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George Bogle’s 1774 Mission to Tibet: Establishing English Trade and Reach beyond Northern Borders of Bengal

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In the last quarter of the 18th century, Warren Hastings, the first de facto Governor General of India from 1774 to 1785 initiated and set up the English East India Company’s relations with Tibet. The backdrop to this was created when the ruler (*sde-srid or srid-skyon*) of Bhutan overran Sikkim some years prior. In 1771, the Bhutanese descended on the plains and invaded Cooch-Behar, taking in the Raja (King) as a prisoner. The royal family called on Warren Hastings for assistance, who, in turn, dispatched a battalion of *sepoys*. The Bhutanese were driven away from Cooch-Behar and chased into the Duars around winter 1772-1773. In the given circumstances, the Bhutanese government appealed the Tashi Lama (who was the acting Regent of Tibet during the infancy of the Dalai Lama) to intervene on their behalf.

Accordingly, a mission was dispatched to Calcutta with a letter by the Tashi Lama, in which he urged the Governor General to stop hostilities against Bhutan. Upon receipt of the letter in Calcutta on 29 March 1774, Warren Hastings informed the Board at Calcutta of his reply to the Tashi Lama. He proposed a general treaty of amity and commerce between Bengal and *Bhot* [Tibet]—more like a commercial reconnaissance. Hastings’ letter invited the Lama for a final arrangement of the disputes on the frontier that would render

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2 Ibid., p. 338.
4 Once British paramountcy was ensured over Cooch Behar (by the Anglo-Cooch Behar Treaty of 1772), Warren Hastings went out of his way to win the good disposition of the Bhutanese. His treaty with Bhutan in 1774 illustrates this. For more details see, Arabinda Deb, *“Cooch Behar and Bhutan in the Context of the Tibetan Trade” Kailash*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1973, p. 83.
the country accessible, thereby seizing the occasion to send a British mission to open relations with Tibet.

And thus, Hastings formally nominated George Bogle on 13 May 1774 as his envoy to proceed to Tibet for negotiation of a mutual treaty and establishing commercial trade arrangements between Tibet and Bengal by means of obtaining a passport for a European to proceed to Tibet. Besides, Hastings also sought information regarding the existential trade between Tibet and Siberia, Tibet and China, and, Kashmir and Tibet. George Bogle, the first British envoy to Tibet was merely 28 years old and belonged to the Bengal Civil Service in the East India Company when he departed for Tibet. He also was the only Englishman to have crossed the Tsanpu (Tsangpo) in its upper come and was fully conscious that the account of his journey would become a reference milestone for decades, and centuries to come.

Armed with instructions, Bogle departed in the summer of 1774 carrying along a memorandum on the history, religion, and hierarchy of Tibet—making it the first ever British mission to Tibet and Bhutan (1774-1775). A novel exercise in commercial diplomacy, Bogle’s expedition often brought to mind the maritime expeditions sponsored by the Courts of Spain, Portugal, and England to explore the unknown oceans of the world and bring back the products of the new lands discovered.

**Objectives of Bogle’s Tibet Mission**

In an 18 May 1774 dispatch, Hastings directed Bogle to:

I desire you will proceed to Lhasa ... The design of your mission is to open a mutual and equal communication of trade between the inhabitants of Bhutan [Tibet] and Bengal ... You will take with you samples, for a trial of such articles of commerce as may be sent from this country ... and you will diligently inform yourself of the manufactures, productions, goods introduced by the intercourse with other countries which are to be procured in Bhutan ... The following will be also proper objects of your inquiry: the nature of the roads between the borders of Bengal and Lhasa and the neighboring countries, their government, revenue and manners ... The period of your stay must be left to your discretion.

