

Chapter II

Formation of Darjeeling District

Darjeeling is the northernmost and smallest district of West Bengal consisting of the four sub-divisions, into which Darjeeling, Kurseong and Kalimpong are mountainous. The physiographic divisions of the district of Darjeeling are well marked with the tremendous distinction in the range of altitude. It lies between 26° 31' and 27°13' north latitude and between 87°59' and 88°53' east longitude.¹ Though, the history of Darjeeling as an important place begins from the first half of the nineteenth century. This is a peaceful Himalayan region of West Bengal and basically known for its tea gardens and scenic beauty with major tourist visited place in India.² The name district 'Darjeeling' derived its name from headquarters, which in turn, named after the Tibetan words, '*dorje-ling*,' the Buddhist monastery that once stood on the Observatory Hill overlooking Mall, the nerve centre of the town. In 1828, the Company deputed captain G.W Lloyd and G.W Grant came across a small village called '*Dorjeling*'. The word '*dorje*' mean thunderbolt (originally the sceptre of *Indra*) and '*ling*' a place or land, hereafter 'the land of the thunderbolt',³ which the lama holds in his hand during service, rested. In Tibet, the word *vajrah* became *dorje* and as time went on it became one of the most common of all the emblems associated with priestly power and this almost always to be found among the objects on the alters in the temple.⁴ In fact, the view that Darjeeling is the corruption of Sanskrit word '*Durjayalinga*' is not accepted to the academicians and scholars. In fact, the majority of the names of places, forests, rivers etc. in the Darjeeling hills derived from Lepcha origin.⁵ From a compilation of the names of places, rivers and mountain in Darjeeling district made by Col. A. W. Wadel in 1891 indicate that the Lepcha as well as Tibetan names are in great majority.⁶

The geopolitical background of the mountainous hills and its separatist regional existence shows some distinctive features. It is necessary to know about these strategic boundary lines of the Himalayas for clearly understanding the provincial scenario and the history of Darjeeling district. Geographically, the Darjeeling district is wedged between Nepal on the west, Sikkim a state of India to the north and Bhutan and Bangladesh to the east. The region is highly complex with innumerable variety of micro and macro relief forms. The distinctive Himalayan cross ranges may be separated in terms of its high peak ranges called Himadri which curving like a sickle through northern Ladakh, south-eastern Tibet, northern Nepal and

Sikkim. From the Singalila range to Mahaldiram dome to the Kalimpong Algarh swaddle runs the top of this inner wall. Small spurs from these range run westwards, northwards and eastwards to a kind of inner most of rivers which flowing from the glacis of the Himadri. The boundary between Sikkim and Nepal was laid along the Mahanadi and the Mechi rivers and the Singalila range.⁷ The longer ones emit southwards through which rivers flow either to the west of the Singalila, the area of Nepal and Darjeeling border. The smaller *Balusun* river flowing between the Singalila and the Senchal through Kurseong Dow Hill spur which is closest to south of Siliguri, joins with the river Mahananda which flowing through the south Mongpoo ridge valley. The latter for a small distance flow closely with the river Tista and then turn westerly into modern Bangladesh. Though, it backs into India through West Dinajpur and Maldah Districts to join the holy Ganges. The Tista river also receives the northern torrents and in its ravine emerging into the plains below the Coronation Bridge at Sevoke. The plains portions in North Bengal including this district have traditionally been called Dooars into the hills since its trade routes to neighbouring lands running up them. After the plantation of Tea gardens by the British, the Siliguri section taken from western Dooars which consisting the areas of Kharibari-Naxalbari and Siliguri block. The rest part of hilly portions was taken from Bhutan after the Anglo-Bhutan War which ceded in 1865 called Eastern Dooars division.⁸

The hills of Darjeeling like Himalayan Mountains are made of folded rocks, bold spurs, and narrow deep valleys carved out by various agents of denudation like wind, water and snow. The lofty Singalila ridge that culminates ultimately in the lofty height of Kanchenjunga in Sikkim is the highest part of the district. The two most important glacier fed rivers are the river Teesta and the Great Rangeet originate from Sikkim. The Teesta originates from the Zemu glacier situated in north Sikkim the Rangeet arises from the Rothong glacier in West Sikkim. The area has steep slopes and loose topsoil landslides during the monsoons. The southern region of the district comprises the Terai, a marshy low lying area at an average height of 300 ft above sea level; the apex is formed by the Phalut ridge, nearly 3600 metres high, where Nepal meets India. Rivers Teesta and Rangeet lies in the Eastern frontier, beyond is Rishi-La and Bhutan. The labyrinthian hilly forest-clad ridges situated in the lower regions have been cleared for the cultivation or the world famous Darjeeling Tea.⁹ But the history of Darjeeling as an important place was begins from the first half of the nineteenth century.¹⁰

Pre-Colonial Historical Background

Darjeeling in its very historical time has shifted from one power to another. Historically, the region of the present district namely Darjeeling and Kalimpong had separate history and society. Darjeeling area along with Kurseong region was a part of Sikkim before the acquisition by the East India Company from the Raja of Sikkim in 1835.¹¹ It is also the record of British annexation of hill tracts from India's neighbours, Nepal and Bhutan. The area of the district on the other hand, has a deep rooted historical perspective, where remnants of ancient Hindu civilization have been found. The feudal types of state existed with oral and recorded history of specific localities. Since the integration of Darjeeling during colonial period, a composite culture has grown up in this region. The development of this culture was based on the social needs of plantation, cash agricultural crops associated with trade, commerce and communication network. So, in order to know the history of Darjeeling, it is imperative to look into the history of Nepal and Sikkim. The whole tract of the district primarily can be divided in two parts, hills region and Terai tract which was connected to each other by Dooars and considered as a bridge between them. The present three hill sub-divisions of Kalimpong, Kurseong and Darjeeling were remained same without much diffusion of the high culture of the plains region. There had been no relations and impact to its adjacent regions during *Varendrabhumi* in the ancient period and *Kampila* or *Mithila* or the Koch and *Ahom* state formation in the medieval period. The only line of contact can be traced with the Himalayan chains, it was either through Nepal into the Patan Valley and the Gorkha terrain or in Bhutan towards the ancient Lamaist Buddhist cultural centres of Shigates and Lhasa in Tibet. The other slopes of the Nepal lower ranges made it easier to Hindu diffusion from Garhwal and *Mithila*, whereas the Eastern Dooars were traditional mule tracts routes which passed the hamlets and forts of Bhutan towards the Jelep La and Nathula passes into Tibet.¹²

