheaper and of better quality and preferred by the people.⁴² Thus by 1925 there were definite signs of the decrease in demand of Bhotiya salt.

Borax Trade

The imports from Tibet commanded a wide demand in India,

40. Annual Report on the Foreign Trade, op. cit., 1920, p.2.

41. Annual Report on the Foreign Trade, op. cit., 1922, p.2.

42. Annual Report on the Foreign Trade, op. cit., 1925,

sometimes things were sold even outside India. Borax of high quality which found in abundance in Tibet was one of the most important article of imports, sold with in India and outside alike.⁴³ Borax, in the mineral form, was imported and purified by Bhotiya traders of Kumaon and Garhwal, in India. From India the purified borax was sent to different market centres of Asia, Europe and Egypt.⁴⁴ Bhotiya traders also had a special preference for the trade of precious stones and jewels as these bore light weight and a high price.

H.A. Lomas, commenting in 1917, the year in which the trade was disorganised by the several shortages of food grains in consequence of the failure of rabi, Pithoragarh in particular had become a deficit instead of a surplus area - neither grain nor sugar were procurable in their usual quantities consequently the Bhotiya traders had to find some other commodity to barter - both groups (the traders from Johar and Derma - Gyans) were hit by the earthquake which broke up their roads for sometime... in addition the Juharis suffered from a severe out-break of pleuro

43. Manuscript Diary from Khyat Singh Fonia.

44. Watt (G.), Dictionary of Economic Products of India, p.504.

pneumonia... among their sheep and goats, which reduced their transport. Seriously, and defined the efforts of two veterinary assistants, sent up by the superintendent civil veterinary department of cope with it... their road was also damaged by severe flood in June when they were moving up to Gyanema.⁴⁵

Lomas writes that, "under these adverse conditions they concentrated on borax, as it was the commodity on which they were most sure of a high return. Borax brought in about 28 percent clear profit. The price of borax, in 1917 demand at rate head ranged from Rs.13 to Rs.15 and they sold at Rs.20, so the relative price on this was much higher than on wool. The commodity was more profitable and Lomas expected it to increase at the expense of wool."⁴⁶

In the very first year of reporting, J.B. Fuller wrote on borax, "the imports in 1878 were 22,694 maunds being 6,643 maunds, less than the imports during the previous year, and it is reported much less than the amount formally imported in former years. The district officer of the Kumaon division and the Pilibhit sub-division of Bareilly district agreed in

45. Annual Report on the Foreign Trade, op. cit., 1917, p.2.

46. Ibid.

stating that the borax trade greatly declined since past years and is still declining, distress prevailing among Bhotiya (itinerant traders) in consequence. The discovery of borax in certain American lakes has very much lowered price that can be obtained for it, which has almost ceased to be remunerative after the risk and trouble of the long and difficult journey between the borax lake of Tibet, and British marts at Ramanepur and Pilibhit... enquiries had led to the conclusion that trade in it could still be remunerative were it shifted before import, and the expense of carriage incurred only on account of the finer and more valuable crystals.⁴⁷

Borax accounted for about 48 percent of the total imports from Tibet.⁴⁸ It was hoped that the construction of a railway to the first of the hills may probably afford a more than corresponding stimulus to the import of borax.⁴⁹ During the early nineteenth century borax was the main article of import.⁵⁰ In Tibet the usual rate of exchange

47. Annual Report on the Foreign Trade, op. cit., 1878, p.17.
J.B. Fuller, Asstt. Director.

48. Annual Report on the Foreign Trade, 1862, Trade with Tibet

49. Annual Report on the Foreign Trade, 1862, p.5.

50. Annual Report on the Foreign Trade, op.cit., 1878, p.17.

of borax with rice was 2 of borax to 1 to rice.⁵¹

The price of borax was on the decline and consequently even though there was an increase in the import of borax in 1885, its value decreased by Rs.40,000.⁵² As borax was connected with export of grains, a decrease in the export of grain also affected import of this commodity, D.G. Pitcher (Lt. Col. Officiating Director) commenting on this aspect of the trade, "the decrease occurred mostly in the import of borax by Darma and Byano pass in Kumaon, and the discovery of borax in California, is to be attributed the decrease in the imports of grain, for which borax is usually bartered by Tibetans".⁵³

Table 5.6: Import of Borax (in Maunds)*

Year	Import of Borax in maunds	Year	Import of Borax in maunds
1877	29,337	1899	21,623
1878	22,694	1900	20,009
1879	18,546	1906	20,009
1880	18,948	1907	26,797
1881	28,536	1908	23,615
1882	33,821	1909	27,736
1883	21,985	1910	35,717
1884	33,856	1911	29,197

(contd...p.84..)

51. Annual Report on the Foreign Trade, 1884, p.3.
 52. Annual Report on the Foreign Trade, 1885, p.7.
 53. Annual Report on the Foreign Trade, 1886, op. cit. Lt. Col. D.G. Pitcher, Offtg Director's report to Govt.

(contd...)

1885	34,737	1912	28,602
1886	28,003	1913	18,427
1887	33,002	1914	19,009
1888	29,224	1915	23,561
1889	53,611	1916	28,146
1890	28,417	1917	33,039
1891	11,921	1918	32,076
1892	30,014	1919	30,836
1893	22,384	1920	25,984
1895	18,652	1921	24,899
1896	18,445	1922	28,859
1897	19,382	1923	30,405
1898	19,278	1924	39,504
		1925	31,754

• For Statistics see the concerned Annual Report Statements.

Previous years prior to 1899 had shown a decline in the imports of borax and it regained its earlier position during 1899 and continued showing improvement later.