Whilst in Tibet, George Bogle was tasked by Hastings with the following mission-related objectives and responsibilities:

a) Bogle was to send Hastings, one or more pairs of animals called *foos* which produce the shawl wool. If by a *dooly*, cage, or any other contrivance, they can be secured from the fatigue or hazard of the way, the expense is to be no objection.

b) To send one or more pairs of cattle which bear what are called cow tails.

c) To send Hastings, carefully packed fresh ripe walnuts for seed, or an entire plant, if it can be transported; and any other curious or valuable seeds or plants, the *rhubarb* and *ginsing* especially.

d) Any natural produce, manufactures, paintings, or whatever else may be acceptable to persons of taste in England. Animals only that may be useful.

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5 Younghusband, n. 3.
7 Ibid.
e) Bogle was to make inquiries concerning the people, the form of their government, and the mode of collecting revenues...

f) Hastings, in particular, wanted Bogle to maintain a diary, inserting whatever passed his observation that shall be characteristic of the people, their manners, customs, buildings, cookery, the country, climate, roads ... primarily minuting every fact or remark as it occurred, and putting it in order while they remained fresh in memory.

g) To inquire what countries lies between Lhasa and Siberia, and what communication there was between them. The same with regard to China and Cashmere.

h) To ascertain the value of Tibet’s trade with Bengal by the gold and silver coins and send samples of both to Hastings.

i) Every nation excels others in one particular art or science. Bogle was tasked with finding out the excellence of the Bootans.

j) To inform the course and navigation of the Burramputra (Brahmaputra) and of the state of the countries through which it ran.  

Status of Trade in Tibet through Bhutan, Nepal, Kashmir and Ladakh

The trade between Lhasa and the low country, as George Bogle was informed, got principally carried out by the route of Patna and Nepal through the Moghuls and Kashmiris.  

As far were duties on items were concerned, no duties were levied on goods, and trade was protected and free from exactions. Many foreign merchants, encouraged by these indulgences, or allured by the prospect of gain, settled in Tibet. The natives of Kashmir, especially, scattered themselves over the eastern kingdoms of Asia, and carried on extensive traffic between the distant regions within Tibet. They formed establishments at Lhasa and all other principal towns in the country. Imports from the Kashmiris chiefly were sugar, dried raisins, and other fruits. Exports included goat wool and gold. Agents got stationed on the coast of Coromandel, in Bengal, Benares, Nepal, and Kashmir, furnishing them with commodities of these places, which they traded in Tibet, or forwarding it to their associates stationed at Seling (Sining) – a town that lay on the borders of China.

The trade was confined chiefly to articles that were of great value but in small bulk. Kalmuks

10 A copy of the document was in the archives at Calcutta and appeared to be the only one that was preserved there relating to Bogle’s mission.
11 As per Bogle’s journal dated 20 August 1774, cited in Clements Markham, Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa, (London: Trubner and Co., Ludgate Hill, 1879).
12 Ibid., Chapter XIII, Trade of Tibet. p. 124.
13 Markham, n. 11, p. 124.
14 Ibid.
15 Ibid.
16 Ibid.
17 Kalmuk was used as an equivalent for Manchurians. Along with the Mongolians, they arrived in Lhasa and Teshu Lumbo in large numbers annually for trade.
annually paid their devotion at the Lama’s shrines, by bringing in their camels, loaded with furs and other Siberian goods. Bhutan, which formed the southern frontier of Tibet, was enabled to supply it with commodities from Bengal, as well as with the produce of its own states. Moreover, Assam furnished it with coarse manufactures of their kingdom. The Chinese introduced curious manufacturers and merchandise to engage in extended and lucrative commerce. And thus, Lhasa, being the seat of the Tibetan government, and the place of the Dalai Lama’s residence, assumed the center of communication between distant parts of the world coming into Tibet.