The three hill sub-division of Darjeeling district were too initially steep and walled off in the north by the ditch like channel of rivers between the Himachal and the Himadri for even cultural dispersal from Tibet through Sikkim. It was colonised in the early medieval period by the Khampas and Bhutias from southern Tibet and Bhutan who form the primordial aristocracy of modern Bhutan and Sikkim. Sikkim, Kalimpong and Darjeeling autochthon were Lepchas who were tribal people of these hills and also considered as largest community

among the agricultural labour of the whole region. Though, few people who have moved up for survive through low paid manual work in agricultural field or potters in around the market places of adjacent towns were considerably westernised.¹³ The old and rural traditions of Lepcha people are of roving one place to another for burn cultivation which is well known as *jhum* cultivation. Most number of primitive village settlements in the Lakdah and Mongpoo areas and particularly from the south east of the central Mahaldiram dome near Ghum and some parts of Kalimpong, bear remnants of this autochthonous past. People belong to this community thus pushed back in the present- day literati to their poverty.¹⁴

In the hills the next wave of settlers were Bhutias moving as traders, peasants and chieftains south across the Himadri into the Himachal areas. After the British annexation in this area, Chabu Lama who had been of the Raja of Sikkim have received a lease “an area of 115 square miles in the north-eastern portion of present Darjeeling district”, lying between Nepal, Sikkim and the little Rangit River.¹⁵ The Bhutias became predominant in Kalimpong to the east after 1709 and even today they still form the dominant position and Buddhist element among the traders and merchants of Darjeeling District. Another group are consisting with Marwari financiers and merchants, Biharis from Chapra and other adjoining district known as the *gallawals* or wholesalers as well as petty shop keepers in some parts of the village in this district. The migration to lower Nepal, Darjeeling District, Bhutan, Sikkim and Assam for near about a century changed the demographic pattern of this region. The whole community except the Bhutias land lords gained their power in the field of market formation, governmental professions and in the society.¹⁶ Before colonial annexation, the Himachal portion of the District was already inhabited by Bhutias land holders and Lepcha agriculturalist. The process of migration in this region begun from Rana rule in Nepal and these areas referred to as Limbuan, West Sikkim, across the Mechi river and south of Kanchenjunga ridge. The Limbus who was a Sikkimese tribe became isolated from the Sikkim ruler Gyurme Namgyal during 1717 to 1734 and slowly came under the Hindu influence of Nepal.¹⁷ Sikkim then began to be encroached on in the Kalimpong or originally Dalingkote region by the Bhutanese people and its West by the Nepalese ruler, Sinha Pratap Shah and his two royal generals Jor Singh and Damodar Pande. The political centralisation of Nepal was started by Prithvinarayan Shah who founded the house of Gorkha. This led to conflicts between Nepal on the one side and Tibet with its subordinate ally, Sikkim on the other side. This conflict also touches the British controlled areas of Western Ceded Provinces of later Uttar Pradesh.

Historical Outline of British Conquest

Darjeeling formerly occupied by a large village and the residence of one of the principal Kazis. As a matter of fact when the tract was first taken over by the British, it was composed mostly of forests, and was sparsely inhabited.¹⁸ The history of Darjeeling is well connected with the history of Nepal and Sikkim. Therefore it is necessary to give a brief outline of the two kingdoms. Sikkim Raja had prohibited his subjects from going to Darjeeling but he helped in establishing the new settlement, and several expedients were proposed to repopulate the country, for example, by inviting the Lepcha refugees to return, importing labourers from the indigo belt area of Rangpur and *Ramgarh* (i.e. *Gaya* and *Hazaribagh*) and by procuring settlers from Nepal and Bhutan.¹⁹ Chadder Namgyal, Raja of Sikkim took shelter in Tibet and ultimately, with the help of Tibet, enforced the Bhutanese to evacuate Sikkim, except the territory now co-terminus with Kalimpong Sub-division. In 1770, Bhutan made one unsuccessful effort to recover Kalimpong which could be recaptured only during the Gorkha aggression in 1790. Consequent upon frequent marauding raids on Cooch Behar kingdom and capture of the king in 1770 the latter sought British assistance. Warren Hastings' response was prompt and effective. The Bhutanese were driven out of Cooch Behar and forced to seek the protection of Tibet. Ultimately at the intervention of the Tasi Lama of Tibet a treaty of peace between the East India Company and the Debraja of Bhutan was concluded on April 25, 1774 leading to the release of Cooch Behar King and his brother and restoration of Cooch Behar's lost territory. In return, the British Government allowed the Bhutan merchants to come to India for trading purposes.²⁰

The Gorkhas under Prithvi Narayan Shah had invaded Sikkim in the eighteenth century. The attack of the Gorkhas was further repeated in 1775. The Sikkimese Lepchas held the Gorkhas at bay until in 1788; the ruling prince was defeated and fled to Tibet. Tibet and Bhutan supported him, and he evicted the Gorkhas from Sikkim. Subsequently, they were able to recapture the area west of the river Tista. The Raja and his followers took shelter in the Gangtok fort and were silent there when the British went to war with Nepal in 1814. In this situation, government officials such as Scott and Latter were sent to Sikkim to gain the support of the Raja against the Gorkhas. The Raja agreed to support and Scott assured him that he could trust on British support in winning back his territories from the Gorkhas. It also agreed that the future independence of Sikkim would be safeguarded in any peace treaty that

