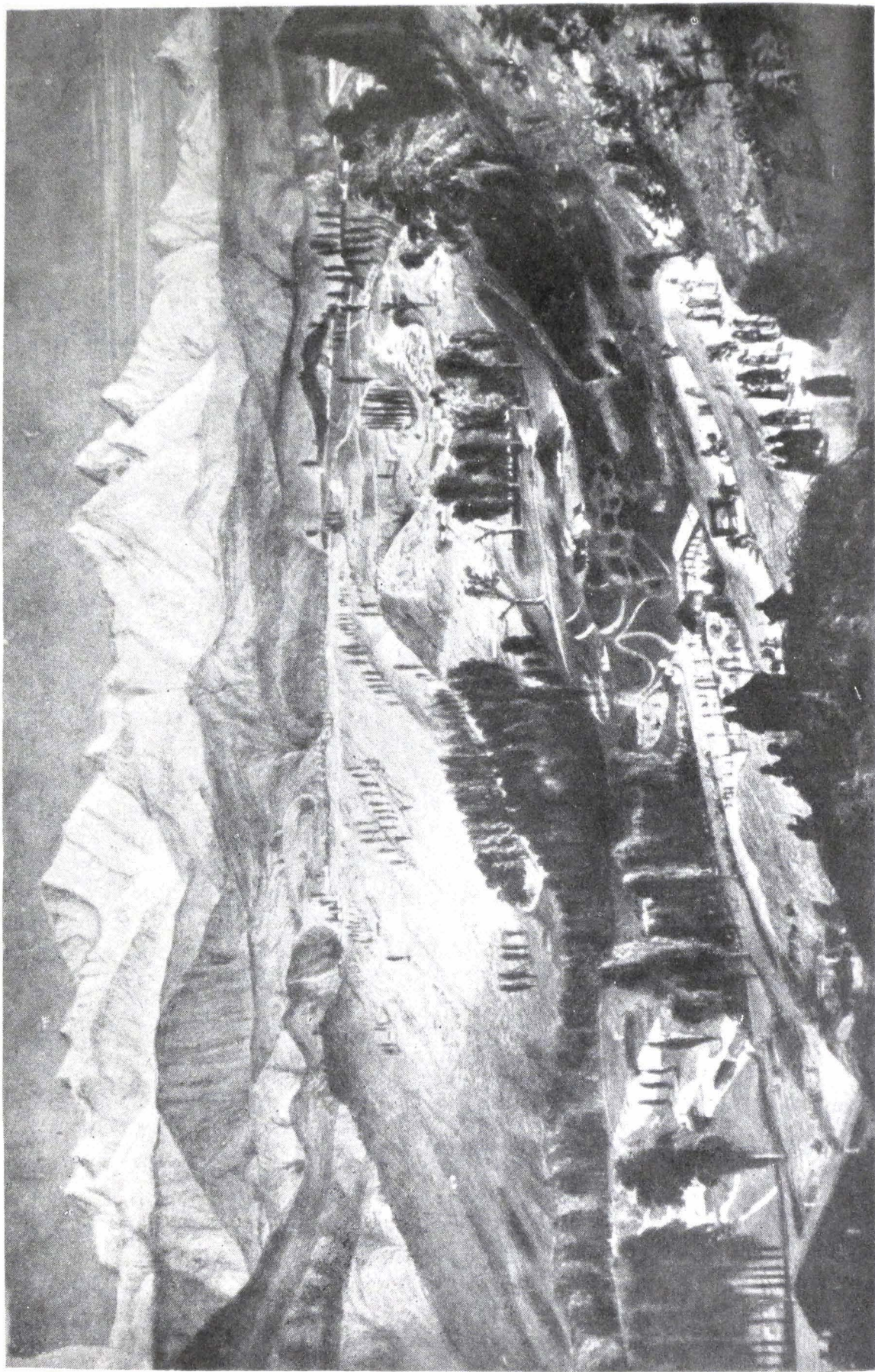


The Road of Destiny

Darjeeling Letters 1839

Fred Pinn





Darjeeling, 1852

The Road of Destiny
Darjeeling Letters 1839

FRED PINN

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Frontispiece: Darjeeling, 1852

Lithograph from a drawing by Captain W.S. Sherwill. India Office Library and Records, London.

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I am also indebted to P. R. Rao's eminently readable work, *India and Sikkim 1814-1970*, (New Delhi, 1972) whose full references and bibliography provided a most useful starting point for my research.

But all the combined effort would have come to nothing without the sympathetic and active support of Sri Bhaskar Ghose, Commissioner, Jalpaiguri Division, West Bengal, to whom all friends of Darjeeling owe a debt of gratitude for making the publication of this source-book of the town's earliest history possible.

Introduction

By 1829 most of the now known hill stations of India had been established. There was Simla for Delhi and the Government of India with extensions at Landour, Mussoorie and Almora; Bombay had Mahabaleswar and Poona, and Madras developed Ootacamund in the Nilgiri Hills. Only the chief city of British India had nowhere to go during the hot weather and had to sweat it out in Calcutta.

Originally these stations were not meant to be what they are now: holiday resorts and tourist attractions. They were called sanatoria, and served as convalescent homes for the employees of the East India Company of the lower income groups in urgent need of a change of climate. Their wealthier colleagues usually withdrew alone or with their families to South Africa for the restoration of their healths or even returned to England; others went on a long trip to Australia as a sea voyage was the traditionally prescribed cure for almost every disease attributed to a prolonged residence in India. The most unfortunate were the members of the mercantile class who could not hope for a Government doctor's certificate qualifying them for at least half pay whilst on sick leave.

The success of the hill stations of western India had induced the Government to do something for the citizens of Calcutta and the Bengal Presidency. An experimental station for ailing troops was opened at Cherrapunji in Assam, but it proved to be a wash-out — literally — as it turned out to be one of the wettest places in the world. For lack of something better, however, they clung to it, and many preferred the rain and damp of Cherra to the heat and humidity of Calcutta as the lesser of two evils.

But the Government continued to look for an alternative place, and asked G. W. A. Lloyd to follow up the recommendation of J. W. Grant, the Commercial Resident at Malda, an enthusiastic explorer of the Himalayan foothills. The place Lloyd and Grant inspected in 1829 was an old and deserted Gurkha military station — *Dorje-ling*, or *Darjeeling*. Though Lloyd later claimed to have been the only European to see Darjeeling, it must be assumed that J. W. Grant was the originator of the idea of Darjeeling's suitability as a

sanatorium, since Lord William Bentinck has put it on record that to the extreme earnestness of the latter (Grant) in commending Darjeeling, that place would be mainly indebted for any importance into which it might hereafter rise.¹ The reports were very favourable, and a second survey was made early in 1830 by the Deputy Surveyor-General, Capt. Herbert, once again in the company of Grant. His account was equally enthusiastic and Col. Lloyd was ordered to start discreet negotiations with the Rajah of Sikkim for acquiring the hill site.

In 1834, Col. Lloyd was called on to sort out some boundary dispute between Sikkim and Nepal. It was on this occasion, that he raised the subject, offering either payment in money or land in exchange. The Rajah made his own demands: the release of one of his revenue officers who had absconded with a large sum of money, and the restoration of a territory which had once belonged to Sikkim. For legal reasons the Government could not oblige the Rajah, and Lloyd was instructed to cease negotiations. The Rajah, however, had already handed over the deed of grant in February 1835, several months before the Government decided to give up the Darjeeling plan. The Colonel informed the Rajah of this decision, but the Rajah suggested that Darjeeling be given as a free gift.

At this point in the exchange of correspondence the situation becomes very confused. The Rajah replied that he could not possibly take back the deed of grant—a monstrous idea for any oriental to ask for the return of a gift. Equally oriental was his expectation of a reciprocal gift. Col. Lloyd, whose lack of sensitivity in human relations was one of his least attractive traits, at last forwarded the deed to Calcutta with the information that the grant was an unconditional gift. He did not point out that one gift deserved an equally precious gift in return—and the damage was done. The Rajah was not going to forgive such an insult. Relations with the British Government deteriorated. In fairness to the Supreme Council in Calcutta, it must be stressed that they had been misled by Col. Lloyd in whom they had absolute trust and who as their agent was their sole informant and adviser on Sikkim affairs. Moreover, neither side had foreseen the complications which might arise. The Rajah discovered to his surprise some unexpected consequences: he had imagined a few bungalows would be built at Darjeeling but he found a sovereign state within his state.

Although the British Government was now legally in possession of the Darjeeling Tract, it moved cautiously before committing itself to enormous expenditure. Lest the climate should turn out to be as unsuitable as at Cherra, Col. Lloyd and Dr. Chapman, surgeon to

¹ Bayley, *Dorje-Ling*, 1838 p. iii

the Governor-General's bodyguard, were ordered to spend nine months as 'guinea pigs' at Darjeeling. Their task was to keep detailed journals and itineraries and daily records of the weather and anything else of interest. They moved up to Darjeeling in November 1836 and wrote their final report in June 1837, again recommending Darjeeling's 'suitabilities'. At the end of the year the Government finally decided to go ahead with the settlement. An official report *Dorje-Ling* was published in March 1838 to stimulate and gauge public interest and support the Government's efforts. It led to the formation of the *Dorjeling Association* of Calcutta citizens wishing to settle or intending to 'rusticate' in the hills. The chairman of the Association was J. W. Grant.

In June 1838 an engineer, Lt. Gilmore, was posted at Darjeeling with orders to recruit a corps of sappers and miners partly for engineering work and partly as a defence force for the station. Poor Gilmore was constantly ill, either because his constitution could not stand the climate or his nervous system was wrecked by the constant disappearance of his work force, or both. Whatever the reason, the road and engineering works at Darjeeling progressed at such a slow pace that at the beginning of 1839 a semi-official inspection and subsequent report caused an outburst of public indignation and the Government was forced to intervene.

1839 was the most important year in the history of Darjeeling—the year the road which connected the hill station with the plains—its life line—was built. Right from the start it had been pointed out by the planners: No Road—No Darjeeling, and 1839 was the critical year when the decision was finally taken to go ahead with the plans. Over the year we see the beginnings of an embryonic settlement with a few stony paths, a few wattle and daub huts, and hundreds of people milling about like ants, reducing the jungle to building plots. We begin to distinguish the directors of all this activity, hitherto just names connected with the founding of Darjeeling, now taking on flesh and blood—Lloyd, Campbell, Wilson, Napier—and becoming real people possessed of all the common human qualities, some useful, some pleasing, some not so 'nice', attractive or unattractive, even pitiable, but certainly alive.

In order to achieve this magic feat of resurrecting life at it was in Darjeeling I have deliberately avoided the space-saving device of 'summarizing' or 'abstracting' all letters. Instead, I have quoted from them as fully as possible to allow the characters in the drama of *The Road* to speak for themselves and those who can listen will hear them speak; and not only hear, but also taste and smell, for the letters have a flavour and fragrance of their own which have been preserved over almost fifteen decades.

These letters describing the slow and laborious beginnings of

Darjeeling are taken from two distinctly different, and in a way, complementary sources: the highly confidential consultations of the Supreme Council of India at Calcutta, very much confined to the Council Chamber at Government House, and the public correspondence sent to the main newspapers of the period. All the consultations and the resulting communications were recorded in the 'Letter Books'. Much of the material is so personal and confidential that it has never seen the light of day since it was first written down. The only stumbling block in the transcription of the letters were the varying standards of handwriting and intelligence of the 'writers'. Some copied without giving the slightest thought to the actual text and produced such entertaining blunders as execution officer instead of executive officer, property instead of propriety, regret instead of request, attack for attach and nullified instead of nullified — enough to fill a little book.

The 'Letters to the Editor' on the other hand are anything but confidential and at times reach the level of libel. Nevertheless, at this distance in time, having lost the potency of their sting and poison, they make 'luscious' reading—and should neither be summarized nor abbreviated.

There is yet another reason for presenting the full text: the letters, though concerned with Darjeeling, are also a mine of information on social, economic and ethnographic conditions of that period: salaries and wages, the cost of food, the eating habits of Indians and Europeans, roads and transport, relationships and attitudes—all are evident and should provide food for the minds of many kinds, especially the statisticians!

All authors have axes to grind even if they are as innocent as the presentation of facts. I confess to several such 'axes'. The first one is the demolition of a certain Indian diffidence in claiming Darjeeling as their own. No doubt this is the fault of the textbooks which describe the hill station as 'an expression of the Britishness of the Empire' and a symptom of absolute power.² One thing is certain: no such pretentious notions had stirred the founders of Darjeeling. The only thoughts in their minds were to get away from the heat of the plains and to be cool as quickly and as cheaply as possible. But the real claim of the heirs to the Station lies in the fact that it was actually built entirely by Indians; without Indian labour there would have been no road, and without the road no Darjeeling; although the planning and money were British, the sweat and labour were Indian, and the terrible suffering and hardship to which the coolies, sappers and miners were exposed are described in great detail by the more sensitive British observers themselves.

² Morris, James *Heaven's Command* pp. 269-70

Having tried to establish the rights and claims to the ownership of Darjeeling, it is only fair to balance the scales in favour of the British Government in India with respect to the often exaggerated grudge Indian writers hold against the administration. There can be no doubt that many Europeans 'misbehaved' in India, but it must also be admitted that most of the high-placed administrators were well-intentioned, sympathetic and generous where their Indian subjects were concerned. Whenever an application be it for wages, a hospital, a doctor, shelter, food, vaccination and a vaccinator was made on behalf of the coolies, it was granted without a murmur of protest and with immediate instructions to the relevant Board or Department. When Col. Lloyd complained of the trouble he experienced in procuring coolies, he received this scathing reply: 'His Honour-in-Council is compelled to think that your want of method and arrangements in the particular of supplies and shelter will have been a main cause of this very difficulty, for of course, without assurance of food, clothing and shelter adapted to the climate no one would voluntarily take employment under you.'³ The Government was clearly on the side of the underdog.

The unpleasantness usually began farther down the administrative ladder, when mediocre officials had to cope with more than mediocre situations. It must be added, however, that the fault lay not always with the officials; for instance, when the workmen accepted their advance pay and then vanished during the following night, the officer-in-charge will be excused for being extremely angry; and if the same thing happened several times as it did, it would only be natural if such dishonest behaviour affected his opinions of the 'natives'.

The final excuse — if one is needed — for publishing the full text of the letters is the hope that future historians will find it helpful to be able to take home a source book, instead of having to spend years at the archives in Delhi or London — the only repositories of the letter-books — and laboriously copy out by hand these documents, having first deciphered them, of course....

³ Consultations, Fort William, 3 April 1839

Political Background: The First Afghan War

Another year of the history of British India has closed; and though it has afforded few subjects of striking interest, it has not been wanting the germ of events which may be expected to ripen rapidly into importance. The progress of a great change in the external policy of the Empire is plainly visible, which must issue either in a very large expansion of our influence in Asia, or in such a contraction of it, as will lead to its gradual extinction. Cabul, the key of India, was in the hands of those who were openly leagued with our Persian foes; and the commotion which had thus been raised from the Caspian Sea to the Indus began to be felt in our own dominions in Hindoostan, and an impression of the insecurity of the British Empire in the East was beginning to gain ground... But it has been felt that... the occupation of the passes into the mountains of Cabul by a friendly power, while it might extinguish the desire to invade our provinces, would in the event of hostilities, enable us at all events to meet our foes upon high vantage ground. Shah Soojah is therefore to be restored to Cabul by a force nominally his own, but for all military purposes, British.¹

In its first editorial of 1839, *The Friend of India* is deeply concerned with Lord Auckland's disastrous foreign policy in Afghanistan. The war machine has been set in motion and the Army of the Indus is already on its way north up the Indus Valley. On the first day of the New Year reports hint at incompetence and mismanagement which exactly two years later will be fully revealed in the annihilation of the whole army.

Thousands of miles away, Calcutta seems little disturbed by the snippets of news, and the long columns of military notifications in small print are really only meaningful to the officers who suddenly find themselves posted to the Commander-in-Chief's Camp. For the rest of the 'Ditchers' (as the people of Calcutta like to refer to themselves in memory of the old Maratha ditch around the city) it seems to be business as usual; but here too germs are rapidly

¹ *The Friend of India*, 3 January 1839, p. 1

ripening into events which have their roots in the same mountains, this time in the eastern Himalayas.

The events 'ripening' on the northern frontier are considerably less bloody than those in the northwest, though by no means without fatal casualties. They also affect a much smaller number of people; to be precise, they primarily concern the wealthier section of the Calcutta public. These events will evolve into what might be called 'the drama of the Darjeeling road'—a drama which made and marred several careers, and at one point threatened the very existence of Darjeeling. It could also be classed a minor tragedy, containing, as it did, many of the ingredients which make for human unhappiness: greed, envy, arrogance, spite, malice, ruthlessness and plain thoughtlessness, insensitivity and ingratitude. Other failings will emerge as things begin to happen. It need not detract from the dramatic effects of the story that the happy ending is known, for the road to Darjeeling exists and so does Darjeeling; but at what cost!

Dorjeling Family Hotel

One of the actors in the drama, David Wilson, opens 1839 with one of his intermittent fanfares heralding the near completion of the first and only hotel at Darjeeling and warning prospective visitors to hurry up with their bookings if they want to be sure of accommodation.

Just in case his readers should not immediately be aware of the identity of the advertiser, *The Englishman* adds a brief reminder that the welfare of their stomachs will be in trustworthy hands:

We the other day paid our wonted annual visit to that delicious boutique of sweets, Daintie Davie's in the Cossitollah. To those who cherish the remembrance of, perhaps, the happiest period of our life, when a plum cake was just about the very acme of bliss and ambition, we strongly recommend a séjour at this depot of delicacies.¹

David Wilson was the Fortnum & Mason of Calcutta. Apart from being a 'Confectioner and Biscuit Baker', he was also one of the main importers of all the edible luxuries which ensured a gracious living and helped those who could afford them, to bear their 'exile' in India with dignity. One of his longer advertisements in *The Englishman*, after the arrival of a new consignment, and perhaps in anticipation of Christmas preparations, gives a good idea of what a guest at Government House might expect to see on His Lordship's dinner table; and the drinks he was likely to be served before, during and after the meal.²

It nowhere becomes clear whether the reference to 'Daintie Davie' is a correct description of Mr. Wilson's physical appearance, or whether it was just a popular euphemism, for in some of his letters he gives the impression of being a rather bulky and extremely tough individual whom even a tree can only knock down but not out.

In 1841 he formed the nucleus of the Great Eastern Hotel under the name of The Auckland Hotel and the Hall of All Nations. The

¹ *The Englishman*, 1 January 1839

² *Ibid.*, 11 December 1838

DORJELING FAMILY HOTEL.—As the Hotel is rapidly progressing towards its completion, and the greater part of the accommodations being already engaged, we beg to announce to the Gentry of Calcutta and throughout India; who are desirous of affording themselves the benefit of the new Sanatorium, during the approaching hot weather, that we have undertaken the management of the Hotel, which we hope to be able to open, in the first week of April next, and will now be glad to receive applications for the remaining part of the accommodations from those parties, who intend proceeding there.

The Hotel will be conducted upon the same principle as those of the fashionable watering places in Europe, and our charges will be for Board at the Table d' Hôte and Lodging, 150 Ru per month each person, (Wines &c. &c. excepted). We were in hopes, that we would have been able to have fixed a lower rate, but we find, under so many disadvantages at first, we cannot in justice to ourselves, and our patrons, do so. They will have every attention, paid to their comfort, not only at the Hotel, but on their way up; every Bungalow on the road from Teetia, will be provided with servants to attend to the wants of travellers.

We shall be glad to assist parties, proceeding up, to make their journey easy, and will undertake the forwarding of their luggage. A further advertisement giving full particulars will appear in due time. (1451)

December 17, 1838.

D. WILSON AND CO.

Advertisement in the *The Englishman*, 11 January 1839

name was given, of course, in honour of the present Governor-General. But to the coolies and gharrie-wallahs this somewhat flamboyant title soon became simply Wilson's Hotel.

The Auckland has the distinction of having been described by the great war correspondent William Howard Russel of *The Times* as a large house in which there had been made 'an attempt to combine a tailor's, a milliner's and dressmaker's, a haberdasher's, a confectioner's, a hardwareman's, a woollen merchant's, a provision dealer's, a grocer's, a coffee house keeper's establishment, with an hotel, and with a variety of other trades and callings. I should say from my own experience, the hotel suffers in the amalgamation; but it is a great advantage to have at your feet all you want, although, I must confess, I could not manage to get a chop one morning for breakfast below stairs. Mr. D. Wilson, who created this establishment by his energy, ability and industry, has made a large fortune; and judging from the zeal with which he advertises all over India, is bent on making it larger.'³ With this description in mind, it is easy to

³ Edwardes, Michael, *Road to Exile*, p. 49

understand why some members of the public quite objectively did not think 'Daintie Davie' fit to take over the management of the Dorjeling Hotel, and why others quite subjectively were distinctly hostile to him.

The *Dorjeling Family Hotel* reminder appears for several days

quick despatch,
the fast-sailing Ship *Strabane*,
1000 tons, burthen 600 Tons.—For
Passage, having superior accom-

modations.
Apply to Messrs. Mackillop, Stewart and Co.,
at their office.
1838.

Touching at the Cape,
on the 22d January,
the Ship *Earl of Hardwicke*, burthen
412 Tonnage, R. N. Commander,
John Bazar, by Steam, on the 22d
Freight only, apply to
Bruce, Shand and Co.
at their Office.
and several excellent Cabins dis-

Calling at the Cape,
on the 25th January,
the class river-built Ship *Catherine*,
100 Tons, R. N. Commander,
John Bazar, by Steam, on the 25th
Freight only, apply to
Bruce, Shand and Co.
at their Office.

For London,
the A. I. Brig *Esperanza*, J. Mackle,
Commander, will meet with quick despatch.—For
Apply to
Ferguson, Brothers and Co.

For Bristol,
the first week in January,
the known Passenger Ship *St George*,
100 Tons, R. N. Commander,
John Bazar, by Steam, on the 1st
Freight only, apply to
Ferguson, Brothers and Co.
apply to J. H. Stocqueler and Co.

For Liverpool,
on the 25th instant,
the *Louisa Menro*, Capt. N. Lowry,
by Steam, on the 25th
Freight only, apply to
Lynch, Matheson and Co.

For the Clyde,
the Barque *James Ewing*, 270 Tons,
in Hamilton, will meet with early
For light Freight or Passage, apply
Lynch, Matheson and Co.

For Liverpool,
quick despatch,
the *Frances Ann*, 300 Tons, Captain
John Bazar, by Steam, on the 1st
Freight only, apply to
Lynch, Matheson and Co.

For Liverpool,
in all this month,
the Barque *Drummore*, W. A. Commander,
will meet with the exception of a few
Indigo or Silk, for which, or Pas-
sage, apply to
Boyd and Co.

For Bordeaux,
on the 20th December,

D. Wilson and Co.

Biscuit Bakers and Confectioners,

By appointment to the Right Hon'ble the Governor
General of India, and the Hon'ble the Miss Edens,
Respectfully inform their friends and the public, that
every article consisting of Biscuits, Sweetmeats and
Confectionary, with Ices, &c. &c. of their own manu-
facture, may be had at a moment's notice, together
with any of the following imported articles. Just re-
ceived per Ships *Mulcolm, Larkins, Isabella and Ly-*
sander, a capital assortment, and all warranted of the
very first chop quality; Peppermint, Rose, Ginger,
Lemon, Lavender and assorted medicated Lozenges,
plain Peppermint and Regent Pipe; Caraway, Al-
mond and other Comfits; Burnt Almonds, Cola Foot
Rock, Bath Pipe, refined Liquorice, and Jujubes in
cansisters at 3 rupees each, a very fresh and uncom-
monly fine article, particularly recommended for the re-
lief of coughs and colics; Robinson's patent prepared
Barley and Groats, from which Invalids may be assisted
to a nourishing basin of gruel, or a jug of cooling Bar-
ley Water, in a few minutes; the Grits also make nu-
tritious food for Infants, Puddings, &c., and the direc-
tions are so simple that a child may use them.

A fresh batch of Candied Orange and Lemon Peel,
Chips and Rings, for Desert and Puddings, in excel-
lent order, also Bloom Raisins in bunches, Bacioloni
Nuts, and very fresh and sweet Jordan Almonds for
the Table, Zante Currants, bitter and Valentin Almonds
for Pudding, Cakes, &c., Pimento, Caraway Seeds
and Isinglass in cansisters of 1-lb. each, Maccaroni and
Vermicelli.

A few dozens of dried Herbs for Soups, Savoury
Dishes, &c. Normandy Pippins for Tarts, in cases of 10-
lbs. each, Bridge's Essence of Spruce for Spruce Beer, with
directions for use, 2 rupees per jar, and a few cases of
Apricot Marmalade, a very superior article and in con-
venient sized jars, at 2 rupees each.

200 dozens of Hermetically sealed Oysters in pints 1,
and Lobsters and Salmon, in 1 and 2-lb. cansisters. Car-
rots, Soups, Mustard, Vinegar, Pickles, Sauces, &c. &c.

A large invoice of Hoffmann's Jams and Jellies per
Lysander, in jars of sizes, from 1 to 4-lb. each, con-
venient for large or small parties, also small supplies
from other makers, and by the same arrival a large
batch of Powell's assorted Tart Fruits, in first rate or-
der, and a small supply of Hesketh, Davis and Co.'s of
an equal good quality.

Fine French Fruits, in Syrup, for Tarts, of flavoring
Ices, Brandied, Candied, or Preserved for Desert; real
Amsterdam Curacao and Martinique Noyeau, Creme de
Noyeau, and a large assortment of Liquors, Sweet
Wines, Syrups, &c. &c.

BEER, WINES AND SPIRITS.

Bass' Ripe Beer, per dozen,	6 0
Ditto ditto, in pint	3 6
Sparkling Champaign, per dozen,	30 0
Burgundy, ditto,	35 0
Colborn and Campbell's Sherry, ditto,	24 0
Leith Sherry, ditto,	18 0
Francis Lynes, ditto,	14 0
Hell's, ditto,	12 0
Page's Port, ditto,	20 0
Francis Lynes, ditto,	14 0
Malmsey Madeira, ditto,	14 0
Grand La Rose Claret, ditto,	16 0
Marsand Taya c, ditto,	18 0
Medoc, ditto,	12 0
Hollands Gin, per case,	14 0
Cogniac Brandy, 1785, per dozen,	12 0
Scotch Whisky, ditto,	14 0
Confectionary Establishment, 29, Cross Street.	

Notice.—Mrs. Benjamin's well-known and superior
Tobacco, carefully prepared under experienced Su-

perintendants of their late
exertion endeavour to mer-
Ballin and Co. have in
and Paris, a very choice
Quadrilles, arranged from
the Operas; also a variety
celebrated Waltzes, which
to them by their Agents,
the best professional aid i
selves to perform not onl
and accompaniments sh
should be required; and
ferring to the late Coun
as to many of the gen
them, as to the success
their humble endeavours.

Terms may be know
of the Society, No. 22, C

C. Stone and Co
trouge of the Govern
Honorable Miss Edens,
and the Public in genera
supply Quadrille Bands.

C. Stone and Co. beg
trouge which Mr. Ston
nine years. C. Stone an
having the business on a
be enabled to give every
safely warrant their Ban
Calcutta.

Mr. C. Stone further
the Public in general th
at the Government Ho
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For Terms, please t
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Mrs. Humphrey
Establishment,

running and is renewed on every suitable occasion such as 'A letter from a Correspondent'. The saga of the construction and fitting out of this hotel could make a little book by itself, for it was much affected by the constantly critical supply of labour as all other work at and for Darjeeling. The vicissitudes of the hotel clearly reflect the progress at Darjeeling—or the lack of it—and the slow advance of the road. For a while it becomes almost symptomatic of the fate of the whole hill station.

The advertisement is reinforced by a news-flash from the Government, the sole building contractor at the hill station:

Very satisfactory letters have been received from Messrs. Hepper & Martin at Dorjeling. The Staging Bungalows are nearly all finished, and the Hotel will be ready for occupation by the 15th March. General Oglander and his Staff have visited the 'Bright Spot'. The General seemed greatly pleased with it as a military position, and delighted with the climate, as all have been who have visited the station.

Boats are engaged, and the furniture for the Hotel will be despatched on them in the course of this week.⁴

But even the very satisfactory letters would not hide the fact that the contractors have to come all the way to Calcutta in search of building material, food and artisans. It is puzzling to whom, a few days later, their advertisement was directed, since Indian carpenters were not likely to read the *Bengal Hurkaru*, and European craftsmen were not likely to sell their skills for 16 rupees per month:

'Messrs. Hepper, Martin & Co. will be happy to contract with any individual for the supply of lime, good working carpenters and sawyers at Darjeeling. 200 Rupees per maund will be given for the former, 16 Rupees each to the carpenters, and 35 Rupees a month to the set (3 men) of sawyers. The workmen will be required to work for one year certain, after which they will be at liberty to retire or renew their contract should they so desire it. Further particulars may be learnt on application to H. M. & Co. (post paid) at Darjeeling.⁵

⁴ *Bengal Hurkaru*, 3 January 1839

⁵ *Ibid.*, 8 January 1838

Lt.-Col. G. W. A. Lloyd

The source of all wisdom and justice—and some injustice—was the Governor-General's Council at Calcutta. It met at fairly regular weekly intervals to discuss the correspondence arriving from all parts of British India requiring either approval and confirmation or advice and directions. Lt.-Col. Lloyd's letter of 24 December 1838 had already been skipped at the two previous Council meetings but was at last brought up for consultation on 16 January.

Lt.-Col. G.W.A. Lloyd, Government Agent-in-charge of relations with the Rajah of Sikkim, also in charge of the establishment of the Sanatorium or hill station of Darjeeling, and responsible for the construction of the Darjeeling road, is the chief actor in the drama being enacted. The list of his duties enumerated could be subdivided and doubled and shows that he was a hardworking man. In view of the fact that each exchange of letters took between ten and fourteen days, Col. Lloyd was frequently thrown upon his own devices and forced to use his own initiative; men in positions of great power and responsibility such as Col. Lloyd's are occasionally liable to overreach themselves as he appears to have done with the best of intentions. He explains:

As long as it appeared uncertain whether we should occupy the place permanently or not, I did not think it of material consequence to take any steps to inform persons who should come to inhabit and cultivate the hills which had become ours further than by casual mention in conversation that they must consider themselves subjects of the East India Company. But now that the measures and intentions of Government are quite decided as to the occupation of the grant, I have issued a proclamation to the people who settled themselves on various parts of the same, informing them that they thereby become our subjects and are no longer under the orders or laws of Sikkim, directing them to pay their revenue to me, and in case of their requiring justice, it should be afforded them on their application to me at Dorjiling, and I hope my having so done will meet with the approbation of Government.