Stiffe, reporting in 1910, commented on the increase of imports of borax, "It appears that last season, i.e. 1909, the price of commodity raised high in Haldwani and Tanakpur, where Bhotiya traders sell this commodity. They get Rs.9-10 per maund for it, having paid Rs.4 in Tibet. They were thereby encouraged to increase their imports, but the price at Haldwani having in the current years sold at Rs.7 only it is probable they will draw in their borax again next season".⁵⁴ They did accordingly and the import

54. Annual Report on the Foreign Trade, 1910, op. cit., p.2.
V.R. Moreland, Director's Report.

of borax in 1911, decreased to 29,197 maunds from 35,717 maunds in 1910.⁵⁵

In 1913, a decrease of 10,175 maunds occurred under borax, the total imports of which amounted to 18,427 maunds which was the smallest during the last 17 years the reduction in the amount of borax was the natural result of the fall in the price of that commodity due to extraneous reasons. A few years back borax fetched Rs.18 to Rs.20 per maunds in Kotdwara, as Clay wrote "whereas its present price was only Rs.6 or Rs.7." Clay was of the view that, "in the circumstances the time cannot be far when this article will cease to be imported altogether". It stopped with the trade itself, being two important article to be abandoned altogether.

The increase in the import of borax notwithstanding the observations of Clay, by 582 maunds in 1914, was due to a fall of the prices in Tibet and a demand for borax at Ramnagar not experienced in the previous years. However, Clay reported, "This slight variation can hardly affect the general condition of the market, which is beyond the hope of recovery".⁵⁶

55. Annual Report on the Foreign Trade, 1913, p.2.

56. Annual Report on the Foreign Trade, 1914. H.R.C. Hailey, Director, quoting J.M. Clay I.C.S., Dy Commissioner of Garhwal, p.2.

The onset of World War I shot up the prices in 1915, and consequently the Bhotiya traders made a reasonable profit on the borax.⁵⁷ The World War I not only helped increase the price level but it also affected imports from foreign countries, helping import from Tibet to India, Hailey observed, "of the chief article of trade, viz. borax, salt and wool, imports of the first two articles improved that of wool declined." The import of borax in 1916 rose by 4,585 maunds.

For Bhotiya traders, it was a windfall and they actually bought for more than they could import and still had a stock awaiting transport beyond the tradeposts. At the time in the plea that there was a shortage of food grain in India, they raised their prices on barter, and consequently got borax very cheap, this making an extra profit at both ends.⁵⁸

In 1920 the import of borax dropped from 30,836 to 25,984 maunds, showing a decrease of 4,852 maunds, due to shortage of pack animals, most of whom were said to have been destroyed owing to heavy snow during the last winter.⁵⁹

57. Annual Report on the Foreign Trade, 1915, p.2.

58. Annual Report on the Foreign Trade, 1916, p.2.

59. Annual Report on the Foreign Trade, 1920, p.2.

Borax the most important article of the import from Tibet, continued being the last resort of the Bhotiya traders till 1925 and, in fact, it recorded the second highest import in 1924 amounting to 39,504 maunds, which was next only to 53,611 maunds, imported in 1889.⁶⁰

Sugar and Cotton Trade

Clay, Deputy Commissioner of Garhwal, had remarked in 1916 about the changing tendency of Bhotiya traders in the matter of article of export, "It is not worthy... that the increased exports of sugar is characteristic of the traders, who seem each year to be carrying over larger quantities of the more valuable commodities".⁶¹ The Bhotiya traders bought usually for export, more of whatever happened to be a little cheaper than the usual or more readily available.⁶² Sugar was one of the chief article of exports to Tibet besides cotton goods, grains, metals and corals.⁶³ Shortage of food grains and consequent reduction in the export of food grains and also high prices of sugar normally resulted in fall of export of sugar.

60. Annual Report on the Foreign Trade, 1921 to 1925.

61. Annual Report on the Foreign Trade, 1915, p.2., 1916,p2.

62. Annual Report on the Foreign Trade, 1921, p.2.

63. Annual Report on the Foreign Trade, 1921, p.2.

For example, in the year 1922, "the scarcity in the district of Garhwal and Kumaon resulted in a decrease of 13,336 maunds in the export of food grains... added to the rise in price accounted for a decrease in sugar of 1,921 maunds.⁶⁴

Sugar was exported to Tibet in refined (crystal) form as well as in unrefined form (gur) Khandasari and Bura.⁶⁵ In 1878 only 11 maunds of refined and 7,556 maunds of unrefined sugar was exported to Tibet valuing Rs.22,358 and this amount was some 2,000 maunds in excess of that exported in preceding year, and out of this 7,096 maunds of the unrefined sugar was registered at the Kalgarh reporting post.⁶⁶ In 1884 the increase in the export of sugar lied chiefly in the export from Kumaon and seemed to the increase in salt imported in this district.⁶⁷ The Tibetans bartered their wool, salt and borax for sugar, grain and cotton goods and therefore in a given year decreased exports in the latter

