

Chapter I

Introduction of Agriculture in Darjeeling Hill Areas

The hill area of Darjeeling was a part of the dominions of the Raja of Sikkim. In 1706 what is now the Kalimpong Sub-division of the hill area was taken from the Raja of Sikkim by the Bhutenese. The Rajas later were engaged in unsuccessful struggles with the Gorikhas who had seized power in Nepal and invaded Sikkim in 1730. During the next 30 years they overran Sikkim as far east as the Tista and conquered and annexed the Terai. In the meantime war broke out between the East India Company and the Nepalese at the end of which in 1819 by the treaty of Titaliya the tract which the Nepalese had taken from the Raja of Sikkim was ceded to the Company. The Company restored the whole of the country between the Mochi and the Tista to the Raja and guaranteed his sovereignty. Sikkim was thus maintained as a buffer state between Nepal and Bhutan.¹

Under the above Treaty the Raja was bound to seek the arbitration of the British Government on all disputes between his subjects and those of neighbouring states. Ten years after it was signed, disputes on the Sikkim - Nepal frontiers arose and were referred to the Governor General.

Two officers, Captain Lloyd and Mr. Grant were deputed in 1828 to deal with the disputes and they penetrated into the hills as far north as Rinchingpong (in the Kulhait Valley in Sikkim). Lloyd spent six days in February 1829 in the "Old Goorkha Station of Darjeeling" and was attracted by its advantages as a site for a Sanatorium. Darjeeling was then deserted although it had been occupied by a large village and the residence of one of the principal Kazis² of Sikkim Raja.

Mr. Grant reported accordingly to the Governor General Lord William Bentinck the numerous advantages promised by a Sanatorium at Darjeeling and also recommended the occupation for military purposes as the key of pass into Nepal. The Governor-General then deputed Captain Herbert, the Deputy Surveyor-General to examine the country with Mr. Grant and in due course the court of Directors approved the project. General Lloyd (formerly Captain Lloyd) was directed to open negotiations with the Raja on the first convenient occasion and this occurred when General Lloyd was deputed to enquire into the cases of an incursion into Nepal of Lepchas who had taken refuge there from Sikkim. He succeeded in obtaining the execution of a deed of grant by the Raja of Sikkim on the 1st February, 1835.³ The deed was worded as follows :-

"The Governor-General, having expressed his desire for the possession of the hill of Darjeeling on account of its cool climate, for the purpose of enabling the servants of his government, suffering from sickness, to avail themselves of its advantages, I, the Sikkimputtee Rajah, out of friendship for the said Governor-General, hereby present Darjeeling to the East India Company, that is, all the land South of the great Rangit river, East of the Balsun, Kahail and little Rangit rivers and West of Rungno and Mahanadi rivers."

This was an unconditional cession of what was then an almost unhabited mountain. But in 1841 the government granted the Raja an allowance of Rs. 3,000 per annum as compensation and this was raised to Rs. 6,000 per annum in 1846.

After the cession, General Lloyd and Dr. Chapman were sent in 1836 to explore and investigate the climate and the capabilities of the place. They spent the winter of 1836 and part of 1837 doing this and when it was finally decided to develop the site as a Sanatorium, General Lloyd was appointed a Local Agent to deal with the applications for land which began to pour in from the residents of Calcutta. Progress was rapid; whereas in 1836 general Lloyd and Dr. Chapman found only a few huts erected by the Raja of Sikkim, by 1840, a road had been made from Pankhabari;⁴ there was a bungalow at Pankhabari and another at Mahaldiram; a hotel had been started at Kurseong