Ever since the first three months of our occupation of

Dorjiling there has been a great backwardness on the part of the Lepcha population in the neighbourhood to assist us in any way, and they have uniformly asserted that they were afraid of being punished by the Rajah if they did. I have twice requested the Rajah to make known to his subjects that they had his permission to work for or otherwise assist us if they chose, and asked him to send me some of his people as workmen and labourers, and that they should be well paid. He has always evaded compliance with my requests, sometimes by entire silence or else by futile excuses; therefore, seeing the obstructions thus offered to our obtaining the assistance of the country inhabitants, and that they were commencing to form settlements in some of the parts of the hills which had been given to us, I thought the best means I could adopt to overcome the difficulty of obtaining their assistance as workmen, and would relieve them of all fear of the Sikkim Rajah, by informing them that they were no longer under his orders or control if they came and settled in our territory. I have not yet been able to ascertain the number of people who have come to settle nor what kind or amount of revenue they are in the habit of paying, but on my return to Darjeeling it shall be my care to do so. The proclamation was issued on the 26th but is dated the 12th October, and I am in hopes its having been issued will enable us to obtain some assistance from the hill people without which difficulties to be encountered by the Dorjiling settlers must be greatly increased.¹

But Government was not prepared to tolerate symptoms of megalomania even in a capable agent, and the Colonel was therefore informed that

His Honour-in-Council is not quite satisfied of the necessity of issueing the proclamation in question at this particular time, nor does His Honour-in-Council think you ought to have taken the step without the previous authority of Government.

I am further directed to inquire in respect to what villages comprising what population and paying what revenue the notification in question is intended to take effect. The Rajah of Sikkim was a friend (?) that the Government did not seek revenue from the transfer, and it was understood that the tract obtained was only fit for a Sanatarium. Some explanation therefore of the fact this being revenue paying villages will be necessary.²

As Col. Lloyd was fully engaged in what was called 'the Oontoo boundary dispute' with his temporary headquarters at Nackserbar-

¹ Consultations, Fort William, 16 January 1839, No. 61 (R/195/Vol.7)

² *Ibid.*, No 62 (R/195/Vol. 7)

ree (Naxalbari) the requested explanation was only submitted on 29 January. Its details will delight the anthropologist who wishes to study the history of this part of the country. At first, however, the Colonel makes his apology:

I...regret to learn that my having issued the proclamation as reported in my letter...has not met with the approbation of His Honour the President-in-Council. Further I beg to explain that the cause of my not first applying for the sanction of Government instead of reporting after I had made the promulgation was entirely from the little importance I attached to the act, thinking it a matter of course...But I shall in future be careful to apply for the authority of Government previous to issuing public notifications of similar nature.³

He then provides the information required from him:

There are no villages in the Sikkim hills that I have ever seen, each man or family lives in the midst of his own cultivation, but there are collections of huts in a similar style within a quarter or half a mile of each other, which scattered groups are sometimes for want of a better name called villages. When the Sikkim Rajah gave the Darjeeling Tract to us in the year 1835 there were no inhabitants on any part of it that I knew of except half a dozen Mechi huts towards the plains. The people of the country were well aware at that time that the Tract had been given to us, and came afterwards and established themselves upon it. But I must explain that the Lepchas are migratory in their habits and quit the spot they have been cultivating at the expiration of the third year and take up a new location, often many miles from their former one on fresh land where they clear the forest and jungle and remain for three years after which they consider the soil exhausted and remove again to a third place. The institutions of the country are feudal, and the people belong to the same one or other chief or lama, or to the Rajah. To whoever they belong or are attached, to him they pay whatever revenue they have to pay, and do feudal service, let them reside where they may, let it be 20 miles to the eastward, for one term of three years, and twenty in another direction for the next three. In fact, the people are taxed and not the land; and each family is subservient to its own feudal chief, and no other but under him; to the Rajah the revenue they pay is a mere nominal one, generally in kind, as a man's load or two of paddy, and fermented murva for making shiab. Sometimes it is in money to about the value of eight annas per family, but the chief imposition is the necessity of giving personal services in

³ Ibid., 20 February 1839, No. 118 (R/195/Vol.9)

whatever way the chief requires. As to the number of houses on the tract ceded to us, I cannot speak with any certainty till I ascertain the fact. I should imagine in the whole there may be from 20 to 30. I daresay they will increase in numbers, and therefore I thought the sooner the proclamation was issued the better, though as an object of profit to Government what 100 houses might produce, if there ever should be so many, would be quite beneath consideration. The Meches who inhabit the lower hills next the plains are more likely to increase in numbers in the Tract belonging to us than the Lepchas, but they must be very numerous before what they pay, which is one Rupee for three Daws (?), can be worth consideration. Their habits are equally migratory as those of the Lepchas.

The Rajah of Sikkim was, I am aware, told that in asking him for the tract of country we were not seeking to make a profit of it, but I have always invariably stated to Government that the tract was of considerable extent and in my opinion might be im...? valuable. I distinctly recollect having stated that it might be estimated 30 miles long and 10 miles in some places in breadth. At the time it was given to us it produced nothing being uninhabited. I always said that it had in former times been inhabited, and it was natural to suppose it might again become so; and it surely becomes a question, now that grants are made to Europeans on rent, whether or not natives coming to settle upon the tract are to be allowed to remain scotfree, to be independent of all legal control and payment of any revenue at the same time that it is their own choice to come and do so for the protection and safety they enjoy thereby. It appears to me that the alternative to the issuing the proclamation would have been to prohibit natives from coming to settle. And as to the time of issuing it, I beg respectfully to submit that it was better it should have been issued, where the person it would affect every (?) comparatively few, and when we might safely say that revenue was not the object in so doing than when the population had become numerous which it is probable it may do, and that more particularly should the Cazeer and his people come over to us.

The foregoing, when taken along with my letter of the 24th ultimo will, I trust, tend to mitigate His Honour-in-Council's opinion of my being precipitate in the promulgation, but I acknowledge I ought to have obtained previous sanction of Government though I was persuaded I was acting both for the interest of Government and good of the public and settlers.⁴

The Colonel's reasoning makes sense, but his apology and explanation were not acceptable and Government continued to grumble:

⁴ Ibid.

His Honour-in-Council is not satisfied of the necessity of issuing a notice calling upon the population to attend and pay their revenues to you. Your purpose of it was intended merely to fix the terms on which settlers of native tribes should be permitted to locate would have been sufficiently answered by a notice addressed to such persons in a different form requiring them, when desirous of settling, to state their intention and obtain from you an order for possession of the lands selected by them. The terms on which location ought to be assigned to settlers of this description must depend upon the purposes for which they come to settle as well as upon the localities selected by them. His Honour-in-Council will be glad to receive from you a report specifically on this point with a draft of the rules which you propose to establish for the different classes of native settlers including as well those who come to reside and open shops at Darjeeling as those who (are) desirous to clear and cultivate spots in the villages.⁵

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 119

Dr. Pearson

While the obnoxious proclamation was still rankling in His Honour's mind, Col. Lloyd as senior officer of the Darjeeling establishment and the proper channel for all correspondence with Government, was asked to forward a letter from Dr. Pearson, Darjeeling's Medical Officer, which caused no little irritation at Calcutta.

At the beginning of January a request from Dr. Pearson for 'a Native Doctor for the workmen employed in the construction of the Darjeeling road' had been sent to the Government.¹ It was received without a murmur and promptly passed on to the Medical Board for immediate action. Having just been granted this valuable help, the doctor made the fatal mistake of putting in a claim for 'Head Money', wanting to be paid according to the number of sappers and miners on the Darjeeling army roll. Having gone that far, the intrepid doctor decided to go the whole hog and ask for an increase in salary as well.

The letter is a most interesting document as it throws much light not only on the personality of Dr. Pearson, but also on living conditions at Darjeeling. Raising the subject of 'Head Money' with Col. Lloyd, he points out that as an ordinary army doctor he would be entitled to such an allowance, and then he continues:

But there is another reason why this allowance should rather be increased than denied, in the nature of the duties of the corps which renders the men liable to accidents of the severest description and diseases from exposure in the jungles of the most aggravated kinds which call for greater skill both in medical and surgical treatment and entail for greater responsibility than in an ordinary Battalion.

I have above alluded to my having addressed the Government upon the subject of my pay and allowances, as having not yet been paid for the period since the 10th of September last, and for an increase of my salary. As I have referred to yourself in proof of the reasonableness of this, may I beg you to

¹ Consultations, Fort William, 9 January 1839, Nos 158, 159 (R/195/Vol. 7)

take this opportunity of stating your opinion, and to enable you to do so, I have the honour to annex the grounds upon which I have ventured to prefer the request.

1. That it is not an ordinary Civil Station where the necessaries and generally the luxuries of life can be procured in abundance and at small cost. But on the contrary, one where every thing of every description must be brought from the plains at a great cost, which must continue till the road is made passable for wheel carriages, and even then they will always be much dearer than below. At present the commonest articles of food, such as rice, dhall etc., are nearly four times the price they are at Titalya (only 50 miles off) and some much more.

2. That here are no houses to be hired as at an ordinary Civil Station there generally are at a small rent. But I am obliged to build, and the expense of building is beyond all calculation dearer than in the plains on account of the difficulty of procuring workmen, their propensity to run away, the high wages they (demand), and the expense of every material, such as lime, ironwork, glass, well-seasoned woodwork etc., not to be found or made on the spot.

3. The high rate of wages for servants who naturally refuse to serve in climate they exceedingly dislike and where provisions are so dear for what they would do in the plains. Even a coolie who at Titalya is eager for work at 3 pices a day, will not come to Darjeeling for less than 4 Rupees a month or more than double, and Mr. Hepper has in many instances given five.

4. The duties of this Station are of far greater responsibility than those of an ordinary Civil Station. The limit of patient will be different, many coming up (for) the purpose of recruiting a worn out constitution or afflicted with chronic diseases which require far greater skill, care and attention in their treatment than when the patient is under his medical adviser from the first. I have no one to consult with in difficult cases, no second opinion to confirm or correct my own while all eyes will be upon the issue; and the credit of the settlement dependent upon the ability with which I treat disease. It has been the practice of all Governments to pay higher in proportion to the increase of responsibility, and such being the case, I hope mine will not be thought an unreasonable request.

5. I have heard that Dr. Chapman received 700 Rupees a month. The same scientific duties he had have already devolved upon me. I have been directed to keep, and am keeping, a meteorological register with both thermometrical and barometrical measure into; and doubtless I shall be required to report upon the climate etc., of this place by the Government as he was; and probably upon the natural productions of this range of mountains which he did not. To

that having quite as much to do as that Gentleman did, on matters of general science in addition to the heavy medical duties and responsibilities which I have mentioned above, and which he had not, I have ventured to ask for an addition to my salary of half the difference between us, which would make mine 525 Rupees a month.

I have thus set forth the grounds on which I have presumed to apply to the Government for an increase of salary, and I shall be obliged by your stating your opinion. I have not dwelt upon the difficulties and expenses of my journey here, undertaken in obedience to the orders of Government at a most inclement season; the loss of property, and the expense of a separate conveyance and separate establishment for my family for many months by which I have already expended upwards of two, and I believe, was three thousand rupees, because I have made those circumstances the subject of a separate appeal, but as you are well acquainted with all I have had to contend against, may I also hope you will afford that appeal such support as you may deem it to merit.²

Col. Lloyd sympathetically confirmed facts and figures mentioned in the Doctor's letter and warmly endorsed his application:

With regard to...Mr. Pearson's letter soliciting an increase of salary, I can fully bear that Gentleman out in the truth of his statements as to the dearness of the common necessities of life. The want of houses, and extreme price of building, the increased rate of wages required by servants and workmen, and the other difficulties he has to encounter, that he has full as much duty, or I should say, more to perform than fell to the lot of Mr. Asst. Surgeon Chapman, and the increase he solicits is only 175 Rupees per month.³

The reply to Dr. Pearson was written on the same day as the final disposal of the 'proclamation', and it can at least be suspected that Col. Lloyd's reputation did not benefit by taking up the Doctor's cause. It is also possible that Dr. Pearson did himself no good by asking for the Colonel's intercession; nor was he very wise to raise doubts as to his competence where greater skill, care and attention are required. But it does look as if he had a good case and Government displayed a greater than usual degree of stinginess by informing Col. Lloyd that 'as Mr. Asst. Surgeon Pearson receives a consolidated salary of 500 Rupees per mensem, his claim to 'head money' must be disposed of on the same principle as the case of an

² *Ibid.*, 20 February 1839, No. 121 (R/195/Vol 9)

³ *Ibid.*, No. 120

Asst. Surgeon to a Residency in respect to the men of the Residency Escort. In this case no 'head money' is allowed.⁴

The small matter of an increase of salary of 175 Rupees per month was not even deemed worthy of mention. If silence is said to speak, In this case it shouted...

⁴ Ibid., No 122

The Oontoo Boundary Dispute

The Oontoo boundary dispute between Sikkim and Nepal had been dragging on for a long time. Government at Calcutta had at last become very impatient and ordered that the quarrel be settled once and for all in this third and final investigation. Dr. Campbell, the Assistant Resident at Kathmandu with a party of Nepalese deputies was to meet Col. Lloyd with his delegation of Sikkimese vakeels and witnesses at the disputed locality to establish the facts of the case. Although the affair had nothing to do with Darjeeling, it affected it indirectly since the Colonel, as Political Agent, had to absent himself for lengthy periods and, worst of all, became involved in a voluminous and acrimonious correspondence. The stumbling block was the Rajah of Sikkim who flatly refused to send any representatives. A somewhat ludicrous exchange of letters took place in which the Colonel expressed Government's insistence on the Rajah's representation and its grave displeasure at his refusal, and the Rajah insisted on his refusal and cocked a snook at the Government's displeasure; in a letter to Colonel Lloyd he is adamant:

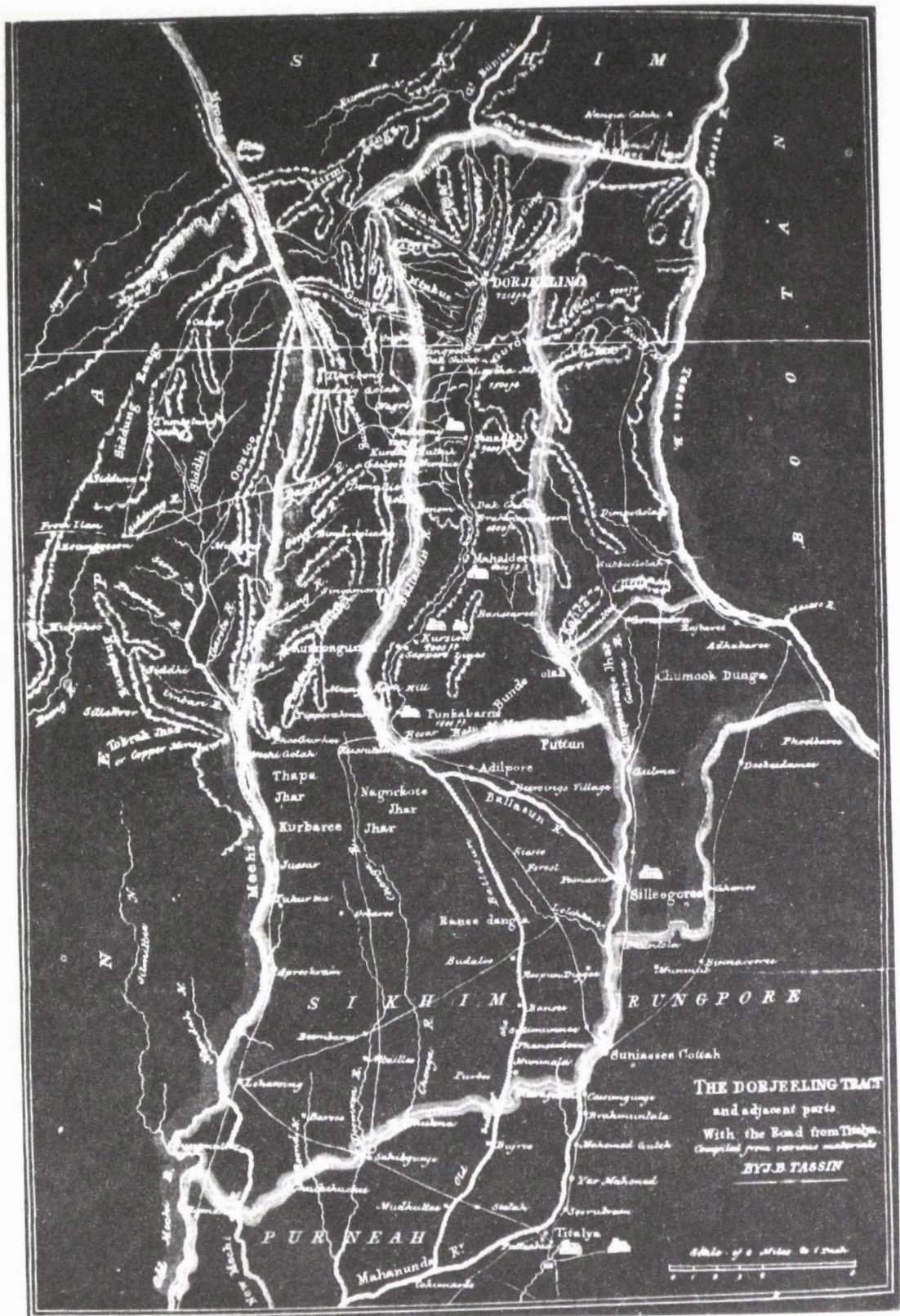
...The British Government formerly settled and established that boundary,.. and since you have been here, all matters respecting that dispute have been twice investigated, and in the presence of the Gorkhas (Nepalese) and my own vakeels by you....But there is no use in my continually sending vakeels about this business; whatever boundary you may establish on my behalf I will agree to...and always give me account of your welfare...¹

That was in October of 1838. At the end of January 1839 the Rajah still persists: 'You are Master of all affairs and be pleased to accomplish all that business.'²

But Calcutta and Kathmandu were furious and implied that Col. Lloyd was not trying hard enough and should try yet again and harder, In a letter to the Resident in Nepal—the great B.H.

¹ Consultations, Fort William, 2 January 1839, No. 60

² Ibid., 20 March 1839, No. 126



The Darjeeling Tract

Hodgson—the exasperated Colonel is at last driven to defend the Rajah and give a plausible explanation for his seemingly uncooperative attitude:

It does not appear to me that the Sikkim Rajah objects to the arrangements, he merely declines exposing his deputies to the Malaria, the expense and annoyance of attending another investigation as he has already twice produced all his evidence and states his readiness to conform to the decision of the Governor-General. The loss to his own revenue by these repeated deputations is not inconsiderable as he thinks himself obliged to send some 300 people with his deputies whom he has to provide with meat, drink, carriage, etc. All the time, and I confess, I think he is excusable in declining to send any deputies again.

There must also have been a nagging suspicion in Col. Lloyd's mind that the outcome of the investigation was a foregone conclusion for he tartly writes:

If, however, it be expected to satisfy Napaul by any other procedures than giving her the disputed tract right (or) wrong, I venture to assert that a third or a three thousandth investigation would not have the effect desired.³

The topographical investigation was nothing if not thorough:

For the purpose of allowing full time for the arrival of the deputation from Sikkim (in case of any having been sent) and likewise for the purpose of making the commission fully acquainted with the locality of the disputed tract, Lt. Col. Lloyd, Mr. Campbell and the deputation from Nepal marched to Mechi gola on the 4th of February, and having completely circumambulated the Oontoo hill and visited the sources of the two streams, returned to Nuckserbarree (Naksalbari) and Nangulbanda on the 14th February.⁴

Having received a final refusal from the Rajah on the 15th, the boundary commission examined their witnesses on the following day. On the 1st March Col. Lloyd sent his report to Calcutta, trusting 'that ample evidence has now been collected to enable the Government as the best means to insure its being received with respect and submission.'⁵ Dr. Campbell sent a separate report.

The Government decided the Oontoo dispute in favour of Nepal and informed all parties concerned of the decision. It will appear

³ Ibid., 2 January 1839, No. 60

⁴ Ibid., 20 March 1839, No. 126

⁵ Ibid.



Sketch of Darjeeling

that in a letter to the Resident in Nepal, His Honour-in-Council had been pleased to give the sole credit for the successful conclusion of the proceedings to Dr. Campbell. As duplicates of all letters were sent out to Kathmandu and Darjeeling respectively, Col. Lloyd could not fail to note the slight. After the harrassment and obstruction he had to put up with, this was more than even a tough soldier could take lying down. On the principle that if nobody will blow your trumpet blow it yourself, he gave vent to his indignation:

I beg leave to avail myself of this opportunity most respectfully to observe that from the third paragraph of the letter to Mr. Hodgson (a copy of which along with other papers connected with this boundary dispute will, I presume, be forwarded to England for the information of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors) it might be inferred the investigation was carried out entirely by Dr. Campbell and the Nepalese deputies, my name not having been referred to, whereas I beg leave to say I have from the first conducted every investigation connected with this dispute myself, and in this last one Dr. Campbell was appointed with me for the purpose of giving confidence to the Nepalese, yet the method of procedure, conduct of the investigation, record of the proceedings etc., was mine and not Dr. Campbell's, though he is the person prominently mentioned in the paragraph alluded to.⁶

His Honour-in-Council was unabashed and coldly replied:

Your explanation of the part taken by you in effecting the settlement of the Oontoo Boundary dispute will be placed on record and communicated to the Hon'ble Court in due course.⁷

The Colonel's protest, however, was in vain, as the congratulatory letter from His Excellency goes to show:

It affords the Governor-General much satisfaction to perceive that the long disputed case is now about to be finally decided, and His Lordship fully concurs with the Hon'ble the President-in-Council in opinion that the investigation conducted by Mr. Campbell has established the fact that . . . His Lordship is of opinion that Mr. Campbell's services may for the present be of great use in what quarter...⁸

It is said that God's mills are slow but sure. The Colonel's 'grist' had been ground for ten years. When he wrote his famous letter in

⁶ Ibid., 8 May 1839, No. 85

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid., 5 June 1839, No. 4

1829 of his first visit to Darjeeling in company of that saintly man J.W.Grant, he completely ignored in his report the service and most likely guidance he had been given by his companion, and dared to write, 'I am the only European who ever visited Dorjiling or has spent any time in the Sikkim country...'

Letters from Darjeeling

About the middle of January, as the weather began to warm up again, the more forward looking Calcutta citizens started contemplating the possibility of evading the hot weather. So, naturally eyes were lifted up unto the hills and the interest in Darjeeling steadily increased. The newspapers, quick in sensing their readers desire for news from the new sanatorium, printed letters 'from a correspondent', or 'extracts from a letter to a Gentleman', or any official communication on the topic. Failing to obtain direct information, they copied from each other within 24 hours lest they be accused of neglecting their readers concerns. *The Englishman* can be described as 'sympathetic', *The Friend of India* as 'warmly sympathetic' and the *Bengal Hurkaru* as 'hotly committed'. The editor of *Hurkaru* Samuel Smith, was not only an admirer of David Wilson, but also a prospective grantee of two plots of land at Darjeeling; moreover, his co-partner in the newspaper, Prince Dwarkanath Tagore, was a member of the Darjeeling Association Committee and lessee of location no. 11 along the Station's main street; and thus the *Hurkaru* could happily combine public and private interest in the welfare of the new settlement.

The correspondents are either 'Ditchers' who have begun setting up their summer residences or prospective settlers paying a flying visit to the station to see for themselves the lie of the land. Their reports vary from being cautiously optimistic to wildly enthusiastic, variations depending chiefly on the temperament of the writers. Their inclination at first is to overlook or minimize the difficulties and gratefully and loudly to count their blessings. They were most likely also the type of people used to a fair amount of open-air and camp life and easily able to put up with climatic and other inconveniences, possibly even revel in them. Accounts are therefore subjective and at times deliberately biased. But almost each letter gives some new details which, put together, make a vivid description of Darjeeling in 1839.

The flow of correspondence to the newspapers is introduced with a personal interview:

We have had the pleasure of conversing with a friend who has recently returned to the presidency from a trip to Dorjeling. He was there in the month of November last and describes this place as fully realizing all our expectations. In the month the thermometer was down so low as thirty-five from which it ranged up to fifty-three Fahrenheit. But he remarks that matters were progressing *very slowly*, and seems to doubt whether it will be filled so early as we have been led to believe for the reception of travellers. Lt. Gilmore was busily employed in carrying on the road which, however, was not in a very forward state when our informant left, and until this is prepared, we presume it will not be possible for visitors to proceed with any degree of comfort. Raspberries growing wild along large tracts, together with numerous trees common to home, reminded him strongly of old England though the general roughness of the scenery, from the want of all cultivation, quickly dispelled the illusion in every respect, excepting climate. The people of the place are said to partake of all the fearless and open-hearted hospitality of mountaineers, and some scenes have been narrated which we may be hereafter tempted to dwell upon. There is no table land whatever so that to form plots for residences, they must be cut from the side and slope of the hill. Mr. Hepper is represented as being indefatigable in his exertions, and an assurance is given generally that Dorjeling will become a very favourite resort with all those whose time permits an occasional journey, whether for health or pleasure.¹

This heart-warming report is followed the very next day by a cold Himalayan blast in *The Friend of India*:

Letters from Darjeeling complain bitterly of a mistake in the construction of the bungalows at that delightful Sanatarium. The bedrooms have been built without fire places.²

If this news-flash has made a frightening impression, it is wiped out a week later by a longish account answering a set of questions which can be guessed from the answers; and the scenic views will make up for the missing fireplaces:

We have been favoured with the following extract from a letter addressed by a gentleman at Darjeeling in reply to one received by him from a friend at Calcutta soliciting information on the subject of the healthiness and resources of that place. It appears to us to embody ampler and more satisfactory intelligence than any yet received. With regard to your

¹ *The Englishman*, 14 January 1839

² *The Friend of India*, 15 January 1839

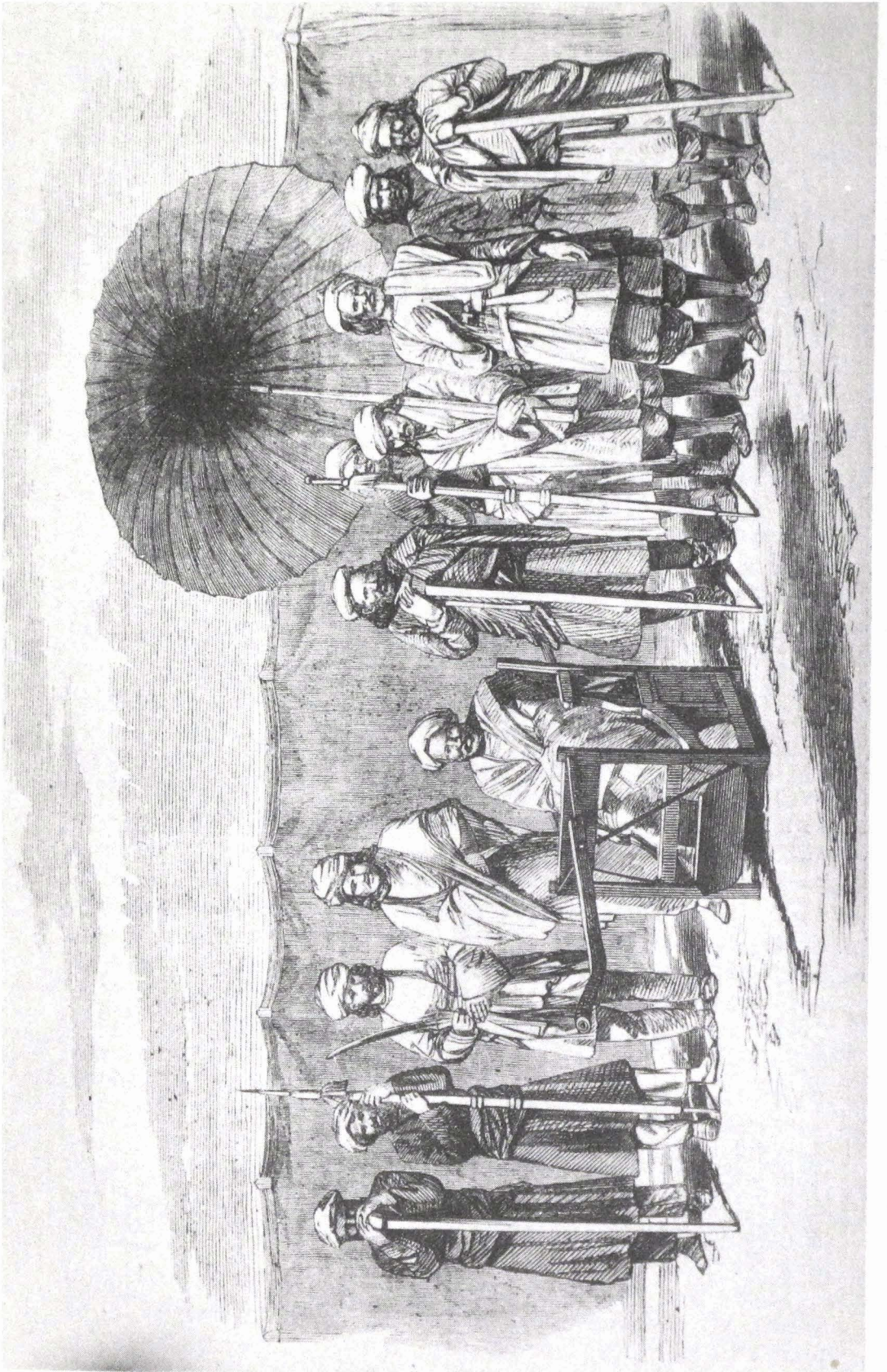
first question—I think a lady in delicate health runs no risk whatever of being affected by the ‘damp and malaria’ of our forests. Malaria there is little or none; so little indeed that we have not known a single case of fever the cause of which could be traced to Darjeeling.

I do not know Cherra Poonjee but by report. From that I should infinitely prefer this place to that as being less damp and in every respect a more desirable station. The only difficulty is about a house. The Hotel will be ready, but hardly quite dry. And yet people do not seem to suffer here even in the winter months from damp as they do in the plains.

How far can I see? From 80 to 100 miles; Darjeeling is on a hill, an isolated hill, divided by deep valleys from all that surrounds it. The ridge of which it forms the centre, is of considerable length, and about half a mile is cleared, I may say, shaved, for hardly a tree has been left, and the breadth cleared may be a quarter of a mile, varying in width. There is no choking up of the woods, but the free winds of heaven come upon us from all quarters, save where we get under shelter of a hill which most of us are glad to do. To the south the hills rise gradually about 1500 feet at the distance of four or five miles. Fourteen or fifteen miles off, or perhaps further in a direct line, is a range of hills ten or twelve thousand feet above the sea to the west. To the east is the valley of the Teesta with successive ranges of hills, bounded to the northeast in the extreme distance by the lower of the snowy peaks. To the north the country is open to the view, range after range of hills clothed with forests, and here and there with a-? filling up the space between us and the snowy mountains. These are magnificent beyond anything I can attempt to express; rising to a height in the heavens we have been accustomed to think nothing but a cloud can pretend to; and even varying in their tints, and their hues, and their shades, at every change of the clouds, and position of the sun, but always above description, glorious!