the British Government might make with Nepal. Internal fights disturbed the ruling clans of the Nepal Valley and the Gorkhas of the Western Himalayas conquered it in 1768. They established a powerful state with great armed strength and sought outlets for expansion. The Chinese Kingdom blocked their attempts at northern expansion and they began moving southwards. During the early nineteenth century, they extended their areas as far as the river Tista in the east and Sutlej in the west so that they controlled the country striking the northern frontier of Hindustan. This area had always been under the control of the Raja of Sikkim, excepting the Morang or Terai in the foot hills which was for time (1788-1816) conquered by Nepal. Hence, the conflicting interests of the Gorkhas and the British made war inevitable. An expedition by the Gorkhas on three police stations in Butwal in May 1814 was followed by a declaration of war against them by Lord Hastings in October 1814. Under these circumstances, a bloody war took place within two years for the Company's army to decisively defeat Nepal. After the Treaty of Segauli (1816) between India and Nepal, a large section of the western Himalayan Terai was taken from Nepal and annexed by the East India Company.²¹ After that, the territory of Sikkim converted a British protectorate.²² The border areas were frequently raided by the Gorkhas. However, the high command in Nepal did not ratify the treaty and conflicts were resumed between them. Ochterlony defeated the Gorkhas at *Makwanpur* on 28 February 1816. The Nepal Government ratified the treaty in March 1816. The Gorkhas gave up all rights to places in the lowlands along their southern frontier, surrendered the Simla hills and the districts of *Garhwal* and Kumaon to the British, withdrew from Sikkim and permitted the posting of a British Resident at Kathmandu. The British captured important forts and strongholds such as Almora, Dehra Dun and Sabathu and gained sites for important hill stations such as Simla. A treaty was signed between the British and the Raja of Sikkim, who had been a vassal of the Nepalis, in February 1817, a tract ceded by the Nepalis was given to him and this created a barrier between Nepal and Bhutan.²³

Nineteenth century military theoreticians in Europe considered the role of mountains for the soldiers in extremely important manner. After conquering Bengal, the British were faced with the problem of the security of the frontier provinces. The major reason was the geopolitical importance of Darjeeling being a part of Sikkim with which the British commercial ties are closely related. Strategically, it would safeguard the northern Indian border from China, Bhutan and India Sikkim also commanded the historic Kalimpong-Lhasa trade route which was the shortest route to Tibet. The acquisition of Darjeeling made the traders to increase the volume of trade with Sikkim, Nepal and Darjeeling.²⁴ Darjeeling, also called, the 'no-man's

land' and was a territory passed from one hand to the other in the wars that broke out between the East India Company, Sikkim and Nepal. Hence the Darjeeling District was formed with the ceded territories of Sikkim and Bhutan.

British administrators first noticed the possibilities for a sanatorium town at the site of a Lepcha village (*Dorje-ling*) in the eastern Himalayas. Captain G.A. Lloyd and J.W. Grant, the Commercial Resident at Maldah in northern Bengal, visited the area to settle border disputes between Nepal and Sikkim. Later they arrived at Chongtung near Darjeeling and found it ideal for a sanatorium town in 1828²⁵ In 1829 the Government of India sent Captain J.D. Herbert, Deputy Surveyor General, to the site to explore possibilities for the establishment of a sanatorium for the use of European soldiers. His report was wholly favourable and his first assumption was to link health with climate. He also considered the place as logistics: new roads and maintenance of a supply line.²⁶ Major D. J. P. Newall in his book strongly advocated the Military Colonization of the Hills. In Defence of his contention he profusely referred to the views of Clive, Warren Hastings, Wellington, Dalhousie, Malcom, Canning and Lawrence, all of whom had favoured the policy of hill colonization.²⁷ Llyod also pointed out Darjeeling advantages as a centre which would engross all the trade of the country and as a position of great strategic importance commanding the entrance into Nepal and Bhutan. Grant then supported his view and advocated its occupation for the military purposes as the key of a pass into Nepal territory.²⁸ In 1829, Captain I. D. Herbert, Deputy Surveyor-General, was deputed to examine the country with Mr. Grant. He strongly justified its chain for such purposes.

Captain Herbert wrote, "It is not so much the mere temperature of a mountain station that renders it so delightful a retreat to the debilitated European who for twenty years or more has suffered under the fervours of an Indian sun..... It is alone in the mountainous countries that we experience a delightful sensation which renders were passive existence a high enjoyment.... As a locality for a sanatorium which Darjeeling has a sufficiency of level ground, a sufficiency of water in which it has the advantage of Simla and London, and of building materials, as far, at least as stone and timber are concerned. In the deficiency of limestone, it is no worse than were Simla and Almorah when first established..... In the articles of ridges and walks Darjeeling has many advantages, connected with a lofty range, which throws out its ramifications in every direction, a level road of any desirable content may be cut with little trouble..... it has many beautiful places in the vicinity."²⁹

From 1803 to 1809, that full western Sikkim in the east, long strip of the Terai, Gorakhpur in Uttar Pradesh in the south, Garhwal and other hill territories further to the west were conquered. The Gorkha encroachment upon the low-lying lands within the British dominion in India brought a conflict between Nepal and the East India Company. The Anglo-Gorkha Wars were fought between 1814-16. The Gorkhas showed their ability and fighting capacities in the 1st Anglo Gorkha War but they were defeated in the IInd War under General Ochterlony. Soon the Treaty of Segauli was signed and it was decided that the area conquered from Sikkim by Nepal was to be surrendered to the East India Company. Immediately after this, in 1817, the Treaty of Titalya was signed, under which the entire area between Mechi and Tista was given to the Raja of Sikkim and his sovereignty granted by the Company.³⁰ The affectation of kindness in returning the hilly regions to Sikkim was much too translucent to hide the purpose of the British. The Treaty extracted a dedication from the King that his army would “join the British troops” when the latter would activate in the hills and the king would “afford every facility in his power” to the British. The control of Sikkim was promoted limited as she was prohibited to enter into opposition or friendship with the adjacent states without reference to the British. In return the Rajah was secure full and peaceful rights of the land. Thus, Sikkim was concentrated to a dependent and submissive position much resented by the Maharaja. But he was incapable to do anything not in favour of the British. After the Kumaon and Garhwal hills were ceded to the British during the Treaty of Segauli (1815), the company officials missing no time in set up hill stations like Simla, Almora, Nainital etc., on these hills, with an idea to escaping from the searing heat of the north Indian plains.³¹