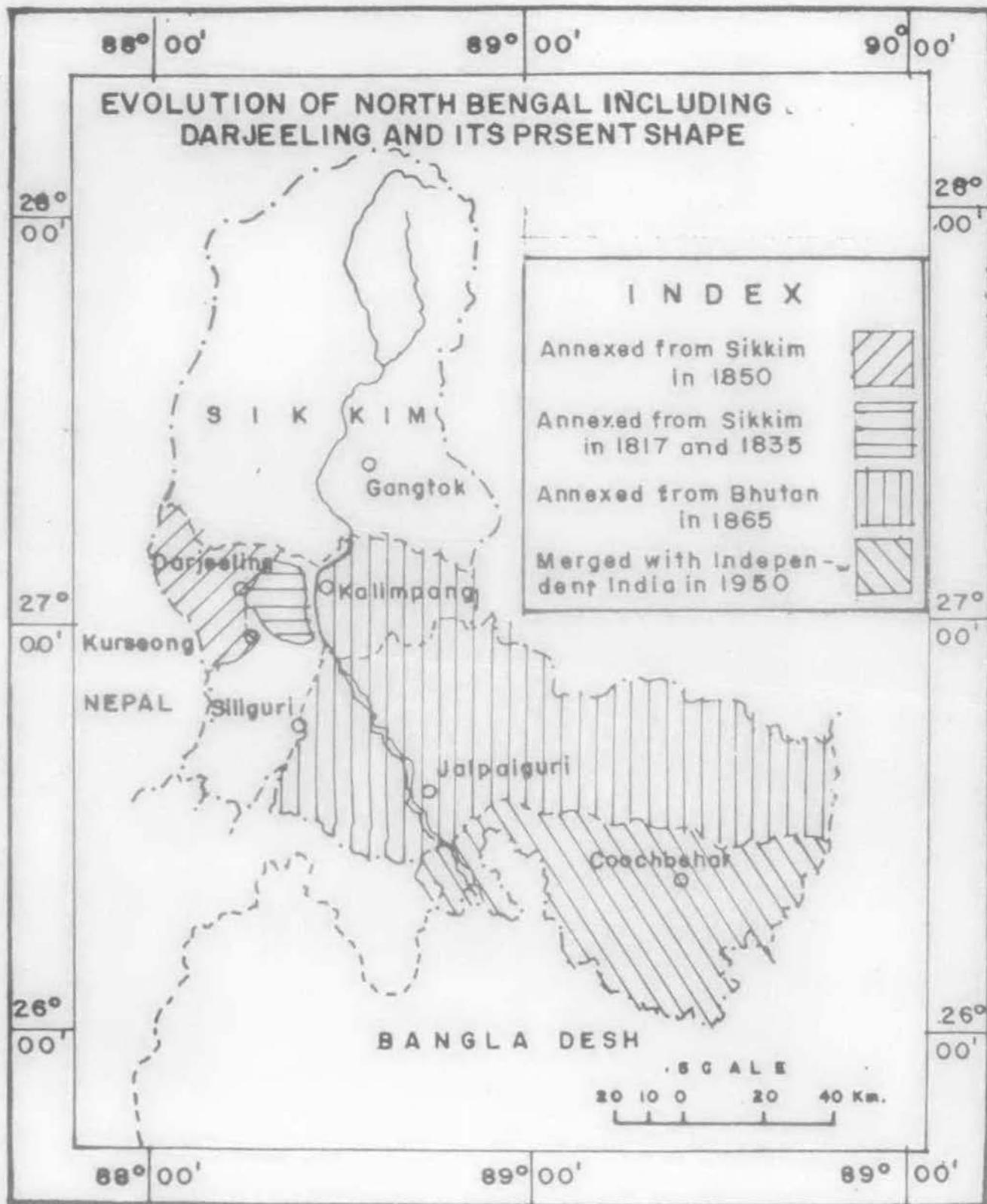
and another at Darjeeling; and at Darjeeling 30 private houses had been erected and nearly as many "locations" or building-sites had been taken up at Lebong.