Our road is getting on famously; it is already made fit for palankeens and loaded bullocks half way down to the plains; we are in hopes it will be quite done in between 2 and 3 months more. A toujohn would be a most excellent mode of conveyance, both here and coming up. The servants now and then run away; but treat them kindly, and make allowances, both pecuniary and of temper, etc., the difficulties and annoyances they experience, and there is little fear but they will stay.

There is a bazar for supplies, chiefly of native produce. When Mr. Wilson opens his Hotel, no doubt there will be plenty of European articles, but at present we depend upon Calcutta for them. Livestock should be brought from the plains.



A Toujohn

The road presents but few points of beautiful scenery just now, but those are very beautiful. In a few months the trees will be more cleared, and the scenery will be very splendid...³

In the next letter, 'Our Correspondent' tries to encourage prospective entrepreneurs: How about someone setting up a school? How about immigrating to Darjeeling and making it into the most civilized and the most powerful colony in Asia?

The principal object of a settlement at Dorjeling is to afford a Sanatarium, and whilst I admit that in most cases it is admirably calculated to realise such an intention, yet conceive, that nothing but the dishonest exaggeration of self-interest, or the unthinking rhapsodies of Romance, could invest it with the character which has sometimes been ascribed to it. There are several modifications which the climate of Dorjeling would be found rather to augment than to diminish, such as all tendencies to pulmonary consumption and rheumatism, whilst on the other hand the febrile maladies will be at least considerably mitigated if not altogether removed by a use of the opportunities here afforded to a patient of enjoying salutary air and exercise.

I am happy to say that latterly much has been done towards the improvement of the station; the Bazar has been opened to the public and partially supplied, and the road under the judicious and indefatigable superintendence of Col. Lloyd has been effected as far as Sonnadah; and Lt. Gilmore has conducted it thence almost to Mahaldi-Ram as well as a considerable distance upon the new route below Punkabarree, thus affording already an easy and safe means of transmitting property over greater portion of the country between the settlement and Titalya. I would recommend some trading person to get up a branch establishment here for the sale of groceries, hardware, blanketting, strong cloths, boots and shoes, stationery and oils and colours, as the expense of superintendence would be trifling compared to the liberal profits which the settlers would be willing to allow for so desirable an accommodation. Stock should be conveyed at any season by hackeries and in the monsoons by boats up to within four days march of the station.

Goats, fowls, etc. may be procured below Punkabarree. Midah, rice, dholl, sugar, ghee are sold at the godown, and as soon as the settlement becomes more populous, it is confidently surmised that provisions will be brought into the market from all the adjacent districts so that visitors may come up with a reasonable expectation of comfort, if provided with a store of wine, brandy, tea, coffee and preserved meats together

³ *Bengal Hurkaru*, 22 January 1839. *The Englishman*, 19 January 1839

with a water-proof cover for their bedding and a few pieces of tarpaulin, which may be adjusted to the sides and roofing of a hut that can be constructed in a few hours, and there you are comfortably (I will not say, of course, elegantly) lodged, until a proper house can be conveniently erected.

But it is not to invalids and lovers of pleasure alone that Dorjeling will offer inducements. Hitherto India has been considered merely as a country to make money in, and then get out of it as fast as you can when that grand object has been accomplished. What a severing of the most interesting bonds of friendship, what an unsettled state of society has this produced! A man seldom sojourns in India for less than fifteen or twenty years, during which period the friends of his youth have died, or, what is quite as bad for him, all the affection and remembrances of early life have died with them whilst he, by the ordinary connections of life, acquires new objects for his regard and associations to interest him. Thus a total dissolution of every tie that united him to his former home may have taken place long before he is sufficiently independent to return.

It may therefore be interesting to some to learn, that there are even already here on foot, extensive preparations for the foundation of an Academy for public instruction; others of various descriptions will naturally follow this, and thus will have been supplied the last and one of the most important inducements to emigration. This district is a most extensive one, and throughout possessing a delightful climate, capable of producing every thing indigenous to England, and unlike the parts of India which justify the comparison of land held at a rack rent by the present possessors, and consequently always devolving in a deteriorated condition to their successors. Dorjeling will as the natural effects of those improvements suggested by an hereditary interest in possessions become the most opulent, the most civilized and the most powerful colony in Asia. Even the moral constitution of the people seems to favour this anticipation, as they are wholly exempted from the prejudices of caste, and that inveteracy in superstitious customs which characterizes Hindoo idolatry, and therefore will not oppose the same impenetrable barrier to the progress of civilization.

With respect to its importance as a military post, its situation with reference to Nepal can leave no doubt, and it seems to me scarcely consistent with the usual judicious measures of the Government that it (Dorjeling) should (under the present political auspices of that state) be left in so defenceless a condition.⁴

Several sore spots have been touched by 'our correspondent' especially the heart-rending break-up of families for educational or

⁴ *Bengal Hurkaru*, 1 February 1839

health reasons. He may, however, have lived long enough to have seen his vision materialize, for Darjeeling has probably the greatest number of schools among all the hill stations, it provides instant recuperation for any invalid in need of a change of climate, and many officers of the ICS retired there for their last and permanent home in preference to returning to the British Isles.

But David Wilson leaves the dreamers to their dreams of a future Darjeeling and announces his present intentions and preparations, though it might be noticed that much of his phraseology is also in the future tense (will be completed, will be ready). He is about to leave for Darjeeling to open the—THE HOTEL:

D. Wilson & Co. respectfully inform the Public that the greater part of the accommodations in the Hotel are now taken up for the first two or three months, and as they are very desirous of completing their list, they beg of those who intend sojourning there during the approaching hot weather, to send in their applications without delay, or they may regret losing the opportunity in a few days hence as those who apply first will be first served.

Gentlemen or Families travelling up need not encumber themselves with anything but their wearing apparel, and their own servants, as every comfort and necessary will be supplied by the Proprietors of the very best description and at moderate prices. Live Stock and Stores of all kinds have been forwarded to their Farm at Titalya for the purpose of supplying the Hotel as well as the Gentlemen or Families who may reside in their own dwellings.

The different Bungalows on the Hills will be completed next month and servants placed in each of them, with stores at their command to make travellers comfortable.

As there exists at present much difficulty in the transmission of luggage etc. to Dorjeling, D. W. & Co. will be happy to take charge of any person's effects that may either be forwarded to their establishment in Calcutta, or to their Agents at Titalya, and every dependence may be placed on their goods being despatched with promptitude and care and reaching their destination SAFELY.

Mr. D. Wilson leaves Calcutta for Dorjeeling about the 10th instant (February) to open the Hotel, which will be ready for the reception for visitors about the first week in April, from which time the Hotel charges will commence against those parties who have entered their names for apartments.

Any further communication that may be required by Gentlemen or Families who intend to resort to Dorjeeling, will be gladly given by the Proprietors of the Hotel at their establishment in Calcutta where a model of the building is now exposed for the inspection of the Public.⁵

⁵ *Ibid.*, 6 February 1839

As usual Wilson's advertisement is supported by a brief editorial comment:

...As the warm weather has already commenced, those who intend to shun the melting days of May and June, and the stewing weather of September and October, had better make their arrangements NOW, before it is too late, as Mr. Wilson expects that all the Hotel apartments will be soon appropriated. Indeed a plan is already on foot for a new range of apartments, which will not, however, be commenced on until the wants of the public are ascertained with some degree of certainty...⁶

Any vacillating travellers to the hills will have their minds made up for them by the news a week later:

We have seen letters from Dorjeling which announce a fact of very great interest to those Ditchers who begin to experience the thawing and dissolving influences of approaching warm weather. Snow had fallen at the end of last month, and when the letters came away it lay deep upon the ground and arrested for the moment all building operations. The Hotel was of course stopped for the time; but it is expected that the severity of the weather (how delightful it sounds!) will abate and the work be resumed in time to complete all arrangements by the month of April.⁷

⁶ *Ibid.*, 7 February 1839

⁷ *The Englishman*, 15 February 1839

The Peepsah

At this point a brief diversion into Himalayan natural history will be found useful for the understanding of later references to one of the major difficulties encountered on the way to and from Darjeeling and at the station itself. The obstacle was a monstrous member of the animal kingdom powerful enough to paralyse at times all activities at and around Darjeeling and almost to prevent the establishment of the settlement. It was not, as might be expected, a man-eating tiger or some venomous snakes inhabiting these primeval forests, but the smallest of blackflies imaginable—the *Peepsah*. The presence of this insect 'proved not only exceedingly annoying, but also caused serious inconvenience, their attacks having actually driven all the Bengalee coolies from the place and rendered many of the servants and the Sepoys unable to perform their duties, owing to ulcerations on their limbs arising from the bites of these insect.'¹ The textbooks simply vie with each other in their hair-raising descriptions of this creature, also called Pipsa, Pepsi, Potu and, in Latin—, *Simulium indicum*, a 'troublesome pest in parts of the Himalayas.'

Minute, robust, hump-backed black..gnats. The females are voracious biters and blood-suckers in some places, and are one of the vacationist's greatest tormentors..(Essig). Its bite raises a nasty little blister of coagulated blood, followed by swelling and intolerable itching, the victim's legs often presenting the appearance of elephantiasis (Woodthorpe).²

In case these quotations have not yet been convincing that the Peepsah is a specially nasty insect, Mr. Cunningham may be given the last word:

I have camped in many unpleasant places in which mosquitoes, leeches and ticks prevailed, but for sheer discomfort I am prepared to give the palm to a dense secondary jungle full of pipsas. They are stoutly built ochreous flies of very small

¹ Bayley, *Dorje-Ling 1838*

² Lewis, Dr. J.D., *Israel Journal of Entomology*, 1974, Vol. 9

size and are fairly quiescent during the greater part of the day, but in the evening they sally forth in myriads to render the course of the next few hours truly hideous. They settle gently down on every exposed surface of skin and at once set about biting, inflicting punctures of peculiar malignancy, each of them being marked by a minute dark speck of extravasated blood and an intolerably itching tumour. The bites of leeches are irritating enough, but, when carefully let alone, comparatively soon cease to be the source of an active annoyance; but those of pipsas, however tenderly treated, remain for many days a cause of continuous discomfort, and invariably leave persistent traces of their malignancy in the form of minute pits owing to enduring losses of substance in the injured tissues. Almost every kind of curtains provides a harbour of refuge from mosquitoes, and the attacks of ticks and leeches are comparatively easily warded off, but in a pipsa-haunted jungle the unhappy traveller can only escape by means of precipitate retirement to an enclosure of curtains of such close texture as to threaten suffocation, especially when atmospheric temperature and humidity are relatively high. Even mosquito curtains of net deprive the air of much of its freshness, but this interference with ventilation is nothing to that attending the use of screens whose texture is close enough to render them impenetrable to pipsa; and to be forced to use them when the air is rendered stagnant by a close environment of jungle, and is at the same time loaded with moisture which is quickly precipitated during the cooler hours of the night, is indeed a severe trial.³

Is it to be wondered at that this insect was 'made a bugbear of by the people below to deter men from going up to Dorjeling'?⁴

³ Cunningham, *Plagues and Pleasures of Life in Bengal*, p. 96

⁴ Bayley, *Dorje-Ling*, 1838

Major Garstin's Report

An engineer officer in charge of sappers and miners was well acquainted with the common use of explosives, but the bombshell Major Garstin produced was something of a novelty: it could bounce and rebound several times, and every time it hit a hard surface (such as a table) it would make a loud and stunning bang only to continue its flight. This particular missile by well calculated logistics first fell in front of Mr. Low, Secretary to the Darjeeling Association, whence it rebounded into the Council Chamber to the great surprise of His Honour the President, and next, by some special device, divided in mid-air and exploded first in Col. Lloyd's cottage at Darjeeling, and finally on the editor's desk of the *Hurkaru*¹ in Calcutta. It was a time bomb which, thrown on 21 February, exploded in public on 16 March. In our violent generation it would be known as a 'letter bomb'.

Major E. Garstin was the Chief Executive Engineer for the Lower Provinces; as such he naturally was a most valuable and welcome member of the Darjeeling Association Committee; but he also was the proprietor of two 'locations' at Darjeeling. In this triple capacity he had been asked by the Committee to go up to Darjeeling and find out what was going on and bring back a 'Situationsbericht'. Those letters from correspondents, friends and friends of friends were all very well, but what really was wanted was a report by as competent a person as the Chief Engineer; and it was his survey which became that letter bomb. It is quoted in full as it gives a vivid description of the state of affairs at that time:

To H.M.Low, Esq.
Secretary to the Dorjeling Committee.

Sir,

As a member of the Committee, appointed by the public meeting to carry into effect their views regarding Dorjeling, I consider it my duty to give you the result of my observations

¹ *Bengal Hurkaru*, 16 March 1839

on that place, for having visited it, (under the erroneous supposition, that the public works including the road now being made by Lieutenant Gilmore, under the directions and orders of Lieutenant-Colonel Lloyd, were under my Superintendance) I am enabled to give you the result of my private observations, in the hope that they may be of use in furthering the objects for which we were appointed a committee.

2. The first point deserving notice, is the road by which travellers, particularly dawk travellers from Calcutta, will get to Titalya, and in regard to this I am happy to say, that the executive officer in whose division these roads lie, is now employed, with the sanction of the Military Board, in surveying the road from Maldah to Dinagepore and Titalya, and that on his return to Dinagepore he will survey the old direct road to Nawabgunge, near the mouth of the Mahanuddee. As I suppose the Military Board will have no objection to allow the Dorjeling Committee to have a copy of this survey when finished, I shall reserve my remarks on these roads until I can accompany them with a plan, I therefore commence with Titalya, which may be considered the point at which all the roads, from every part of the country, for people proceeding to Dorjeling, will meet.

3. The dawk bungalow built here, out of the funds raised for this purpose, is finished, and so is the store-room for the tenant of the Hotel built at the expense of the subscribers to the same. The road from this goes along the bank of the Mahanuddee for about 6 miles, on the left or Titalya side, to a place called Sonasseccottah, and then crosses the river (which never overflows its banks and has water in it at all seasons): it then proceeds via Raneedungha to Punkahbarree. Had the Superintendance of the Dorjeling roads been mine, I should have suggested a proper survey of the two roads from Titalya to Punkahbarree, in order to determine which is the best and what would be necessary to make the one ultimately fixed or passable at all seasons; but as it is, I can only say that the road via Raneedungha, by which I went, was distinctly marked out the whole way; that the first part was through a grass jungle; and that the jungle became thicker and higher as I advanced, until in the latter part, through the forest, it was as heavy as any I have ever met with, though not generally swampy as far as I could judge. During the hot weather it is probably burnt down annually, but as it springs up again every rains, and many parts will require bridges or drains, it can by no means be considered as made, indeed one of the principal difficulties will be crossing the Ballasun River during the rains.

4. From Punkahbarree the real difficulties of the road commence. At this place another bungalow has been erected, which has more than exhausted the subscription raised for

building staging bungalows. I am inclined to think this bungalow may be a little out of the way if ever a carriage road is constructed; but this is not of much consequence, as travellers will only use it as a resting place for the night going or coming. From this point, however, the present road is about as bad and as steep as could be well chosen. It is not, I admit, intended that it should be the future road, but the bad effects of an ill chosen track at the commencement are almost incalculable; in the first place, it prevents the employment of any other means of transport than men, the dearest possible and most difficult to procure; and secondly, it renders the natives of the plains more unwilling to go up, from the great difficulties and fatigue they have to undergo, and they consequently give the place a bad name. To this, in the present instance, must be added the great length of the road, 32 miles, as measured by Lieut. Fisher (who accompanied Major General Oglander there). From Punkahbarree for about 20 miles, this path had not been what is called made, no attempt to remove any of the natural obstacles having been made; and, though passable by loaded coolies with great difficulty, it is utterly impassable for loaded cattle. When we got to the place where I met the first working party, the new road may be said to be commenced; but for several miles it is a mockery to call it a road, for not a tree standing in the middle of it or stone requiring removal, nor even trees lying right across and totally obstructing the path, had been removed.

5. The last eight miles, however, are better and could be passed by loaded cattle. About two miles of this road nearest to Dorjeling was made the year before, and the remainder immediately after the last rains, under the orders of Lieutenant-Colonel Lloyd, (during Lieut. Gilmore's sickness). Col. Lloyd marked out the line from Punkahbarree to Dorjeling. But I am sorry to say that the part finished has been made without attention to the principles laid down by scientific men for making roads in mountainous countries. This neglect will, I am of opinion, affect the durability of this road; for no attention whatever has been paid to its drainage, nor have bridges or drains been made across it, to protect it from the torrents which rush down with violence in the rains through every ravine, and will, unless this is remedied, render it impassable in the rains. That it was desirable to get a road made quickly for the transport of provision is indisputable, but I am of opinion, this might have been as quickly done in the proper direction as the one chosen. From the very commencement of the road at Dorjeling, there is every reason to think the hill called Jolahpahar, from 800 to 1000 feet higher than the station, might have been turned, and the long and steep ascents and descents existing in the present road have been

avoided...This also applies to other parts as well. I admit that from the thick forest covering these hills, the fixing upon the proper line of road is a work of great difficulty, and requiring peculiar professional knowledge, and it is the most arduous part of the business, as many lines may be explored before the best is found, owing to the forest preventing one seeing many yards in advance; but the necessity of doing this before it was commenced (and during the two years we have had this hill, this has not been attempted) is to me very apparent; besides, the road should have been commenced at the bottom, not at the top, as it is impossible to regulate the slope the whole way otherwise. Had the time and money expended on this portion of the road been judiciously laid out in the proper direction, I am of opinion, infinitely greater facilities would have now existed for the transport of provisions, and the worst and most difficult part of the ascent from the plains would have been comparatively easy and the coolies (all people from the plains) would not at the first entering the hills had have the most difficult parts to go over, and consequently would have been more reconciled to what followed, besides that every mile so made would have been passable by loaded cattle, whereas that now constructed, even had it been level as the table, is of no use to them, as they can not get near it; so that coolies must still be employed the whole way until the new track now commencing at the foot of the hills, joins this. These mistakes are the more to be regretted as the great difficulty of approach gives the place a bad name, and prevents people getting there and greatly retards the advancement of the place.

6. I must observe most distinctly, that my observations apply to what I saw when I was there, and not to any new work done since, or to any alterations and amendments which may have been made. There are, as you will perceive, other difficulties which, in my opinion, might have been removed, and which I think Government would concede if brought to their notice, and which I shall proceed to notice, in the hope that the application of the Committee on these points will be successful.

7. Having remarked generally on the road from Punkahbarree to Dorjeling, 32 miles in length, there yet remains other roads of quite as great, if not greater, importance, to be touched upon, and which, when I was there, seemed to have been totally overlooked. I mean the roads in and through the station itself. Before any single allotment of ground was made, I conceive the public roads should have been distinctly marked out, and that these roads should have been carried along the hill, according to the nature of the ground and public advantage, however it might interfere with any spot which would make a desirable location. I would here observe, that

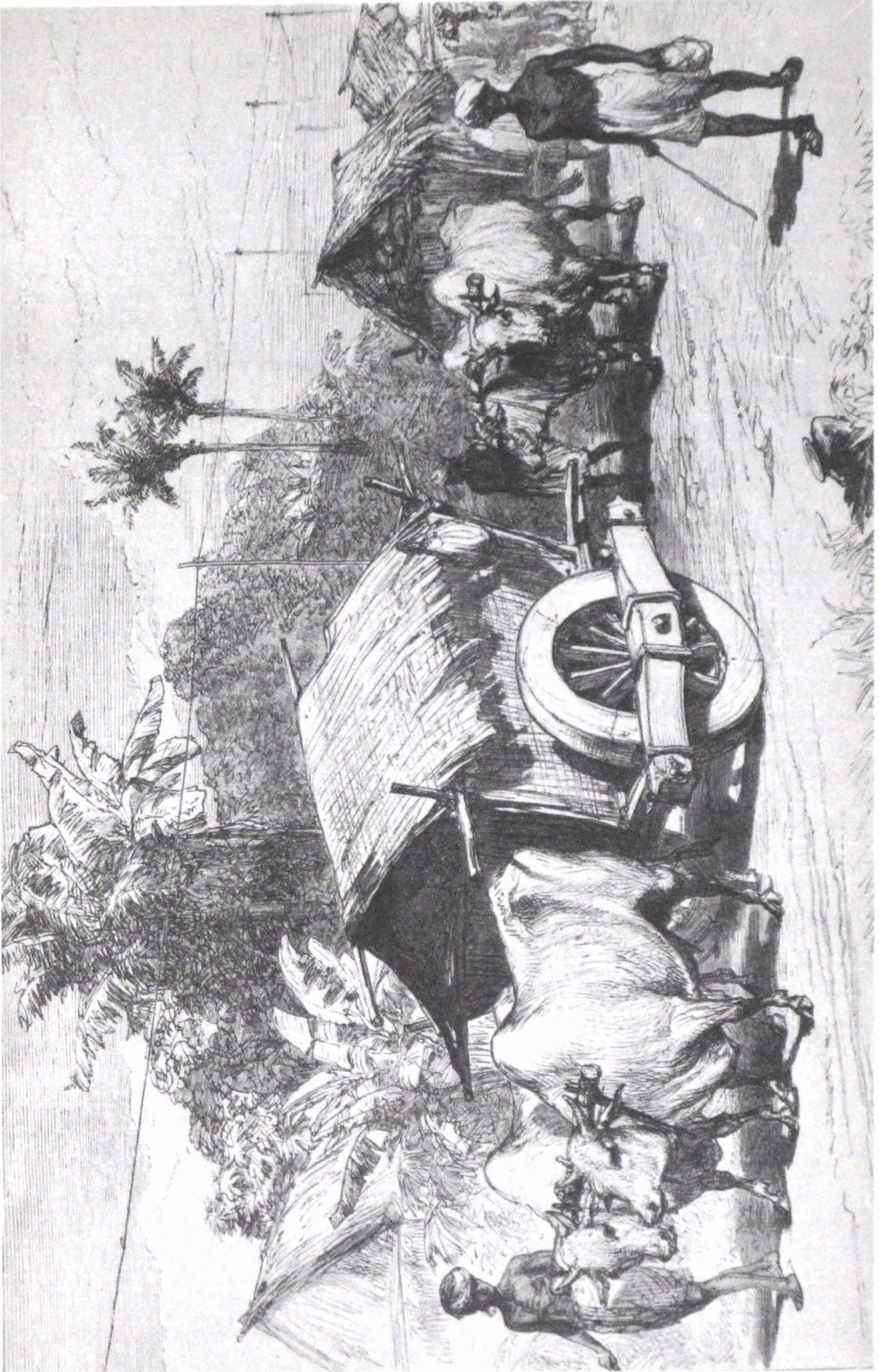
the great urgency for making these roads at once arises from the narrowness of the ridge itself on which Dorjeling is situated; for in consequence of this, the road might so affect a location that the person wanting it would either change the position of his house on the allotment, or abandon it altogether from its being too much exposed or confined to suit him; and I have reason to believe, that this alone prevents some of those who have already had grants assigned to them from clearing the ground.

8. In regard to the size of the allotments already made, I have no hesitation in saying, that a much greater degree of liberality in fixing their extent would induce people more willingly to think of building, and prevent much discontent from comparisons, particularly as it is impossible from the very nature of the ground to fix any fair standard for its distribution; nor has the one attempted to be set up, been adhered to in all instances, even as far as it could be, I mean that of 80 yards square for each location. I have no doubt that ultimately all the ground rejected at first will be taken; but I conceive that it is impolitic to raise any obstacle to those willing to commence before any of the numerous difficulties which always beset new undertakings of this sort are overcome; indeed that, on the contrary, every encouragement should be given to the first settlers, and that, instead of refusing locations to companies or private associations of individuals or speculators, I think these are the very people who should be most encouraged. The first, and in my opinion the only, condition on which ground should be given, is the clearing it of the thick forest which now covers it, within a fixed and certain period according to the extent of the grant; and that the ground rent chargeable on each allotment should vary according to the extent, situation, and other circumstances taken together, which can only be decided on the spot, and not, as has hitherto been the case, if my information is correct, be the source for the largest and smallest lots, or the best and worst situation; indeed to avoid much discontent, I would suggest that a Committee be appointed to decide on each allotment; first setting aside such spots as may be required hereafter by Government, either in case it may be deemed expedient to erect any defensive works or other public buildings not yet fixed on; and I am of opinion, that some points which it would be necessary to select in the former case have already been appropriated; after such places are marked out, I would allow each applicant, according to the priority of his application, to select his own location, and also allow individuals to hold more than one, with the full right to dispose of the same as they like, if cleared within the proper time. When the ground is cleared many will build who will not do so, if they are to clear it themselves; and it is of no

consequence who builds, so that houses arise, which they will do as the demand for them encreases, and it is very certain that if a person built a dozen, as he could only occupy one, he would let the remainder, a great point at a station like this, where half the visitors of one year may not be able to go there the next.

9. I shall now notice one of the causes, and a very principal one, whence the difficulty in procuring natives of the plains willing to go up, arises, viz. the total want of shelter on the road and at the place itself. This will cease at the station itself, as houses are built for servants and residents in the Bazar, but not as it affects the coolies carrying loads up, or servants going there, so that it is necessary to point out the absolute necessity of Government doing something effectual to remedy this evil at once. From Titalya to Punkahbarree is about 25 miles, and from this to Dorjeling 32 miles more, nearly all up hill. A coolie gets one rupee for taking a load of 30 seers these 57 miles, and all last rains no food was to be got on the road (at present it is procurable at 2 or 3 places, but is so dear they still carry their own provisions for the trip with them). A man therefore started with a load of 30 seers, and 10 seers of provisions for the ten days it would take him to go and return. The rains in the hills are at times incessant and the nights all the year round cold; and the poor wretches, with but little clothing to protect them from the cold, and that never dry, without a dry spot to sleep on or any thing to protect them from the inclemency of the weather, often unable even to light a fire, or to cook their food, with a scarcity too of water in some parts, had their feet also attacked by the Peepsah, whose bite festers and rendered them, if not lame, at least incapable of performing their journey in the proper time, in consequence of which their provisions were expended, and hunger, added to their other sufferings, soon put an end to all their miseries; and I was told that 14 dead bodies were lying exposed on the road at once. The number was probably exaggerated, but the fact of several of these unfortunate people dying in this way on the road, is incontestable. I have been informed, that the same thing occurred in the Neilgherries when the station of Ootacomond was first established.

10. Now, although no blame can be attributed to any one, yet the thing requires a remedy, and this the Political Agent has partially obtained. The only effectual way of putting an end to the evil, is to erect a long shed, (or several small ones, according to the nature of the ground) at various points for these people to pass the night in. Lieutenant-Colonel Lloyd already got the sanction of Government to erect 2 such huts, and has contracted with Messrs. Hepper and Martin to build one at a spot 7 or 8 miles from Dorjeling, and a second about



Bullock Hackeries

the same distance farther down, but there ought to be one in the Bazar at Dorjeling, another half way between Mahaldiram (the place where the 2nd above mentioned as building by Messrs. Hepper & Co. is to be erected) and Punkahbarree, a third at this latter place, and the last at the spot where the Hackeries now unload, though this last may not, perhaps, be required where the good road is made. Staging Bungalows are also required at 3 points between Dorjeling and Punkahbarree as 8 miles is a very good day's journey for people coming from the plains being nearly all up hill. I am inclined to think that if the committee apply to Government, that all these points may be obtained and orders issued to Lieut. Col. Lloyd to commence on them at once, although it is not possible to make an estimate of the actual expense, as first of all it is necessary to clear away the forest, then to level the ground to build on, and these two operations will be the most expensive part of each Bungalow.

11. At present nothing has been done in regard to the erection of Public Buildings, not even for erecting a temporary Hospital for the soldiers, many of whom were sick when I was there, from exposure and cold, they not having then (though 5 months had elapsed since the order for raising them was issued) received their uniform, and at the time I visited Dorjeling the thermometer at night was 28. I do not think that a single public building of any description will be erected, even if the ground is cleared, till after the next rainy season, from the difficulty of getting workmen; but the committee might recommend that a road be constructed as soon as possible from the entrance of the present cleared space along the hill, as far as building ground exists, or may be reasonably available, and then one at each end to the hill below, on which a very large portion of the place must be built; also paths for cattle to the different springs where water is procurable. A reservoir covered in ought to be built at each spring for drinking water; what overflows from this might be retained in an open reservoir for watering cattle and many other purposes, and what runs over here, again collected in a place for the Dhobies to wash in, as cattle will not drink water wrongly impregnated with the soap these people use.

12. Another point of considerable importance to all settlers is the regularity of the dawks, and there can be no doubt that if the Post Master-General is directed to arrange this, that the letters will reach their destination with much greater regularity and in infinitely shorter time than they now do. The Palkee dawk for travellers, a point of greatest consequence to the well being of the place, has, I believe, been already brought to his notice, and as the Collector of Dinagepore has expressed his ability and willingness, if permitted, to arrange for the location

of bearers on this road, and as bearers are very numerous in all this part of the country, the difficulties hitherto experienced by every person who has attempted to go dawk on this road will, it is to be hoped, cease, for until that is the case no lady or child could be permitted to go by dawk with almost the certainty of being left on the road for want of bearers.

13. Having remarked on these points, I shall now proceed to that regarding the eligibility of the place. I did not visit it so early as I had intended, having been detained a month on the road by sickness; so that I could not spare the time, when there, that I had intended to give to exploring the hill, even had the season been favourable, which it was not when I was there. I had provided myself with the means of testing stones for lime; and, though I certainly saw no symptoms of lime stone on the hill, it being entirely what is called a primitive formation, in other words, granite and gneiss; yet I am not satisfied that lime may not be discovered nearer than it has hitherto been found; for we know that almost all the large hill streams, which enter the plains from these mountains to the westward bring down round pebbles of nearly pure lime stone and, though I was unsuccessful when crossing the Ballasun, in discovering any such amongst those I tried, still, as I passed by dawk and could therefore only devote a very short time to make such experiments, it does not follow that lime may not yet be found there or in some of the other streams descending from these hills. I am told the surgeon of Purneah has discovered lime in similar situations, north of Purneah; and also that there is a large rock of lime stone some distance from Dorjeling, more in the interior; it may therefore yet be found nearer than we are at present aware of, though the hitherto almost total impracticability of procuring carriage added to the local difficulties which are very great, has prevented any successful attempt to explore these hills. Dorjeling has, from this cause and the impossibility of, at present, hiring any hill people, or even getting people from the plains in sufficient numbers, had greater difficulties than either Simla or Mussooree had to contend with at first; but still, I have no doubt that these difficulties will be overcome by degrees, and that as the forest is cleared away we shall get rid of the Peepsah, a very troublesome fly, and which, though not now found at Mussooree, is still met with on the Tyne range above it though 10000 feet high; we may therefore, I trust, safely anticipate being freed from this annoyance as the place becomes occupied.