Tibet’s most considerable branch of commerce was with China, the Kashmiris, and by the Lama’s agents, who proceeded to Seling, and at other times to Peking. The imports were coarse tea, of which the consumption was maximum. Brick tea, for Tibet was made mostly in Szechuan from a hedgerow tree that was 15 feet high, with large coarse leaves. Other imports included flowered and brocaded satins of various kinds, Pelong handkerchiefs, silk, thread, furs, porcelain cups, glass, snuffboxes, knives and other cutlery, silver, and tobacco. The returns were made in the forms of gold, pearls, coral, shells, broadcloth, and a trifling quantity of Bengal cloths. The produce from Siberia was imported chiefly by the Kalmuks, or via Seling. They consisted of furs, red and black Bulgar hides, cowtails, some dromedaries, pearls and silver, while bartering with broadcloth, coral and amber beads, spices and gold. The imports from Assam were spices and timber, Assam silk cloth, and other coarse manufactures of silk and linen. The native produces of Bhutan brought into Tibet were rim, wrought iron, coarse woolen cloth, and some munjit that were exchanged for tea and other commodities that included rock salt, wool, sheep skin, and narrow friezes for their home consumption. The productions imported from Nepal were chiefly iron and rice. Bhutan and Nepal were the only principal channels of communication between Bengal and Tibet, they constituted a larger chunk of trade, in terms of volume, and items.

Nepal was divided among the different states of Kathmandu, Patan, Bhatgaon, and Gorkha, and remained under the government of Rajas independent of each other’s authority. A very moderate duty was levied on goods. Nepal was populous and well cultivated and could easily furnish means of transportation making way for many merchants settling in Nepal.

The trade between Bengal and Tibet, through Bhutan was formerly engrossed wholly by the Bhutanese. Few Kashmiris settled at Lhasa obtained permission from the Deb Raja of Bhutan to transport their goods through his territories further to their established agents in Bengal. Since they were prohibited from trading in broadcloth, Bengal sustained heavy losses by interruption of its commerce through Nepal. The commodities from Bengal were sent into Tibet through Murung, and a province adjoining to it which was subject to Lhasa and governed by a chief-styled Deunjong. Besides, there was a road leading from Benares and Mirzapur through the Mustang country (lying on the borders of Tibet by the Muktinath Pass of the Nepalese Himalayas) and the hills to the north of Benaras. These were subject to the Rajas who still preserved their independence. The more

18 Markham, n. 11, p. 125.
19 Ibid.
20 Ibid., p. cxxiii.
21 Ibid., p. 125.
22 Ibid., p. 126.
23 Ibid.
24 Ibid., pp. 127-128.
valuable of Bengal goods were imported into Tibet at times via this channel. Other principal articles of merchandise between Bengal and Tibet were broadcloth, otter skins, indigo, pearls, coral, amber, and other beads, chank shells, spices, tobacco, sugar, Malta-striped satins, and a few white cloths, which chiefly were coarse. The returns were made in gold dust, musk, and cowtails.25

The traders brought in their merchandise to Lhasa from China and Mongolia, Kam and Szechuan, up the passes from Bhutan, Sikkim and Nepal, and from Kashmir and Ladakh.26 From China came silks of all varieties, carpets, and hardware; from Mongolia came leather, saddlery, sheep, and horses; from Kam were brought perfumes; from Szechuan came tea; from Tawang, Bhutan, and Sikkim, came rice and tobacco; from Nepal was brought in broadcloth, silk, indigo, coral, pearls, sugar, spices, and Indian manufactures; and from Ladakh and Kashmir came saffron and Indian commodities.27 Mercantile operations were centered on Lhasa and Shigatze with merchants coming in around December every year, and leaving in March, before the Tibetan rivers got flooded. Silver and gold were the most important articles of export followed by salt, wool, woolen manufactures, furs, drugs, and musk. The people in the direction of Szechuan were clothed in Tibetan blankets that were also much in demand in Sikkim and Nepal. China had a great demand for musk. The supply of salt across Szechuan, Yunnan, all the other wild tribes north of Burma, Nepal, Sikkim, and Bhutan was done from Tibet.28