As a result of the Anglo-Nepal War of 1814-16, the Nepalis were expelled by the British in 1815 from their control of Pemiongchi and in the entire south Tista tract. The area of Darjeeling, further, under a separate agreement (Treaty of Titalya, 1817) was given over to the King of Sikkim Raja Chophoe Namgyal to create a buffer state between India and Nepal. However, he had to be content with seeing his western boundary thrown back from the Kaokayi River to the Phalut range and the Mechi River.³² In pursuance of the terms of the Treaty of Titalia in 1817, under Article III the Government of Sikkim referred to the matter to the Company for arbitration.³³ The English were not satisfied until they got a total foothold in the Himalayas. An opportunity comes soon in 1827 when a frontier disputes arose between Sikkim and Nepal regarding the jurisdiction of a piece of land called Ontoo, which was situated in the eastern side of the river Mechi.³⁴ This phase was marked by the outbreak of

the Anglo-Bhutan war which finally ended in 1865 with the Treaty of Sinchula. This led to the British annexation of the hill areas of Darjeeling district which was situated to the east of the two river Tista, west of the Ne-chu and De-chu rivers and the south of the Sikkim. As mentioned earlier that the geo-political and strategic importance was a major cause of them. The importance of political and military functions as far as the northern hill stations were important. But the territory of Darjeeling belonged to Sikkim and Bhutan before their annexation to British India.³⁵ They protected the British Indian Empire from disturbances by Russia and China and looked like a chain of bastions along the Himalayas, each one as a fortified citadel and watch tower. Sir Henry Lawrence and Charles Metcalfe had earlier advocated hill colonisation for the similar motives.³⁶ A series of agreements, beginning in 1844, with the chief of the hill tribes extended the British control in varying degrees to further east in the domain of the Brahmaputra Valley. An equal development in regard to the Himalayas which the nineteenth century witnessed, K. M. Panikkar comments that, was the growth of great hill stations from Dalhousie to Darjeeling”.³⁷ In 1706 what is now Kalimpong and Rhenock were lost. Towards the end of the eighteenth century (1780) the Gorkhas of Nepal overran Sikkim as far east as the Tista and annexed the Terai.

Stressing the diverse compensation of Darjeeling hills, Lloyd, conscious of the fact that the area belonged to the Raja of Sikkim, writes, “I am of opinion the territory within the below the hills ceded to Sikkim at the close of the Gorkha war, ought to be resumed and if necessary a revenue agreeable to the rent roll made good to the Raja in yearly cash payments.” This was followed by Grant’s letter to the Governor-General prominence various advantages of Darjeeling as a hill station. The examining trips of Capt. Herbert and Grant also sanctioned the view that the place was perfect for a European settlement and a sanatorium. In 1830, Lord William Bentinck proposed to his council to organise a verbal meeting with Raja of Sikkim for transfer of Darjeeling to the East India Company. But Charles Metcalfe opposed the proposal arguing that it would involve the Company in a dispute manner with the Raja of Sikkim. The Raja of Sikkim would suspect that they had pre-plans to annex his territory. Nepal on the other hand, also considered the Company’s possession of Darjeeling and this territory was very near to their frontier. So, the British invasion of Nepal was the first step to enter into the territory of Sikkim.³⁸

In 1835, Captain Lloyd negotiated with the King of Sikkim for the cession of the land on which the sanatorium of Darjeeling was to be situated. The Sikkim King wanted to formulate the best out of a bad negotiate and wanted the village of *Debagram* in the foothill in replace

of Darjeeling hills. He wanted the repatriation of an antisocial Sikkim official taking protection in the British territory. The King's appeal was however ignored. Quickly the British got a suitable reason when in 1834-35 the Lepcha refugees from Nepal made an inroad into the Sikkim Terai, Col. Lloyd restored peace by pushing the Lepcha refugees back to Nepal. For this service, the British demanded the pound of flesh, and the King was obliged to give up the Darjeeling tract under a "deed of grant" dated February 1, 1835, which just comprised 357.4sq.km. L. S. S O'Malley opined that, "It was wholly covered by forests and it has been said that there were not even twenty resident families or households in the area. Lloyd was authorised by the Court of Directors to conduct negotiations with the Raja of Sikkim, who granted Darjeeling to the British in 1835."³⁹

The deed reads 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 Sikkim-Patti Raja, out of friendship for the said Governor-General, hereby present Darjeeling to the East India Company, i.e., the land south of Great Rongit river, east of the Balasun, Kahali and Little Rangit river and west of the Rango and Mahanadi rivers".⁴⁰

The British Government granted the Rajah an allowance of Rs.3000 which was later increased to Rs. 6000. Darjeeling became a very important centre for trade and it was the "gateway through which commerce and culture of the west could reach Central Asia" and the growth of Darjeeling soon started after the handover of by the Raja of Sikkim.⁴¹ The transfer of the hills of Darjeeling to the British in 1835 by the Raja of Sikkim was followed by the development of British Darjeeling for political as well as military, economic and social functions as a military cantonment, tea plantation centre, health resort and leisure and recreation centre where the British could converge to enjoy cool climates every summer in a landscape that they constructed to resemble familiar home scenes amidst ideal physical surroundings.⁴²

In November, 1849, Dr. Campbell and Dr. Hooker while passing through Sikkim, ostensibly with prior permission, were 'treacherously' arrested and made to undergo severe indignities by Chogyal, the '*pagla dewan*' of the Himalayan kingdom.⁴³ Joseph Hooker and Dr. Campbell were both made prisoners, while travelling in Sikkim with the permission both of the Raja and of the British Government and was kept captive for more than six weeks.⁴⁴ It led

to the punitive expedition by the British over the border areas of this territory in 1850. The result of this expedition was the acquisition of Darjeeling by the British with an area of plains land route of Sikkimese territories. This however, was not the end of the matter about the supreme control over the region. Levelling charges of kidnapping their subjects and harbouring criminals, the British undertook the final military action against Sikkim during 1860-61. This action resulted in the humiliating the treaty of Tumlong signed by the Raja of Sikkim with them. H. H. Risley declaration regarding the treaty was, “No more complete recognition of our supremacy in matters of external policy, and our right to prescribe certain essential conditions of internal administration, could well be demanded”.⁴⁵

The British at this moment got a total area of 640 square miles which integrated about 240 square miles of fertile plain land, miserly Sikkim of any traction in the plains. This new region was put under the supervision of the Superintendent of Darjeeling. The invasion was ratified by the Treaty of Tunlong in March 1861 which prepared Sikkim an acquiescent State.⁴⁶ The de facto territory status of Sikkim was justifiably resented by the Maharaja, and the Lepcha-Bhutan were displeased by the rising migration of the Nepalis from Nepal positive by the British with an observation to destabilizing the large number of the Lepcha-Bhutia, who “could not merge themselves to Nepalese settlement and the British paramountcy”. That also was in full pity with the feeling. Accordingly, Tibet crossed Sikkim border line and taken Lingthu. In punctual reply, the British expeditionary force marched to Sikkim and debarred the Tibetan force. The Anglo-Chinese principle of 1890 finally made Sikkim a reserved province of the British, by ending the Tibetan domination over Sikkim. In 1889, H.M. Durand in an official note stated, “Sikkim is a part of the Indian Empire. It can have no dealings with foreign powers”.⁴⁷