14. In regard to situation, I am inclined to give the preference to Dorjeling, as there are not those high isolated peaks which at Mussooree attract the lightning; and I am inclined to think, from the shape of the hills all around it, that the heavy storms

will pass by without doing mischief to the station. The situation has undoubtedly great capabilities and will, I trust, rival Simlah in beauty, whilst as it has infinitely more soil, gardens may thrive better here than to the Westward, and many European fruits and vegetables may come to perfection here, though others, such as grapes, may suffer from the heavy rains at the time they ought to ripen. If proper encouragement is given to gardening, I have no doubt but that we may introduce fruits and vegetables yet unknown in this part of the world, and which have never been introduced at Simlah or Mussooree, as in addition to the expense and difficulty of getting them brought out from Europe, there was the great distance to take them in this country; added to which the circumstance that those who would have been willing to go to the expense and trouble of getting them out had little or no chance of seeing the result of their labours, as few people are enabled to visit those places above 2 or 3 successive years, whereas, from the nearness of Dorjeling to Calcutta, the difficulties will diminish and many residents of Calcutta may pay it an annual visit as long as they remain in India, and thus enjoy the result of their labours.

15. The raspberry, which is not worth eating in the western hills, is here excellent, and chestnuts, there unknown, grow here, and many fruits now found wild and unfit to eat, may become good by culture, such as the cherry, apple and pear, and I expect to have samples of different fruits and woods sent to me that I may submit them to those who understand these things better than I do. I am also informed that the cattle and poultry of these hills are far superior to those found in most parts of the plains, which may encourage farming as well as gardening in this part when well established; but until much of the forest disappears and houses are built, but little can be expected in these points. In regard to the climate, it appeared to me exactly similar to the climates of Simlah and Mussooree at the same season of the year; and I have no doubt that invalids to whom change of air is recommended, will derive the same benefit by a visit to those hills as to the others. As the European soldiers have incontestably derived great advantage from the Sanatarium at Landour, I have no doubt that they would do so here if a hospital was established. I am supported in this opinion by Major General Oglander, who was there when I was, and who would doubtless give his opinion to Government on the subject if called on to do so. If it was once known that Government meant to establish a hospital here, it would go a great way in convincing the natives, that there was no intention of abandoning the place, and to the more timid, the presence of a number of European soldiers would give them an idea of security now much wanting for its prosperity.

Although I think we have every reason to look forward with confidence to the ultimate success of the undertaking, I am inclined to think it will be better to disabuse those who expect the place to be established in a few months; for where too much is expected, the disappointment and consequent reaction are greatest. I fear that those who first visit the hotel will meet with difficulties and privations they never dreamt of, and being disgusted with it, they may give worse accounts of it than it really deserves.

16. To recapitulate briefly the points which I think it would be desirable that the committee should bring to the notice and consideration of Government at once, I would say they were first three additional huts of about a hundred feet long each for coolies and travellers (natives) to sleep in, in addition to the two already sanctioned. Secondly, three staging bungalows in addition to the two already erected at Titalya and Punkahbarree by private subscription. Thirdly, that reservoirs, such as I have before stated, should be built at all the springs (which are but few in number). Fourthly, that Lieutenant-Colonel Lloyd be directed to mark out the principal roads in the station, and the paths for cattle to the springs, and to clear and make them with as little delay as possible. Fifthly, that all such ground as may be required for public purposes be at once resumed and set apart, and that to prevent future disputes a committee be formed to mark out all the allotments and to see that their boundaries are clearly defined, and to settle the ground rent to be paid for the same. Sixthly, that the ground on which the Bazar is to be built shall also be cleared of the forest to enable natives wishing to build to commence, as unless this encouragement is given to them, it is doubtful when the Bazar will be established. Lastly, it would be a great advantage if the roads from Titalya to Punkahbarree were surveyed and estimates made for rendering the one fixed passable throughout the year. But I admit with so much on hand, Lieutenant Gilmore can hardly be expected to do this, and attend properly to his other duties.

17. In regard to the Hotel, I am of opinion, that it cannot be so quickly established as was anticipated, as the dense forest to be cleared away and ground to be levelled were points neither known to us or the contractors, or taken into consideration when the contracts and plans were made. The heavy expense attendant on this will be a fair claim to be laid before the public meeting for their consideration and liberality, nor can the non-completion of the building at the time stipulated be attributed to any want of exertion on the part of the contractors, who have done as much as was possible under the difficulties totally unexpected, which they have had to contend with. As these are points which it is unnecessary to canvass

here, and as other members of the committee have been there as well as myself, and are fully aware of them, I shall here close my letter, though I shall be ready at all times to give any further information in my power, if required.

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,
E.Garstin

Calcutta, 21 February 1839.

It must be assumed that some weighty consultations took place, for ten days elapsed before Mr. Low passed the letter on to Government on behalf of the Committee of the Darjeeling Association with the following requests:

That Col. Lloyd be directed to make out the principal roads in the station and the paths for cattle to the springs, and to clear and make them with as little delay as possible...

That the ground on which the Bazar is to be built should also be cleared of the forest to enable Natives wishing to build to commence...

That the line of road from Titalya to Punkabarree should be surveyed and estimates made for rendering the one fixed on passable all the year...

That a Native Doctor should be assigned to Col.Lloyd for the purpose of attending the Road Parties...

Moreover, the Secretary was likewise instructed by the Committee to state that the Bazar as attempted to be established by Col. Lloyd

Has in effect proved a failure...and it would be a great accommodation were a commissariat officer be despatched by Government for the purpose of starting an efficient Bazar... A great difficulty has been experienced by all concerned in procuring coolies, the Committee beg to state for the favourable consideration of Government that if proper means were taken Mechee population at the foot of the Mountains might in a great measure be rendered available. These people have no prejudices of caste and are ready and willing to work, but unfortunately being principally subjects of the Sikkim Rajah they have hitherto kept aloof...the Rajah, it is to be feared, is still unwilling to promote the establishment of the Sanatarium...²

If Major Garstin's letter was read out to the Members of the Council, they must have listened with surprise and consternation. But whatever their thoughts on the matter, their reaction was swift. Two days later the officiating secretary wrote to Col. Lloyd this ominously brief instruction:

² Consultations, Fort William, 6 March 1839, No. 197

Sir,

I am directed by His Honour the President in Council to transmit the accompanying copy of a letter from Mr. H. M. Low, Hon. Secy. to the Dorjeling Committee dated the 4th instant and to request you will submit a report upon the different propositions submitted by the Dorjeling Committee and at the same time forward an account of the manner in which the funds advanced by Government to you have been appropriated.³

It may be noticed that only Mr. Low's letter was forwarded to Col. Lloyd, without the Major's highly critical observations. All that he had to find out for himself was from the newspapers which printed the Garstin Report *in toto* on 16 March!

But the Colonel was as yet blissfully ignorant of the approaching storm, though by no means blissful. On the contrary, as if in anticipation and part explanation of the coolie question, he sent from Titalya on the day of the Calcutta Council meeting one of his most desperate letters ever:

I beg leave to report that the greatest difficulty is experienced in procuring coolies here for the conveyance of grain and other supplies to Darjeeling or to work on the road or at the buildings which have been commenced. The difficulty is so great notwithstanding offers of increase of wages that I look upon it as periling the very existence of the station there and to travellers and others going up, it is quite insurmountable. This state of affairs I entirely attribute to the want of any European police authority to whom applications for assistance might be made..

This is a hint at press-gang methods of which the Government distinctly disapproved. The forced labour motive is, however, quickly hidden under a generous suggestion that a magistrate would likewise have it in his power to protect the poor coolies from oppression and ill treatment and see that they were daily paid for their labour, a reference to the sub-contractors who brought gangs of workmen from whose wages they put a more than unfair share into their own pockets (as they still do to this day).

I also beg leave to present the necessity for my being relieved from the restriction by which I was originally prohibited from incurring an expense of more than 60 Rupees monthly on account of establishment a Munshee who can write Bengally as well as Persian and Hindostanee is indispensable and is surely not over-remunerated by 40 Rupees per month, particularly when the dearness of provisions, cold, and

³ Ibid., No. 198

continually being liable to move about is considered. I cannot get a decent English writer under nearly the same amount; and I am sometimes obliged to employ many more peons than I am allowed to draw pay for, added to which they do not consider the usual pay sufficient.⁴

Considering the volume of correspondence Col. Lloyd had to conduct with Government, all of which had to be written in duplicate for reference, the request for an efficient secretary seemed reasonable. But his credibility had suffered such a heavy blow that his remarks carried little weight.

By the time the Council met next, they had four letters from Col. Lloyd before them which cumulatively seem to have exhausted what patience there might have existed for the Colonel. His cry from the heart evoked not a spark of sympathy, and the President's reply was curt and to the point (remembering, of course, the Garstin Report):

With respect to the complaint urged by you of the difficulty of providing workmen, His Honour in Council is compelled to think that your want of method and arrangements in the particular of supplies and shelter will have been a main cause of this very difficulty, for, of course, without assurance of food and clothing and shelter adapted to the climate no one would voluntarily take employment under you.

Your suggestion that the Magistrates and other public officers should be applied to for labourers, or that the powers of joint magistrate should be conferred upon yourself cannot be complied with.⁵

The request for a secretary or Munshee, was summarily dealt with: 'The other points noticed in your letter do not require orders.'⁶

What really must have annoyed everybody was the rather off-handed 'report on the different propositions by the Dorjeling Committee' (i.e. Major Garstin) and—blunder of blunders—the failure of the Bazar. The reply in 14 paragraphs can be compressed into a few sentences:

No more sheds.

No more staging Bungalows.

Reservoirs have been sanctioned (*Will be dealt with*).

Roads will be dealt with when means available.

Sufficient Bazar ground has been cleared.

The road in the hills is *in my estimation* far more important.

'...entertaining such propositions is *quite useless*'

⁴ Ibid., 3 April 1839, No. 129

⁵ Ibid., 3 April 1839, No. 133

⁶ Ibid.,

The Mechee are like the Lepchas disinclined to any continued employment.

'Regarding the Bazar I have been deceived..and shall submit a separate report.

'..Mr. Low is quite mistaken..'⁷

It was a piece of insensitive writing and unbecoming brusqueness; and considering that the ultimate addressee was the Deputy Governor of Bengal, it was also impolitic and further damaging to Col. Loyd's already battered reputation. In all fairness it might be said that the Colonel was just overworked, tense and irritable in his struggle with the labour problem and simply lacking time and place to sit down and compose a letter of well chosen and inoffensive words and phrases. It was also getting hot!!

Twelve days later followed the sad story of the failure of the Darjeeling Bazar which had its beginnings in the previous year:

In July last I wrote to Mr. Perry...of the Soorjapore Estate on the frontier of the Purneah District, whose residence is at Kissengunge, to procure his assistance in inducing people to come up to Darjeeling and open shops there. I advanced that gentleman money on his telling me he had got a person to undertake the Bazar. Subsequently I found that he himself was the person who did every thing in the business, and I was glad he had entered into it as I knew he, being in charge of a large estate, had facilities and means at command which were not available to any persons not similarly situated, and which would enable him effectually to accomplish the object. In this belief I was kept and matters went on smoothly, till I went to Kissengunge about the 12th of September last, when I found complaints had been preferred against Mr. Perry to the collector of Purneah by the Proprietors of Soorjapore Estate, Rajah Deedar Hossein and Hussen Rajah, that Mr. Perry had contrary to his engagement not to engage in trade or business, entered into large transactions to supply the Darjeeling Bazar. Mr. Perry told me that he was under such engagement, but did not state that it would hinder him from carrying on the business, and I supposed he meant to transfer the concern to his brother-in-law, Mr. J. Barnes, respecting a provision for whom he expressed some anxiety. Everything regarding the supply of the Bazar still went on. Mr. Perry built golas to hold, and made up hackeries to convey the supplies, talked of building flats to convey grain up the River to Moormala and entertained a host of servants for the Bazar. In short he was

⁷ Ibid., 3 April 1839, No. 129

actively employed in all the requisite arrangements and conveyed a large quantity of grain etc. to Punkabarree thence during the months of October, November and December (I having hired for him 200 coolies for a term); the supplies continued to be carried up to Darjeeling until the term of these coolies had expired and were told there by his people. When our supplies were beginning to run short, I wrote to him to urge him to hire more coolies and keep up the supplies. I was surprised to be informed by him that he had never entered into any agreement to maintain a Bazar; that he found it impossible to procure coolies, and finally, that he would withdraw from the business altogether, as he had only entered on it to assist me without any view of profiting himself.

I am to be blamed no doubt for not having required a formal agreement with a penalty annexed from Mr. Perry, but when I found so much difficulty in getting *any one* to engage in it without very large advances, and when I found Mr. Perry went so far and seemed so anxious about it as to want a monopoly of supply, I never entertained a suspicion that any Gentleman, especially a Government servant, would endeavour to get off the responsibility in the way he has done. His assertion of his only being engaged in assisting me is completely negatived by the fact of his making up his own hackeries, building and his own servants, wanting to obtain a monopoly, making his own advances and, in short, transacting everything connected with the business without any reference to me whatever as to the cost of purchase or other matters of outlay for which he would have required my authority. There can be no doubt he engaged in the business with the intention of making it a profitable concern, and would have carried it on till the present day, had it not been for the complaint preferred against him to the Collector of Purneah.

This is one reason of the failure of the Bazar at Darjeeling, and in addition to this a great number of people were suddenly and without warning thrown for their food on the Bazar and completely exhausted it in a month, although there was a three months' supply in store according to the previous scale of consumption. When I left Darjeeling and from being absent at the time on duty, no measures were taken nor information given to Mr. Perry to increase the quantity of grain in store to meet the increased demand, The holidays of the Hoolee, and Mohurum and the excessive difficulty in procuring coolies has prevented any adequate remedy for the present scarcity there being yet effected.

There is so short a period for action left before the commencement of the rains that I much fear a sufficient supply can hardly be accumulated at Darjeeling to meet the demands that may be made upon it, if the same number of

people remain there. Dr. Pearson and another Gentleman are there about to make a proposal to establish an efficient Bazar, but I conclude their operation would not commence till after the rains, and in the meantime I must endeavour by every means in my power to convey up as much grain as possible.

The want of a cattle road is now grievously felt, and it is much to be regretted that such a number of people whose food is so bulky an article as grain should have been collected at the place before the access to it was made practicable for cattle.

Grain is stored at Punkabarree and is procurable in this vicinity with ease, the procuring (of) coolies, however, to carry it up the mountains is attended with extreme difficulty at present.⁸

The accompanying balance sheet is so simple that a child could read it. Indeed, it seems incredible that a man of Col. Lloyd's standing should be so unbusinesslike and naive in his handling of vast Government funds, for by our present valuation he had advanced to Perry the equivalent of Rs. 160000 to 200000 (ca. £ 10000) (!), and that without a semblance of a contract, barely holding valid receipts, and not to mention the 'excess' of Rs 2700 (= Rs 54000 to Rs 60000), probably out of his own pocket!

The Supreme Council of India at Calcutta could forgive an uncalled for 'proclamation', or the unsuccessful efforts with the Sikkim Rajah in the Oontoo dispute; they might even, grudgingly, have overlooked the failure of the Bazar or the ill-planning of the road, but mismanagement of public money, particularly when every Rupee the Government spent on Darjeeling was closely scrutinized by the public, could not be tolerated. Consequently, the comments of the President-in-Council on Col. Lloyd's transaction were made in a tone of unmistakable exasperation:

His Honour-in-Council cannot regard the explanations furnished by you, and especially that on the subject of the Bazar, as in any way satisfactory. Your responsibility to Government for the amount placed in your hands for specific objects cannot be deemed to have ceased in consequence of having made over sums to a Perry upon the faith of promises which that individual has not performed and now denies. His Honour-in-Council desires me to express his extreme surprise that you should have continued making advances to this person until the amount should have reached so large as 8,077 Rupees without full assurance that arrangements of a kind to satisfy you were in progress and producing the desired result. His Honour-in-Council feels compelled to resolve under the

⁸ *Ibid.*, 3 April 1839, No. 131

dissatisfaction expressed with your explanation that the sum above mentioned shall stand at your personal debt.

The entire failure to establish anything in the nature of a Bazar is at present the great subject of complaint with all who are connected with Darjeeling, and your inability to provide this object evinces a want of Method and resources which has much disappointed His Honour-in-Council. Of course, until the road is completed the difficulty of conveying stores to a site like Darjeeling must of necessity be great, but His Honour-in-Council thinks it might have occurred to you to work the road

Statement showing the manner in which monies advanced me by the Government have been appropriated :

	Rs.	A. P.
Received by Assignment on the Collector of Purneah in sums of 2000, 5000 and again 5000 Rs.	12 000	
Advanced on account of coolies for the roads as per Lt. Gilmore's receipt	3 800	
Ditto to Messrs. Hepper, Martin & Co. per two sheds to be built at and Mahalderam	600	
Advances and payments on account of Mr. Perry for the establishment of the Bazar	8 077	
	12 485	
Sent to the surrounding thannas for the purposes of engaging coolies for Lt. Gilmore's works for the conveyance of provisions etc.	2 215	
Total paid in advance	14 698	
Total received	12 000	
Payments and advances in excess of receipts	2 698	

G. W. A. Lloyd

Lt. Col.

O. s. d. N. E. F.

Titalya

16th March 1839

upwards and establish the Bazar at the extreme point to which it might from time to time be carried and for the gangs of workmen employed beyond a certain proportion according to the distance ought to have been allotted for the conveyance of provisions from the Bazar to the place of work...

As the warm season is now set in, His Honour-in-Council cannot believe it to be necessary to make at present any sheds or other provision for temporary accommodation of the workmen, but accordingly as the road may be advanced at the approach of the rains, preparations must be made to provide suitable sheds etc.⁹

But Col. Lloyd belonged to the type of man that does not know when he is beaten.

I cannot but feel the greatest regret to find the measures I adopted towards establishing a Bazar here, and which under the circumstances the best that occurred to my judgement, have caused so much dissatisfaction to His Honour-in-Council, and I beg permission to observe that on the 29th of July last I reported the difficulties I experienced in the promotion of a Bazar and suggested that I might be allowed to make advances on this account. My suggestion was not, however, complied with as will appear by reference to your letter of the 15th of August last. Nevertheless, the establishing of a Bazar being obviously an essential point to the success of the station, and as I found it quite impossible to effect anything towards it without advancing, I ventured on supplying money on my personal responsibility to the only individual whom I could induce to enter on the business with so small an advance, and of whose ability to perform what he undertook, I had not the slightest doubt. Had I required a formal agreement and penalty, he would not have entered on the business at all, and I had no other resource. Subsequently, namely in your letter of the 26th of September, I was empowered to make advances, and the Bazar was opened in October, though I did not receive the money for that purpose (5,000 Rupees) till the middle of December; and I beg leave to say that I took measures fully to assure myself that the most efficient arrangements were carried on by the individual who had received the money for the formation of the Bazar. In the beginning of September I visited Kissengunge to see with my own eyes what Mr. Perry was doing towards it, and found that large quantities of grain etc. were being despatched by water. Golas had been built on the frontier at Moondwalla, cattle and carts were forthcoming, servants were entertained and every proper arrangement made. Subsequently, Golas were built at

⁹ Ibid., No. 133



Servants

Punkabarree, and I saw that grain to the amount of 2 000 maunds was stored in the Golas ready for conveyance up to Darjeeling. Every thing, in short, went on smoothly till the end of December when the difficulty of procuring coolies commenced, and Mr. Perry first professed his inability to procure coolies. I had from the first suggested to the Government the benefit that wanted result, if a Commissariat Officer or agent accustomed to such arrangements was sent to establish this Bazar. That not having been done, I feel certain that no other better arrangement under the circumstances and with the means allowed me for the purpose could have been made, and no exertion or attention on my part to accomplish the object in view has been omitted. However, unfortunately the result has failed in fulfilling my just expectations of success. No other method can be followed by any one who may undertake this business, and no one else will have so many difficulties to encounter, as the road will in a few days be passable for loaded cattle all the way from the plains, and the employment of coolies to carry up the supplies will not be indispensable.

Respecting the latter part of the third paragraph of your letter I beg to say that the intention I had formed was to work the road during October, November and December, through the upper and old parts of the mountains, and when the bad weather and snow (which occurs generally about Christmas) to...? at the lower end and work upwards till it was finished. Had there been no interference with my design, three quarters of the route down from Darjeeling would have been roughly completed before the bad weather commenced. As it was, one half was done, and I may point out, that without coolies, and a road (the old path being next to impossible for man or beast) a Bazar at Mahalderam or Kurseonggurry would have been quite as useless to Darjeeling. The only place where it was required was the one at Punkabarree or Titalya. The Bazar is of no use to the coolies at work on the road as they bring their own supplies with them from their homes.

Had it not been for the Method and arrangements I adopted, I doubt there...?the miles of the road would have been completed this year.

The hire of most part of the coolees employed was advanced through Sirdars and Duffadars as far back as July and August last, chiefly from my own funds. Each Duffadar was agreed with to furnish 25 men who were hired for one month altogether, but they were to work only 15 days at a time. They also brought their own provisions for that time with them. When it expired they returned to their homes to recuperate and refresh themselves for a while. I should not have thought of putting Government to the expense of clothing men who would only agree to work for one month. The pay of a labourer

in the plains is one anna a day, and as those employed on the road are receiving two annas and a half per day, they must be allowed to be proportionately well paid to enable them to provide themselves with the requisite clothing. However, if sanctioned by Government, they can in future be provided with clothing; also, that it is not a desire for being furnished with clothing and shelter, they bring their own food, which induces an unwillingness to engage or to remain on the work may be referred from Messrs. Hepper and Martin (who have houses and clothing for their people) finding it next to impossible to procure labourers; as to keep them when they do, unless some assistance is afforded by Government in the article of procuring labourers, no work public or private, I fear, be accomplished at their place either with expedition that is looked for or, indeed, this season at all, perhaps not for another.

As no work can be carried on out of doors here during the raining season, which is so close at hand, there does not appear to be any necessity for providing temporary sheds for the workmen on the road. The sheds necessary are those authorized at Mahalderam and Senah Dah (Senada). The impossibility of procuring coolies has hitherto prevented anything more being effected towards their construction than felling the trees and clearing and preparing the ground on which they are to be built. This difficulty of procuring coolies (Mecharees there are more than enough of) appears to me quite insurmountable at the present season, and I do not suppose they could be had in sufficient numbers if even ten rupees a month was offered them, a rate of pay five times as much as they earn in the plains, and what no officer could feel himself justified in paying out without the special sanction of Government.

His Honour-in-Council has expressed such dissatisfaction at my conduct and appears to think I have evinced such a want of Method and arrangements in effecting the specific object entrusted to me that I may be excused in submitting the following statement:

As far back as June 1837 in the joint report of Dr. Chapman and myself it was stated that the first step requisite to the formation of a sanatorium here was the construction of a good road as a means of obtaining the requisite supplies for a Bazar. I had previous to this on more occasions than one pointed out the necessity for the aid of sappers and miners to superintend workmen and assist in the construction of the road, and have never to my knowledge reported anything that could have induced a supposition that the supplies of a Bazar here could be maintained unless a road passable for loaded cattle was first constructed. On receipt of the orders conveyed in your letter of

the 14th of March 1838, which were the first sanctioning the construction of a road, I, though without any assistance in the way of superintendence, immediately commenced on the work and carried it on till the rains put a stop to operations. I was not idle during the rains, but employed every effort to engage workmen to carry the work on as soon as they should clear up. Of the arrangements then effected due benefit has since resulted. I was so sensitive of the paramount importance of this work that immediately the rains broke up I went out myself (Lieut. Gilmore's health not admitting of his doing so) and remained to superintend, by which means I got ten miles of the distance made practicable for loaded cattle by the end of November, at which time Lieut. Gilmore came out to relieve me. Shortly after, Major Garstin paid a visit, and it being his opinion that the road ought to be entirely finished as it progressed, Lieut. Gilmore unfortunately followed his suggestions. Thereby a month of the precious time was lost, and the road did not progress a foot nearer the plains. This method of proceeding, or rather retrograding, I was under the necessity of putting a stop to as soon as it came to my knowledge, and the bad weather having come on about the same time, the people were brought down to the plains and the work commenced from below. Had the above mentioned loss of time not occurred, the road might reasonably have been expected to have reached 18 or 20 miles from Darjeeling in the end of December. The remaining distance might have been done by the middle of February, had not Lt. Gilmore gone to Monghyr to engage Mecharrees. During his absence, however, a hackeree road was constructed to Punkabarree at estimated elevation of 1600 feet, so that Bazar supplies could be conveyed that far with facility. Had the 18 or 20 miles nearest Darjeeling made passable for loaded cattle as I contemplated, a short...? (till the whole line was complete). And that is a climate congenial(?) to the coolies, of from 5 to 7 miles would have enabled cattle to be employed for the conveyance of supplies the rest of the way. All this might have been done in time to prevent the deficiency of supplies in the Bazar here which occurred in the later end of February.

The difficulty of procuring coolies which commenced the latter end of December consequent on the number employed on the road, the number sought after by Messrs. Hepper & Martin for their walers (?), and by other individuals, and the demand for labour to get in the rice crop would not have affected the supply of the Bazar had the arrangements I intended been fully carried out. The Hoolee and Mohurram holidays and the occupations of an agricultural population have subsequently interfered to prevent any remedy of the deficiency of coolies, and none are now likely to be procurable

till after the ensuing rains; the difficulty of procuring coolies returned the completion of the road and consequently renders the supply of the Bazar here (the only place where it is requested) a matter of extreme difficulty.

I beg leave to observe that if settlers and persons connected with Darjeeling complain of the want of a Bazar, they are themselves to blame for running impatiently into undertakings here before ascertaining what everyone must be aware was indispensable to success, namely a passable road was in existence. A road is a work of time and labour especially in a rocky, mountainous country; even the detail of the line it is to follow requires considerable time to ascertain, and I submit, it is not reasonable in the public to complain when their disappointment is to be attributed to the precipitancy (?) of their own proceedings, and when Government is (in?) reference to the want of a road extended the period allowed to individuals to build from one to two years, it would seem as if they expected one year to be sufficient time to accomplish at Darjeeling what it has required twenty to effect for Simla and Landour (Landour), and that too with the greatest disadvantage this plan labours under from want of a hill population, which is not the case with the other two stations.

In conclusion I beg most respectfully to say that I am not conscious of having neglected any thing that lay in my power to expedite and facilitate every measure connected with the establishing this station to the utmost extent of and even beg and the means granted me, and by every personal exertion that no person can feel were anxious respecting its success than I do, and with the exception of near two months when I was necessarily absent on other duty ((Oontoo!)), my time has been entirely devoted to moving back and forwards obtaining coolies, and otherwise exerting myself to accomplish the various objects connected with the plan. My judgement may be impugned, but my zeal in the cause cannot, I humbly submit, be doubted.¹⁰

Colonel Lloyd's arguments sound plausible enough, but so do Major Garstin's. But one thing is clear, any good that letter might have done was completely undone by the self-assertive and self-opinionated style in which it was written. It was an unpardonable folly that the Colonel should condemn the instructions of the Chief Executive Engineer. But the notorious 'Statement of monies advanced' and the self-righteous explanatory letters had already determined Government to rid themselves of this turbulent officer; and they certainly showed no 'want of Method' in achieving this end

¹⁰ Ibid., 1 May 1839, No. 99

discretely and with as little loss of dignity as possible. All that was needed was a transfer from the Political Department back to the Military Department whence Col. Lloyd had been 'borrowed'. The Governor-General was therefore approached with most admirable matter-of-factness:

The President-in-Council having decided the Oontoo boundary question in favour of Nepal is inclined to think that as all the subjects of the disputes between Sikkim and Nepal are on the point of final and satisfactory settlement through Dr. Campbell's mission, the motive for retaining an officer of Lt. Col. Lloyd's rank as an agent of this Government in charge of the relations with Sikkim is removed, and that officer may be replaced at the disposal of the Commander-in-Chief unless required by His Lordship for other service.

If consequently upon Darjeeling becoming a place of extensive resort it should be necessary to establish a functionary for the administration of the settlement intended to be formed there, an officer of inferior rank would probably suffice to superintend the civil and military duties of the station. His Honour-in-Council, however, though he has directed the above suggestion to be offered for the Governor-General's consideration, desires to learn His Lordship's opinion upon the subject before coming to any resolution or making any communication to Lt. Col. Lloyd as to the probability of the termination of his special mission.

To assist His Lordship's judgement on this point, His Honour-in-Council has directed copies of the recent correspondence with Col. Lloyd upon conditions of the station and of the road to it, also that officer's explanation of the causes of the want of a Bazar, with the orders passed thereon to be forwarded for His Lordship's information.¹¹

Col. Lloyd had his last letter promptly acknowledged and was at the same time informed that as copies of the previous papers had been sent to the Governor-General, His Honour-in-Council has advanced copy of your reply to be forwarded also to His Lordship without delay.¹²

On the same day this little masterpiece of hypocrisy went into the Governor-General's mail bag.

Sir,

The President-in-Council having already forwarded to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General copies of correspondence

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 10 April 1839, No. 118

¹² *Ibid.*, 1 May 1839, No. 100

bearing upon Col. Lloyd's conduct and arrangements at Darjeeling, His Honour-in-Council deems it due to that officer to forward the accompanying explanation recently received from him, for his Lordship's consideration. Copy of the reply addressed is also forwarded for information.¹³

¹³ *Ibid.*, No. 101

'Mr. Query's Twenty Questions

Oblivious of the secret and confidential letters passing between Calcutta and Darjeeling, the 'Ditchers' followed with growing interest the progress of Mr. Wilson who had left on the '16th instant (Feb.) for Dorjeling to open the Hotel which will be ready for the reception of visitors about the first week in April.' Such news stimulated the more adventurous minds to find out some vital facts before committing themselves. One 'Mr. Query' put his worries into twenty questions 'To The Editor of the *Bengal Hurkaru* or anyone else who will answer them' (to which the editor himself replied):

Sir, the approaching hot weather induces me to put the following queries:

1. Is the road to Dorjeling completed, and if so what vehicles can with the least inconvenience travel on it?

The road is not completed, but will be perfectly practicable for loaded bullocks and ponies in all March. Travellers may likewise be carried in taunjauns (=tonjons=chairs) in use at other hill stations.