The rest of the ceded area was, however, under forest and practically uninhabited. According to Herbert, this was because about ten years previously 1200 able-bodied Lepchas forming two-thirds of the population of Sikkim, had been freed from the oppression of the Raja, escaped from Darjeeling and its neighbourhood and taken refuge~~s~~ in Nepal. What little cultivation there had been was abandoned and the Raja prohibited his subjects from going to Darjeeling and helping in the establishment of new settlements.⁵

In 1839 Dr. Campbell of the Indian Medical Services British Resident in Nepal, was transferred to Darjeeling as Superintendent. In this capacity he was in charge not only of the civil, criminal and fiscal administration of the District but also of political relations with Sikkim. Dr. Campbell gave much encouragement to immigrant cultivators and population rose from about 100 in 1839 to about 10,000 in 1849. "Whatever has been done here", wrote Mr. W.B. Jackson, an inspecting officer in 1852 "has been done by Dr. Campbell alone. He found Darjeeling an inaccessible tract of forest, with a very scanty population; by his exertions⁴ an excellent Sanatorium has been established for troops and others; a Hill corps has been established for the maintenance of order and improvement of

communications; no less than 70 European houses have been built, with a bazar, jail and buildings for the accommodation of the sick in the depot; a revenue of Rs.50,000 has been raised and is collected punctually and without balance; a simple system of administration of justice has been introduced, well adapted to the character of the tribes with whom he had to deal; the system of forced labour formerly in uses has been abolished and labour with all other valuables has been left to find its own price in an open market; roads have been made; experimental cultivation of tea and coffee had been introduced and various European fruits and grapes; and this has been effected at the same time that the various tribes of inhabitants have been conciliated and their habits and prejudices treated with a caution and forbearance which will render further progress in the same direction an easy task."⁶

In the meantime relations with Sikkim deteriorated. The increasing importance of Darjeeling under free institutions with a source of loss and frustration of Lamas and leading men of Sikkim, headed by the Dewan of Nanguay, who were sharers in a monopoly of all trades in Sikkim and lost their rights over those slaves who settled as free men and British subjects in Darjeeling territory. Frequent kidnappings and demands for return of slaves took place and the climax was reached when in November 1849 Sir Joseph Hooker and Dr. Campbell were made prisoners,⁷ while travelling in Sikkim with the permission of the Raja and the British Government. Various demands were made



as conditions of release but the Sikkimese eventually released both the prisoners unconditionally on the 24th December 1849. In February 1850 a small punitive force entered Sikkim and remained on the north bank of Great Rangit river for a few weeks. But the serious action taken was the withdrawal of the grants of Rs.6,000 from the Raja and the annexation of the Terai and the portion of the Sikkim hills bounded by the Ramman and the Great Rangit on the North, by the Tista on the East and by the Nepal frontier on the West. The area annexed was 640 square miles in extent.

Immediately after annexation of Terai in 1850, the Southern portion was placed under the Purnea District, but in consequence of the dislike of the inhabitants to this transfer it was cancelled and the whole area was attached to Darjeeling. At the time of annexation there were Bengali officers in the Terai called Chaudhuris who exercised civil and criminal powers.

The Terai and the hill territory annexed from Sikkim were managed by the superintendent who from the 8th May 1850 was called the Deputy Commissioner. The change was welcome by the inhabitants who now had to pay only small fixed sums into the treasury in Darjeeling instead of having to meet uncertain and fluctuating demands in kind and for personal service made by the Raja and Dewan.

The annexation brought about a significant change in the relations between Sikkim and the British. Previously the Darjeeling District had been an enclave in Sikkim territory and to reach it, the British had to pass through a country acknowledging the rule of a foreign, though dependent Raja. After the annexations, British territory in Darjeeling was continuous with the British Districts of Purnea and Rangpur in the plains and the Sikkim Raja was cut off from access to the plains except through British territory.

For some years after the annexation, relations with Sikkim were not disturbed but raids on British territory continued and British subjects were carried off and sold as slaves or detained in Sikkim. The Raja was now an old man of nearly 80 and had retired to Chumbi in Tibet leaving the government to Dewan Nanguay who had arrested Dr. Campbell and Dr. Hooker in 1849. Six months negotiation proved fruitless and it was decided to take possession of the portion of Sikkim north of Ramman and west of the Great Rangit until British subjects were released and offenders handed over and security obtained against a recurrence of similar offences.