It was clearly not possible for the Bhutan Government to comply with these directives, so, by a proclamation dated 12th November, 1864 the Governor-General annexed 11 Bengal dooars, wiping out Bhutan’s foothold on the plains and confining it to the hills. Under the military threat of the British, Bhutan had to accept the Treaty of Sinchula in November 1865. The Treaty legitimate the occupation of 18 Dooars in Assam and Bengal along with Ambari-Falakata. In addition, “the hill territory on the left bank of the Tista up to such point as may be laid down by the British Commissioner appointed for the intention is ceded by the Bhutan Government to the British Government forever”.⁴⁸ The Kalimpong area was annexed by the Company in 1865 by a treaty with the Raja of Bhutan. The district of Darjeeling was formed around the hill areas of Darjeeling, Kurseong and Kalimpong in 1869 and included some

Terai⁴⁹ areas but the area which is present Kalimpong Sub-division was added to Darjeeling district in 1866.⁵⁰ Neither in the Treaty nor in the proclamations segregation of the territory of 18 Dooars and the “hill territory on the left bank of Tista” has been visibly noted. It was simply mentioned, “so much of the hill territory including the forts of Dalimkote and Dewangiree as might be necessary to command the passes and to prevent hostile and predatory incursions of Bhutanese into the Darjeeling district or into the plains below.” The British and the Bhutanese officials demarcated the common boundary along the Bengal boundary in 1867-68 and along the Assam boundary in 1872-73, giving a final outline to the Kalimpong sub-division and the district of Darjeeling.⁵¹ The Sinchula Treaty was revised by the treaty of Punakha, on January 8, 1910. Apart from increasing the annual allowance to the Government of Bhutan for the ceded area from Rs. 50,000 to 1 lakh, the new agreement further restricted the King’s sovereignty by charging that henceforth Bhutan “would be guided by the advice of the British Government in regard to its external relations”.⁵²

Colonial Policy and Development

The British considered the climatic conditions of the hill area which fit for their settlement away from the dust and heat of the plains. Darjeeling District was meant to be a sanatorium for the aligning soldiers and civilians of the British Empire. The cool climate of the hills with small population marked as an identical and perfect place like ‘home away from home’ for British. So, these hill stations have been significantly used as a sanatorium place where people could rest and recover from diseases and also escape from the heat of the plains in summer of every year.⁵³ The colonial masters came to the Darjeeling hills for seasonal relief and these hills also served as a summer capital for governmental business.

The British wanted to bring Darjeeling under the full control of the Company. The motive force of the British appeared to be two-fold. Firstly, the British wanted to penetrate into Tibet and establish trade route, and secondly, they wanted to use Darjeeling as watch tower from where they could keep vigil on the going on in Nepal and Bhutan. More specifically, the overall control on Sikkim affairs, the British wanted to have safest and shortest route to Tibet to expand trade and thwart the possible penetration of Russia, as the British efforts to open route from Nepal and Bhutan to Tibet proved hazardous. For instance, controlling Sikkim which acted as wedge between Nepal and Bhutan, the British completed the task of keeping Nepal and Bhutan apart, so that its hegemony could not be challenged.⁵⁴

Joseph Hooker spent several months at Hodgson's home in Darjeeling between his botanizing expeditions approved the suitable climatic qualities of Darjeeling for Europeans. He made some interesting comments which are as follows:

When estimating in a sanatory point of view the value of any health-station ... I have seen prejudiced individuals rapidly recovering, in spite of themselves, and all the while complaining in unmeasured terms of the climate of Dorjiling, and abusing it as killing them. With respect to its suitability to the European constitution I feel satisfied, and that much saving of life, health, and money would be effected were European troops drafted thither on their arrival in Bengal, instead of being stationed in Calcutta, exposed to disease, and temptation to those vices which prove fatal to so many hundreds.⁵⁵

It is clear from the above mentioned points that, the construct of the healthy hill-station Darjeeling was under way from its outset, and this discourse denied or glossed over unsavoury British experience with the climate. Hooker's opinion on the healthiness of the climate of Darjeeling endured and received wide circulation in official and non-official histories of Darjeeling.⁵⁶

Military purpose and strategic functions formed a significant factor towards the development and growth of Darjeeling town. This region occupied a very important strategic location in the British Indian defense perimeter. Darjeeling as a location for the establishment of military installations, sanatoriums and health resorts had been essentially the decision of the imperial powers to create a socio-political space what they imagined to be identical with the European notion of nature. Captain G. A Lloyd and J. W. Grand, the commercial resident of Maldah on their way to settle a dispute between Sikkim and Nepal and stumbled upon it and were impressed with its potential as a sanatorium.⁵⁷ In 1829, the East India Company's Authority sent Capt. J.D. Herbert, Deputy Surveyor General to the site to explore possibilities for the establishment of a sanatorium for British troops.⁵⁸ They inspected an old and deserted Gurkha military station called 'Dorje-ling' for its suitability as a Company outpost. The British administrators realized that it was ideally located both for a Sanatorium and a military station. Their realisation and observations were finally brought to the notice of the Governor General, Lord Bentinck. Then, Lord William Bentinck decided to send Captain Herbert, the then Deputy Surveyor-General for further survey of that area. Bentinck promptly deputed Capt. Herbert to examine and map the tract of the land along with Grant with special reference to

its strategic and communication importance.⁵⁹ In addition to this, the civic services carried out in the area, development revolved around extension of agriculture, growth of plantations like tea, cinchona and cardamom and cultivation of oranges and potatoes.⁶⁰

Like other hill stations, Darjeeling was established by the British from the scratches to provide variety of functions, principally to serve British troops and administrative officials. Development of Darjeeling was primarily responsible for two purposes; establishment of sanatorium and installation of strategic military station. The hill stations assumed several important political and administrative functions after some of them were declared summer capitals of the various presidencies. Simla had already become the summer capital of British in 1864. Tibet was the important parameters of their policy towards the three kingdoms of Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan. Sikkim was of special interest to the British because of its geographical position. China, Nepal, India and Bhutan all touch its border. The country commands the historic Kalimpong-Lhasa trade route which is the shortest route from India to the heart of Tibet. Two main ranges of the Himalayas, viz. the Singalila range and the Chola-range, enclose Sikkim on the north of Darjeeling district and it is bounded on either side by Nepal and Bhutan.⁶¹ The result of searching hill station in the east for whites' European British officers from toiling in the heat of Kolkata was stopped after founding of Darjeeling. The two most important factors in the development of the district have been the choice of Darjeeling for a health resort and the subsequent planting of tea in the hills. Formerly, beyond a few Lepchas and Limbus with their little clearings in the forests, an occasional raid from Nepal, or a stray visitor from the table-lands of Tibet, the Darjeeling Hills were practically uninhabited.⁶²