2. What does it cost to build a bungalow of 6 rooms, and what period is required for the construction?

About Rs. 3000. Cannot be finished before 1840.

3. What supplies is it necessary to take up for a family of three people, and for a residence of three months?

Mr. Wilson undertakes to sell supplies on the spot. He left Calcutta a week ago.

4. Which is the most advisable route, in the hot season, by water to Maldah and dak to Dorjeling, or dak the whole line, or how?

Dak the whole line.

5. Are servants to be procured at Dorjeling, or what proportion? If none are procurable, what clothing is preferable in order to guard the Bengalees from peepsah bites?

None. Clothing: coarse, red cloth.

6. What are to be the terms for the accommodation of the Hotel?

See Mr. Wilson's bill of charges; advertised in all the papers.



Dak-wallas

7. Have Subscribers to the Joint Stock Association a preference to house-room in the Hotel, or what advantage do they enjoy for the 250 Rupees?
At the next general meeting this can be brought forward.
8. How are goods to be transported up the hills—by elephants, coolies, bullocks, or what conveyance?
By bullocks.
9. Are there hill ponies at Dorjeling, and at what price?
None. Mr. Wilson will have several below for hire.
10. Are the Bungalows for Travellers completed?
The first two are completed and the third is nearly so; the 4th will not be finished until April or May.
11. Is the place secure from night attacks like that just occurred on Suddiya, and is there any police?
The situations are totally different.
12. What is Lieut. Col. Lloyd ordered by Government to do in the way of affording aid to travellers, and is he accessible and obliging?
Read the Government instructions in Mr. Bayley's Book.
13. Are there any arrangements made for the dak, both in regard to palkees and letters, and what are they?
As regards letters and banghi parcels, the same as to any other station. In the beginning of March the Post Master will lay a travellers' dak from Calcutta to the second bungalow at Punkabarree.
14. What numbers of troops are there, and are they to be relied on?
A handful. No.
15. When will the correct map Lt. Col. Lloyd is said to be preparing be ready?
No access to know.
16. May any grantee have a farm in the neighbourhood besides his actual grant of house and compound ground?
Yes.
17. What hopes are there of a monthly steamer going up as far as the navigation may allow?
None. Caagda (Caragola) is only about 40 miles from Doolaulunge (the navigable point of the Mahanundee) and the Allahabad Steamers pass the first mentioned place.
18. How large a society is expected there this year?
The Hotel is expected to be crowded. No other house will be ready before June (except two or three of a most temporary nature).
19. Do the various authorities, military and civil, in the neighbourhood, reside with their families on the spot?
They have not yet accommodation for their families.

20. Is there any clashing of the authorities at Dorjeling, or do all pull well to promote the convenience of the public; for they must remember that official heart-burnings are not to be allowed to impede the convenience of that public?

No knowledge of these matters. Doubtful.¹

Mr. Query's last and somewhat indelicate question instantly raises suspicions: Had any rumours reached Calcutta from Darjeeling? Had there been any official leaks? Or was it only a routine question based on routine experience? Whatever its cause, this and many other unasked questions were answered two days later. *The Englishman* printed a most graphic travel account which might have done more than just satisfy Mr. Query's curiosity. The correspondent was a keen observer and a man of many interests. It is his detailed record which enlivens his narration and makes it into a most valuable source of information. But it also anticipates and corroborates the Garstin Report—yet to be published—to a degree which almost suggests that the letter was part of a plot against Col. Lloyd. The narrative was serialized over five days, filling about two and a half long columns in small type each day. Coincidence or not—the letter cannot have failed to have its desired impact on the members of the Supreme Council only four days before Major Garstin's findings were laid before them.

¹ *Bengal Hurkaru*, 23 February 1839

A Wanderer's Account

Sir,— As at this time any account of Darjeeling is probably interesting to many of your readers, I will give you some particulars of a trip I made to these plains in the company of a friend during the months of October and November last.

We started for Berhampore and reached Turteepore on the northern bank of the Ganges without accident or delay. At Moidapore, in the Malda district, however, we found the fresh bearers—fresh in more senses than we desired, having evidently been sacrificing copiously to the jolly god;—on we went, however, the bearers stopping every quarter of a mile and wrangling so loudly among themselves that all sleep, (for I should tell you it was night), was effectually frightened from our eyelids. We reached Malda, however, at an hour after sunrise, although one of our banghees did not come until 2 P.M., and received great attention from the hospitable Dr. . . . On the following day about noon, we again started northward, determined on proceeding by the proposed route in a direct line from Malda to Kissengunge, leaving the old town of Malda to our right after crossing the Mahananda, on the bank of which is the ruin of a brick town, well worthy of notice. We proceeded on to the ancient city of Purwah (Pandua?) where, whilst changing bearers, we paid a visit to the tomb of the sage Kootoob-ul-Alum, the resort of numerous Mussulman worshippers, but remarkable only from the difficulty of reading the inscription at the head of the tomb; we also visited a very old domed building, enclosing the tombs of Zein Uddeen Shah and two others unknown, the dome of which is full fifty feet in diameter which, allowing for the thickness of the walls, would be about half the size of that of St. Paul's Cathedral in London. We also saw a neat mosque erected by Shah Jelal in 1075 of the Higeria or A. D. 1668. About a mile further on we took a passing look at the ruins of the celebrated Uddeena (Adina) mosque, built by Hussein Shah, exhibiting a specimen of the most beautiful and elaborate moresque ornamental architecture I have ever seen. The building appears to have consisted of a centre which is divided into two stories by a floor of large slabs of stone, supported on beams of the same; this is

about 80 feet in length, the walls being beautifully carved, and two wings, about 60 feet in breadth and 225 long; in the western wing is a most beautifully carved pulpit or mullah's reading desk. Altogether, Purwah (Pandua?) is a most interesting spot to the traveller and the antiquary, and is well worth a halt of two or three hours to anyone having leisure, which it is to be supposed would be the case with most of those proceeding to Darjeeling.

At the next stage to Purwah we quitted the high road between Malda and Dinajepore and took a northerly direction, making our way through rice fields, where our bearers were often up to their knees in water and never out of a continued swamp; the tops of the rice, wet with dew, bending our palankeens as we proceeded, which soaked through the bedding of the palankeen carrying my *compagnon de voyage*, the thickness of my mattress saving me from that evil. At Govindpore, where we arrived at midnight, our guide having lost the track, ran off, leaving our bearers to find the road the best way they could; in consequence, we did arrive at Hyrampore the next stage, until seven o'clock in the morning, having been ten hours going one stage. From hence we left the swamps and moved on through a very narrow footway bordered by Nepal thorn and byer trees continually forcing their way into our palankeens to the endangerment of hands and faces. We could find no spot on the way, the only birds being wild pigeons and doves; and about four P.M. we reached Dhurool, where we found the police official dispatched by the Joint Magistrate, had preceded us by four days, but had failed in securing the attendance of bearers, and none were procurable, although we waited until the next morning, when we found ourselves obliged to let our palankeens be carried by coolies, whilst we footed it, and thus we proceeded on to Akhumghur thannah, (formerly at Kal-leagunj) where we found ourselves again doomed to disappointment, as the delays we had experienced had made us behind our appointed time, and induced the darogah to dismiss the bearers from attendance, and we were therefore compelled to lose a day waiting for them to be re-assembled. Our shooting was, however, a little more fortunate between Dhurool and this place, as we had succeeded in bringing down some wild ducks and a couple of large curlew for the people. We reached the next stage, Hematabad thannah, before daylight the following morning, where we were aroused by a great noise, amidst which we made out that the bearers refused to take up the palankeens, but it was a full quarter of an hour before we ascertained the reason of such refusal to be, that only eleven bearers had been provided for the two palankeens, and then, after a long protracted contention and some personal

insolence on the part of the darogah, we managed to arrange that five of the bearers from the last stage should continue through this also; the eleven new hands told us, while on the road, that they had received no advance from the darogah, and expected no pay, and hence their small number and unwillingness to go on.

On the jungle near here, we were told to expect game, including leopards, but met with a disappointment, as all we saw were a few of the royal curlew, some plovers and pigeons. Night brought us to Hurreepore, from whence the road diverges for about five miles in direction nearly west by south to Bhoplah, formerly a military cantonment, broken up in 1795; it is in the Purneah district on the banks of Nagur. Here we set to and cooked our game for dinner, and then got on well without let or hindrance, through the two next stages in a north easterly direction to Balleegara, where only ten bearers were procurable. Elephants were offered, but it being night, we preferred making an arrangement, by the help of a little buxis (baksheesh), with the bearers of the last stage to carry us on to Kissengunge factory, belonging to Mr. Perry, whose servants, while the banghees were coming up, treated us to a hearty breakfast; after which we again got on the move within view of the glorious peak of the snowy Himalaya—and most splendid was the first sight of the snowy range. The cloud-clad sides making it appear cut off from our dense and foggy world, a mere shadow of the skies; until as the morning advanced, the rising clouds veiled its lighter beauties, and gave to sight the black majesty of the forests clothing the lower range.

We passed through a well-cultivated country with very promising crops on the ground, until we reached the river Dhonk, where the soil becomes more sandy, and some spots appeared chiefly appropriated to pasturage, with but a small intermixture of cultivation. Some trifling repairs were in progress on the road, but they will be of little use, unless bridges be erected at intervals to raise the road over the swamps and across the little nullahs which intersect this part of the country, subject to certain influx from the hills.

Our meal today consisted only of bread and cheese, and at sunset we reached Kalleagunj, a thannah in the Purneah district. No bearers awaited us, and we had to put up with some insolence from the jumadar before we could even get supplies for our bearers from the last stage Kurkureah, who consented to take us on the following morning.

From Chuttegaels, about five miles beyond Kalleagunj, we observed the country beginning to rise in small knolls with swamps of black mud between them, and a very pretty lilac coloured flower of the kanefussia kind covers the sides of the road. At Teatoleah (Titalya) we found the dak bungalow

making good progress, and the jumadar of the pharee reporting that no bearers were procurable. We remained until the following morning, Mr. Martin, who we found here, very obligingly lending us a small tent for our accommodation. The zumeendar's people also threw every obstacle in the way of our retaining the bearers we had brought from the Kurkureeah, even going to the length of forbidding the moodee to sell us any rice. There seem here to be some bad characters who, from a sinister but unfathomable motive, try to throw every possible obstacle in the way of travellers proceeding to, and works going on at, Darjeeling, inducing coolies from the plains to abscond, and preventing those of the neighbourhood from working, a fact experienced by every one who has gone up, and surely requiring the interference of the authorities.

At eight o'clock in the morning we left Titalya, traversing a good road through a gently undulating country, rich in crops, and abounding with paun (pan) gardens, and arrived at Sunnyasseekottah thannah at noon, where we halted for our bearers to eat, and to procure banghees burdars to the hills, but for which we were obliged to pay one or two annas each man to Punkabarree, after which we went on to Silleekooree for the night, where there is a tolerable bungalow.

The next morning proved one of that showery gloomy description which makes an Englishman discontented with himself and all around. We, however, braved it at about seven o'clock, and crossed the rivers into the Sikkim's territory; a turace (terai) of high grass and shrubs interspersed with occasional patches of cultivation. Here we found, however, several very interesting plants, among which I may enumerate a pink coloured heath of tall growth, the masendras, the hibiscus africanus, two kinds of patorium, two varieties of Bauhinia, the gay coxcomb and a little blue flower very like the English 'forget-me-not'.

About noon we crossed the first rocky torrent, said to be a branch of the Balasun, and in half an hour after, we reached the second called Rahanea, where we were disgusted with the sight of a dead body lying in the waters. In another hour we crossed a third torrent having a very pretty fall, and at about 2 P.M. we passed the village belonging to Beer Sing Chowdree, where there is a fourth torrent, but much overgrown with jungle. Hence our road lay through a morung of fine saul (sal) trees; with an underwood of the dwarf China bamboo. The steepness of the road obliged us to quit our palankeens and walk, which we did, wrapped up in our cloaks, through a heavy fall of rain for about an hour, and arrived at Mrs. Hepper's at Punkabarree, much in the happy state of half drowned rats. The sight of a good dinner, to which she very hospitably invited us, eked out with a dash of aquavita to drive out the cold, soon revived us to the enjoyment of these

comforts, ended by a glass or two of good sherry from our friend Mr. Bruce, whom we found here detained for want of coolies.

Here is the second of the bungalows which will, when finished, be a very comfortable and somewhat picturesque halting place, having a fine view of the plains, and well supplied with beautifully clear water from the torrents in the neighbourhood, one of which is brought to flow within a few yards of the bungalow.

Having taken you, Mr. Editor, thus far on the way, I shall stop at the first rise at Punkabarree, but I would not advise any traveller, and especially an invalid, to attempt following the same route by which we came from Malda to Kissengunge. The absence of anything like a road for so great a distance, and the want of bearers throughout the line are sufficient reasons to make even a considerable sacrifice of distance were it even required to proceed by Dinajpore, by which course you would enjoy a good road all the way and find bearers at hand. Besides which, I do not think there is any, certainly not an adequate, saving of distance, it being only stated to be twenty miles, full ten of which is made up by the detour I have mentioned between Hurreepore and Bhaplah.

By the journal that I kept, I find I have estimated the distance travelled by us between Malda and Punkabarree via Kissengunge was 122 miles, whilst between Punkabarree and Malda via Dinajpore, it was 133 miles. If, however, it is resolved to make any alteration in the line of the road, I should recommend rather that the old Ramnagur road via Godaguree from Dinajpore to Bogwungolah should be reopened, it being in a tolerably direct line from Calcutta and capable of being effected at but little expense, for proceeding southward from Dinajpore the first five miles are in excellent order through an avenue of fine trees, and a gentleman now at Dinajpore has travelled nearly forty miles further without much inconvenience; hackerees too are constantly passing, and the traffic consequent on its reopening would soon scare away (even were there no one disposed for sport to travel that way) the tigers etc. from its vicinity. It was formerly the usual route to Dinajpore, the circuitous one by Malda having been only constructed to accommodate the residency there, which being no longer wanted of course, the necessity for the dak going by that out-of-the-way line has ceased, and I do think that the Darjeeling committee would do well to lay out their money rather in reverting to the old road easily repaired at a trifling outlay, than in constructing a new one at a vast expense from Purwah to Kissengunge, through a swampy and almost impracticable country.¹

¹*The Englishman*, 25 February 1839

...I conducted you up the first rise, that is to say to the second bungalow. These bungalows are built on the same plan as those found on the Benares road, and afford very comfortable accommodation for a traveller, being divided into two, each division affording a room and a bathing room, with verandah on three sides. The first of the series at Titalya is of brick, the second at Punkabarree of what is called wattle and daub; these are both by this time finished and in a habitable state, whence, so far the traveller of the present day will be better off than we were; in addition to these there is at Titalya a large store erected for Mr. Wilson, and it is Mr. Hepper's intention to beautify each with a garden, a task for which no one is better capable from his great taste for the picturesque, as evinced in the selection he has made of sites for the bungalows, and his mode of clearing, so as to open the views to the best advantage.

On preparing to start from Punkabarree, we found a new and unexpected difficulty in the want of coolies to carry our baggage, having been led to suppose that the Meches of Beer Sing Chowdree's village would have been ready to serve in this duty; but we found this was not the case, there appearing an extraordinary unwillingness in that quarter to afford any aid to travellers, apparently from some private orders given by the Sikkim Rajah, (whose people they are) which nothing but a long series of conciliatory behaviour on the part of the authorities and visitors can overcome. I therefore recommend all travellers to take up with them from the plains whatever coolies they may require, paying them liberally, and providing them with supplies of all kinds necessary for their support, as long as they choose to retain them, recollecting too, that a man can only carry, inclusive of his provisions, about two thirds the load he is accustomed to do in the plains. Inattention to these points has caused much of the difficulties travellers have hitherto met with, and created there, in a great measure, that unwillingness which the inhabitants of the neighbouring plains feel to going into the hills.

Encouraged by Mr. Bruce, himself labouring hard in getting his traps and supplies up the hill, and determined after having come thus far not to be daunted by any one difficulty, however apparently insurmountable; feeling ourselves too much refreshed by the improved climate which even this small rise of about 2880 feet had brought us into, we determined on prosecuting our journey.

Having by *silvery* soft persuasion induced the Meche dak runner to carry our russaees and pillows, disposed of a change of clothes each, a few boxes of Payne's invaluable soup, the like of salmon, and a supply of biscuits, together with four ready dressed fowls in a couple of bags, balanced by our cloaks, a

bottle of the 'cratur' and tin pots to serve at once for drinking cups, and cooking vessels, we bid farewell to our kind friend, Mr. Bruce, and I began the ascent, proceeding up steep acclivities, and equally precipitous descents, often obliged to leave our burdens to balance themselves the best way they could, whilst we employed hands and knees to climb places not infrequently at an angle of not more than ten degrees; again over narrow ridges connecting one hill to another, the crests whereof sometimes not more than eighteen inches or two feet in breadth, along which we had to traverse, where a false step to either one side or the other would have precipitated us two or three thousand feet; having received at Punkabarree the comforting intelligence that shortly previous a banghee burdar of Dr. P.'s had fallen over, and been dashed to pieces, the petarabs having been found about three thousand feet below.

The rock of hard micacious gneiss added to our difficulties by appearing above the soil and offering but slippery footing, impracticable but for an occasional fissure. The road too possessing very great sameness, being covered in by a thick and lofty forest with dense underwood, enlivened, however, by some brilliant flowering shrubs, among which I observed the bright scarlet Holm's *Koldia*, never seen in such perfection in the plains, together with the *Malpeggia* and other Nepal shrubs. From its steepness, however, this footway, for it is no more, would be impassable for every kind of conveyances, equally so for a lady or an invalid, being as much as a strong man in full health can overcome; and even when the road is completed, if it is carried over the same line and trees cut down from each side, the height of the precipices would daunt many and create a dangerous dizziness.

To make a road too over the ridges I have spoken of, would be an expensive work of very great labour, as it would be necessary to cut them down at least sixteen to twenty feet through hard masses of rock. In my opinion it would be a far better plan to bring the road circuitously down a lower position and tunnel the ridges, so as to avoid the most precipitous parts; this stage being by far the most laborious and difficult of the whole, as well as the most rocky.

As we ascended a cloud occasionally enveloped us, and we saw the first appearance of moss on the trees; the various creepers are extremely luxuriant, and at one spot where the ridge projects and affords place for a single tree, its guarded roots offering a tempting resting place, we obtained a very fine view of the plains below, with the Teesta winding its course through them. What adds to the disagreeableness of this part of the journey is the circumstance that no water is procurable; the traveller therefore will do well to provide a bottle at Punkabarree of the most necessary beverage.

Above half way up this ascent we heard of the body of a Danghur being in the jungles near the path, and just before reaching the halting place at Kurseongoree, at about an elevation of 5000 feet, we saw the corpse of a man, said to be a mistry, lying on the way side in front of a small hut. Besides these two, Mr. L (ow?), who had preceded us by a few days, had removed one from before one of the huts at the halting places, which is in a hollow of well poached black mud, where there are four hovels roofed with crushed bamboo not water tight, two of them so low that a man cannot stand up in them; a third with a rough muchan, by way of a sleeping place, of unbarked branches of trees extending through half its length, but devoid of protection at the sides; the fourth rather smaller than the others, occupied by the dak men, having a tolerably good muchan and three sides closed, in which we finally esconced ourselves. But you may well imagine how dispirited we were on first beholding this wretched accommodation, arriving, as we did, most thoroughly exhausted, not merely from the fatigues naturally incidental to the labour of ascending so steep a path, but doing so with a heavy burden on our shoulders, to which of course we had never been accustomed even in the plains.

It was some time before we recovered sufficiently to enjoy a mug of Tom Payne's most excellent soup, (without which no traveller ought to go into the hills) and a good blazing fire, a comfort of no small value at Kurseongoree. I should recommend that until the bungalows are all completed, no one should visit the hills without a small hill tent. When they are ready, it is intended to abolish Kurseongoree as a halting place, making the stage from Punkabarree direct to Mahalderam; but I cannot help thinking this is rather too long for any one journeying, and especially so for the first one of ascent, when a traveller is less inured to the difficulties of the way. Near here is a very good spring of clear water.

A good night's rest reconciled us to our journey, for we were so knocked up and discouraged by our progress thus far, that we had almost resolved to return, rather trusting to repass difficulties which we knew to risking the encounter of such as we were ignorant of. Fully satisfied, however, that we could not further be our own porters, we bribed some workmen, who were on their way up, to divide part of our small baggage among them, and made a bargain with one of the dak runners to convey the rest.

Thus lightened, we started at about ten o'clock, through a dreary wet march. Not that any rain actually fell, but the clouds wherewith we were enveloped nearly all the way, depositing their moisture on the moss clad trees, whence it fell in a sort of second hand shower on us beneath. The almost

constant humidity of this portion of the route is evident from the thick clothing of mosses of several varieties with which every tree is enveloped, giving them a most mournful aspect, increased by the long lines of thin bamboos, decayed by its effects, broken off at about ten feet from their roots, and giving way at the slightest touch. The natives account for the moss by the belief that the trees here declared, they should, from the cold and wet, be obliged to desert the hills and go down into the plains, to which end they petitioned the Gods, who in compassion supplied them with this warm clothing.

The ascent from Kurseongoree to Mahalderam is far less precipitous than the preceding day's journey, but we found it very fatiguing from the slippery state of the path, often varied most disagreeably by mud more than ankle deep, rendering our progress both slow and laborious.

In Mahalderam we found only one small hovel wretchedly roofed like the last with crushed bamboos, but partially watertight, open at the sides, and erected in the midst of a regular pool of black mud. On the march we had observed the violet in great abundance; two varieties of the crab apple (one of which had a long stalk like the Siberian crab, and the other very like a ribston pippin in miniature) a species of damson with a large stone, but having a rather acrid taste; a large stoned fruit, resembling the lemon in size and shape, with a very pleasant flavour, and numberless varieties of the camelia; among which was a species of tea, superior in all appearance to what I had previously seen from Assam; the soil being very similar to the samples and description of that found in that province, being a base of gneiss gradually decomposing in its upper stratum into a red micaceous clay, above which is a considerable depth of rich vegetable mould.

The elevation of Mahalderam must be about 7000 feet, and we found the cold considerably increased since our last stage, and we were right glad to pile into the fire some fine large logs, green as they were, even at the expense of enduring smoke almost enough to suffocate, and which we avoided the best way we could by sitting down on the ground, so as to be below the most powerful part of its influence. We were fortunate enough too to find some old canvas laying about, with which we closed one end of the hovel, and having made all these preparatory arrangements, we boiled a mug of Payne's never-too-much-to-be-lauded soup, and busied ourselves drying our clothes, russaees, etc. after which we brewed a mug of hot grog, and making up the fire so as to burn all night, we laid down on the muchan of rough branches, making terrible impressions on our ribs, only softened here and there with some damp moss, taking care, however, to keep our feet as close to the blazing fire as we could with safety.

The next day we woke to new troubles in the shape of drizzling showers; the presence of clouds for a quarter of an hour at a time, and what yet worse, the attack of our porter by severe fever, which obliged us to halt in these miserable quarters during the whole of the day, hemmed in on every side by tall mournful looking moss-clad trees through which we in vain sought an outlet, whence we might behold the far distant plain, in which search we came upon another corpse of but recent date, which had been dragged from the entrance of the hovel by Mr. R.— and his friends two days previously.

How agreeably were we surprised on our return to this place, after our visit to Darjeeling, to find the vast improvement which Mr. Hepper had effected in that short time, well proving how highly qualified he is for the work he had undertaken. Diverging a little distance to the westward of the place we occupied, Mr. Hepper has selected a small round knoll as the site of the bungalow from which he has with great labour cleared a vista to the brink of a precipice to the southward, commanding a most splendid view of the plains, with the course of three rivers: Balasun, Teesta and Mahananda.

I certainly never saw anything more beautiful than this view on the first occasion I beheld it, two of the rivers being distinctly visible winding through the plains, whilst the third being obscured by the intervention of a cloud about half way down the precipice from the reflection of the sun, assumed the appearance of a rich streak of gold painted on the cloud. The labour of Mr. Hepper in clearing this spot is almost incalculable, having to clear away oaks of the growth of centuries; one we measured was seventeen feet in girth above the roots, and must have yielded 150 or 200 feet in length of solid timber. Of these we saw some twenty at least felled; and add to this, it is found necessary to cut down the top of the hill selected for the bungalow to a depth of full twelve feet, great part of which is composed of large masses of rock. It is Mr. Hepper's intention to form a small garden here also, which will greatly add to the beauty of the place, and I have no doubt produce many of the European fruits and vegetables hitherto unknown in India.

We, on our second visit to Mahalderam, made an attempt to get down the steep sides of the mountain to the southward in search of game, but it was very slow work from having to cut our way through the jungle, notching the trees as we went to prevent losing ourselves, and at other times scaling the wetty beds of torrents that it occupied nearly the whole day in proceeding about a couple of miles; the only vestige of game that we could find being what appeared the track of a bear, but bruin was not to be found.

But this letter has already extended to a great length, and I will therefore delay further description of our progress until tomorrow.

I am, yours faithfully,
A WANDERER²

Sir, —On the evening of the second day's halt at Mahalderam, about a hundred coolies arrived on their way to the station, who being unable to find even shelter in the small shed, were obliged to bivouac under the trees in a damp cold climate, and clad only as you usually find such people in the plains; they brought us a note from Mr. Bruce, under whose authority we the next morning divided our baggage among them, and renewed our journey, making but slow progress on account of the mud, although the path was tolerably free from laborious ascents, the hills rising more gradually with less appearance of rock than we had at any part observed, the chief difficulties arising from having to scramble over immense trees, which we found at many places lying across the path. We were disgusted when about half way to the next stage by the smell of a putrid corpse, and at Sonada (Sena Dah), near the halting hut we observed another. This day introduced us to the cowslip among flowers, and among fruits to the blackberry, and two sorts of raspberry; one of the latter is of a large size, pale in colour, but of delicate flavour, and the other is small and deep coloured, with a most luscious taste, fully equal to the cultivated sorts of Europe.

At Sonada an elevation of about 9000 feet, we were agreeably surprised to meet Mr. Hepper, who greeted us most hospitably, and invited our sharing with him a fine piece of beef and a bottle of old port. After disposing of a good show of these good things, we looked about our place of halt and could not help observing that here, as at the other stations, the dak hut is erected in the very worst place that could have been chosen, being in a hollow, constantly wet, and obliging you to wade ankle deep in mud to obtain entrance; the hut itself, however, is somewhat better than the preceding ones, being matted all round. For the accommodation of his coolies we found Mr. Hepper had just erected a good temporary shelter, capable of holding fifty men comfortably, of branches of trees covered with fern, of which there are large quantities on the hills. The site of the bungalow, now, I hear, about half built, is a small hill of red clay, the highest spot in the neighbourhood, and well adapted to the purpose of having some picturesque trees near it, and looking down on the torrent, supplying water to the place; but Mr. Hepper had not, when we left, been successful in his endeavours to obtain a view of the plains.

² Ibid.

After a good breakfast, we took leave of our host, Mr. Hepper, and started on the last stage to Darjeeling with two of his coolies, whom he kindly lent us to carry our traps; the first half of our journey was like the last, very muddy, but this ceased as soon as we passed two small natural tanks, (near one of them we found another dead body,) where a fine view opened to us of the inner range of hills, and the ascent was more dry and fertile without gentle slopes, the sides of the path being covered nearly all the distance with violets and cowslips, together with vast fields, (if I may be allowed the term) of raspberries, until we reached the Julla Pahar (Jalapahar) which we found excessively difficult of ascent, from the loose nature of the soil as much as from its natural steepness. Its sides are covered with peppermint and other aromatic herbs, but we observed all the trees bare, and apparently burnt, from what cause we could not ascertain. We remarked also several new plants; one in particular, a species of creeper, being exceedingly curious, the blossom deep purple, edged on one side with white, with a sort of orange eye on each side exactly similar in appearance to the head of a Chinese junk.

Reaching the northern side of the hill, we, after descending about 800 feet, fell into the road constructed last year from Darjeeling, which though hastily constructed, had stood the rains, and is likely to endure from the very tenacious nature of the soil. Whilst we remained at Darjeeling the road made very great progress and was carried quite round the Julla Pahar, so that on our return we were saved this difficult ascent, and a most magnificent view of the snowy range has been opened, having a most imposing effect on the traveller from the plains, as for full half a mile he will have this superb scene before him; beholding the snowy range in all its glory, seeing it rising from the dell between the ranges of hills in all its majestic height and able to discern the variations of scene and foliage from the large forest trees at its foot to the snow-clad summit.

Proceeding along the road bounded by raspberry bushes, fine oaks of two varieties, beech trees, cinnamon, birches, and other fine trees for about two miles of easy descent, we entered Darjeeling itself, and a new and striking scene to any one long accustomed to the flat unvaried plains of Bengal. It consists of a number of small knolls, connected together by long ridges, but naturally without a square yard of table land. To the right or east as you enter, rises the hill on which the old fort, part of which yet remains, was erected, and to the left you look down on a cluster of little hills covered with black looking forest trees. The only bungalow yet built is Colonel Lloyd's, which stands in front of you as you enter the station, behind which rises a high mountain, whose red looking summit shows it to be at an elevation beyond the reach of vegetation; whilst to the north east the prospect is bounded by the snowy range,

altogether forming one of the finest views the painter could depict.

The road itself is rather narrow, but to widen it would incur a vast additional expense, as well as longer time to construct, and the present width is quite sufficient for a bullock road or the passage of palankeens. I should think it would be a profitable speculation for Mr. Wilson to keep a few hill ponies at Punkabarree for hire to travellers, as the road will, when finished, be easy enough of ascent to make that mode of conveyance agreeable; the climate being quite cold enough all the way to admit of being out the whole day without inconvenience. Those who did not like riding might go up in tonjohns, as palankeens from the rise of the road subjecting them to be frequently on a slope, would be uncomfortable; for my own part, were I to go again, which it is probable I shall, after the road is made, I should prefer walking; but with ponies you might manage to go the whole distance from Punkabarree to Darjeeling in one day.

Colonel Lloyd very hospitably invited us into his bungalow, where he gave us such accommodation as he could spare; at his table we shortly after our arrival also met the other two residents at the station, Dr. P.— and Lieut. G.— and talked over the difficulties of our journey up in after-dinner chit chat over a bottle of good old port, decidedly the most appropriate drink in that climate, good stores of which I hope Wilson has provided for the Hotel. For I can tell him that well toasted within the fender will be, what every traveller who resided there, will call for, with the addition perhaps of a glass of hot whiskey toddy sipped with your feet on the hob afterwards.