With this object Dr. Campbell, with a small force of 160 rank and file, crossed the Ramman in November 1860 and advanced as far as Rinchingpay. He was, however, attacked and forced to fall back on Darjeeling. Later Colonel Gawler with Sir Asley Eden as Envoy and special commissioner moved with

artillery and a force of 2600 men and captured Tumlong, the capital of Sikkim, in March 1861. The Dewan fled and the Raja abdicated in favour of his son with whom a treaty was made on 28th March 1861 which was of particular importance to Darjeeling because it finally put an end to frontier troubles with Sikkim and secured full freedom for commerce across the Sikkim border.⁸

But frontier trouble elsewhere was not over. Along their long frontier with India, the Bhutanese were responsible for a series of incursions in which property was plundered, lives taken and many innocent persons carried off into captivity. In 1862 news came that the Bhutanese were preparing to make an attack on Darjeeling and troops were hurried from Dinapore to restore confidence. This was followed by the despatch of a special Mission to Bhutan in 1863 under Sir Asley Eden to settle differences and obtain the restoration of plundered property. The mission failed as the British Envoy was compelled by threats to sign a document giving up all claims on the Bhutan Duars in the Assam frontier. He was treated with indignity and only with difficulty in April 1864 succeeded in leaving Punakha by night and returned to Darjeeling.⁹

Negotiations continued fruitlessly and the Government of India decided to annexe the Bengal Duars and such hill territory as might be necessary to prevent Bhutanese incursions into Darjeeling and so small expeditions were sent into Bhutan in the winter of 1864. These met with very little opposition and

the operations terminated when in November 1865, the treaty exorted from Sir Ashley Eden was replaced by a fresh one by which now the Kalimpong sub-division as well as the Bhutan Duars and passes leading into the Bhutan hills were ceded to the British in return for an annual subsidy. The Kalimpong area was first notified as a sub-division under the Deputy Commissioner of the Western Duars District but in 1866 it was transferred to the district of Darjeeling. This was the last addition to Darjeeling hill areas and Darjeeling District. Darjeeling, Kurseong and Kalimpong constitute what is now known as Darjeeling hill areas.¹⁰

Political changes and changes in Agriculture in the Hill Areas.

The year 1866 makes an epoch in the history of the Darjeeling hill area. Peace was then established within and on its borders, economic development which had been considerable in spite of difficulties and interruptions due to political disturbances, now proceeded with more certainty and momentum.

The development of agriculture has been noteworthy. Three aspects deserve mention. Large areas of forest land were brought under cultivation. This was partly due to sounder political conditions and partly due to the replacement of the primitive agricultural method of Jhumming by the more efficient methods of terracing, ploughing and irrigating lands. The other development of agriculture on the area was the introduction of

new crops, the most noteworthy being tea, cinchona, potatoes, and oranges.

The systematic conservation and utilisation of forests has been parallel to agricultural development. Practically, the whole of area in 1835 was under forest with the small population extracting subsistence from it by collecting various natural forest products (roots, leaves, herbs and fruits) and by the destructive and inefficient method of Jhumming, by which a patch of jungle is burnt down and crops are grown by hoeing the land thus cleared. The soil soon becomes exhausted by a quick succession of crops and in a year or two the plot is abandoned and a fresh patch of forest is burnt down.¹¹

The rapid extension of agriculture in the early days of development resulted in the clearance of large areas of forest at favourable altitudes. This rendered reservations of the remaining forests necessary for the conservation of timber and water supply and for protection against soil erosion. The effect was to eliminate the Jhum method of cultivation, to ensure supplies of water, timber and firewood and to develop certain minor industries such as wood-cutting charcoal-burning and timber-sawing.