Administration became an important function during summer after Darjeeling became the summer seat of the Bengal Government in the 1870s. The 'Eden Sanatorium and Hospital' was founded in 1882 to cater exclusively to Europeans and the Lowis Jubilee Sanitarium for Indians was set up within five years, in 1887.⁶³ The Jalapahar convalescent depot was built in 1848 sited on a narrow ridge above the Mall.⁶⁴ According to Metacalfé, "in these towns, with their ample numbers of English women and children, the colonial British could reaffirm their sense of themselves as a community at once fit to rule and bound together by common values."⁶⁵ The urbanization of Darjeeling under British rule was intrinsically linked with the colonial economic policy. Tea profit, timber extraction were the ways of bringing currency to the Darjeeling. Both, the profit of natural resources, external trade attracted them to take

some initiatives for the development of Darjeeling which was appropriately fit into their project.⁶⁶

British administrators encouraged the immigrant labours for the development of Darjeeling for the cultivation, tea plantations, construction of roads and buildings. The British rulers also encouraged the Nepali migrants for recruitment in the police service as well as in various construction works which were connected with the growth process of Darjeeling as a sanatorium and a tourist centre. During this period, its history was paradigmatic of maldevelopment caused by colonial policy of commercialisation and it was a common imperialist British impact on many parts of the world where they started plantation cultivation. Only after Indian Independence, the local specificities of the composite culture had a chance to assert them and interact with the national mainstream.⁶⁷

The development of the hills of Darjeeling is a result of the establishment of health resorts and military bases for subjugating and integrating those tracts within British Indian markets, and yet, consolidating their regional advantages as bridges for influx of a Nepali labour force and for the Indo-Tibetan trade as well as creation of a local system of agriculture meant to sustain the plantation economy. For the first five years Captain Lloyd, under the authority of EIC, had organised labour for building the road to Darjeeling. Dr. Alexander Campbell M.D was also a member of the Indian Medical Service in 1839. Before coming to Darjeeling, he was a British Resident in Nepal.⁶⁸ Campbell encouraged Nepali settlers to take up waste lands since the station's growing demand for foodstuffs was not being met by the Lepchas with their predilection for jhum.⁶⁹ He was able to establish a sound human backbone for the development of the hill sanatorium by promising to give the new settlers the grants of forest land.⁷⁰ Campbell was vested with wide-ranging fiscal, civil and judicial powers and oversaw its expansion.⁷¹

Darjeeling was also a centre of education for the Europeans. A number of schools were set up for the purpose.⁷² But these stations were to be found at a huge space from Calcutta where the focal point of the European people was more than everywhere else in India. So, to inspect for hill stations in the eastern India was solemnly undertaken. David Scott, Commissioner of Rangpur Division, in exploring the prospect of setting up a sanatorium in the Khasi and Garo hills, had come across Cherrapunji, a clearly handy site, until he exposed much to his disquiet, that the place was slashed by the heaviest rainfall. Scot finally came to the Shillong hills and encountered expansive alleys and healthy climate which daunted him so much that

he suggested setting up of a sanatorium and a European resolution. Though, before Scot would encourage the East India Company, he met his end in 1831 at Cherrapunji, his plan got the common endorsement of the Governor-General-in-Council. Shillong grew up as a station of the Empire with a European arrangement and a cantonment.⁷³ From the mid-nineteenth century, towns like Darjeeling, Shimla etc. were established as a requisite of colonial administration. As its expansion and the glut of seasonal visitors testified, Darjeeling retained its reputation as a sanatorium town where leisure, governance and a healthy lifestyle all appealed to the British and, eventually, to the Indians as well.

Darjeeling was established around the nucleus of a church, cutcherry (administrative office), bazaar and a few houses and in 1836 was a small market of a few mat roofed houses popularly known as Goondri Bazar.⁷⁴ By the end of 1845, 'The Darjeeling Guide' of that period mentioned the buildings like 'Rockvile' which was a building consisting of large houses in the station, Llyod Bank which stood on the plot since converted into 'The Pleasaunce', 'Oak Lodge', 'Vernon Cottage', Chevremont', 'Woodlands' in which Captain Bishop, who commanded the troops and also lived there, 'The Dell' or later became 'The Dale' in which Dr. Griffiths, the then civil surgeon resided, 'Colinton', the summer resident of the Maharaja of Cooch Behar in 1917, 'The Glen' and 'Salt Hill'. Construction of roads and railways between the plains and hills was started after this as a tool of colonisation. According to the 'Handbook of Darjeeling' published in 1863, there were seventy houses in the hill station which only the buildings worthy note are mentioned. The Darjeeling Municipality was constituted in July 1850 in accordance with the Act. Of 1850, the second Hill Station to have its own town administration, the first being Simla.⁷⁵

The most striking aspect of the history of Darjeeling is the issue of "migration" because; Darjeeling was sparsely populated when the British set their foot here. Darjeeling district offers the most remarkable example of growth of population stemming mainly from immigration from outside India. There was a tendency of migration between this region and less virgin lands to its westward, which began with the centralization of Rana rule in Nepal at the beginning of the century. The reason for the boom in population in this district evidently was due to the large labour migration from Nepal when the British opened the tea gardens. In 1839, Dr. Campbell came to Darjeeling as a Superintendent with wide civil, criminal and fiscal powers and he was instrumental in encouraging the Nepalese settlement and changing the demographic structure of the whole region. Campbell developed the town of Darjeeling by encouraging Nepali immigration. His first task on becoming Superintendent was to attend

to the construction of the basic administrative infrastructure. In the next ten years he made allotments of land to private individuals. The Army established a 'convalescent depot' for British troops at Jalapahar near Darjeeling. Around the nucleus of a church, bazaar, the administrative cutchery and a few houses the hill-station gradually came to be well known and often frequented by seasonal visitors.⁷⁶