Through the Nepal and Ladakh routes, Tibet exported large quantities of yaks’ tails, borax, gold, silver, and ponies. In Assam, the centers of Tibetan trade were Dewangiri, and Udalgiri, where there was a bi-annual fair through the Tawang route. As far as trade through the Chumbi Valley was concerned, it was carried out through Darjeeling that was the central mart. For the trade from Nepal, Patna was the transit point, and Kashmir for the long route by the Mariam-la pass.29 Tibet’s inexhaustible staple was its wool, which could be produced on its vast plains and mountain slopes in any quantity and was of the finest quality. It was believed by many that if a good frontier road were opened through Sikkim, from the Jelep-la pass into Chumbi and to Darjeeling, large quantities of cows, sheep and wool could find their way into India. For the real development of its vast resources, Tibet should have had the same advantages as were enjoyed by the sierra of Peru. Considered essential for its growth and prosperity, all Tibetan passes into India should have been freely opened for its commerce. This was a necessity when the staple of a mountain plateau was its livestock.30 For initiation of any such policy, comprehension of the physical and political geography of the region and a thorough knowledge of its history was tantamount.

Bogle and the Tashi Lama: An Association of Friendship

Bogle set out for the mission in 1774. Although failing to reach Lhasa, Bogle remained at Shigatze—Tibet’s second significant city following Lhasa. On the mission, Bogle was accompanied by Alexander Hamilton, an army surgeon, and Purangir Gosain, an agent of the Tashi Lama (the alternative title of the Panchen

25 Ibid., p. 128.
26 Ibid., p. cxxii.
27 Ibid., p. cxxiii.
28 Ibid.
29 Ibid., p. cxxiv.
30 Ibid.
Lama). Bogle made a favorable impression on the Sixth Panchen Lama when he was brought before the latter in Shigatze. Bogle became close friends with the Tashi Lama named Pal-den Yeshe and stated:

[Tashi Lama’s] disposition was candid and generous... the expression of his countenance smiling and good humored. He was extremely merry and entertaining in conversation and told a pleasant story with a great deal of humor and action. I endeavored to find out in his character those defects which are inseparable from humanity, but he is so universally beloved that I had no success, and not a man could find it in his heart to speak ill of him. For, although venerated as God’s vice-regent in the eastern countries of Asia, endowed with a portion of omniscience, and with many other divine attributes, he throws aside all the awful part of his character, accommodates himself to the weakness of mortals, endeavors to make himself loved rather than feared, and behaves with the greatest affability to everybody, particularly to strangers.  

Bogle narrates in his journal dated 16 July 1774, days before he reached Tashichhoedzong, a messenger from Tashi Lama arrived and delivered a letter. It began with the Lama saying that “… having heard of my [Bogle’s] arrival at Cooch-Behar on my way to him, and, after some formal expressions of satisfaction, informs... the Emperor of China, whose order it is that he shall admit no Moghul, Hindustani, Patan, or firangi (foreigner), he is without remedy, and China being at the distance of a year’s journey prevents his writing to the Emperor for permission. Later, in another entry of Bogle’s journal dated 18 September 1774, it was noted that the Deb Raja read to me [Bogle] a letter from the Tashi Lama, informing that he had written to Lhasa, the residence of the Dalai Lama on the subject of my passports, and had obtained their consent to my proceeding on the journey, provided I came with only a few attendants. The Tashi Lama was therefore sending assistance for me on the borders of his country. Bogle also found that the Gesub Rimboche, or the Regent at Lhasa, under the influence of the Chinese agents, opposed the liberal and enlightened views of the Tashi Lama, as regards the admission of foreigners into Tibet. 

The Tashi Lama became informed about the customs of Europe and said to Bogle, “I had heard much of the power of the firangis that the Company was fond of war and conquest. As my business is to pray to God, I was afraid to admit any firangis into the country... but I have now learned that they are a fair and a just people.” Thereafter, Bogle spent around six months learning about the Tibetan culture and politics. Bogle notably attempted decoding the myth of Tibet as Shangri-la in his journal and more significantly, helped the Panchen Lama to compile the still renowned and legendary Geography of India.