The most notable development without which progress in other direction would have been impossible, has been the

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improvement of communications. From earliest times, the British Administration perceived the importance of road development for Darjeeling. At the outset roads had to be built to improve communication. There has been a steady application of capital to the improvement of road ever since. The development of the mechanically propelled road vehicle came into existence. The road system of the area has attained further utility and importance due to extensions of agriculture. The opening of the railway in 1881 brought an important addition to the road communication system and more recently, the construction of various ropeways has still further improved facilities for the transport of goods and agricultural products.¹²

The authority of the Deputy Commissioner is greater in Darjeeling than that of the District officers in other Bengal Districts by reason of his powers of control over a very considerable Khas mahal ^{over} (233 sq. miles), over most of the bazars in the area, over the work of the District Board as Chairman and over the Darjeeling Town Administration as Chairman of the Municipality. Administration of the area has peculiarities due to special application of various enactments. The Bengal Tenancy Act is not in force and Act X of 1859 and Act VIII of 1879 regulate the rights and liabilities of rural population. A number of special amendments to the Motor vehicles Act have been found necessary to meet hill conditions. An account of the administrative history would not be complete without reference to certain policies carried out for prevention of

exploitation of hillmen. After Kalimpong was annexed, Government would not lease any portion of it for tea cultivation except for special reasons. Transfer of holdings in the Hill Khas mahal of the area from hillmen to plainsmen have not been permitted and except for special reasons, transfers from Bhutias and Lepchas to Nepalis have not been allowed in the Kalimpong Khas Mahal.

The nature of change of agriculture after the introduction of British rule can best be illustrated from a few excerpts of Dr. Campbell's hand-written diary. Dr. Campbell wrote his early impression about the area as follows ;¹³

"The country is to a great extent, covered with forest and thick underwood and is altogether one of the most difficult countries in the world to travel ...Slavery was widely prevalent. There was free trade in labour as all other commodities. ... The early importance of Darjeeling under free institutions was a source of jealousy and annoyance to the Dewan of the Raja, who was himself the monopolist of all trade in Sikkim and it was shared in by the Lamas and other principal people in the country, who lost their right over slaves settling as British subject in our territory. The plan pursued was through reports and secret emissaries to frighten our new subjects by declaring that they should be delivered up as escaped slaves to the former masters and by discouraging the resort in everyway of the Sikkim people of Darjeeling, added to which, some British subjects were occasionally kidnapped to be sold into slavery

and there were frequent denials of aid in capturing and surrendering criminals. There has always been an arrangement for a neutral exchange of slaves between Sikkim and Bhutan and I was constantly importuned by the Sikkim Rajah and his Dewan to get the British Government to follow a similar course with Sikkim, which was necessarily steadily refused."

About the land revenue system prevalent in Darjeeling before the coming of the British, Dr. Campbell wrote "There are twelve Kazis in Sikkim and several other officers of various exercise jurisdiction over specific tracts of land (including Darjeeling). Each of these officers assesses the revenue payable by all people settled on the lands within his jurisdiction and as far as I can make out, keeps the greater portion for himself, paying over to Raja a certain fixed contribution. At the sametime he has no proprietary right in the lands, though Kazis have at least a kind of hereditary title to their office. The Kazis and other officers exercise limited civil and criminal jurisdiction within the land the revenue of which they collect, all important cases being referred to the Raja and decided by the Dewans who are at present three in number".

The cultivators have no title to the soil and a man may settle down on and cultivate any land he may find unoccupied without going through any formality whatever and when once he has occupied the land, no one but Raja can

turn him out. The Raja can eject him at any time and if he should cease to occupy the land, he would not retain any lien upon it. ... A man who has terraced a piece of hill side could not sell the land. The land is not assessed and pays no revenue; the assessment is on the revenue payer personally and I think that in theory he is supposed to be allowed the use of the Raja's land in order that he may live and be able to render to the Raja the services which he is bound to do as the Raja's live chattel and possibly if the system were carried to theoretical perfection, he would be bound to give over to the Raja all the produce of the land -- that is, all the fruit of his labour beyond what might be actually necessary to support himself and his family.