The first object the next morning was to enjoy the fine view of the snowy range of the Himalaya, to which end we ascended the hill, where the ruins of the fort are, whence the best prospect is obtainable; the ascent is by a flight of stone steps of rude construction, and all that remains of the building is a square room of unhewn stone, roofless, with an entrance and three windows, the lentils (lintels) supported by wooden plank proving it to be of recent date; from here we enjoyed one of the most splendid prospects imaginable, the foreground showing the forest-clad hills with their deep amber coloured tops beyond the reach of vegetation, and above them appearing the dazzling white hills of eternal snow, rendered more beautiful by the rays of the rising sun, tinging them with a high crimson hue. A singular appearance is observable at times on the highest peak, whence an almost incessant cloud of light vapour seems to arise like smoke from a volcano, and has misled some people, but which I imagine is occasioned by the action of the sun slightly dissolving the snow, and its becoming almost instantly condensed into vapour.

After breakfast, we proceeded in company of Colonel Lloyd

to look about the station, the character of which is but little understood by people in Calcutta, who appear to have been misled by the rough map printed in Mr. Bayley's pamphlet, never intended for publication, seeming to show long tracts of table land, of which there is none, the whole station consisting of a cluster of little hills connected together by pointed ridges, and not affording space even for a house without cutting down the hill to obtain a level.

The manner adopted in apportioning the locations also is disadvantageous; this is done by measuring the tracts of eighty yards each in a direct line from a given spot, whence it often happens that a spot suitable with a little labour for the site of a habitation becomes divided between two neighbours and is useless to either. This is certainly an evil of no small magnitude, but I do not see how it is to be remedied, as a different mode of allotment might give rise to cavilling on the part of those who obtain the less favourable positions, unless, indeed, the rule of first come best served be sufficient to restrain such a disposition, or, as appears equitable, that such parts of the station as are too precipitous for any useful purpose, be altogether rejected and not included in the assignments. Beyond this, the only point for consideration in making choice of a site for habitation is to avoid the highest ridges, which would be found generally too bleak to be comfortable as residencies, as is proved in the small habitation built by D. C.— on the pinnacle of a hill, commanding, certainly, a beautiful view, but far too bleak for comfort.

The fort hill, too, which has been reserved for the Governor-General, is in my opinion far too much exposed for a residence; the same objection applies to the spot selected for the hotel at the northern extremity of the station, which labours under the additional disadvantage, too, of being distant from the only water that has yet been found, being two springs near the entrance of the station westward of the fort hill, and south of Colonel Lloyd's house. It might, however, be easily carried round by an aqueduct at little expense, as they do in Mauritius, should no other spring be found, which is very probable, in clearing the jungles.

Low's hill, about a thousand feet lower on the eastern side, affords a milder climate, and has been on that account selected by several persons as a preferable site for building; but the descent is very steep, and the residents there would have to form a separate society among themselves as it would be dangerous to traverse at night, besides its distance from the bazar, which would be inconvenient.

The soil is a red quartzzy earth, formed of decomposed gneiss, over which is a deposit of black vegetable mould well calculated for gardening if its vegetative powers be occasional-

ly supported by manure; it naturally abounds with parsley, mint, peppermint, and other aromatic herbs, affording delicious food for cattle; the sheep fed on them, without any gram, yield the finest flavoured mutton I have ever tasted; of flowers are found the delicate blue-bell, a kind of heath, the violet, the cowslip, the passion flower, the honeysuckle, etc. with the chiretta plant, the olea fragrans, the bay tree, and the cinnamon; its indigenous fruits are strawberry and raspberry; whilst the timber trees are three kinds of oak, beech, birch and walnut; besides which are many varieties of camelia, including the tea plants.

The climate is delightful, recalling our far distant home; the thermometer ranging whilst we were there, (the beginning of the cold weather,) full thirty degrees below what it was in the plains, being 43 in the night to 54 and 56 in the hottest part of the day. The air is generally dry and clear, and the sky tolerably free from clouds; for we observed that when the surrounding hills were obscured with clouds, Darjeeling was perfectly clear; this is to be accounted for by the greater height of the hills immediately surrounding *this bright spot*, for such is the interpretation in English of its name, being considerably higher than itself, excepting to the north east, whence comes the prevailing wind, creating a strong current in the hollow and driving back the clouds as soon as they attempt to dip towards it.

In my next I shall give you some account of a visit we paid to the aborigines.

Visit to a Lepcha Village

A few days after our arrival the Foujdar of the Lepchas, with a great number of followers, paid a visit to Colonel Lloyd; he was a short, stout man, with Tartar features, and dressed in the Chinese costume; he appeared intelligent and lively, and his followers were fine, active men; many of them extremely well dressed, and all bearing long knives, some also carried bows and arrows; one of the latter gave us a specimen of his woodcraft by splitting a piece of wood, almost nine inches by three, that was lying on the side of the fort hill, at a distance of full three hundred yards from the verandah of Colonel Lloyd's house from whence he discharged the arrow, and that without in the least resting on his aim.

Being desirous of seeing something of the domestic manners of these people, called there Lepchas, we engaged the services of one of the race who understood Hindoostani as interpreter, and left Darjeeling under his guidance. The descent towards their village was to the east, passing Sero's hill, and at parts rather precipitous, but generally through vistas of every kind of trees which I have before enumerated, and extremely picturesque; we passed on the way two tombs, which are held in great respect by the people, built in a regular mausoleum form of unhewn stone, and after a journey of about three hours duration arrived at the Dingpun's house at Pudumtam. The rank of Dingpun is somewhat similar to that of Mundue in the plains, save that as he possesses some feudal rights, he is also considered as a sort of military servant of the Sikkim Rajah, to whom he is arbitrary whenever his services in that way may be required....

The houses of this village are few in number and scattered; those of the Dingpun, where we were, were a fair sample of the rest, which are all superior in construction to those commonly met with in the plains. The frame work is of timber, having one end of the flooring beams resting on the hill, and the other supported on posts from twelve to fourteen feet in height; the roof, floor and walls are made of split bamboo, the roof being lined with large leaves of a tree abounding in the forest, and which, under the influence of the smoke, assumes a highly

polished appearance; at the side, looking out towards the valley for a space of about a foot and a half above the floor, the bamboos are placed at some distance from each other so as to form a kind of window the whole length of the house. The roof projects some distance over the walls protecting them from the rain, and forming a sort of verandah all round the buildings. The room is ceiled with crushed bamboo through about three fourths of its breadth at a level with the base of the gable, forming a sort of upper room or attic used as a store room to which the ascent is by a large bamboo, notched so as to form a rude stair; a square frame of bamboo in one corner of the room confines a fire-place of mud about eight inches in thickness, five stones in the centre forming resting places for the cooking pots, before which presided the mistress of the domicile from morning to night labouring in her vocation. The sloping enclosure underneath the floor its appropriated to the accommodation of pigs, goats, etc.

The food of the Lepchas appears to be plain and simple, consisting chiefly of rice, yams of several moist and delicate species, and roots, with, on high occasions, a fowl, a kid, or pig, the first of which we saw them devour bones and all.

In their general habits they are neat and rather cleanly, as appears in the neatness of their houses and the frequent washing of their cooking utensils etc., but in their persons they are the dirtiest, filthiest set I ever met with; personal ablution is apparently held in abhorrence, and a suit of clothes once on, is never removed until wear obliges them to substitute a new suit. The dress is nearly the same for male and female, except that the latter wear it rather larger in the skirt; its material is of thick cotton or woollen, generally of its natural colour, but occasionally dyed blue; it consists of a kind of tunic reaching to the knees, and fastened on each shoulder by a metal skewer, sometimes of silver, leaving the turn of the shoulders and the arms bare and confined by a belt round the waist; to this, such as can afford it, add a kind of jacket, or short shirt with loose sleeves. Wives are valuable, as it appears that the women perform most of the labour of the field and house; they are purchased from the father and cost generally sixty rupees, or, should the young man not have such a sum at command, he is allowed to obtain the girl after a certain period of service, similar to the patriarchal mode described in the scriptures as performed by Jacob to Laban. The women are, by all accounts, modest and chaste, though not secluded as in the plains, but joining in the conversation and conviviality of all who visit their houses; each man being allowed two wives, who live together in great harmony.

The men always wear a short knife, varying from a foot and a half to two feet in length, and from one and a half to two

inches broad, terminating in a point; this is made of very finely tempered metal brought from Nepal, and is used for all purposes from cutting up a chilly to felling an oak tree; they are very skilful in its use. Some of them, as I have before mentioned, carry besides this a bow and quiver of arrows. They are short, muscular men, stout built and active, with flat faces and Tartar features, altogether devoid of beard. They are fond of hunting and fishing, and for the former purpose keep a small breed of dogs, having bushy curled tails, well trained, with good noses, and most unwearying in their pursuit of game.

Their mode of cultivation is very primitive; when they take up a position, they do not fell the trees, but merely strip them of their principal branches, and bark them, by which means they soon after die of themselves, and are then only cut down as required for building or fuel; the cultivation is then carried on between the bare stems; this, however, only consists of scratching the loose vegetable mould, forming the superstratum of soil, with a short, hooked stick into the furrows. Thus formed, the seed is sown and covered up. These crops are rice of a superior kind, in point both of flavour and produce, having all the farinaceous qualities of wheat, the matter of which their fermented liquor is made, and very fine kind of white maize of extraordinary large cobs, a specimen of which I brought down with me. This kind of tillage continues from three to four years in succession, when the upper soil becoming exhausted, the village is removed to a new location. The tax, or tribute, therefore, levied by the Sikkim Rajah from these people is, in consequence, not collected from the land or its produce, but by a kind of poll tax at the rate of one rupee for every three men; his highness's whole income, however, as far as we could learn, does not exceed twelve thousand rupees annually.

The Lepchas get most of their supplies, such as salt, broadcloth, copper utensils, beads, etc. from China through Thibet, but their wants are few, and they have but little knowledge of the value of money, for the use of which they have but little opportunity. Hence, they are undesirous of entering service or adopting other means for its acquisition; a present of broadcloth, beads, buttons, needles, of which they well know the use, tobacco or spirits, is far more acceptable to a Lepcha than a rupee. Little communication can therefore be expected with them, and little inducement can be held out to them to regular intercourse with Darjeeling, until the bazar there shall be fully and effectually established, when of course, they will soon find that the sale of the superfluity of such articles as they have, as rice, fowls, pigs, etc. will furnish them with means to obtain what they require, and will soon create an active intercourse to a mutual benefit. The delay, however,

that has occurred in establishing a bazar at Darjeeling is seriously injuring the prosperity and welfare of the station. No blame, however, in this respect attaches either to the Government or the local authorities, as I am well aware that a large sum has been long since advanced to the contractor for the purpose of establishing this bazar, on account of which only a small quantity of rice has been sent up to Punkabarree, no part of which has yet been forwarded up the hill, and no other article of any kind has even yet been despatched thence, and I even have heard that the coolies and others at the station have been reduced to absolute want from the non-arrival of supplies for the bazar; the contractor cannot surely too soon be called on either to fulfil his contract or forfeit the penalty. The contract should be declared open to competition which would, I think, be the best mode of effecting the desired object, as I know of several individuals ready to enter into a speculation, which must assuredly prove exceedingly profitable at present. You are obliged to take up every thing from the plains both for yourself and servants, and I know that Mr. R.— in October last was obliged to leave Darjeeling much earlier than he had intended from being unable to procure rice for his servants to eat, although he offered on reaching the plains to return two seers for every one that he should obtain. The sooner then, the present contractor is declared to have forfeited, and a new contract is opened with an active and efficient individual, the better, for little good can be effected until a bazar be established, not only for the purpose of supplying coolies and others employed on the works, but to induce the Lepchas to bring to a profitable market such articles as they are able to furnish...

February 27, 1839¹

The language spoken by the Lepchas appears to be Thibetian, from which country it is very probable these people have derived their origin, as well from their language as from their habits and features.

The village of Pudumtam is supplied with water from a very pretty dripping spring a few feet below the Dingpun's house, whence it is drawn into thick bamboos about three feet long, which the children carry to a strap passing round the head, much in the same manner as I have seen the mountaineers of Europe carry burdens. We resided among these hospitable mountaineers three days, partaking of their fare, and nightly sleeping on the same floor with the Dingpun and his family. You will say, travelling makes one acquainted with strange bedfellows, and most truly did we find it so, for laying on the same bare floor with ourselves were men, women, children and dogs.

¹ *The Englishman*, 1 March 1839

During our stay we made an attempt to visit the torrent, forming the head of the River Rungeet, which we were told abounded with a kind of fish much resembling trout, but the journey would have occupied, including the return, more than one day, and we had no accommodation to expect there in the shape of huts, nor any tent for shelter; we were, therefore, obliged to content ourselves with a distant view from an advantageous spot pointed out by the Dingpun.

While resting there, we had a sample of the activity of the



Lepcha water carrier

Lepchas in wood cutting. A young girl who had come down with our party for mere amusement, borrowed the knife from the Dingpun, and climbing a moderate sized tree overhanging a steep precipice, whence we were enjoying the prospect of the falls of the Rungeet, in an almost incredibly short space of time, lopped off every branch. We had also a specimen of their native music. While reclining on the sward to rest himself, the Dingpun took out a short flute or pipe of bamboo, having four holes as stops, called a pullit, with which he really discoursed most excellent music, and amused us for some time with a series of wild airs, bearing a striking resemblance to the Highland pibrochs.

At the village we found a travelling lama with his servant, the latter possessing strongly marked Tartar features, and the ugliest fellow I ever set eyes upon, but the former of rather intelligent physiognomy. We found him, together with his religious character, to combine trade as partly his object of travelling, as we found our host purchased from him about a pint of spirituous liquor of some kind, said to be of Chinese manufacture.

Whilst at Pudumtam we witnessed a scene which strongly illustrated the independent and hospitable character of the Lepchas. Two official chuprassées, deputed by Colonel Lloyd, arrived at the Dingpun's house with a copy of the proclamation, announcing the taking possession by the British Government of all the territory between the Balasun and Mahananda, ceded by the Sikkim Rajah, but by some omission or mischance, this British proclamation was unaccompanied by corresponding announcement from the Rajah to the people of the portion ceded. The Dingpun received the men hospitably, and being unable, from our residence with him, to find them accommodation in his own house, he loaded them with rice, Indian corn, chillies, tobacco, etc. almost enough for a fortnight's supply, and sent them to a neighbour. But he positively refused to receive the proclamation, and on the following morning repeated the refusal, declining even to allow of its being posted against the wall of his house, although he read and explained it to his neighbours, whom he summoned for the purpose. His argument against receiving it was plainly and boldly set forth, grounded on the fact that he and his father before him, had duly and faithfully served the Maharajah, from whom they have received favours, and that therefore he could receive no other master without the Rajah's orders. Besides, he added, 'when I go to visit my maharaj, he receives me gladly and feeds me well; but if ever I pay the Colonel sahib, he gives me nothing to put in my mouth; although, when the sahib log or their visitors come to my village, I give them what I can and pay them every attention.'

I really, Mr. Editor, felt humbled at this simple declaration of the Dingpun. It grieved me that one of so open and hospitable a disposition, should not have been better understood than to have been so negligently received on his visits to the station, as to have grounds for making such an assertion. This will show you what might be expected from the Lepchas by a conciliatory and considerate mode of treatment, that they have even been carelessly regarded is, I well know, only from oversight, and so good is the disposition towards them expressed by the authorities at Darjeeling, that I have no doubt they will soon be brought in to offer us that aid and intercourse which is so necessary for the welfare of the station and the comfort of its visitors and residents.

On our trip down to Pudumtam we met with the auralia, the Hypericum and the small acorned oak; we also saw a long armed monkey of black colour with a white face. I should also have mentioned in my enumeration of the plants of Darjeeling itself three species of rhododendron, the white, the pink, and the red; on the banks of the Rungeet too, we were told, that the pine was to be found. We really quitted the Lepchas with regret, and I certainly, should I go there again, would spend some time among them and see more of their mountain provinces.

I have only a few observations to make in closing the account of my trip; the first of these refers to a subject that has doubtless attracted some notice from readers, namely, the vast number of dead bodies we met with on our road, of but recent decease, being eleven in all; this evidently has its source in the want of nightly protection for the natives during their journey, and the impossibility of obtaining supplies, consequent on the neglect in establishing the bazar. Natives from the plains, ignorant generally of what they will have to encounter, go up unprepared with any additional clothing to what they use in their own sultry climate, and expecting to meet with some shelter, at least at the several places where they are told to make the stages or halting places, but they find themselves in a cold climate, surrounded by humidity to an excess that, had the sun more power on the hills, would assuredly produce fever, and exposed to a bivouac in the open air and without covering; this necessarily produces in many constitutions fever and disease; they are unable to walk on so fast as their fellow travellers, who cannot remain with them, lest the slender stock of provisions should fall short; they are consequently left by the way side, their fever increases, their provisions become exhausted and they die. This is a melancholy state of things, you will say, but it is a true one, for a remedy to which humanity loudly calls. The remedy, you will say, is simple: build sheds for the protection of such travellers, and send up

moodees to sell supplies. These have not been unthought of, but the usual dilatoriness attendant on all business in this country, oversight has prevented the remedies being as yet applied.

Although, as I have said before, advances have been made to a contractor to establish a bazar, and I know that an estimate has been made, amounting in all to only eleven hundred and fifty rupees, two hundred of which was offered to be subscribed by private individuals. But a public officer considering the estimate too high, has caused this pernicious delay, pending reference to higher authorities to decide upon a difference, (when the proffered 200 rupees is taken into account), of fifty rupees, to the sacrifice of the lives of many. Where the fault rests I know not, but I can hardly imagine it to be with the authorities at Darjeeling, as they are evident sufferers by its effects; as I know one consequence to be the refusal of many coolies and others to go up into the hills, even at the extraordinary high rates of wages offered for workmen in Mr. Hepper's advertisements.

Much has been said about the little insect called the peepsa, which takes the place of the mosquito to annoy us. But although I have certainly seen some natives in a dreadful state of ulceration from the bite of this little fly, yet with care it is very innocuous. They are only to be met with in the sunshine and never appear at night. The bite causes a slight spot of blood to be drawn up to the surface of the skin, but if you leave it unirritated, and avoid exposing the part to the direct heat of the fire, the irritation subsides in a few minutes, and no ill effects follow. Natives, however, have their limbs more exposed, and when standing around the fire, rub the parts bitten, whence they become irritated into ulcers and cause great inconvenience, the best remedy for which, as well as for the swelled limbs they are subject to in the hills, is to provide such as are taken up for permanent employ as servants or workmen with woollen stockings and shoes, or any other warm clothing they will wear, and cautioning them particularly against approaching a fire or irritating the bite. Neither of us, I can assure you, ever felt the least inconvenience from peepsas, nor have I heard any complaints of them from other travellers or residents there.

Another subject for remark is the exceedingly dilatory rate at which the dak travels after leaving the plains, being no less than seven days from Calcutta to Darjeeling, of which four days are occupied in proceeding from Titalya to the station, notwithstanding that there is a good supply of active hill men (Meches) as runners. This arises from the want of system and superintendence, as is evident from what I myself observed. At Sonada on our way down, the dak reached that place at 3 P.M.

and could with ease have got into Darjeeling at 6 in the evening, as the new road would have been met half, or for five miles out of about ten, yet the runner stopped, although there was a man to relieve him at the place, and did not start until past nine o'clock the next morning. At Punkabarree we saw the dak arrive at 2 P.M., but it was not carried on until past eight the following morning. These are matters of some moment to persons intending to visit the station, and I am certain only require to be brought properly to notice to be corrected.

The subject of delays experienced by travellers from the want of a sufficient number of dak bearers even of the road via Dinajpore, is now under the consideration of the Post-Master-General, and I shall not therefore refer to it at any length here. It may, however, be worth mentioning that we were informed, that the cause of our meeting difficulties of the kind on our return via Dinajpore was stated to arise from some dispute regarding settlement of accounts for the dak of Mr. L.— who preceded us by a few days, the bearers asserting that the Police officers who posted, had never paid them what they themselves received from the Deputy Post-Master; this, however, having been made known to the authorities will, no doubt, be enquired into, and if true, prevented in future.

Having been obliged to halt one day at Beer Sing Chowdree's village on our way back to the plains, it may be as well to say a few words regarding that worthy and his people, whom we found erecting a long hut or enclosed shed which he told us was for the use of the 'sahib log'. He is very specious and plausible in his manner, but evidently not disposed to give real assistance to any one who has yet gone up. He is, however, shrewd, and for his class, well informed; but with much of the worst features of the Bengalee character, although more hospitably disposed than Bengalees generally are, as he had some rice and dried fish with chillies, the latter rather strong in flavour and fragrance, by the way, prepared for us.

He is the headman of about 200 Meches, paying tribute to the Sikkim Rajah of one rupee for every three men, and owns a very populous village surrounded by a considerable tract of cultivated country, in rice, maize, cotton etc., which is now included in the territory made over to our Government along with Darjeeling. The Meches use no ploughs, tilling the ground only with a hooked stick, like what is made use of by the Lepchas, but shod with iron. We suggested the use of the plough drawn by oxen, but his reply was 'God created them ignorant of the management of bullocks, giving them only a hooked stick armed with iron to till the ground, therefore they could not use the plough.' The Meches are poor but industrious, simple in their manners, and apparently willing to serve if not prevented by their headmen; they are lively, fond of

spirituous liquors, singing and music, for which however, their only instrument appears to be a kind of lute or sittum, played with a small wooden wedge.

But I have done with my trip, the account of which will, I hope, enable intending visitors to form some little idea of a place just now affording interest to many, and one which will in a short time, I have no doubt, be a common resort for invalids, or others wishing for change of air, and a relief from the daily routine of business in Calcutta; it is capable of being made a most delightful spot, the climate is healthy, the air bracing, and the scenery attractive, whilst its vicinity to the metropolis will, I have no doubt, attract many who could not afford time or money for a more distant trip. It would also afford a good station for the establishment of schools, as its vicinity to Calcutta would induce many to patronise them. I have no doubt, those who could not afford to send their children to Europe, or some even who could do so, would, I think, prefer it as enabling them to personally observe the progress of their children's education, and maintain that proper place in their affections, so often impossible when children are sent home for education, or the common result, of which has been a neglected state of education, and most harrowing change to the parent of mere duty, for regardful affection.

I would recommend all travellers who are desirous of seeing the country, to take with them a small hill tent, together with a sufficiency of hermetically sealed provisions, some port wine, a small supply of whiskey, ship biscuit, salt and other condiments, a pair of leather leggins for walking among the underwood; plenty of good stout shoes, and a suit of thick frieze or other substantial cloth. Their supplies, of course, being made proportionate to their being able to secure accommodation at the hotel, and eatables from David Wilson, or not; a strong hill pony to make the ascent and to ride about the station would also be a desideratum, and with this recommendation I conclude the loose notes of

Yours faithfully,
A WANDERER

March 1, 1839²

² *The Englishman*, 3 March 1839

A Note on Darjeeling

'A Wanderer's Loose Notes' were followed by another 'Note on Darjeeling'. This time, by contrast, describing travel by water from the 'Neighbourhood of Benares'. The account illustrates the vicissitudes of river transport. This will probably explain why the *Bengal Hurkaru* was so emphatically, in favour of 'dak all the way'.

An account of a journey from the neighbourhood of Benares to Darjeeling may at this time be acceptable to the public. Not that it contains any thing very valuable in itself; but I have received many enquiries of the manner of proceeding here, the state of the roads, and the kind of place it is; and I think the best way of answering them will be to give in your paper my own experience, though it is but of about four months.

Our voyage from Jaunpore to Monghyr lasted thirteen days; but two were taken up in following the winding of the Gomtee; and the better part of six more by beating against contrary winds, which were so violent as to compel us frequently to lie to for several hours at a time, and one whole day we could not move from our anchorage. The voyage, therefore, could not be considered a quick one for the time of the year, the beginning of August, and the very height of the rains. For a traveller coming from Benares, the journey to the mouth of the Gomtee ought not to occupy quite a whole day, and the voyage from that city to Monghyr might easily be performed in eight or ten days in an ordinary season—which this was not; and by steam the time taken up would not, I fancy, occupy even half that. Leaving Monghyr I arrived at Malda in two days, and at Kissengunge in six from Malda, and at Titalya in five more, or, to speak correctly, on the morning of the sixth. The whole voyage lasted twenty-six days and a half, nearly eight of which were consumed by various detentions.

One cause of detention I may mention, as not likely to occur again to any traveller for many years: the unusual height of the Mahananda in the lower parts, from Malda near to Nawabgunge. The whole country was flooded, and for two days we lost our way, sailing over paddy fields, between villages, and consuming much time before we could regain our track. On

the other hand, the upper part of the same river was lower than usual, the rains having been as scanty in the mountains and northern parts of Purnea, as abundant in the Gangetic provinces. Owing to this, although I engaged a native boat at Monghyr to enable me to come over the shallows with greater ease, it was sometimes aground before I reached Kissengunge. Above, at a place called Sonapore, it was not got off without much difficulty, and at the expense of three hours' labour, though my men were assisted by a great number of coolies from the neighbouring villages. In the evening we were aground again, so that my progress did not exceed three miles the whole day. The next morning I was enabled, by the kindness of Colonel Lloyd, to leave the boat, still three miles from Titalya, having my baggage brought afterwards on hackerees and coolies.

The Mahananda having been described as a rapid mountain stream with sudden rises and falls, I expected to find it difficult if not dangerous to navigate. But the only difficulty lies in its shallowness, while there is no danger; and the rapidity is not to be compared to that of many parts of the Ganges. Near Malda its banks are low and clothed to the water's edge with thick jungle, said to abound with deer, hogs, tigers and other wild animals. As we ascend, the banks become higher and drier, and the country more cultivated. In the neighbourhood of Sonapore, the paun (pan) gardens begin, and the only jungle consists of large patches of high grass. The vegetation does not differ from that of the higher parts of Bengal. Between Kurkureeah and Kalleagunj we first observed pebbles at the bottom of the stream; at no great distance higher they lie on the banks, and here and there upon a considerable portion upon the low beach. They have been rolled down from the mountains; nothing like a rock having been seen during our voyage up the stream.

Of the zoology of the Mahananda I had no means of forming an accurate opinion. The mammalia before mentioned are upon the authority of the natives who live near the jungle, in which they are said to be found. The Gangetic dolphin is rather common, birds of the aquatic tribes are numerous. In the lower part, the larger Duster abounds; higher up the Crane family take the lead; Pelicans are in plenty; the Coromandel anastomus is common, and the black and white kingfisher constantly hovers over the stream. The only reptiles I saw were two or three specimens of mud tortoise, probably the *Trionyx gangeticus*, and three or four not very large gurgals (the long nosed alligator). In a quantity of fishes brought to me I did not observe any differing from those of the lower part of the Ganges. Among insects, I was much pleased at capturing a number of an undescribed species of *Cicindela*, larger and

more splendid than the Chinese (*C. chinensis*). It is upwards of an inch long from the mandillia to the tips of the elytra. I gave it the trivial name of *cuprea*, from its appearing like living copper, being coloured with blue, green, burnished and dead, lines of that metal, in some parts brightening into gold. Near Titalya I found also, on the long grass, a considerable number of the white spotted *Cicindela*.

As might be expected, the scenery of the lower part of the Mahananda is generally that of the province of Bengal, varied, however, on the left, as we ascend, by a distant view of the Rajmahal hills. This grand chain of mountains I first saw at Kissengunge dimly, yet giving an idea of their immense height. Between Kurkureeah and Kalleagunj the snowy peaks are distinctly seen at sunrise of a pale golden hue, gradually changing to silver, and fading as the day advances. Farther up, they become more distinct, and soon after sunrise, have an appearance of solidity about them, difficult to conceive to belong to snow: seeming more like that of an immense quarry of chalk. At Titalya, the trees on the sides of the lower ranges could be seen; and the snowy peaks shine conspicuous over every thing early in the morning, though, as before, generally fading away with the progress of the day.

The general course of the Mahananda is due north from Malda to Titalya; but its windings are only inferior to those of the Gomtee: to Malda sometimes your course is due east, and in a mile or two further due west; and now and then directly south. Of course the voyage is very tiresome, and I was heartily glad to get out of my boat at Titalya, though I knew the real labour of the journey was only then about to begin.

The trade of the Mahananda does not seem to be very extensive: timber, gunny bags, a thick sort of canvas, termed *patee*, the kind of flax called *sun*, and grain, being nearly the whole of the exports from the neighbouring country. The imports are still more limited, consisting only of salt and the few luxuries of life as they are esteemed by a people not far removed from barbarism. The timber is brought down the river from the Morung. It is chiefly *saul* (*sal*) and *sissoo*; and it is made up into rafts which possess some ingenuity in their construction. A *dhingee* or canoe, made of a single tree hollowed out, is placed between a number of logs, varying from 4 to 6, according to their size, and bound to them by cross pieces over the top. This serves for a dwelling for the boatmen, at the same time that it buoys the raft over the shallows. Sometimes a larger and broader raft is constructed, of two *dhingees*, having between them a greater number of logs and some on the outer sides bound together as before. Occasionally, instead of *dhingees*, a larger boat of from 50 to 60 maunds, or it may be more, is put into their place. And I saw several

rafts formed of two boats of that kind, one before the other, with the timber disposed on each side, and bound together by cross pieces, as usual; but with a cable also extending on the right hand and on the left, from one boat to the other.

I am informed that Dullolgunge is a place of considerable trade; being situated (on the left bank of the river going up) just at the highest point navigable during the dry season. It lies at some little distance from the bank, and as I reached it at the middle of a hot day, and was anxious to go on, I did not go to the town. Kissengunge is on the opposite side, a day's voyage higher up; but by land a journey of only a few hours. The site of the old cantonments and bazar is occupied by the residence of Mr. Perry: a gentleman of whose hospitality, kindness, and readiness to oblige, it is impossible to speak too highly. These qualities have been severely taxed too by travellers to Darjeeling; all who have proceeded here, having, like myself, trespassed upon him most largely, and all have met a reception from him equally kind, though few perhaps have required it to the same extent. Indeed, such has been the assistance he has rendered to all parties, as to make his residence at Kissengunge one of the most fortunate circumstances of our infant settlement. This place was abandoned as a military station partly in consequence of its extreme unhealthiness; and being surrounded by a large jheel, it is very unhealthy still.