64. Annual Report on the Foreign Trade, 1922, p.2.

65. Annual Report on the Foreign Trade, 1878, p.17. M.B. Fuller's Report.

66. Ibid., p.17.

67. Annual Report on the Foreign Trade, 1884, p.3.

articles resulted in the imported article to fall.⁶⁸

Table 5.7: Exports of Sugar

Year	Export of Sugar in Maunds	Year	Export of Sugar in Maunds
1877	5,561	1901	6,075
1878	7,567	1902	9,379
1881	3,437	1906	11,162
1882	5,559	1907	11,231
1883	3,814	1908	9,416
1884	5,783	1909	5,727
1885	3,839	1910	4,324
1886	5,171	1911	4,110
1887	2,611	1912	4,486
1888	4,415	1913	5,762
1889	6,094	1914	4,837
1890	5,378	1915	5,272
1891	1,961	1916	8,012
1892	1,554	1917	5,272
1893	4,089	1918	5,158
1894	1,645	1919	7,052
1895	17,695	1920	5,431
1896	17,695	1921	6,653
1897	10,882	1922	5,732
1898	8,707	1923	3,700
1899	6,733	1924	5,258
1900	6,407	1925	5,128

Source: Annual Reports on the Foreign Trade of NWP and Oudh; The Annual Reports on the Foreign Trade of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

68. Annual Report on the Foreign Trade, 1884, p.3.

Cotton Trade

Among the valuable items of export, cotton goods was much favoured in the Tibetan fairs, where it was bartered with Gold and Silver. In the later years of trade, Bhotiya traders organised exhibitions of cotton goods and other valuable articles of daily necessities in the different trade fairs of Tibet for export promotion. By the time, barter system was giving way to cash purchase. The cotton cloth exported was chiefly of the coarser Indian and European manufacture. The export of piece goods was chiefly through Juhar and the same parcels contain small amount of European broad cloth, pearls, and coral and beads.

The export of European cloth was only 25 maunds in 1877, 199 maunds in 1878, 25 maunds in 1880 and 30 maunds in 1882-83. Traill estimated the value of cotton stuff upto 1821 at Rs.10,000 per year. In 1840 the export by Juhar and Darma were valued at Rs.14,000.

Table 5.8: Export of Cotton Goods

Year	Export of Cotton in Maunds	Year	Export of Cotton in Maunds
1878	305	1901	867
1880	417	1902	1,335
1881	438	1906	1,554
1882	462	1907	1,698

(contd...p.91..)

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1883	496	1908	1,593
1884	383	1909	1,208
1885	534	1910	1,331
1886	449	1911	989
1887	863	1912	1,285
1888	801	1913	1,200
1889	569	1914	1,346
1890	405	1915	1,365
1891	261	1916	1,698
1892	783	1917	1,650
1893	300	1918	1,418
1894	731	1919	809
1895	366	1920	1,154
1896	818	1921	809
1897	693	1922	1,185
1898	162	1923	1,032
1899	1,202	1924	1,240
1900	619	1925	991

Source: The Annual Reports on the Foreign Trade of NWP and Oudh; The Annual Reports on the Foreign Trade of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, UPFA, Lucknow.

Profit over Indo-Tibetan Trade

The Bhotiyas enjoyed a monopoly of the trade with Tibet, which appears to be a lucrative one inspite of the many taxes imposed by Tibetans. Tibet produced very little grain and was largely dependent on imports from India; wheat, barley, rice, therefore, were the chief articles carried in by the Bhotiya traders. In return, they brought from Tibetn, wool, salt, borax, yak's tails, and of these the the wool was the most important article. In the beginning,

when the needs were few and simple, everyone in Tibet and India produced all that was necessary to sustain one's life. One who had enough food but no cloth exchanged a part of his food with one who had enough cloth and no food. In the earliest period of trade, Indian grain was exchanged for Tibetan wool.

In the later years, as the prices of grain in India and wool in Tibet grew higher and the increasing items, traders of both countries found it difficult and inconvenient to continue with barter system and as a result this barter system was replaced by money exchange system. But even certain articles like Borax, salt and food grains were considered especially exchangeable for one another. On the result of trade, Bhotiya traders gained reasonable profit on borax, salt and wool, which were in great demand in Kumaon and Garhwal. The tariff and trade record did not include gold, silver and precious stones, which Bhotiya traders kept carefully concealed.

British coin was readily received in Tibet. A small coin was current in Tibet called Timashi, of the value of about 6 annas. Chinese coins were also occasionally used which were in primitive form of barter of silver stamped in

evidence of quality. For larger transaction, a coin called Kur was used which was equivalent in value to Rs.166. It was in 1877 that four registration posts were established to record trade, transacted between India and Tibet, British officials valued it after transaction.

Table 5.9: Profit on Total Trade Transacted Between India and Tibet through Bhotiyas *

Year	Export Value in '000 Rs.	Import Value in '000 Rs.	Profit Value in '000 Rs.
1878	93	309	216
1879	117	273	156
1880	189	374	185
1881	169	432	263
1882	208	422	214
1883	227	406	179
1884	252	608	256
1885	286	559	273
1886	261	492	231
1887	220	530	310
1888	310	508	198
1889	434	858	424
1890	277	689	412
1891	190	479	389
1892	268	553	285
1893	284	551	267
1894	278	713	435
1895	247	636	389
1896	414	516	102
1897	350	676	326
1898	784	635	-149
1899	388	678	290
1900	345	700	355
1901	345	682	237
1902	384	751	367

(contd...p.95..)

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1903	353	825	472
1906	479	661	182
1907	638	693	55
1908	473	768	295
1909	382	747	365
1910	292	797	505
1911	341	970	630
1912	385	1,026	641
1913	393	751	358
1914	445	690	145
1915	522	953	431
1916	532	1,021	484
1917	499	1,274	785
1918	563	1,438	875
1919	476	1,480	1,004
1920	641	1,350	709
1921	586	1,505	919
1922	598	1,359	761
1923	538	1,322	784
1924	568	1,711	1,163
1925	658	1,326	868

Note: * Britishers established registration post to record trade transacted between India and Tibet. Barter system of trade is always in balance. Britishers valued trade items after transaction.