Among some of rulers under tribes of the North-East Frontier, there seems to have been absolutely no true concept of private property until the idea was learned from contact with Bengali traders. Previously everything belonged to the Chief and no one ever imagined that a private individual had any proprietary right in any of his acquisition as against the Chief. Of course, the latter as a general rule, allowed the subjects to retain possessions of as much of what they acquired as he did not want immediately want, but it was by way of loan. In the same way even now the Chief frequently persists favourites or members of his household to make use of articles of value which he had appropriated for himself or which had

been given to him personally by the Chief. This has sometimes given rise to supposition that a community of goods existed among those races; but the truth lies in exactly the opposite direction. The tribe, its lands and all that is possessed belonged absolute to the Chief.¹⁴

In practice the subject is only bound to give a certain portion of his labour or fruit of his labour to the state and when he does not give actual service, the amount of his property is roughly assessed and his contribution to the states fixed accordingly but such assessment is made without the slightest reference to the amount of land occupied by the subject. The value of his wives and children, slaves, cattle furniture etc. are all taken into account but not the extent of his field I believe that a system something that which I have tried to describe above is indicated in the 47th Chapter of Genests; and it is interesting to remark, that just as in Egypt the lands of the priests 'become not Pharaoh's' so in Sikkim that Lamas are not bound to labour for the Rajah and pay no dues of any kind, no matter how much land may be cultivated by themselves or their bondsmen. It is possible that the forced labour and vice-regal monopolies, of which we hear so much in modern Egypt, may have underlying them the theory that Chief of the state is absolute owner of all its subjects, as well as of all its land; and I have conjectured, in reading books about China that such a theory may enter into same at least of the land revenue system of the empire".

From the writings of Dr. Campbell it is clear that private property system was not developed in the hill area of Darjeeling before the advent of the British Raj. Most of the land was under forest and Jhoom cultivation was prevalent and the system was oppressive. Under this oppressive system agriculture did not develop.

The British rule came to this area in 1835 and was consolidated in 1865 after the Bhutan War. The British introduced a land revenue system which was not prevalent elsewhere in India. The Zamindari system of Southern Bengal or plains of Bengal was conspicuous by its absence.

The early settlements of revenue were with individual farmers who were made responsible for the revenue fixed in lump on the block or blocks leased to each of them. The system then adopted by the British has come to be known as the joint rayatwari system by which settlement was made jointly with the mandal and tenants of each block. The system proved unsatisfactory because mandals realised as much as they could from the rai-yats and looked to their own interest and not to that of government or of the rai-yats. Subsequently this system was changed. Persons found to have been in occupation for 12 years or more were recorded as rai-yats by the government directly without the intermediaries of mandals. Subletting was forbidden and a new rai-yatwari system came into existence. The most important thing to note is that private property in land was accepted by the

British government and land became a commodity to be bought and sold under certain restrictions.

With the introduction of private property in land under the British Raj, there was a prodigious development in agriculture hitherto unknown in the area.

Darjeeling
(1850-1870)

A part of present Darjeeling town.

Summary

As a matter of fact that the area what is known as the "hill areas of Darjeeling" is of recent creation. Darjeeling was once a part of Sikkim and Kalimpong was a part of Bhutan. At the beginning of the 19th century the relation between Nepal and Sikkim was strained and at that time Nepal and British India were at war. Darjeeling under Sikkim Raj was a deserted place, though it was the residence of one principal Kazi of the Sikkim Raja. In order to have a "Key to pass into Nepal" Darjeeling was chosen as a strategic place for movement of troops and the site of a sanatorium. Ultimately the East India Company, under the able guidance of General Lloyd was succeeded in obtaining the execution of a deed of grant by the Raja of Sikkim. Darjeeling was unconditionally ceded to the company in lieu of an allowance to the Raja. A war broke out in 1850 between Sikkim Raj and the British and the British annexed a large tract from Sikkim. The annexation of 1850 brought about a significant change in the hill areas. Between 1835 and 1950 Darjeeling had been an enclave in Sikkim territory and to reach it the British had to pass through a country acknowledging the rule of Sikkim Raj. After the annexation of 1850, the British territory was continuous and and the Sikkim Raja was cut off from access to the plains except through British territory.

Kalimpong area came under the British rule in 1865. Kalimpong was under the Bhutan Raj. The British expedition to Bhutan met little resistance and by a new treaty, what is now known as Kalimpong sub-division and Duars were ceded to the British in return for an annual subsidy.