Titalya is situated in a fine open country, on the right bank of the Mahananda. The cantonments were very unhealthy owing to a jungle and swamp of lemon grass extending up to the very lines. I have been told in confirmation of this being the cause, that the bungalows at the end of the lines next to the swamp, were the continual abode of sickness, while those at the other were comparatively free from disease. The town of Titalya, if it deserves the name, is reckoned healthy by the natives, and the situation occupied by the bungalow of Col. Lloyd, the staging bungalow, and my own on the side of the river, appears to be unobjectionable. The banks of the river are deep and the surrounding country higher than most of the Bengal stations. There is a bazar held daily, I believe, but the supplies are of the most wretched description, consisting of grain and vegetables in small quantities, and now and then a few fish. It is here necessary to guard the traveller against the idea, which seems to be pretty general, that supplies of all description are to be procured at Titalya. It would be nearer the point to say that none can be had either for love or money, and easier to say what there is than what there is not; for hardly a thing can be bought for yourself or even for your servants,—not even such as abound in every other bazar I have seen in India; in short, nothing is to be had but milk, eggs, fowls, and such things, and wether goats, or as they are technically termed, 'kassies'.

I was very kindly received at Titalya by Col. Lloyd, who gave me all the assistance in his power to procure coolies to carry my baggage up the hills. I had calculated upon 50 being more than sufficient; but so little could they carry at that season, that, after leaving many things behind, the loads were still more than heavy enough. At 4 o'clock on the morning of the 17th September I started on Col. Lloyd's elephant, the coolies having been sent on an hour before, and arrived at Silleekooree, the next stage, at half past 8. The coolies did not come up till 3 P. M.

The next day we set out at 3.30 A.M. and I reached Punkabarree at 10 A. M. but the coolies did not come up all day; next morning most of them slowly came in; but many things having been left in the jungles in the morning, I was obliged to remain all day at Punkabarree, and send back for them; and after all, only part were recovered. Started on the 20th for Kurseongoree at 8.30 A. M. and reached it at 3 P. M. having had much rain on the march. Rain all night. Set out on the 21st at 10.45, and got to Mahalderam at 5.30; having had a most distressing march to my people, with rain almost all the way. Rested on the 22nd to refresh the coolies; rain all day. Started again on the 23rd at 9.45 A. M. over a narrow road, up to the knees in mud, much obstructed by fallen trees, and reached Senah Dah at 3.15 P. M.; rain as usual nearly all the way, and almost every thing left behind. At 7 A. M. on the 24th began the last march, and arrived at Darjeeling at 3.15 P. M. thoroughly sick of the journey; this day was the only tolerably dry one since leaving the plains.

On this expedition my people suffered most severely from the incessant rain, the bad state of the road, and want of shelter, some of the coolies fell sick, and many more deserted on the road, so that of 50 with which I left Titalya, and six more hired at Silleekooree, not above 10 or 12 arrived at Darjeeling, their loads being left at every stage, and many thrown aside in the jungles.

Of course a journey under such circumstances did not afford opportunities for very accurate observation of the road: the almost incessant rain; and when the rain ceased, the constant dropping from the trees added to the discomfort and difficulty of the way. From Titalya to Silleekooree a buggy might easily have been driven; and hackerees conveyed to the foot of the hills; the first indication of which is a succession of undulations (perhaps the term might be stronger) which we passed over to arrive at a road leading to the abode of Beer Sing Chowdree, Sirdar of the Meches, a people belonging to the Mongolian race, who inhabit the lowest ranges of the mountains. From this place there is a succession of ascents and descents, the former largely prevailing, up to Punkabarree, some rather

steep, though accessible to an elephant. It is useless to trace the road I travelled farther, the whole track being more or less altered by that now making; suffice it to say that it consisted of alternate hills and valleys, some exceedingly high and steep, from Punkabarree to a hill called Julla Pahar (Jalapahar), 4 miles from Darjeeling, from whence it is an almost continual slope. For the last two miles Col. Lloyd had at that time made an excellent road for loaded bullocks. At length you come to a short descent, and on turning to the left you see the whole station with the highest peaks of the highest mountains in the world rising to the very heavens before you.

The first decided indication of change of temperature meets you at Punkabarree, when you recognize some of the features of an European climate; the moss on the trees: and some of the trees themselves are such as you do not meet within the plains: at Titalya, however, fern is not uncommon. On the high hill behind Punkabarree these indications are more decided; on reaching Mahalderam, there are few features of the tropics to be seen; and at Sena Dah almost none. Moss hangs in filaments and festoons from the trees, and oaks, maples, ferns, strawberries, raspberries abound. In short, though partaking of a tropical luxuriance of vegetation, the plants themselves belong to a genera common to the temperate zones.

Of the zoology of the journey from Titalya to Darjeeling I know but little, save from hearsay. The tiger, leopard, elephant, rhinoceros, deer and hog are said to abound in the Morung; particularly along the part next the hills, and the two first and two last to have been seen as high as Kurseongoree (Kurseong-gury). Of birds, the partridge is common in the Morung, the pheasant, at least one of its varieties, is not infrequent at Punkabarree; and higher up the splendid horned pheasant is met with, while a species of hornbill is found in the trees between Kurseongoree (Kurseong) and Mahalderam. As might be expected, insects swarm throughout the whole route in immense numbers, and partaking, as indeed do those of the whole lower ranges of the Indian mountains, of the characters of those of Arracan and the Eastern Isles, a circumstance which, as I had before had occasion to observe, prevails more or less throughout the animal kingdom, elevation having the same effect on temperature as the equalizing power of the sea.

The geological and mineralogical features of this track have been dwelt upon by men so much more able than myself... But I was pleased with one thing more than with any object I have seen for many years: the pure, clear waters of the Balasun and its tributary streams, running over the pebbly bottom and rippling and sparkling among the stones, as they do in our brooks at home. This river, the Balasun, I am informed by Mr. J. Barnes, has within these few years changed its course, now

among the natives the reputation of the place than the cold rising on one side of a bungalow he inhabited, while it formerly ran on the other.

Having said so much of the approach to Darjeeling, I must now attempt to describe the place itself.

There are three principal springs at Darjeeling...

On the west side of the hill* lie some very large fragments of rock evidently split from above by some violent convulsion; the veins corresponding exactly with those of the upper rocks. Where they fell from, the side of the hill is overhanging and bare stone with a crack in the middle and an opening into a pretty large cave. This cave has never been explored, I believe. I went into it with Mr. Laidley of Berhampore and proceeded a little distance in. At first the floor is level, and strewed over with figures, flat at the bottom, cylindrical at the sides, and pyramidal at the top. I know not whether they are idols or offerings to the secret spirits, the Dryads and Oreads of the place, who, a short time ago, were deeply embowered in the woods; but, since the trees have been cut down and the mountain recesses invaded, it is to be supposed the nymphs have disappeared, for the temple is now deserted by its votaries. The entrance formed by the splitting of the rock is irregular, and the marks of it having been thus formed are so evident that the most casual observer can see that the stones would fit into one another and shut it up, as close as the door of the robbers' cave, if a sufficiently powerful 'shut sesame' were applied to the portals. One large stone has tumbled and looks as if sucked in between the principal rocks to prop them open, making one feel a little nervous, but it should slip from its place and allow these to squeeze one. A few yards from the entrance the floor of the cave begins to descend with a gradual slope for a short distance, and then very steep, towards the East; it next turns South for a little, and then back again to the West, or S. W., while another passage branches off, or appears to do so, to the South. Here, however, in the Western passage we discovered a deep hole, like a chimney, just in the way; and having but one candle, we feared it might be hard to repass it should our candle go out and leave us in the dark: so here the matter ended. Since that I have not attempted again the adventure, but left all the honour and glory to some one who has a stronger call for underground expeditions than myself. I should imagine these mountains are very rich in the vegetable kingdom, but I am not botanist enough to determine the point...

...The inhabitants of Sikkim appear from the little I have seen of them to be closely allied to the Meches: I have had no opportunity of judging of the qualities of either. The Lepchas,

* Observatory Hill

the Hero of Captain Herbert's report, I have not seen much of also; but what I have seen leads me to form a very different opinion from his. They are a strong, active, intelligent race (by intelligent I mean quick in understanding what they see and hear,) indeed, their strength is scarcely inferior to that of the hard working European. They are broad-faced, narrow-eyed, flat-nosed, and square built; good humoured apparently; cheerful and ready to laugh; and, I am informed, very hospitable. But, like all savages, they have a great dislike to continued exertion and are lazy, disobedient to their masters when they take service; and, at the very least, as much addicted to lying as the inhabitants of Bengal. Misled by Captain Herbert's rather hastily formed opinion, I was at first anxious to hire them, but I soon found from what I saw of their doings with others, that though excellent hangers on, they are very indifferent servants. In process of time, perhaps, they may become all Capt. Herbert anticipated, but the time is very remote; and in the meanwhile we must depend for servants of all kinds entirely on the plains.

Monkeys are said to be found in the forests towards the plains and valleys; wild dogs have been seen in packs; wild cats are sometimes met with; and bears, deer, and squirrels, hogs and rats are common; and the mole, (whose discovery in India is owing to a casual remark in my letter to Dr. Helfer) is said to be very common, though as yet I have not been able to procure but a single specimen.

The scarcity of birds might be wondered at by those not acquainted with their habits; though he who is would rather wonder there are so many; they follow instead of go before man through the forests; when he cultivates, they come to help him devour the fruits of the ground. I have seen two or three of the falcon family, and an owl or two; the insectivora are more common; flocks of thrushes have appeared since the cold weather came on, and the water-wagtail has left before us; and there are several of the smaller kinds among which is one that reminds us of the Robin, the protected, the especial friend of our infant days; game birds are plentiful but hard to get. And the crow, as universal as his food, lends to the 'rising morn a part of her' charm of earliest birds as in Calcutta, though not being in quite such numbers, he is not quite so great a nuisance. He is all black, too, differing in species, as hereafter I may have to relate....

I have seen but two snakes here, and no other reptiles, though I have walked a good deal in the jungles where, I am told, some are to be found.

Insects form the great bulk of animal life at Darjeeling. First in importance comes the widely dreaded peepsa: the 'fly' in the uttermost part of the earth, which has done more to destroy

snow, want of food, and of shelter, and all the real hardships put together. It is a small fly about the tenth of an inch long, hardly so much, but like the story of the 'three black crows' it has wonderfully increased in telling. At Kissengunge the peepsa is gravely described as the length of a man's finger, and endowed with destructive qualities equal to its size. Its bite gives no pain, but it leaves a small round red spot on the place, not elevated like a mosquito bite, but occasioned by the blood being effused under the skin, and about the size of the head of a baby pin. I have not been here when they are most common at the beginning of the rains, but I have been often bitten, and never found any ill effects from the bite. The approved practice is to leave them alone when they begin to itch, which they soon do; but I have generally used the natural remedy for that sensation and scratched them as long as I found it agreeable; others I have treated by squeezing out the effused blood, and others again let alone: and all seem to me to get well equally soon. In my opinion, besides not troubling one after sunset, the peepsa is not near so annoying as the mosquito; but then I have not been here in the season. Their effects have been highly exaggerated, and at all events, I will venture to say, from what I know of the habits of the section of diptera, to which it belongs, that the peepsa is now less common at Darjeeling than it was; and will be almost unknown when the woods are cleared. No doubt, in a bad habit of body, fever, mortification and death may arise, as they are said to have done, from peepsa bites, and so they may from the bite of a mosquito, or the scratch of a pin. But that a well established case of fever even took place from them, in a person otherwise really healthy, I should find it very hard to believe.

Next to the peepsa is a species of a genus of cicada, which is equally annoying, though in a different way. From early morning till late in the evening, this insect keeps up a continual din 'Et can tu querulae rumpent arbasta cicadae' and being innumerable, and settling on every sunny bit of wood, whether the trunk of a tree or a post of your house, (all the same to him); and his voice being almost as loud and melodious as some of the more detestable notes of the bagpipe, his music may well be imagined. To a newcomer it is exceedingly annoying, though after a time one rather tolerates it than otherwise. I have heard of a gentleman being so angry at this little beast, as actually fire a pistol at him! I forget the result of the warlike demonstration, but as he is as much like the companion chiefs of Priam as they like him, in more than one respect, I conclude no great blood-shed followed. However, in a Fauna of Darjeeling, the action certainly ought to be commemorated by giving the trivial name of 'exasperans' to its object...

In my opinion the general appearance of Darjeeling has not

been done justice to. It is described as 'sombre'. When Captain Herbert visited the place, perhaps it was so; but since sunshine has been let in upon it, no trace of such hue remains. As you enter the station an amphitheatre of hills extends around you, clothed to the very summit with forests, which in autumn assume a variety of hues, and from the number of evergreens still retain a great part of their verdure, while on the sides of these hills, here and there a Lepcha clearing throws a cheerfulness over the scene.

On your right rises the hill of Darjeeling, having its sloping side bare of trees, but covered with myrtle, flowers and sweet smelling herbs, as I have mentioned before. On the beginning of its ridge is a small tomb or temple of unhewn stone; and further on, near the summit, but on the side of the hill, another is perceived, while the ruins of the old building crown the top. On the slope below the ruins, and immediately under the second tomb, is the cave with its rocky entrance; and a row, one below another, of immense stones which have fallen from it. Further on the ridge extends before you and ends in a hillock, on which stands the hut, formerly the abode of Dr. Chapman, and appropriately named 'Storm Hall' from the circumstance of a gale blowing there for ever, both within and without. The road runs along the slope of the hill. The knoll on the left is for the military lines; that further on the residence of Col. Lloyd; the large clear elevated space in front is proposed for a church; and the little hill at the end of the station belongs to Mr. Dickens. Beyond this the ridge extends clothed with trees; and over all rise the snowy mountains. Such is the appearance of Darjeeling. It has been thought somewhat too much cleared of trees, and at first I thought so too. But I changed my opinion when I heard Col. Lloyd's reasons, for that the trees which grow thickly among others in the forest, are scraggy in themselves, and any thing but ornamental when left standing alone; and when it happens otherwise, the tree which would ornament the location of one person, would intercept the view of another; it was therefore decidedly best to cut them all down, save one here and there, more handsome than ordinary, and where it would injure no one's prospect. Besides, from having received support and shelter from their neighbours while growing thickly together, they throw out no large roots, and when left either single or in small groups, they are liable to be blown down and do damage to any buildings which may be near them.

Although a mountainous country, Darjeeling has none of the picturesque effects produced by piles of bare rocks, in fantastic forms, so much the theme of poets, painters and novelists. With few exceptions of a detached stone here and there, all are covered with vegetation. As the land is cleared,

however, the scene will improve in this way; and, indeed, there may now be seen upon the distant mountains bare rocks and marks of extensive land slips, but too far off to come readily into the picture.

Climate, the most important of all things at Darjeeling, I can speak of for only a few months; but these are, I believe, the worst months of the year. Still it has more than come up to all my, not very moderate, expectations. . .

There is an elasticity of the air in these mountains, and a freshness, which impart a feeling of positive enjoyment. In the morning this is especially experienced. You are then cold, but not chilly, and exercise gives all the pleasant glow of an English walk on a frosty morning. In the day you are warm, but not hot; the sunshine is pleasant and a chatta not needed, while evening is grateful and mild, free from damp and heavy dew. The only unpleasant time is when a cloud passes over the station, and then it is uncomfortable enough, pretty much as in a thick fog below. These passing clouds, incident to all mountainous places, constitute our fogs; and in bad weather they are more or less frequent, and sometimes continue all day; however it is not often the case, especially in the more cleared parts of the station.

Upon so short a trial I cannot be expected to say much on the climate of Darjeeling with relation to health; but from what I have seen, I think the most sanguine expectations on this head will be fulfilled. Notwithstanding we are all poorly fed, badly housed, the natives indifferently clad, and that the season was one in which the rains were of unusual duration, there have been but few serious cases of sickness except among the old and infirm. They all get ill, chiefly with bowel complaints, and generally die, so that it is a cruel thing to bring up old and infirm natives just now, whatever it may be hereafter, when good accommodation and food can be supplied to them. Except among these, there have been, as above said, very few cases of serious disease, even in the natives; and those were generally found to have been contracted in the morning on the plains. Colds, coughs and slight attacks of fever have formed the bulk of the complaints.

With regard to visceral diseases, I have had only two cases of spleen, and they readily yielded to the usual remedies. Some doubt of the perfect adaptability of this climate to diseases of the abdominal viscera has been expressed; but perhaps on the face of the earth there is no such climate. The whole question appears to me not whether this climate be a perfect one for treatment of visceral disease, but whether it be not superior to that of the plains, and places where patients have contracted them, and where they must remain, unless they are sent here: and surely there can be no doubt of the answer.

For the rest, those who come up here healthy and in good case, and who have not contracted sickness by exposure to malaria in the plains, generally remain well and get fat. Europeans soon lose their dyspeptic symptoms, regain their appetite, and feel an aptitude and desire for corporeal exertion they never experience below. All notion of constitutional walks is soon at an end; for it is a positive enjoyment to be out in the open air, and consequently exercise is taken at all times. When the weather is hot, it is pleasant to ramble in the woods, and when cold to walk about in the sunshine.

Sunrise at Darjeeling is magnificent beyond description. At earliest dawn the faces of the snowy mountains present in front an aspect of pure white, while a shadowy outline is all that is seen of their less prominent features. At length you behold a small speck of coppery brightness capping the topmost peak; it rapidly increases and spreads downwards, peak after peak assuming the same deep metallic glow. This gradually becomes lighter till the whole mountain is of burnished gold; in turn this fades away, though the metallic splendour remains changed to a silvery brightness, and then to the pure white of unsullied snow; meanwhile, the summits of the lower ranges are spread over with a purple haze. And at length the sun rises, and the shadows shorten; a cheerfulness is thrown over the scene, and in the language of scripture 'the time of the singing of birds is come'.

As in the dominions of the Spanish monarch, the sun never sets at Darjeeling. I have said, there is a high range of hills to the West: they intercept the view of the setting sun; yet I am not sure we lose any thing by the loss. The snowy peaks are adorned as at his rising, though in the opposite direction; and his glories are seen in the heavens, though we do not behold himself. At times, too, a bridge of clouds extends from one hill to another, and the sun gently smiles beneath it. Besides from the shadow of the earth being thrown over the place some half an hour before he sets a subdued light is left, exactly resembling the twilight of an English summer day.

One thing there is worth relating though I have only once seen it—a bow in the clouds, but not a rainbow. I stood on Darjeeling soon after sunrise and saw a cloud pass between two hills below me when the slanting rays fell upon it, and the prismatic colours were displayed; not, it is true, with the regularity of the rainbow, but distinct enough to mark the phenomenon; they were also arranged in a circular form, the cloud being extensive enough to allow the round to be completed. Another appearance is also curious, that of a cloud hanging on the side of a hill, and the shadow cast by it, being further from you than it, almost on the same level. And again the valley of the Rungeet is often filled with clouds, which lie

many hundred feet below the spectator, calm, and looking solid enough to walk upon, and in the rising sun they are tinged of various colours. Of course, such things are common in all mountainous countries; but by those who have never seen them, they are well worth noting.

Something must now be said of what is doing here, and first of the locations. These Col. Lloyd has fixed at 80 yards square. I think this not enough, and so do many others; he thinks differently; and to own the truth, there is, as Sir Roger de Coverley has it 'much to be said on both sides'. No doubt, most of us would like to have a larger compound; but the land fit for locations is limited, and there is likely to be a great demand for it; however, 80 yards square is the quantity granted.

As Mr. Wilson says, 'the hotel is rapidly progressing towards completion', and a great part of it will be ready by the 1st of April. It will be a noble building, for Mr. Hepper, instead of running it up in the temporary mat and mud style at first intended, is building it of wooden pillars, with the walls between them made of split timber plastered over; and with a flat roof. It will last for years if it is not burnt down, the usual fate of such buildings. There are two splendid rooms in the centre, 80 feet by 24 feet, each private room is 18 feet by 16 feet, large enough and to spare in this climate, and has a fire-place. Some of the end rooms will communicate with each other for the convenience of families, and there are two noble verandahs several hundred feet long and from $8\frac{1}{2}$ to 10 feet wide. No public buildings are yet erected, the executive officer not having been able to procure workmen, and his attention chiefly occupied by the still more important object—the road. Several private houses are planned and contracted for. Mr. Perry of Kissengunge has established a moodee who has opened a shop for grain and other articles of native consumption; but the prices are frightfully dear, and such will be the case till the road is opened, for great as they are, I believe these prices but just clear the expenses.

The road, our present great anxiety, has been made by Col. Lloyd passable for palankeens and loaded bullocks some 10 or 11 miles from the station towards the plains, and carried on by Lieut. Gibson (Gilmore) for 3 or 4 miles more. And the latter officer, as I am informed, has made it hackery road to Punkabarree and marked out much of the portion still unmade, which cannot be more than 10 or 12 miles, and will probably be in tolerably order in 6 weeks or two months. The improvement on the old road is immense. In the upper portion there are no declivities or precipices, such as are described at Simla and Mussoorie; here and there, there is a short ascent, in some places rather steep; but for the most part you may canter

along with ease, and every where ride with perfect safety. At Titalya a most excellent staging bungalow has been built, and another at Punkabarree; that at Mahalderam is getting on; but the one at Sena Dah has been done but little to, and, perhaps not absolutely needed, though no doubt it will be useful to a sick person who can make only short stages, and in wet weather it will be a convenient resting place.

As the road runs through a thick forest, its aspect is at present rather gloomy; but when the trees on each side are cut down, it will be cheerful and pleasant. Even now it is enlivened by occasional peeps of the snowy mountains and of the plains. At Punkabarree the view is very beautiful, and at Mahalderam magnificent, the whole plains, with the Mahananda and Balasun and their tributary streams, a well watered country is before you; hills clothed with forests rise on every side, and to the north and east are the mountains of perpetual snow.

By this time you are probably somewhat weary of my talk of these same mountains, but the fact is, they are ever in your view. Like the Nile in the land of Egypt, they are the constant object of attention, not quite so useful, perhaps, as the river, but infinitely more beautiful, 'The earth's great pillar in the farthest east', of which you never tire.

In proceeding to Darjeeling the traveller may take any of the ordinary routes to Malda, Dinajpore or Purneah according to his starting place. Malda is the best for all from the upper and central provinces, who come down by water, Purneah for dak travellers, and Dinajpore for dak travellers from Calcutta and all the stations below the delta of the Ganges, while Rungpore is the place to go to for the residents of the eastern parts of Bengal. But this is thrown out as a hint rather than instruction, all my knowledge being hearsay and conjecture. From these places the traveller must go to Titalya; and I recommend him to make the journey back at all seasons, except the height of the rains, for boating on the Mahananda is tedious, even in a small vessel. On his arrival he cannot do better than apply to Mr. Wilson to convey his baggage up the hills; and by that time it is expected, a line of bearers will be established, so as to enable him to proceed on by dak to Darjeeling. In all this there is no great difficulty to be encountered; no long land journey to exhaust the sick; nothing, in fact, beyond what must be undergone by every invalid travelling from almost every station in India, even to Calcutta, to embark on board ship for the benefit of his health, whether to England or to the Cape; and in this Darjeeling has a great advantage over the other hill stations.

I have made light of the Morung, the bugbear of people not acquainted with the place. It is not more than 7 or 8 miles across, and if passed by daylight, there is no fear of malaria at

any season. Indeed, I passed it early in the morning long before sunrise, when malaria is supposed to be powerful; and I have known people sleep in it and remain there several days during the rains with impunity; a course, however, I recommend no one to follow. However, it may be passed in three hours at any season, and in all without danger.

Of all things we must not omit what it is the fashion to call the 'capabilities' of the place, or in other words, what will give the hope of a speedy return to money laid out, without which nowadays we should certainly emigrate from the Garden of Eden itself, unless searching the sands of the river Pison for the gold of Havilah should turn out a profitable speculation. The 'capabilities' then of Darjeeling are many, as must strike the mind of every one aware of the number of indispensable articles which can be manufactured in a temperate climate only; and who therefore sees the importance of such a climate easy of access in the midst of the torrid zone where raw materials are produced so largely.

First of the timber. The Darjeeling oak is of an enormous size, very hard, and beautifully grained, equalling in all respects, as far as one can judge from mere inspection, the best of English growth. The walnut is a very large and a very handsome wood, and well fitted for furniture. The birch is an enormous tree sometimes, and one variety has a red wood, in appearance very like pencil cedar; and pines grow a little distance towards the valleys. Besides these there are many kinds of timber which I do not know, one in particular, a sort of oak, I think, is exceedingly tough, perhaps more so than English ash, splitting in long fibres and being also a hard wood, I conceive it would be useful for gun carriages, tool handles, and other purposes of like description.

Cattle and sheep farming has been proposed, and when the hills are cleared of forest, and grass can be raised for winter fodder, will probably become a profitable speculation, especially in the finer sorts of wool.

Tanning, I myself have suggested to several persons, one of whom has taken some steps to carry it into execution. In the plains tanning fails from the great heat which will not allow the hides to be long enough in the tan. Unless put into the pits directly they are taken off the animal, the hair is removed by putrefaction; or at all events, if dried on the skin, it loosens on being wetted; and the grain of the leather must be more or less injured. As from six to fourteen or fifteen months, according to its kind, is the time taken to tan good leather in the plains, the hides become rotten before they are tanned; but it will not be so in this climate. At Darjeeling there may be some doubt about all but the finer sort and what is called crop leather; but no doubt bend could be made perfectly in the colder climate of

Sena Dah, which is also 11 or 12 miles nearer the plains, and there, in my opinion, the tannery should be established. The process could be as perfect as in England; hides may be procured from the Morung and the Upper Provinces in abundance and as cheap as in Calcutta; and oak bark is inexhaustible. In short, a tannery, joined to an establishment for currying, and manufacturing the leather into harness, shoes, etc. would be able to supply the whole country with all leather articles as good as those sent out now from Europe, and at not above half the cost; there would then be little or no loss from damage by climate, for they could be got fresh, and fresh as wanted, besides the interest of money saved; and I need not dwell upon the profit it would bring to the conductor, nor the advantage to the state.

Brewing is another thing which would succeed at Darjeeling. Many attempts have been made in the plains to brew, but I never heard of any very great success attending them, and this for the same reason as tanning fails: the heat being such as to prevent malting and brewing. In both processes fermentation runs on too rapidly, and cannot be checked but by means that destroy the flavour of the beer: the malt has not sugar enough, and the beer is vinegar. But at Darjeeling the whole process may be carried on as successfully as in England, provided the same care be taken in doing it.

Some have thought Calcutta may be supplied with ice from these mountains: should a railway ever be made, it may, but not otherwise, I fear.

Of the other 'capabilities' of Darjeeling, no doubt, time will show many at present not thought of. In my opinion the place cannot be rated too highly whether with regard to climate, beauty of scenery, or natural resources. Mines are known to exist not far off. A road may be made down to the Teesta, and unless I am greatly mistaken, a route much much nearer and easier than the present one will be discovered, running from Silleekooree along the same side of the Mahananda up the mountains, so as to leave to the left, as you ascend, Punkabarree, Mahalderam and Sena Dah joining the present road within a few miles of Darjeeling, and shortening the route by nearly one third. When these roads are made, fit for the transmission of produce and goods to the Teesta, which runs into the great navigable river on the east of Bengal; and the Mahananda, which joins that on the west, it is impossible to estimate sufficiently the advantages of Darjeeling, even in this point of view. Its political advantages need not be dwelt upon in this place.

But beyond these things, so far as individual happiness is concerned, there is one advantage in the establishment of this settlement, inestimable beyond all others: that children may

be able to remain in the country for many years later than heretofore, and altogether no less for the purpose of finishing their education in England, and parents so escape the pain and anxiety of a separation little less than those of death, and which but too often only cease with the death of their object in a distant land. The first years of education may be passed here; and parents take their children with them on their own return to their country, instead of following and finding them strangers; while in the meantime they are within their reach. Those who have none to confide them to will duly appreciate this, for miserable is the life of the poor child whose holidays are no holidays to him, but passed at school. I am glad a boys' school will soon be established here; and, I hope, one for girls also, and I trust not many years will be suffered to elapse before the children of the orphan schools will be removed here; and a race of healthy girls and hardy boys brought up for something better than they are at present put to.

I must not conclude without expressing my obligations to Col. Lloyd to whom I owe the greater part of any information I possess concerning this place, and to whose energy and perseverance in discovering its advantages are mainly owing the settlement of Darjeeling.

Such is Darjeeling according to my impression of it on a residence of but a few months. But this memorandum has been drawn up under circumstances of great difficulty, and with a mind harrassed by a variety of professional and other duties, and these circumstances, together with the consideration, that it is only intended to be a mere sketch of the place, will, I hope, be a sufficient excuse for its errors and omissions.

J. T. PEARSON

Darjeeling,
February 10th, 1839¹

J. T. Pearson is the Medical Officer of Darjeeling. This knowledge goes a long way to explain all omissions and additions and the general style and tone of 'the note': smooth, soothing, minimizing all difficulties (like the peepsa) and magnifying all potentials, in short, a thoroughly encouraging letter to all doubters and waverers together with an ample measure of praise for the two most controversial figures at that precise moment, his friends Mr. Perry and Col. Lloyd; but then the Doctor was going to have a hand in setting up the Bazar at Darjeeling with Mr. Perry's brother-in-law (plus 15000 Government Rupees), and Col. Lloyd had to push his repeated claims for more money, and yet more money...

¹ *The Englishman*, 25, 26, 27, February; 1, 6, 9, 11, 12, March 1839

The *Hurkaru* and the Garstin Report

Two days after Pearson's letter appeared in *The Englishman* Garstin's letter-bomb exploded at the office of the *Hurkaru*. It had either arrived too late for the printer, or the Editor Sam Smith had been so stunned by its content that he could only produce one long wail in next morning's edition:

We have distressing accounts from Darjeeling where everything is at a standstill for want of food which is abundant in the plains, but coolies cannot be obtained for love or money to carry it up the hills. Hepper and Martin and their whole establishment have struck work and gone down to Punkabarree for grain—whether they will ever go back again is problematical. This is really too bad! After all the fine promises of Government which induced individuals to take grants and build houses—which induced the public to come forward and subscribe a large sum to build a hotel—to find that they have been either deceived or at least neglected by the Government who induced them, on the faith of Mr. Bayley's pamphlet, to come forward. The public have done more than could be expected of them. What have the Government done? The hotel is nearly ready. Mr. Wilson was at Sellegoree on his way to the hills with 125 hackeries loads of furniture and stores on the 8th, but he cannot proceed many miles further—there is no road, and if there was a road up to the station of Dorjeling—there is no bazar, no food for his people. Without road to, or food at Dorjeling, or coolies procurable to carry it up from the plains, what is to become of the 'Bright Spot', which otherwise would be the earthly paradise to invalids in the hot season. The hot weather has commenced—the public and individuals have done much—the Government or their officers have done little more than write letters which have become waste paper and given orders which have not been carried into effect. We repeat: this is TOO bad. We shall collect all the information we can and publish it—the public will then judge for themselves whether Dorjeling is to be the refuge for invalids which it once promised to be, or whether it is to be abandoned as a hopeless undertaking, a sort of wreck 'in sight of port'.