Table 5.9 clearly shows that the ratio of import was 67.7 percent in terms of value. The amount of the total trade during 47 years was Rs. 543 crores, out of which Rs. 6,367 crores was imported and about Rs. 175 crores was exported. In 1898 due to disorganisation of trade fairs in Garhwal and Kumaon, Bhotiya traders had to march up to the bigger market of Pilibhit, Rampur and Kotdwara, for the sale of goods and as a result they had to face great loss.

The rate of exchange usually obtaining in Tibet was 8 pathas of unhusked rice for 20 of salt and in cash, salt was purchased at the rate of Rs.3-4 maund. Bhotiya traders obtained two parts of borax for one part of fine grain. Oil and oil seeds were also exported. Borax brought about 28 percent clear profit and accounted for about 48 percent of the total import from Tibet.

Wool was the most important article of trade, which was needed locally in the province as well as coveted by the woollen mills of the plain areas. Raw wool was purchased by Bhotiyas at Tibet, at the rate of Rs.30-Rs.70, depending on market as well as qualities of wool. Value of wool in Tibet and in Kumaon and Garhwal fluctuated from year to year. The Bhotiya traders gained more than 50 percent of profit on wool. The first World War shot up the prices of commodities and consequently Bhotiya traders made a reasonable profit from 1915 to 1928 on total trade.

It is not possible to get exact value of trade due to the changing tendency of the Bhotiya traders, in the matter of articles of export, who seems each year to be carrying over larger quantities of the more valuable and less weighty commodities.

The trade was worked on a system of advances. Bhotiya traders advanced loan to the larger Tibetan merchants, though not to the small merchants who brought down only 2-3 hundred maunds. By giving these loans six months or more before, Tibetan merchants were able to get Rs.3-Rs.4 profit per maund of wool, which otherwise may not be possible. But even so the Tibetan merchant did not gain complete stability. For he bought the wool from sheep owners in Tibetan money and sold it in Indian rupees.

During the later years of trade the Tibetan Tanks had risen as high as three and as low as seven per rupee. It varied from year to year and month to month. If there was a large wool crop and the prices were good more rupees came to Tibet and the value of rupees would fall down, conversely if crop was poor, the value used to rise.

It is well-known fact that all Bhotiya traders and non-Bhotiya traders were not benefited alike, only few traders obtained considerable wealth, the majority appeared to be on the verge of destitution, and trade was not so much for their own hand as under the direction and with the capital of their wealthier brothers or of Baniyas. To some idea of the condition of most these poor Bhotiyas

in which they were tied by pecuniary obligation. Fuller reported in 1878-79, "It may be mentioned that some years ago an English agent of a Calcutta house, who went to purchase borax at Bageshwar fair to the value of a lakh of rupees was unable to obtain a single pound though the fair was flooded with it and it was selling at no higher prices than he offered. The two or three wealthier traders, considering that the competition of outsiders, threatened their interest, combined against him, and prevented the lesser ones from selling. A state of things like this would seem to go far to prevent and expansion of the trade controlled as it is by a small combination of traders who prefer attempting to stimulate prices by limiting the supply to increasing their profit, by extending their transaction.⁶⁹ Besides this, the different categories of traders had been reported to indulge in discriminatory practices against the Tibetan producers and poor Bhotiyas in respect of prices and in some case wealthier traders, made advance price payments to the Tibetan merchants and poor Bhotiyas thus reducing their freedom to choose any alternative buyers.

69. Atkinson, Himalayan Gazetteer, vol.III, Part II, p.142.

Comparative Analysis of Trade Through Passes

The registration of tariff commenced in the year 1876-77. Traffic of Mana pass was registered at Pandukeshar, of Niti at Tapovan, of Juhar at Milam and of Darma and Byans at Dharchula. The tariff and trade record did not include gold dust and other precious articles, as the traders kept them carefully concealed, and never showed them to anyone in the region where robbery might be consequence of exposure.⁷⁰

It has been already mentioned that the principal occupation of the Bhotiyas' trade was conducted through different passes, based on the Indo-Tibetan border. For the native state of Tehri Garhwal there is Nilang pass. In British Garhwal there are two passes - the Mana (17,890 ft) and Niti (16,750 ft) divided by the giant mountain Kamet (25,445 ft).⁷¹

The Juhar Bhotiya used Untadhara pass (17,590 ft). The traders of Juhar were the wealthiest among all. The Byans and Chaundans Bhotiyas used Lipu Lekh pass (16,780 ft),

70. Report on the Foreign Trade of NWP and Oudh, 1876, p.26.

71. C.A. Sherring, Western Tibet and British Borderland, pp.340-43.

called by Tibetan Jang Lhaula and also the Finkar pass in Nepal of the same height. Darma and Byans were the most frequent followed by Niti and Juhar passes. The Juhari Bhotiyas were the shrewd traders, carried trade with Tibet which were less weighty in character but more valuable. In the annual foreign trade report it has been found that the trade passes of Kumaon and Garhwal accounted for roughly 60 percent of the total foreign trade with Tibet. (See table 5.10).

The table 5.10 clearly shows that the trade through Kumaon passes exceeded that of Garhwal. However, in export there is a sharp difference between Darma and Byans in Kumaon and the rest, the former exceeding the later quite substantially.

Pass-wise details are given upto the year 1996 and after we have to depend upon either the aggregate for Garhwal (including total of Nilang, Niti and Mana) and Kumaon (including Juhar and Darma-Byans), or so by a general statement to the effect of a region, i.e. Kumaon comprising of 72 percent-74 percent of the total traffic going to Tibet.