A letter dated 11 Oct 1774 written by Bogle from Tashichhoedzong (a Buddhist monastery and fortress on the northern edge of the city of Thimphu in Bhutan lying on the western bank of the Wang Chu) described that the trade between Bhutan and Rangpur was conducted
by Deb Raja and the provincial governors.\textsuperscript{37} In return for tangan horses, musk, cowtails, red blankets and woolen cloth, the Bhutanese traders secured broadcloth, spices, dyes and Malda cloth for Tibet’s markets. From Tibet, the Bhutanese used to import tea, salt and wool in bulk quantity. Bogle remained hopeful in finding success with the Deb Raja “unless his dependence upon China should stand in the way” – which explains a good deal of the dithering in British North-East Frontier policy in the first half of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century.\textsuperscript{38}

Owing to his skillful diplomacy, Bogle succeeded after tedious negotiations in inducing Bhutan’s Government to allow for the passage of merchants through their territory, to and from Tibet, and Bengal. These successes were confirmed by the substantial reduction of duties on the frontier, later followed by their total and complete abolition.\textsuperscript{39} The decision of establishing a fair at Rangpur under conditions which were extremely advantageous to the Bhutanese was also made. The expenses for the fair were to be paid by the government, with stables to be set up for their horses, and houses for themselves. Warren Hastings prevented the opening made by Bogle from being closed, by keeping up regular connect with Bhutan’s rulers, maintaining correspondence with the Tashi Lama, and by means of continuing the annual fair at Rangpur.\textsuperscript{40} Bhutan trade via the fair at Rangpur was continued until 1831-32 at an annual cost. However, in 1832, at the recommendation of Mr. Nesbit, the Revenue Commissioner at the time, it was discontinued.\textsuperscript{41} The immediate consequence was a drastic drop in the trade volume, which dwindled further.\textsuperscript{42}

**Bogle’s Departure in April 1775:**
**Bidding Farewell to Tibet**

Although Bogle remained in Tibet only for a few months, he finds mention in the Tibetan records. On the contrary, a few Italian missionaries who supposedly preceded Bogle and stayed in Lhasa for many years have not been acknowledged or recorded in Tibetan sources. Bogle’s mission was not entirely successful, as the Benares envoys and the Lhasa regent De-mo Khutukhtu held hostilities against Bogle.\textsuperscript{43} On 03 April 1775, Bogle officially took leave from the Tashi Lama to depart. He carried along presents of garments and a letter for the Governor General accompanied with gifts for himself.\textsuperscript{44} Bogle stated, “... from the Lama’s pleasant and amiable character, from the many flavors and civilities he had shown me, I could not help being particularly affected... He mentioned his hopes of seeing me again.”\textsuperscript{45} On the eve of his departure from Tibet, Bogle wrote a letter to his sister mentioning Tibet:

Farewell, ye honest and simple people! May ye long enjoy the happiness denied to more polished nations, and while they are engaged in the endless pursuits of avarice and ambition, defended by your barren mountains, may ye continue to live in peace and contentment, and know no wants but

\textsuperscript{37} Deb, n. 4, p. 82.
\textsuperscript{38} Ibid., pp. 83-84.
\textsuperscript{39} Markham, n. 11, Hamilton’s Mission to Bhutan, p. lxix.
\textsuperscript{40} Ibid., p. lxix.
\textsuperscript{41} Ibid., p. lxix.
\textsuperscript{42} For more details see, R. Boileau Pemberton, Report on Bootan, (Calcutta: Bengal Military Orphan Press, 1839) p. 175.
\textsuperscript{43} Petech, n. 1, p. 343.
\textsuperscript{44} Autobiography of the Third Tashi Lama, cited by Markham, n. 11.
\textsuperscript{45} Caroe’s Address, n. 31, p. 3.
those of nature.  