In 1866 the hill areas of the Darjeeling took a proper shape, peace was established within the area and the British started new experiments in agriculture. Jhum was replaced by private farming. The property laws were recognised. Private property in land came into existence. With the growth of private property in land agriculture got a tremendous boost. In fact growth of agriculture in this area started after the British conquered this part.

References

- 1 A.J.Dash, "Gazetteer of Darjeeling District, 1941", Government of India, pp.37-39.
- 2 ibid., pp.40-42.
- 3 In Dr. Campbell's diary the purpose of getting a treaty with the Sikkim Raj was given. The diary of Dr. A.Campbell is not easily available. His hand-written diary is available in part at Darjeeling Commissioner's office. In the Vol.II, p.13, Dr. Campbell mentioned - "Lord William Bentinck never lost sight of the importance of securing Darjeeling as a sanatorium, his successor Lord Auckland, was equally impressed with the importance of the project and the court of Directors having eventually adopted his views, directed that negotiations might be opened with the Rajah of Sikkim on the first convenient occasion for the cession of Darjeeling to the British Government in return for an equivalent in land or money. This opportunity occurred in 1834-35, when Lepchas refugees in Nepal made an inroad into the Sikkim Terai and Col. Lloyd was deputed to inquire into the cause of disturbance. The refugees were obliged to return to Nepal and the negotiation ended in the unconditional cession by the Rajah of the Darjeeling tract under a deed of grant dated February 1835.
- 4 The pioneers who came to open up Darjeeling after it had been ceded in 1835 were confronted with an arduous journey from Calcutta before they reached the hills. A guide to Darjeeling published in 1838 mentioned 98 hours as the time the journey took from Calcutta by dak as follows :-
 - 54 hours from Calcutta to Malda
 - 16 hours from Malda to Dinajpur
 - 20 hours from Dinajpur to Titaliya
 - 8 hours from Titaliya to the foot of the hills.

The whole journey to Darjeeling lasted five or six days and the discomfort and expense were graphically described by Sir Joseph Hooker who in 1848 at a cost of Rs.240 had occasion to perform the journey from Karagola ghat on the Ganges to the foothills. The first measure taken to improve communications was the deputation of Lieutenant Napier (subsequently Lord Napier of Majdala) to construct a road from

Siliguri to Darjeeling. This was carried out from 1839 to 1842 and the road now known as the Old Military Road, can still be seen winding its way up by sharp ascents from Pankhabari to Kurseong and thence on to Daw Hill and Ghum. (A.J.Dash - Gazetteer 1941, p.179).

- 5 Dr. Campbell's hand-written diary refers to this case in his "sketch of Political Relation Between the British Government and Sikkim" - a copy of which is available in the Darjeeling Commissioner's Library (p.9).
- 6 Referred to in the Gazetteer of Dash, p.38 (ibid.)
- 7 Dr. Campbell wrote the following in his diary (Pages could not be deupared).

"In 1949, the Governor General Lord Dalhousie, granted permission to Dr.J.D.Hooker, who was then travelling in India under the auspices of Her Majesty's government to travel in Sikkim. The Rajah, after a good deal of correspondences, agreed to facilitate his journey to the passes which divide his territory from Tibet viz. Kangra Lama, elevation 16,800 ft.; Donkia elevation 19,225 ft.; Chola elevation 15,500 ft. and Yakla passes; but the traveller had not gone more than a few marches... from Darjeeling when the most vexations obstructions were put in the way of his advance by the local officers along the route, encouraged thereto, it was believed by the Singtam Soobah, the officer appointed by the Raja's Dewan to attend upon him and to facilitate his journey and his researches. After ineffectual efforts on my part to discover the real cause of obstruction which Dr. Hooker had met with, I obtained permission to proceed into Sikkim. Throughout this journey it was made clear to me that the Dewan was solely to blame and that while issuing orders to his subordinates ... he was correctly exhorting them to thward him in everything ... On descending the chomna-Ko ... the party became insolent, laid hands on Hooker, to keep him from me, when about a dozen of them bore me down and nearly killed me in doing so..."