In general terms, taking imports and exports together, about 30 percent of the total trade was transacted by the

Table 5.10: Comparative Analysis of Export and Import

Name of Pass	Import in Rs.					Export in Rs.				
	1882	1883	1884	1885	1886	1882	1883	1884	1885	1886
A. Garhwal										
Nilang	29,543	62,193	78,773	73,446	60,330	19,600	32,365	31,765	63,014	56,317
Mans	18,528	14,461	13,612	20,556	11,085	11,628	24,430	11,098	17,040	14,240
Hiti	101,010	93,996	94,085	111,949	94,753	38,447	31,283	36,182	38,321	44,213
B. Kumaon										
Juher	158,371	144,684	203,108	159,806	179,026	52,277	52,134	61,880	54,183	96,174
Darma & Byans	114,486	90,691	219,623	191,136	146,896	86,308	86,456	110,313	113,372	89,983
Total value in '000 Rs.	422	806	608	559	492	208	227	252	286	261
Total % of Trade										
A. Garhwal	35.3%	36.3%	37.9%	26.8%	29.6%	29.8%	25.7%	30.1%	24.1%	22.6%
B. Kumaon	64.7%	63.7%	62.1%	73.2%	70.4%	70.6%	74.3%	69.3%	75.9%	77.4%

Garhwal Bhotiya traders and remaining 70 percent was accounted for the Kumaon Bhotiya traders.

Further division among the various passes may not be possible on account of fluctuating nature of the trade and exact reporting not being followed during later years. It may, however, be assumed that the three passes of Niti, Juhar and Darma-Byans accounted for roughly 90 percent of the total foreign trade with Tibet upto 1925, as figures of trade after 1925 are neither published nor are available from any other sources.

Thus during the British period, Tibet's trade with India was totally dominated by the Bhotiya traders of Garhwal and Kumaon, which had very heavy balance of trade. The complete dominance of the Tibetan trade by Bhotiya traders had compelled Britishers to be friend with the inhabitants of the passes who completely monopolized this important trade.

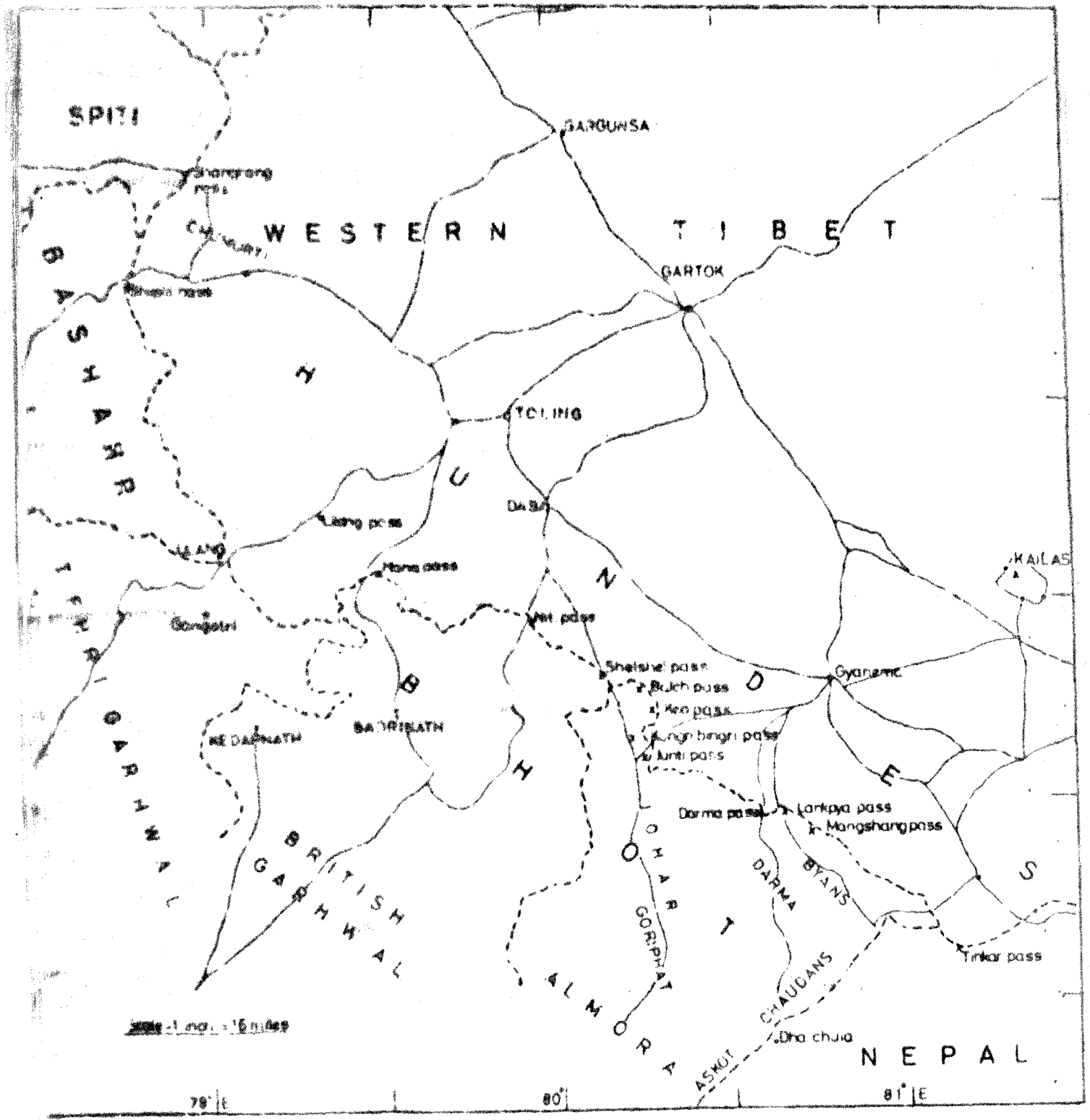
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