On 07 April 1775, Bogle left Tashilhunpo for India. Following his return to India, Bogle fulfilled the Panchen Lama’s request of establishing a temple on the banks of the Ganges, not far from the East India Company headquarters, where Buddhist monks could return to their Indian spiritual roots. The relations between George Bogle via Warren Hastings with the Third Tashi Lama established Tibet’s ties with British India. It continued till the Tashi Lama’s departure for Peking in 1779.

Carefully preserved in his Ayrshire (Scotland) family archives were Bogle’s journals, memoranda, official and private correspondence, official dispatches, minutes of conversations, diary journal and travel notes. The letters included those exchanged with Warren Hastings, Elijah Impey, Gilbert Elliot, Ms. Morehead, Dr. Hamilton, and members of Bogle’s family. Ms. Brown of Lanfine, in Ayrshire, was the representative of the Bogle family, through whom these manuscripts were made available. Carefully reading and annotating before arriving at any conclusions of the narrative of the mission, Clements Markham stated that Bogle’s journal was fragmentary, making it necessary to supplement it occasionally with extracts from letters and other materials in order to present a connected history of the Bogle Mission to Tibet. Markham published a narrative on Bogle’s Tibet mission on the order of Her Majesty’s Secretary of State in India in Council. Prior to this narrative, there was no full account of Bogle’s mission that had been published. An attempt to find adequate materials in the records at Calcutta or at the India Office had failed. Markham enumerated all the sources of information on Great Tibet, and the region lying between it and British India. The primary objective was to show the exact positions in history, and to supply facilities for the exhaustive study of British India and its Eastern Empire.

Whether Bogle found complete success, or not, in his mission to Tibet, what remains certain is that he opened the Land of the Lamas to the world by concluding a favorable commercial treaty in 1775. In April 1779, George Bogle was appointed as envoy to Tibet for the second time. However, soon travelled the news that the Tashi Lama was about to undertake a journey to Peking, and this caused the postponement of Bogle’s second mission. The Tashi Lama, at one of his first interviews with the Emperor of China, took the opportunity to speak in favor of Warren Hastings and the English in India. It was arranged that Bogle could meet the Lama at Peking and would probably have returned with him to Tibet. However, in two quick tragedies in succession, the Tashi Lama died of smallpox at Peking, in November 1780, and George Bogle died at the age of 35 in Calcutta in April 1781.

Bogle’s manuscripts appeared from a notice in Glasgow’s paper, and another copy that was presented to the Royal Society. The only document relating to the trade of Tibet as per Bogle’s mission was preserved among the archived records at Calcutta and in the India office. Upon the retirement of Warren Hastings, his style of Trans-Himalayan diplomacy was rejected, and the Sino-Nepalese
war of 1792 closed the doors of Tibet to the south\textsuperscript{53}—as also to the Indo-Tibetan borderland from Kashmir, and to what became known as the North-East Frontier Agency.

John Claude White, an engineer, photographer, and a civil servant in British India originally worked in Bengal, Nepal, and Darjeeling. Following the 1890-1893 Convention of Calcutta signed by Britain and the Qing dynasty in China, White was dispatched to Yatong at the foot of the Chumbi Valley in Tibet to assess the trade situation at the new outpost. Accordingly, he reported that the Chinese “had no authority whatever” and were unable to control the Tibetans. White concluded that “China was suzerain over Tibet only in name.”\textsuperscript{54} Regarding Bogle’s achievements, White stated that it would be “unfair” to describe his missions as “unsuccessful”. Bogle concluded a treaty with the King of Bhutan in May 1775 at Tashichhoedzong, which provided for the transit trade of Tibet through Bhutan by means of a native agency besides ensuring expansion of Bhutanese trade\textsuperscript{55} with the plains of Bengal.

\textsuperscript{53} Deb., n. 4, p. 83.
\textsuperscript{54} Younghusband, n. 3.
\textsuperscript{55} Deb., n. 4, p. 83.