The British ultimately wanted friendly relationship with Nepal which became a driving force behind the acquisition of Darjeeling. This friendly relationship between British India and Nepal progressively became a subservient one. This relationship also provided a major factor for the trust towards Darjeeling. After Jung Bahadur Rana (1846-1877), the Prime Minister of Nepal, replaced the Gorkha King by making him only a tutelary entity, the procedure of subservience to the English rulers was sent in motion. Jung Bahadur, who not only offered the British Government military assistance in the Anglo-Sikh war (1848-1849) but himself as the head of 9000 Nepali soldiers to help the English to suppress the Revolt of 1857 and rescued Lucknow from the rebellious hands.⁷⁷

The Company's administrators also wanted to use Darjeeling as a base for recruiting Nepali or Gorkha soldiers in the Indian Army. The Gorkhas as a soldier were considered as efficient, courageous and trustworthy body of men. Furthermore, the British rulers were attracted to Darjeeling which was an ideal place for tea plantation.⁷⁸ By 1845, the British Superintendent of Darjeeling Dr. Campbell reported that tea plantation had attracted 10,000 settlers from Nepal, Sikkim, and Bhutan, who came to work as labourers, porters, woodcutters, builders, and servants for the expanding British hill station. Each plantation provided housing and medical services for resident labourers and set aside land for cultivation and herding. As the plantation economy flourished, education was provided to children of labourers.⁷⁹

Dr. Campbell started the experimental growth of tea plants. The success of the experiment led in 1856 the establishment of large scale production industry in Kurseong and the Darjeeling Tea Company opened the Aluabari Tea Garden and another by Darjeeling Land Mortgage Bank. It was Dr. Campbell that Darjeeling mainly owes its past progress and present position. Writings of Colonial period firmly expressed the view that, the colonial administrators conform to the world-view man and nature, and the utilization of resources for production and exchange. It was also pointed out that, 'it may safely have asserted that the European tea-planters has done more or develop the natural resources of this beautiful country within a short span of years, than could be accomplished in centuries without his aid.'⁸⁰ In an article

titled, 'On the colonization of the Himalayas by Europeans', Hodgson argued that 'the encouragement of colonisation.....is one of the highest and most important duties of the Government.'⁸¹

The moving away from occupations like agriculture to other jobs especially in the tea gardens also carries in the competitive edge between diverse groups. It will be later seen in the study that in the Darjeeling Hills, which is a multicultural and multilingual area, the spread of education and better competition for the similar jobs has made the numerous ethnic groups make ethnicity, the main vehicle of their ambitions. "Rapid social change causes anomie and that espousing the ethnic cause represents search for identity."⁸²In 1859 Dr. Brougham started the Dhuturia Garden and between 1860 and 1864 Darjeeling Tea Company established four gardens at Ging, Ambutia, Takdah and Phubsering and Lebong Tea Company established tea gardens at Takuvar and Badamtam. There was a rapid increase of tea industry in Darjeeling from 1866-1885 as given in the table below-

Table-2.1

The Increase of Tea Gardens in Darjeeling Hills

Year	Number of Gardens	Area under cultivation (acres)	Outturn of (in pounds)
1866	39	10,000	4,33,000
1870	56	11,000	1,700,000
1874	113	18,888	3,928,000
1885	175	38,499	9,090,298
1895	186	43,692	11,714,551
1905	148	50,618	12,447,471

Sources: Sir Percival Griffiths: History of the Indian Tea Industry, 1967, p 88 and L.S.S.S O'Malley: Darjeeling District Gazetteer, 1907, p 74.

The above table (Table –I) shows that there was a rapid growth of tea industry by the second half of the nineteenth and twentieth Century. The area of cultivation had increased and so did the number of tea gardens which in turn led to increases production. The production and area under cultivation particularly increases and in fact was more than the double during 1874-1885. With the increase in tea gardens the demand for labours grew. Though the English

planters initially employed labours from other parts of Bengal but it involved high price and difficulty for them to adjust to the hill environment and climate.⁸³When the first tea plantation was established in 1856, there were 39 tea gardens within one year. The labour force was about 10,000 in 1870 that increased to 44,279 in 1921 and to 61,450 in 1941. According to the Census of 1901, tea garden labourers and their dependents constituted 2/3rd of the total population in the District. In 1931, they formed 42.25%. In the three sub-divisions, they formed 31.52% of the total population. Cinchona plantations also developed in the Nilgiri and the Darjeeling and Sikkim areas as a remedy of malaria. It was successfully cultivated in Ootacamund and Darjeeling.

There are several reasons like occupational, diversification, legislative steps, British policy etc. for development of Darjeeling under the Raj. The decision of the Company to develop Darjeeling as a hill resort gave an opportunity to neighbouring people to immigrate and take part in the development. When in 1869 a rough census was taken of the inhabitants in this region, it was found that they aggregate over 22,000 persons. In 1872, the first Census of India was published and the total population of Darjeeling appeared to have steadily increased to 94, 712. In 1876 W.W. Hunter wrote in his 'Statistical Account of Bengal' (Volume X); "The Nepalis, who form 34 percent of the population of the district, are all immigrants from the state of Nepal. They are a pushing, thriving race..." The Nepalis, though 'pushing' and 'thriving', were yet to be the majority ethnic group in the population of Darjeeling district. However, the migration from Nepal went on unabated and by the time of the second Census of India in 1881, the Nepalis formed the absolute majority not only in the three hill sub-divisions but also in the whole district of Darjeeling. The first regular census of the district was carried in 1871-72, and the Bengal Census Report that defines that the people live in their distinct enclosures near their patches of cleared cultivation, but often at a substantial distance from each other and as, owing to the difficult nature of the country, much time and labour is expended in passing from one enclosure to another...'⁸⁴