It was the lure of the Chinese trade which turned the eyes of British in India towards the Uttarakhand borderland so called Bhotmahal from 16th century to the end of the 19th century. Western European countries were in search of new horizon, new territories, for the expansion of their trade, commerce and some extent its religion. As has been said, "16th century was the century of Portuguese, 17th century was the century of Dutch, but the 18th and 19th centuries were the centuries of the British",¹ with the ousting of missionaries from China, Europe shifted its interest in China from culture to commerce, merchants became the only bridge between east and west.²

During the beginning of the 19th century Tibet's trade with British India was totally dominated by the trade passes of Uttarakhand (Kumaon and Garhwal). In fact almost the total exports of British India to Tibet, was through these passes only. From the view point of quantum of trade it may

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1. W.H. Coates, The Country Trade of East Indies (Imray, Laurie, Norie and Wilson Ltd., London, 1911), Preface, p.vii.
 2. Saxena (B.P.), Historical Papers, Relating to Kumaon (1809-1842), p.123.



Scale - 1 inch = 16 miles

79°E

80°E

81°E

not have been outstanding but from the view point of maintenance of relationship and commerce with a foreign country the import and of the intercourse need hardly be highlighted.

The attached map³ of British India clearly brings out the importance of this outlet through the Uttarakhand border land to Tibet and then to China, which had very heavy balance of trade with British India as we have seen in foregoing chapters. Added to this fact of geographical location, i.e. being the only outlet to Tibet of British India apart from Punjab, the complete dominance of the Tibetan trade by the Bhotiya traders of Kumaon and Garhwal had compelled the Britishers to be friend with the inhabitants of the passes who completely monopolised this very important trade.

On account of this trade today we find several references on the region in the various trade reports and reviews of that period. We come in possession of very valuable information about the economic condition of Garhwal and Kumaon, which otherwise may not have been available.

The earliest and the first report of the Review of the external trade of British India with foreign countries

3. See Map, Western Tibet and Bhot land.

pertain to the year 1878-79. It was in 1877-78 that four registration posts were established to record trade which was transacted, between India and Tibet through the passes of Kumaon and Garhwal. The first annual report published in 1878 titled "Report on the Foreign Trade of N.W.P. and Oudh 1878". The report was compiled by the Department of Agriculture and Commerce of N.W.P. and Oudh Government.

At the Government of India level the first report was published by the department of Finance and Commerce under the title "Review of the External land trade of British India", 1878-79. These 12 reviews are available in the Uttar Pradesh Secretariat Library under the Head XXVIII A(1)(b).

After 1925 unfortunately the task of recording trade transaction between British India and Foreign Countries was stopped. Thereafter we do not have statistics of trade transaction right upto the transfer of power by the British Government to the Independent India 1947. After 3 years of independence the statistics of trade were enumerated again finally in 1962 when China attacked India, Tibet again became a closely country to all outsiders.

Batten was correct as far the dependence of the Tibetans

on the Bhotiya traders of India for provision of the necessities and luxuries of life was concerned, but his improbability of the event was to be proved wrong as the trade with Tibet closed in the year 1962.

Among Tibetans, especially the middle class traders benefitted substantially from this improved trade relationship. The railway from Calcutta to Siliguri and thereafter metalled road leading to Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Gangtok provided a far more effective trade routes than the ancient over these passes through the valley of Nepal and Kumaon-Garwal. The trade with Nepal did not prosper in spite of the Bengal and North-Western Railway to the extent, as was anticipated. By 1886 the Bengal and North Western Railway was extended upto Patna, Gorakhpur and Behraich,⁴ and by 1892 the sub-Himalayan districts were linked with rail connection.⁵ Over all, the trade with India did not exceed and in fact the signs of change were noticeable as early as 1915. The impact of the improved trade relation was exhibited through a change in the articles which were exported to Tibet. Sir, Cloy, Deputy Commissioner of Almora noticed

4. Trade Report of the NWP and Oudh, 1886, p.2.

5. J.D. Miller, Annual Report on the Foreign Trade of the NWP and Oudh, 1892, P.3.

that in 1914 the tendency from Kumaon Passes was to export lighter and more valuable items.⁶ The consignment of candles and another of China tea was for the first time exported to Tibet.⁷ Aluminium cooking pots, kerosene lanterns, articles of daily uses and other essential commodities gradually started replacing the traditional items of export to Tibet. In spite of occasional fluctuations, the trade had shown a steady increase since 1913, but the out-break of the second World War in 1939, profits rose to undreamt of heights. The Indian Government placed quota restrictions on the export of such goods as cotton cloth, kerosene, sugar and metal, and this had the immediate effect of placing a high premium on them in Tibet. As Britain and China were allies in this war they thought of a plan to get supplies through Tibet. Tibet did not accede to this request and after lot of pressure from India and China, Tibet agreed to allow the passage by normal means of everything except the war materials.⁸

But notwithstanding the stance of the Tibetan Government, the trade was already in the hands of private merchants who

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6. Clay, Dy Commissioner of Almora District, Bhotiyas of Kumaon and Garhwal (Typesheet), 1913, p.53.
 7. M.R.C. Hailey, Annual Report on the Foreign Trade of N.W.P. and Cuddh., 1915, p.8.
 8. Shelgrave David and Hugh Richardson, A Cultural History Tibet, Delhi, pp.259-60.

were busy in making vast profits on every items which could be transported from India to China through Tibet. Every kind of transport, mules, donkeys, yaks, bullocks, were engaged in transporting the goods crossing over to Tibet, and even men, women and children were busy to supply goods to China. During this period the Bhotiya traders of Kumaon and Garhwal were highly benefitted and even they constructed Godown, and temporary houses in Tibet.