- 8 Dr. Campbell's hand-written diary states the situation as follows :

"In April and May, 1860, two aggravated cases of kidnapping women and children, accompanied with violence and the plunder of property were reported to the government. All ordinary efforts to procure restitution of our subjects and surrender of the offenders, who were adherents to Dewan, having failed the Governor-General in Council decided on 14th September, 1860 that we should occupy the territory of the Rajah lying to the north of Harman river and to the west of the Great Rangeet river and retain it until our subjects were restored, the offenders given up and security obtained against a recurrence of similar offences. The cost of occupation was to be charged to the Rajah; a period of 3 months was indicated as a reasonable one, at the expiration of which, if our demands are not complied with, the occupation should be permanent" (p. 8).

- 9 Arabinda Deb, Indo Bhutan Relation.

- 10 What is the purpose of the north-ward expansion of the British Raj? Dr. Campbell asked this question and answered in the following manner.

"One of the objects.... was to enquire into the question connected with the trade between our territories and Tibet and that I meant to recommend strongly the construction of road through Sikkim ... as well as some other measures which I thought likely to encourage trade but I said that I should also take occasion to bring prominently to the notice of government that while the majority of our subjects are not allowed to enter Tibet for the purpose of trade, crowds of Tibetans are constantly pouring into our bazaars. Large classes of our people are manufacturers or traders and it is an object of great importance to find markets for their goods. ... I did not pretend that the policy was a purely unselfish one ..." (p. excerpts from pages 20-23 of Dr. A. Campbell's Diary).

- 11 Jhumias are shifting cultivators and the term "Jhum" is most frequently used for shifting cultivation in the territory. But many other tribes use different terminology, for example Garos of North East India tell it "abagama", Kharis call it "Lyngkhalum". This system of cultivation is known as "Bewar" or "Dyaya" in Madhyapradesh, "Komon" or "Bringa" or "Gudia" or "Dhongarchar" in Orissa. The Reangs of Tripura call it "Hookni Smong". However, all the tribal communities including personnel of administration are very much closely acquainted with the term "Jhum" or "Jhoom".

Rajmohan Nath, an eminent historian and linguist mentioned that the people who once migrated from South-West part of China to India used to tell "Chao-Thiens" when referring their original place. This "Chao-Thiens" underwent various changes. Thus "Chao-Thiens" became "Jehe-Thiens" which meant people of high land and "Jehe" was evolved as a word to mean high land. Cultivation became "Joho-mo" and this very term "Joho-mo" assumed the name Jhum, which means cultivation in hill slopes by the use of hoe. (S.K. Deb Verman - A study over the Jhum and Jhumia Rehabilitation in the Union Territory of Tripura, Government of Tripura, Agartala - 1971, pp. 2-4).

- 12 In 1860 the East Indian Railway had been extended upto Sahebganj of Bihar and thereafter it was only necessary to travel by road. In 1878 the Northern Bengal State Railways was opened for traffic upto Jalpaiguri and by end of the year it had been extended to Siliguri. In 1881 the Darjeeling Himalayan Railway Company had opened its steam tramway for traffic upto Darjeeling. For most of its length the railways run along the Hill Cart Road, though diversions of the line from the road, in search of easier alignments, are frequent enough. At places, on either side of Ghum, the road negotiates gradients much steeper than the average and those difficulties of ascent are overcome by ingenious devices. One is a loop, where the line passes through a tunnel, runs in a complete circle and over the roof of the tunnel again, so that alignment follows a large spiral. (See M. Dasgupta's article on "Railways in Darjeeling and Private Property". To be published in the centenary volume of Darjeeling - Himalayan Railways by North-East Frontier Railways.

- 13 As pointed out earlier Dr. A. Campbell's diary is not easily available. We have managed to read some part of the Journal as available in Darjeeling.
- 14 Dr. Campbell's description has remarkable similarity with Marx's concept of "Asiatic Mode of Production". According to Marx, the Society in India remained static because private property system did not fully develop in Asia. But there are serious controversies on this issue because according to many writers, private property system was fairly well developed even before the coming of the British.