Unlike Darjeeling, the society and economy of Kalimpong was far more in stable position which had an urban background. If we see the sub-divisions of Darjeeling District, Kalimpong has the highest percentage of the total population involved in agriculture. The labour force was about 10,000 in 1870 that increased to 44,279 in 1921 and to 61,450 in 1941. The population in the tea garden according to 1941 census was 146,508. Since Darjeeling's integration in modern India, a composite culture has grown up best on the social needs of plantation and cash crop agriculture and of associated trade, commerce and

communications network. Lepchas and Bhutias were the original inhabitants of this region. The present Kalimpong sub-division was composed mostly of forest and hilltop inhabited by the aborigines later due to the immigration of agriculturists there was speedy growth in the population. The British also introduced a 'progressive' land tenure system, which was not adopted in other parts of India. There were no landlords, no *zamindari* no intermediaries between the government and the *ryots*. Barring reserved forest and some tea plantation, the rest of the forest was cleared and the land was taken under cultivation by new settlers. This tract extends over 401 square miles was annexed from Bhutan in 1865, and was then estimated to have a population of 3,536, which in 1881 was increased to 12,683.⁸⁵ According to census report of 1872 Census the population was just 94,712, before 1835 and 1850 it was respectively 100 and 10,000. This number increased in 1881 to 12,683 and to 26,631 in 1891 or by 1100 per cent in the decade. ²⁰On 9th November 1947, a tripartite agreement between Nepal, India and Britain was reached about the future of the so-called Gorkha regiments. The important provision of the treaty was the Gurkha soldier must be recruited as a Nepali citizen, must serve as a Nepali citizen, and must be resettled as Nepali citizen.⁸⁶The Anglo-Nepalese Friendship Treaty of 1850, the Tripartite Delhi Arrangement of 1951 and the revised Indo-Nepal Agreement of 1956 were responsible for the emigration of this region. The 1950 Treaty of Peace and Friendship gave residents of both India and Nepal.

Administrative set up of the District

After the formation of Darjeeling district 1867, the British Government considered it a non-regulated district. The difference between regulated and non-regulated district lay in the fact that in the case of the former all laws and regulations relating to land and land revenue were enforced while in the case of the latter, all such powers were in the hands of the executive. Subsequently, the terms 'excluded' and 'schedule' area was also applied to the Darjeeling district.⁸⁷The hill areas in Darjeeling have not experienced any industrial activity; Agriculture is carried on in a scattered manner and is not productive enough to generate a surplus. Both agriculture and tea plantations greatly increased the population of the area, also improving the prospects of trade and commerce. The tea industry which was the engine of growth in the British period slowed down after Independence. The commercial activities in the hill also attracted a large number of plainsmen like the *Biharis* and *Marwaris*. Bengalis, with their legendary intelligence and superior culture soon occupied upper echelons of administration under British Raj. The plainsmen although settled in the hills hardly felt any necessity to mix up culturally with the hill folk. Culturally they were more tied up with plains. Even during

late nineteenth and early twentieth century it was found that they were the regular subscribers of newspapers and magazines published from Calcutta like Englishman, The Statesman, The Hindu Patriot, *Sanjivani*, *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, *Bangabasi* etc.⁸⁸

The ethnic composition of the Darjeeling Hills consists of the indigenous Lepchas, Bhutias, the migrants Nepalis, Tibetan refugees, the Madhesias or the plainsmen including the Biharis, Marwaris and Bengalis etc. An analysis of the spatial development of Darjeeling indicates the significance of religion expressed in the cultural landscape, whether Buddhist or Christian. The Hindu and Muslim shrines were created about ten years later. Numerous Buddhist monasteries were constructed between 1875 and 1915. The 1961 census stated that the number of immigrants per 100 persons between 1931 and 1961 showed an average of around 35 percent in the hill area of Darjeeling and by the middle of the 1980s, more than 90 percent of the population of the hill district claimed to be of Nepali origin i.e, Gurung, Magar, Tamang, Sunwar, Limbu, Rai. The emigrants from Nepal brought Nepali language to Darjeeling. With the conquest of Prithvinarayan Shah, the Nepali language, as the link of communication, spread eastward into the Khambuan and Limbuan territories. Later on, in the second half of the nineteenth century from the Kirat region it came to the Darjeeling district.⁸⁹ Once the tea industry developed in the second half of the 19th Century, this led to the growth of ancillary economic activities in Darjeeling and created a demand for more immigrants, many of whom now took to agriculture. Presently the census data indicate that one-third of the total working population of Darjeeling district are engaged in activities connected with plantations, orchards, forestry and livestock, that one-third are occupied in agricultural activities, and that another 8 per cent are involved as agricultural labourers. The rest of the working population is engaged in manufacturing, construction, mining, trading and various services activities. Another factor which encouraged migration from Nepal to Darjeeling was the British policy to enlist the Nepalis for the Gorkha Battalions in the Indian Army through the recruitment centre in Darjeeling during the post-Sepoy Revolt period. The basic reason, as indicated earlier, was the British recognition of the Gorkha loyalty which was amply proved during the Sepoy Revolt of 1857. In 1863 the Sappers and Miners stationed as Darjeeling were composed almost entirely of the migrant Nepalis. As there was initial reluctance on the part of the Nepali rulers at Kathmandu to allow enlistment for the British Indian Army within Nepal, the migration of the Nepali tended to increase for the attraction of military recruitment through the Army centres in Darjeeling.⁹⁰ India after Independence

endeavoured on the path of nation building process with popular claims such as 'unity in diversity'.

The District was first included in the Rajshahi Division. In October 1905, it was made a part of the Bhagalpur division of Bihar because the language and script of the majority of the people in this area was similar to that of Bihar rather than Bengal. In March 1912, it was again transferred to the Rajshahi Division. It became a Non-Regulatory District soon after that from 1870 and the Acts and Regulations applicable elsewhere would not apply to the district unless specifically extended. From 1874, it became a Scheduled area. Under the GOI Act 1919, it became a backward tract. From 1935 to the end of the British rule 1947, Darjeeling remained a 'partially excluded area' for which the Governor was to consult the Council of Ministers. From 1947, it became a general district of Bengal.⁹¹

During the last half of the 19th century, Bengalis, principally the landed aristocrats and successful professionals like doctors, barristers, business men, and bureaucrats had made their stake felt in Darjeeling. The Maharajas of Coochbehar, Burdwan possessed their respective summer palaces in Darjeeling.⁹² The Maharaja of Burdwan contributed Rs.20000 for the extension of the hill cart road to Kurseong and offered further assistance.⁹³ One of the earliest public buildings for an exclusive coterie was the Darjeeling (Planter's) Club, which was built in 1868. Extracts from the old proceedings of the Darjeeling Municipality published in 1884 reveal that the site for the Police Beat House was selected near the Chaurasta in 1875. There were number of consultative committees formed for the various departments of administration, such as Appeal, Legal, Audit and Finance, Assessment, Executive and Works, Sanitary and Conservancy, Water Supply and Electric Light Committees. The town established other institutions related to the flora and fauna of the Himalayan hills. The first Botanic Garden was established during Sir Ashley Eden's tenure as Lieut.⁹⁴

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