The value of quota called the "Tibetan quota" of restricted imports from India reached on all time high mark, and the Tibetan traders were to be seen everywhere, where there was a prospect of procurement of articles which could be sold to the Chinese. Tibetan traders came down to Indian markets in great numbers and travelled extensively.

In Kumaon and Garhwal on account of limited quantity, even within a valley, dissensions and disputes arose among the traders,⁹ shortage of supplies led to black marketing on account of soaring prices of commodities.

It is a fact that all the Bhotiya and non-Bhotiya

9. The dispute arose between leading traders who were 'Warden of Marches' (such as, Ponia's of Garhwal, Rawats of Kumaon) and petty traders.

traders taking part in Indo-Tibetan trade were not benefitted alike, but its termination proved a set-back not only for the trading community but the whole Uttarakhand has suffered from this. The economy of trade was shattered, while the entire Uttarakhand once again plunged into stagnation of economic inactivity. Paw has rightly said that, "Bhotiya trade was the most important branch, which afforded employment to thousands in the most sterile part of Garhwal and provided a market for produce in the same region thus encouraging agriculture, which without this stimulus, would have inevitably languished". The trade fairs of Jauljibi, Bageshwar, Thal, Gopeshwar, Gaucher and Uttarkashi were not busy and hectic with trade as before. A number of persons who earned their livelihood through this trade faced economic change, the wealthier class tried to adjust to the new economic order. It started its business and settled permanently in the Tehsil headquarters of Kumaon and Garhwal. Now most of traders buy raw material for woollen garment from Ludhiana, Panipat and Amritsar. This class also prepared the coming generations for the service cadre through educating their children. The poor Bhotiyas, who are one-eighth of the Bhotiya community, has suffered much from the break down of trade, owing to its radical conservative approach.

In India, in particular, because of the threat of its security from across Himalayas, they have acquired an important and an urgency never felt before. All through history, the Uttarakhand borderland held an irresistible fascination for men of adventure, explorers, and offer unlimited scope for research, on account of its fantastic geographical ethnic, cultural diversity and romantic trade relationship with Tibet.

APPENDIX I

TRADE ROUTES OF BHOTIYAS

1. Baguri to Puling Mandi (Jelu-sh-Ga Routes)

<u>Night Halts</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Distance in mile</u>	<u>Night Halts</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Distance in mile</u>
-	Baguri	-	4	Do- Sumdo	8.5
1	Dherali	2.5	5	Ti-Pani	11.25
-	Jangle Chatti	4	6	Mandi	9.25
-	Kopang	1	-	Jehu-Kh- Ga-Valley	3.25
2	Lomathung	8.75	7	Opu river	4.25
3	Nelang	7.5	8	Puling Mandi	16.25

2. Mana to Daba (Mana Pass)

<u>Night Halts</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Distance in mile</u>	<u>Night Halts</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Distance in mile</u>
-	Mana Village (10500 ft)	-	-	Jagraun	8
-	Musa Pani	5	4	Chipuk	3
-	Ghestoli	3	-	Cherang La (16400ft)	3
1	Chamraun	4	5	Remura	10
-	Sarwati	5	6	Chankra	10

(contd...p.112)

(contd...)

<u>Night Halts</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Distance in mile</u>	<u>Night Halts</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Distance in mile</u>
-	Rata Koua	2	7	Rattu Khana (16400 ft)	20
2	Jagraun	4	8-9	Toling Math (12200)	38
-	Mane Dhura 1840	2.3	10	Mang-Nang	13
3	Poti	9	11	Daba 1400	14

3. Niti Gyanima Kailash (Damjan Route)

-	Niti Village 114 ft	-	4	Tisum	6.5
-	Bimlas	-	-	Sib-Chilam	3.5
1	Damjan Paraw	3.25	5	Gu-Ni-Yang-Ti	15
-	Damjan Niti Dhura	10.50	6	Gyanima Mendi	13
2	Hoti Paraw	6	7	Chu-Nik-Sh-La	16.5
-	Tonania	3.5	8	Kailash	21.5
-	Sag	4	9	Manserover	16
3	Chayapa	6			
-	Dakar	6			

4. Niti to Gyanima Kailash (Chor Hoti Route)

-	Niti 11460 ft	3	-	Tonla	6.5
-	Kase	3	4	Sib-Chilam	3

(contd...113..)

(contd...)

<u>Night Halts</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Distance in mile</u>	<u>Night Halts</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Distance in mile</u>
-	Kala Jabar	3	5	Gu-Ni-Yang-Ti	15
1	Chor Hoti Dhura	7	6	Gyanima Mandi	13
-	Banjer Tella	2.5	7	Chu-Mik Sha-la	16.5
-	Rum-Khim	1.1	8	Keilesh	21.5
2	Hoti Peraw	2	9	Mansarover	16
-	Banjer Melle	1.1			
-	Tonen Le	16			
3	Dakar	16			

5. Niti to Gyanima Keilesh (Ganesh-Ganga Route)

-	Niti Village	-	5	Dang Bu Gompa	14
-	Gothing	8.25	6	Shib Chilan	23.5
1	Shapuk	3.5	-	Gu-Niyangai	41
-	Khekecia	4	7	Gyanima Mandi	9.5
-	Gildung	4	8	Chu-Mik-Sh-Le	16.25
2	Ganesh Ganga	2	9	Keilesh 22028	21.5
-	Khyung-Lung	21	10	Mansarover	16
3	Chung-Lu	12			
-	Niti Dhura	4.25			
4	Nabara Mandi	11.5			

<u>Night Halts</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Distance in mile</u>	<u>Night Halts</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Distance in mile</u>
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6. Nilesa to Gyanima Kailash (Untadhura Pass)

-	Nilesa	-	-	Mertoli 11,070	2.25
1	Bag Udiyur 18,600	7.5	-	Berefu Malla	2
-	Pilkot 12,200 ft	7	-	Bileju	2.5
3	Dunga 13,720	2.25	-	Sukha The Jang	2.5
-	Bomlas Malla	2.25	-	Guna-Yang-Ti	2.25
-	Untadhura 17,950	6.5	6	Derma Yang Ti	2.25
-	Jeyanti Bhura 18,500	3.5	7	Gyanima Mandi	11.75
-	Kungri-Bingri Valley 18,300	3.75	8	Chu-Mik-Sha-La	16.5
4	Chir Chin 16,390	5	9	Kailash	21.75
5	The Jang	12	10	Mansarovar	

7. Dherchula to Gyanima Kailash (Derma-Pass)

-	Dherchula 3,000	-	5	Mangu-yul	4
1	Khele	10.5	-	Lama-Cherten	6.25
-	Neo	9.5	6	Chalora Mandi	12
-	Dar	2	7	Gyanima Mandi	5
2	Nagling	14	8	Chu-Mik-Sh-La	16.25
3	Gago	12	9	Kailash (Darchen)	21.5

(contd...p.115)

<u>Night Halts</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Distance in mile</u>	<u>Night Halts</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Distance in mile</u>
(cont'd...)					
-	Biglang	6	10	Kailash Mansarover	16
4	Debe	11			
-	Darma 18,590	5.5			

8. Garbyang to Takalkot-Kailash (Lipulekh Pass)

-	Garbyang 10,330 ft	-	-	Gurle-Phug (Gaurindiyer)	12
1	Kala pauri 12,000 ft	1.2	5	Rokshas Tai 14,050 ft	12
2	Sang-Chaugir	6	6	Mansarover (Gulus)	6
-	Lipulekh Valley 16,750 ft	3	7	Mansarover (Jyu-Gompa)	8
-	Pala 19,000 ft	5	-	Wagtur	4
3	Takalkot 13,100 ft	5	-	Barkha	4
4	Yancho	12	-	Darchen Mendi (Kailash)	4

GLOSSARY

Anna	Indian Coin 1/16th of a rupee.
Arti	Trade Correspondent.
Basar	Marketing Place.
Baniya	A merchant community.
Balma	Dried yeast for wine.
Cha	Salt.
Chauki	Registration Post.
Chaung	Local distilled liquor.
Daba	a monk, a scholar.
Dalai Lama	Literally Dalai means broad ocean, Lama high priest. The Mongolian ruler Alam Khan, who embraced Buddhism gave the title 'Dalai Lama' to the incarnations. This term by which the great Lama of Tibet is known to outsiders is never used in Tibet where he is called Gylwa Rimpoche.
Deoder	Species of pine.
Dokpa	A nomad.
Gangya	Trade promisory notes between Indian and Tibetan Trade correspondent.
Gaon	Village.
Garh	Fort.

Garpon	Chief or Commissioner of Gar in Western Tibet.
Himalaya	Literally Him means snow and Aley means abode, Abode of snow.
Ingot	Mass of Silver and Gold.
Jha	Salty Tea.
Johsar (Lohsar)	New year festival in Tibet.
Longpon	Tibetan expression which literally means the fortmaster, collector of Taxes under the Lhasa Govt.
Juba	A male of cross breed between a bull and a female yak, or male yak or cow.
Kirato	Kir means high mountain, Ta means people. The people of high mountain.
Kali	Name of Goddess.
Khar	best castle.
Kurg	A coin for larger transaction equivalent to Rs. 166.
La	Pass, a hill.
Lakote or Kalote	Goat.
Lama	High priest or religious teacher in Tibet.
Leu	A Mongolian weight.
Lipulekh	High mountain pass.
Mitra	Friend.

Musk	Strong perfume obtained from the male musk deer.
Mound	1 mound is equal to 41 seers or 82-83 lbs.
Nala	Stream.
Pabar	Hilly region.
Pam	Soft wool.
Patti	A fiscal division of territory.
Patha	Roughly equivalent to 4 lbs or 2 seers.
Pattari	Subordinate to revenue collector.
Panchna	A leather bag.
Pradhan	Headmen of Village.
Papher	Kind of grain.
Ser	hail.
Seer	Kind of measurement vessel less than a kg. 1 seer = 1/2 lb., 2 seer = 1 mound roughly.
Sulj-Nilgi	A custom to maintain friendship roughly between Indian and Tibetan trade partners.
Singichyad	Trade agreement custom between Indian and Tibetan trade partners.
Tachha	A rubber stamp on Ganga letter.
Tanka	Tibetan Silver coin.
Timashi	An old Tibetan Silver coin equal to 6 Annas of the Indian Coin.
Tole	An Indian weight equal to 180 grain.

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