We speak strongly and feelingly on the subject—we are deeply interested, we are one of those unfortunates who hoped to be able to seek health in these hills from the enervating heats of ‘the ditch’ where we have toiled for a quarter of a century and begin to feel the effects of long labour in an enervating climate from which we cannot fly: we had hoped that Dorjeling would have been to lower Bengal what Simla is to the upper Provinces—and it might have been too, had the Government kept its promises or not allowed its functionaries to go to sleep in carrying them into effect. Which is it? We shall return to the subject to-morrow or so soon as we can obtain further information.¹

The editor quite apparently was not aware that Government had already taken steps to investigate the allegations and were as determined as he to see that ‘the needful’ was being done. Apart from considerations of public opinion, several members of the Supreme Council had the same reasons as Mr. Smith for being ‘deeply interested’ and speaking ‘strongly and feelingly on the subject’—they too were plot-holders at Darjeeling. Samuel Smith’s agitation becomes even more understandable when the full scale of his planning and speculations is later revealed: by 1844 he had become the sole letting agent for more than half the houses in Darjeeling! And so only too gladly he reprinted the first reaction to his cry from the heart:

To the Editor of the *Bengal Hurkaru*.

Sir,—The intelligence imparted in your paper of this day is indeed the essence of disappointment, as it regards ‘That Eden of Our Indian Hopes’—Dorjeling. Is it actually possible that there can be such faithlessness in the measures of Government? Should not a meeting be called of the Hotel Shareholders (and all else interested) at the Town Hall. You, as our public organ, should sound the tocsin for it forthwith.²

On the following day the full text of Major Garstin’s report is printed together with the recommendations of the Dorjeling Committee and the acknowledgement by the Secretary to the Government of India. It is further reinforced by the latest information from Siliguri, dated 8 March:

I saw this morning 125 hackeries loaded with the Hotel furniture etc. on their way between Runneedanga and Punkabarree; they will reach the latter place today, for that far there is a hackery road; how the things are ever to be conveyed

¹ *Bengal Hurkaru* 15 March, 1839

² *Ibid.*

farther I know not; no coolies are to be had—money will not get them to go. Unless an order on the Magistrates and Collectors of Rungpore and Purneah is procured for coolies, the whole Dorjeling business is smashed forthwith, and this is very provoking at the very best time for working there. You have I suppose received accounts from Mr. Hepper; he has no men, and without men he cannot get on. I cannot get a coolie to take up rice for the bazar, and in short, the whole business must fail if something is not done immediately... Hepper and Martin, although they offer 8 rupees a month, cannot get a man. They are now advertising for men in Calcutta at double the ordinary rates, and offer contracts to take 150 maunds of rice per month at 18 seers for the rupee, but, alas, there are no 'takers'...

Here is a melancholy letter from them to the Secretary of the Dorjeling Committee on the subject:

Dear Sir, with regret we have to report to you for the information of the Committee the unfortunate state of things: not a grain of rice have we been able to purchase in the bazar for the past eight days; Mr. Tulloch came in with one day's consumption last night, accompanied by Lieutenant Gilmore and Mr. Davidson, and to-morrow morning the whole of us start in company with these gentlemen with all the able men (including every class) to Punkabarree for grain, a total suspension of the works consequently will be the inevitable result. Mr. Perry never from the first owned the bazar, it ever has been and still is Colonel Lloyd's alone, and we are told that Mr. Perry refuses now any further assistance whatever in it.

Dr. Pearson went down for his family 12 days ago, but cannot get a man to assist, and is come to a determination to live at Punkabarree. Colonel Lloyd proposes to live at Sellegoree until he has captured the men who have taken the advances.

The road is only two miles above Punkabarree and conducted through such a dangerous route that it is impossible for a timid man to travel on it and save his life. A coolie was dashed to pieces a few days ago. A Sargeant surveying it was missed some days ago, and he has never since been heard of. Yesterday another Sargeant almost lost his life; and no hopes can be entertained of his recovery, his skull having been fractured and the leaders of his limbs separated and otherwise shockingly mangled. Only 35 or 40 men are now on the line of road.

We are, dear Sir, Yours faithfully,
Hepper, Martin & Co.
Dorjeling, 6th March 1839³

³ Ibid. 3, 16 March 1839

And yet more extracts from two other letters in the same vein:

Hepper is at a standstill, Wilson will be flooded...the road will not be done this year, nor any public buildings erected...if Government don't assist it seems likely we shall have no Hotel, sanatorium or any thing...Coolies are the most wanted of all!!!⁴

Finally, the hope is expressed that Major Garstin's account has been forwarded to Col. Lloyd for report. We trust the Colonel's report will be full and decisive, so that Governemnt may be able to give such orders as may be proper without waiting for any second reference.

We are happy to learn that Mr. Low, the zealous secretary to the Association yesterday proceeded to Darjeeling in spite of all discouraging circumstances. We may soon hope to hear from him; in the meantime the Dorjeling shareholders and the public generally may be sure that as far as his personal labours (aided or unaided, as the case may be) can go, the interests of the Dorjeling Association, which are those of the public also, will be advanced.⁵

The Garstin Report opened the flood-gates to letters to the editors of the Calcutta newspapers, and for the next six weeks hardly a day passed without some contribution of 'original correspondence'. Facts were repeated, corroborated, added, exaggerated or twisted according to the experiences, interpretations or misinterpretations of the correspondents. As the thermometer in Calcutta rose so did the heat generated in the letters. A particularly vicious example appeared in *The Englishman*, 18 March:

My dear Sirs,—Shocking accounts have been received from Darjeeling. What will the good people of Calcutta say, 'especially they who have supplied the monies', when they learn that no public bazar whatever has been established, that none of any kind ever existed, except a private of Col. Lloyd's; that rice cannot be procured at any rate, unless it be by the sepoys, and the above named gentleman's own establishment . (?)—Moreover, the road (if it deserves that name) is yet untouched from two miles above Punkabarree to the same distance beyond Mahalderam, and the only part passable is a few miles made by Lt. Gilmore, the rest having been carried over hills and knolls innumerable, the trees left in the centre or sides standing as they grew, and the late snow having brought them down, where they lie pell mell throughout the whole line of road.

As for the Station of Darjeeling itself, nothing has been done

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

for its improvement or defence. The Station road remains the same, complete only to the local agent's door, at the entrance of the Station.

One hundred and thirty or one hundred and forty sepoy have been detained, but for what purpose we cannot tell, as it appears, they do nothing towards clearing the station of trees. Neither do they ever mount a guard or piquet, except to guard the persons of the agent and his assistant. This is asserted from the intelligence that while these individuals resided here, guards and piquets were deemed indispensable in all directions, but on their quitting the station, the whole were removed, except one over private property at Storm Hall. These sepahis are peculiarly distinguished for giving leg bail when any thing in the shape of white metal is served out to them; but as they are not blessed often with this benefit, nor more than a day's consumption allowed at a time, much good is effected, and the muster tells proportionately and proves that 'more than sufficient for the day is an evil'. Unfortunately, however, this gracious indulgence is not sufficient, for the authorities often find themselves minus 3 or 4, but when 2 or 3 months' tackas remaining due to each is a consolation and not to be snuffed at in these penny-wise times.

It must also be considered at 'enlivening' scene for gentlemen travelling up to behold 6 or 8 corpses lying athwart the road, others buried, but their legs sticking out of the earth, as if they were vivifying, all having died, we suppose, from starvation. Others have fallen over precipices, or have been crushed to atoms by precipices falling on them, among whom were two European Sargeants, who, we are informed, lost their lives within 2 days of each other. This is a fact, and let those who have a hand in it gainsay it, if they can.

As to bungalows, none are even commenced beyond Punkabarree. The Hotel has not one wing and the Table d'Hote completed; and Mr. Wilson, we fear, has been deceived, for he will find it difficult to get his things up in some months hence.

Yours etc.

March 8, 1839

A LOVER OF TRUTH ⁶

The insinuations in the letter make it perfectly clear whom the *Lover of Truth* detests most at Darjeeling! perhaps the editor of *The Englishman* felt he got a 'scoop' in this fine piece of vindictive writing, though his editorial gives the impression of a need to balance its candidness by a cool and detached assessment of the situation:

The *Hurkaru* of Saturday last and a correspondent of our own, give deplorable accounts of the state of affairs at Darjeeling.

⁶ *The Englishman*, 18 March 1839

The establishment of a few locations in that Elysium is clearly retarded for another twelve months at least. We are very sorry for this, because much money has already been expended in the attempt to build the hotel and provide the needful amount of creature comforts for those who proposed to rusticate in the hills during the hot season. Poor Mr. Wilson, we suspect, will be a severe sufferer.

The *Hurkaru* reprobates the laxity of Government and the Government officers in the matter of road making. We heartily join our brother in his censures if the sole purpose of rendering Darjeeling habitable were to provide an agreeable retreat for us Ditchers, when Calcutta is nearly insupportable, the tedious proceedings of the authorities would not be perhaps surprising, nor would it constitute a fair subject of serious reprehension by the Press. But when it is borne in mind that Darjeeling has capabilities for the profitable application of 'British skill and capital'—that it is one of the few green spots where the enterprising emigrants from the West may carry out all the promised advantages of East India colonization—and that by furnishing civil and military officers, and the soldiers of our European regiments in the Province of Bengal, with the opportunity of recruiting their health, and an expensive trip to England or the colonies is saved in the one case, or invaliding avoided in the other,—it becomes obvious that the Government has a direct and positive interest in rapidly facilitating communication with the chosen sanatorium. We hope, therefore, that the present state of affairs will press seriously upon the consideration of Government, and that measures will be taken without delay to hasten the work which the public spirit of the Dorjeling Association had fairly begun.⁷

Next day Samuel Smith sounded his tocsin and made a solid attack on the Government's planning:

The complaints which reach us daily respecting the grievous disappointment experienced by all who have taken allotments at Dorjeling, are loud in their condemnation of Government, upon whose solemn pledge to open a road of communication with the plains above seventy locations are said to have been taken, upwards of 3000 rupees expended in the construction of private houses, a hotel, clearing the land, etc. and now...

The report from Major Garstin...shews, in the first place, that, although as Superintending Engineer of the Lower Provinces every public work and building ought to be under his supervision and control, the Road and Bungalows connected with Dorjelling are not—and he states frankly that such is the case, though he had mistakenly supposed otherwise—

⁷ Ibid.

and, unless this reservation had been made with a view to the more rapid completion of the work, we think that it was an injudicious arrangement, in as much as that officer, who had in other respects the general control of the building and Engineer Department, would appear to have been more likely to effect a speedy completion of the work, from his greater influence, than any other person not possessing those advantages,—and this departure from established usage could only have been excused, we think, by Government having given to Col. Lloyd and the Engineer Officer employed, a *carte blanche* to finish the road in the *shortest possible time*, and in the *best possible manner*—and giving them in fact the means of executing the work effectually, and by removing all check upon their operations, holding them strictly responsible for the due and perfect performance of the duty committed to them. If this had been done, we think that the situation of Colonel Lloyd and Lieutenant Gilmore would be far from enviable—but from all accounts this is not the case; *they* do not seem to be in fault—the Government would appear to have allowed their pledge to remain unredeemed, and to be justly liable to the imputation of having caused all the disappointment and loss to those to whom it had held out the expectation that communication *would*, in the first instance, be opened from the plains to Dorjelling at the expense of the State; and the requisite arrangements made for the military protection of the post. The Government made it a *condition* for doing *any thing*, that the public should by their suffrages determine upon the prosecution of the measures requisite for the establishment of the sanatorium—they, in fact, made a contract with the public—they said, if you will come forward and take locations, we will do every thing to facilitate your journey—we will make you a road, (of course, a good road on which it would be possible for loaded cattle to travel was expected, any thing less would be useless,) and we will take steps for your protection when you are housed at the Sanatorium. We would ask them, have the public by their suffrages—that is by taking upwards of seventy locations and laid out upwards of thirty thousand rupees in clearing them and building dwellings thereon, performed their part or not, and have they not rendered it imperative upon the Government to fulfil *their* part of the contract? !!!...

Government 'reiterates', repeats 'its assurance' etc. etc., we ask respectfully **HAVE THESE PLEDGES BEEN REDEEMED?** and are constrained to answer **NO!** In the letter to Col. Lloyd he is informed that 2000 rupees are placed at his credit at the Purneah Treasury for the purpose of 'clearing the road, preparing water reservoirs and other necessary outlays'!! Surely this was a very small beginning to effect so great a

purpose; had the sum been 20000 rupees we might have supposed that the Government were serious in their intentions, but to assign 2000 rupees for such a purpose looks too like a mockery—*fifty-seven* miles of road to be made in such a country for 2000 rupees is a supposition too laughable!—and leaves little room for surprise that the road is still unfinished. We would suggest that there is yet time to remedy the evil—let the road be commenced at the right end, viz. from the plains, and let Col. Lloyd be vested with magisterial powers in the *plains*, every where in fact, within 100 miles of Punkabarree, and he would find no difficulty in obtaining the services of coolies to convey articles from the foot of the Hills to Dorjelling, but the remuneration for such a trip is manifestly insufficient. From Major Garstin's report the journey occupies ten days—that is going and returning—and food has either to be carried by the coolie in addition to the baggage he is expected to take, or he must pay very dear for it at the different halting places. We think that the pay of a coolie ought to be at least one rupee eight annas, which would only be equal to 4-8 per month. But we have no doubt, however, that a much more easy line of ascent might be found than that up the very crests of the ridges leading to the post...⁸

The Editor of *The Englishman* carefully abstains from all criticism of the Government and instead makes a positive and novel suggestion: Try and get some help from the Indigo Planters in the Purneah district!

Could not these gentlemen club together and procure for Lieutenant Gilmore 300 workmen for the road, sending in charge of them one of their managers whose duty it should be to indent for supplies as required from the nearest factories; Lieutenant Gilmore paying the workmen remunerating wages, and for the carriage of supplies? This would enable that officer to finish the road by the rains; the road once finished, the transit of supplies would very speedily ensue, and if once the stream of supplies were thus encouraged to flow, no hesitation would again occur in the recourse of workmen to spots then no longer threatening starvation. We should hear no more of dead bodies lining the road; and drunken sergeants would have a broader path to reel over (for the two sergeants, we hear, were not killed, and are not dead, only dead drunk and well bruised) but instead every thing would be 'merry as a marriage bell' and we should very shortly hear the said marriage bells echoing happily over the valley of the Teesta from the belfry of the Dorjeling Church, and in equal proportion to the present (*Helut unda supervenit undam*) accumulation of growls and grumbles, stories of dances and

⁸ *Bengal Hurkaru*, 19 March 1839

delight would form the subjects of the epistles of our correspondents from Dorjeling.⁹

The numerous suggestions and opinions that poured into the newspaper offices and were taken up by the editors, at times turned out to be unacceptable for reasons of political philosophy. Thus *The Commercial Advertiser* criticizes the *Hurkaru's* proposal of conferring magisterial powers on Col. Lloyd by appointing him Joint Magistrate. The principle involved was 'freedom from Oppression':

What is a Joint Magistrate to do in endeavouring to prevail on the Michees to let themselves out as porters? Surely, it is not



Coolies

⁹ *The Englishman*, 19 March 1839

proposed that, in the event of his eloquence failing to prevail on them to do so, he is to call in the co-operation of the posse comitatus? This could not, we presume, have been contemplated by our contemporary (the *Hurkaru*), for we have proof enough in our possession that he does not regard the Mofussil police to be such as to deserve to be let loose among the poor peasants in the district. We are sure he repudiates every thing of an oppressive nature as much, if not with greater abhorrence than we have wont to do...¹⁰

The Commercial Advertiser then comes to the heart of the matter which somehow has escaped most observers because of its hidden nature: the unsatisfactory relationship between the Rajah of Sikkim and the Government represented by Col. Lloyd:

There certainly can be no objection to *restrict* Col. Lloyd to negotiations with the Sikkim Rajah, who, if properly bamboozled by lots of presents, and more of kind treatment, there is every reason to believe, will be the means of procuring porters in sufficient numbers to answer every necessary purpose. This course, however, ought to have been adopted at the very commencement of the undertaking, as there is reason to fear the treatment the district coolies have met with, might considerably influence the hill people in their determinations...¹¹

The Rajah was indeed one of the major obstacles in the development of Darjeeling. The hill people had been forbidden to offer their services to the Europeans, and their passive resistance was entirely due to their fear of punishment by the Rajah's officials. Those Lepchas who worked at Darjeeling did so at a risk. The question arises therefore: why did the Rajah obstruct the establishment of the station after he had given Darjeeling to the Company by deed of grant and 'out of friendship for the Governor-General' (Lord William Bentinck), in 1835, and for the purpose of setting up a sanatorium? The answer is not a simple one, and the list of the Rajah's complaints was steadily lengthening, consisting chiefly of clashes of interests which had not occurred to either side in 1835 and only became obvious in the course of the next few years. Unfortunately, no detailed agreement had been drawn up by someone who might have foreseen the legal complexities (jurisdiction, taxation, slavery, etc.). It was the very vagueness of the Deed of Grant which was the cause of constant friction between the two governments. But one grievance stuck out like a sore thumb above all others: the Rajah had not yet received a single rupee in compensation for the cession of the Darjeeling tract!

¹⁰ *Bengal Hurkaru*, 21 March 1839

¹¹ *Ibid.*

The Deed of Grant

The Commercial Advertiser, by referring to negotiations with the Rajah of Sikkim, had put his finger on a very sore spot. It took another seven years before Secretary Melville exposed it in 1846 with his fine scalpel and discovered it to be a festering and nasty sore. The effect of his precise diagnosis of the disease and its origin on the President-in-Council and Council members must have been very satisfying to the author of the *Memorandum*.¹ Their shock and embarrassment can be felt in the minutes and the resolutions that followed the revelations. The culprit, it was discovered, had been Col. Lloyd.

The deed of Grant of Darjeeling has been veiled in mystery from the day of its inception. This has led to misconceptions, wrong beliefs, misguided attitudes, harmful actions and erroneous statements. Already Dr. Campbell, Colonel Lloyd's immediate successor in 1839, either had no access to the early correspondence or had not studied it very carefully with the result that his relations with the Sikkim Rajah quickly deteriorated. For over one hundred years the story of Dr. Hooker's arrest by the Rajah as described in the *Himalayan Journals* has coloured, or rather blackened, all accounts of the Rajah's character. The time has at last come that the veil be lifted and justice be done to all concerned. A detailed analysis of the correspondence between the three parties, the Rajah, Lloyd and the Government at Calcutta will reveal the truth and change the general colour scheme: more white in some places and more black in others. The chronology of the letters is in this case of the greatest importance.

Proceedings began with a minute of the Governor-General Lord William Bentinck on 23 January 1835, in which he proposed that 'orders may be sent to Major Lloyd to open negotiations with the Sikkim Rajah for the transfer of Darjeeling to the British Government.'² A letter was sent to Major Lloyd under the same

¹ *Memo* by the Under-Secretary on the connection of the Sikkim Rajah with the British Government, and Dr. Campbell's Reports of the Rajah's unfriendliness. Consultations, 14 November 1846, No.29

² Consultations, 23 January 1835, No.1.

date: ‘...You will proceed to obtain an interview with the Rajah of Sikkim in order to procure the cession of Darjeeling to the British Government...Offering such equivalent either in land or in money as you may deem reasonable...’³ He was asked to be ‘at particular pains to make the Rajah understand that the superiority of the climate of Darjeeling and its consequent fitness for a sanatorium are the only reasons which induce us to wish for its possession.’

From a second minute of the same meeting it is quite clear what members of the Council had in mind when they referred to Darjeeling: it was the village ‘represented by Capt. Herbert to be destitute of inhabitants’ and no more but ‘that place’.⁴

In 1829, Major Lloyd described ‘that place’:

Formerly occupied by a large village or town (an unusual circumstance in the country) and some shops were set up in it; one of the principal Lepcha Kajees resided here, and the remains of his house, and also of a Gompah or temple...both substantially built of stone, are still extant; also several stone tombs or chtyas of different forms, Kajees and Lamas. A stream of water issues from the hill; a short distance below, from the place having been so long neglected, the space which was formerly inhabited is now covered by a grass jungle...⁵

When seven years later, on December 1836, Maj. Lloyd arrived with Dr. Chapman at Darjeeling to spend twelve months as ‘guinea pigs’ to test the effects of the climate on the European constitution, he found ‘a Lepcha house which had been built last May by order of the Rajah at my request...’⁶ Dr. Chapman found ‘two or three huts at Darjeeling erected by order of the Rajah, in one of which we passed a wretched night; none of the coolies having arrived, we had neither food nor bedding, and the cold was very severe... part of the coolies have returned to Tikri Bong for our supplies, the remainder employed cutting jungle etc.’⁷

The above description of the Gompah no doubt applies to Observatory Hill and its immediate vicinity. It was this locality as described by Lloyd and Herbert which the Governor-General wished for his sanatorium, and it was ‘that place’ only the Council assumed Lloyd was negotiating for.

On 11 February 1835, Lord Bentick wrote a personal letter to the Rajah of Sikkim:

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid., No.2

⁵ Bayley, *Dorje-ling*, App. AA p.11

⁶ Ibid., App. B p.VI

⁷ Ibid., App. A. p.VIII

I have deputed to your court Major Lloyd, an officer of much ability and experience, and one in whom I have great confidence, to propose to you the cession of Darjeeling to the British Government offering to you such an equivalent as may seem to both parties to be reasonable.

I am informed that the above-named place yields you no revenue nor is it any part of the object of the British Government to derive pecuniary profit from its possession. It is solely on account of the climate that the possession of the place is deemed desirable, the cold which is understood to prevail there being considered as peculiarly beneficial to the European constitution when debilitated by the heat of the plains.⁸

This letter was accompanied by a short note to Lloyd: 'Here-with you will receive a letter for delivery to the Rajah of Sikkim apprising him that you have been deputed to negotiate for the cession of Darjeeling.'

On 12 February 1835, Lloyd set out to meet the Rajah on the banks of the river Teesta, the Rajah cautiously having encamped himself on the eastern bank of the river, so that Lloyd had to cross by raft every time he wanted to talk to the Rajah.

The first reception in full Durbar took place on the 19 February. It was a short and ceremonial meeting at which no business was discussed. But it was probably on this occasion that Lloyd handed over in writing a formal request for Darjeeling:

I have received orders from the Governor-General to obtain an interview with the Sikkim Rajah and request him to cede to the British Government in exchange for land in the plains or for a sum of money that part of the hills lying south of the Great Rungeet river, east of the Balasun, Kuhail and little Rungeet Rivers and west of the Mahanunda and Runno Rivers, and fully to explain to the Sikkim Rajah that this cession is required only on account of the cold climate that the servants of my Government who become unwell may by the coolness of the air and water of that place recover their health. As they are natives of a cold climate when they become ill they cannot recover while they remain in the hot climate of the plain. I therefore request the Rajah will be pleased to give me a definite answer on the subject.⁹

The following day there was a long Durbar, and the Rajah put forward his requests. He asked for an extension of the western

⁸ Consultations, 11 February 1835, No. 111

⁹ Consultations, 6 April 1835 (dated 9 March 1835, appended translation 'C')

boundary of Sikkim; he demanded that Rummoo Purdhan, his tax collector, who had absconded with two years revenue, and some Lepcha chiefs who had been seized by the British Government be handed over to the Rajah's mercy; and lastly 'He then requested Dabgong' and Lloyd reiterated the reasons for the Government's interest in Darjeeling.¹⁰

The following day Lloyd was asked by the Rajah's advisors to apply for authority to make a proper settlement of the Revenue for the Rajah respecting Darjeeling and he was told 'it was a small matter and that the Rajah would give it to the company for friendship and build houses there for the sick people who might resort there.'¹¹

On 25 February Lloyd was again sent for and was told by the Rajah 'if his request were complied with, he from friendship would give Darjeeling to the British Government, but that his country was a very small one, meaning, I suppose, that he could not afford to part with any of it.'¹² At the same time the Rajah in Durbar delivered a paper to Lloyd with a special paragraph on Darjeeling:

. . . Also if from friendship Dabgong from Ahma (?) Diggee north be given to me, then my Dewan will deliver to Major Lloyd the grant and agreement under my red seal of Durgeeling that he may erect houses there which I have given in charge of the said Dewan to be so delivered, dated 1891, 19th Maug, 25th February 1835.¹³ That He May Erect Houses There—a building licence for the British Government...

On 26 February, Lloyd began his return to the plains. 'The Rajah delivered to his officers whom he appointed to accompany me a paper purporting to be a grant of Darjeeling to be given to me as soon as his request should be complied with.'¹⁴

This original or first deed must be one of the shortest in documentary history.

That health may be obtained by residing there I from friendship make an offering of Durgeeling to the Governor General Sahib. 1891, 19th Maug (25th February 1835).

True translation
G. W. A. Lloyd, Major¹⁵

¹⁰ Ibid., No. 100

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Consultations, 6 April 1835

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid., Translation marked 'E'

¹⁵ Ibid.

A long letter dated 26 February to the Governor-General followed Lloyd, this time written in Tibetan (which had to be translated in Calcutta by Csoma de Koros) which once more dealt at great length with the various problems discussed. The subject of Darjeeling is referred to very briefly:

‘I beg your acceptance of ground for building a house at Darjeeling.’¹⁶ Another building licence...

The Rajah’s topographical knowledge appears to be vague at times, though he knew his international frontiers quite well ; but the Council’s ignorance of the lie of the land was complete and its knowledge depended entirely on the facts and figures supplied by Lloyd. They were utterly unaware of the territory he proposed to take over in his revised Deed. The lack of a detailed map of Sikkim contributed to the complexity of the Darjeeling problem.

The boundaries as stated by Lloyd in the second Deed by far exceeded the wishes of the Council and their declared intentions not to profit from the cession. Lloyd had made the amendments on his own initiative and without consultation with the Government, a step which in 1846 led to considerable embarrassment when the real extent of his actions was exposed (by which time plans and maps of the area were available).

Lloyd knew that he had gone beyond his instructions and eight days later, on 23 March he sent full explanations with a number of recommendations:

With respect to giving the Rajah Dabgong in exchange for Durgeeling I beg to observe that the extent of the hills comprised within the boundaries I have demanded from the Rajah is considerable as I conceived it necessary that the cession should not consist of the spot alone on which Durgeeling is situated, but should include that part over which the road to Durgeeling must be carried; therefore I demanded what would include the Durgeeling ridge as far north as the Great Rungeet River, and the ridge of the Sinchul mountains as far south as the plains and these leave other smaller ridges projecting from the East and West, bounded by the principal streams, the Balasun, Kuhail and little Rungeet on the West and by the Runno and Mahanunda on the East.

Supposing Durgeeling be ceded to us, the first object would be the formation of a road within the hills; this could scarcely be commenced before the middle of November next, and would require the superintendence of an Engineer Officer,

¹⁶ Ibid.

assisted by some of the Sappers and Miners, as there will no doubt be many rocks to remove by blasting, and various obstacles which without their assistance would be difficult to overcome; the more of this description of workmen are employed, the sooner the place will be accessible. At present the way to it is calculated for no animal but a Mountaineer. The line of road in the hills should previously be investigated or surveyed to prevent a useless expenditure of labour, and I would recommend two roads being constructed, one for horses, elephants and cattle which might be steeper so as to carry an invalid quickly into a cold climate, say a rise of one foot in ten which is the rise at Shotters Hill in England, and would acquire an elevation of upwards of 5000 feet in ten miles; the other road to have a rise of 1 foot in twenty which would make it easily practicable for wheeled carriage though it would increase the distance from the plains considerably...

Roads being established, and the place resorted to by Europeans, supplies will as a matter of course become plentiful; there are many bunneahs in this part of the country who might be encouraged to settle there, and I have no doubt would gladly do so, and maintain a good native bazar, European supplies would also be furnished by the enterprise of those who supply all India, the soldiers would be supplied as at all other places by the Commissariat with their meat and liquor which must of course be brought from the plains until the resources of the country can be drawn forth.

With respect to houses: the Rajah, who has little idea what a European house is, offers to build houses for the sick gentlemen. I would suggest that some of the Calcutta Architects might be induced to take building leases of lots of the ground and build tenements in the European style, and a given plan, and these houses would no doubt, become a profitable speculation in a few years, either to be let or to sell, as when a rapid conveyance can be established many of the Calcutta families would pass the hot weather in the hills. Perhaps three or four convalescent bungalows for officers might be allowed by Government if the above mentioned houses are not built...

The assistance of the natives of these mountains would be a very desirable acquisition, and I believe, the Lepcha refugees at present residing in Nepal would gladly return to their native country if they were assured we would not allow the Rajah to interfere with them.¹⁷

In reply, the Government refused the Rajah's request:

It appears that the Sikkim Rajah has annexed two conditions to the cession of Darjeeling. First, our granting him Dabgong

¹⁷ Consultations, 6 April 1835, No.103 (dated 23 March 1835)

in exchange for it, and secondly, on making Rummoo Purdhan account for the revenue of the Morung for the last two years. With these conditions it appears to the Governor-General-in-Council to be impracticable to comply. Darjeeling is an uninhabited tract and it would have been unobjectionable to make over to Sikkim a similar tract in the plains in exchange for it, but Dabgong is a fertile and populous district which was settled with(?) inhabitants with the Rajah of Julpye Gooree in the year 1828 in compensation of injuries sustained by him. Its transfer to Sikkim is therefore out of the question.

It is doubtful how we should be justified in compelling a settlement of accounts between Rummoo Purdhan and the Rajah of Sikkim, and admitting but the measure be free from objection, it does not appear to be practicable as the said Purdhan is reported to have absconded...¹⁸

The refusal to have anything to do with Purdhan was a matter of principle: the Government was unwilling to interfere in the internal affairs of Sikkim.

Lloyd once again put forward his reasons for giving Dabgong, but the Council insisted on 'the inexpediency of transferring that tract of country to the Rajah of Sikkim.'¹⁹

Lloyd reported back.

The tract I have demanded from the Rajah is about 30 miles long, from north to south, and from six to ten broad and is capable of cultivation as any tract of the hills; if this be valued at Rs. 500 a month or 6000 per annum, the present value of money would make the cost 120000 rupees. The Government would be reimbursed by the rent of the land. I can only say that could I as an individual purchase the land, and had I the money, I should be glad to give 100000 for it.

I suspect, however, that the Rajah of Sikkim sets little value on money and perhaps a valuable present such as a handsome string of pearls, coral necklaces, broadcloth etc., would please him better than any sum of money. The Government could offer at any rate without referring the question to the Rajah; any opinion I could offer as to what he would consider a sufficient compensation must be erroneous.

I am of opinion that if the Government would be content with...the Durgeeling range from the Rungeet to Sinchul(?) together with the Rajah's consent to our making a road or roads to approach it, and his granting in addition a couple of hundred yards on each side along those roads, and if Government was to send the Rajah a string of handsome pearls 101 in number and three large coral necklaces, different

¹⁸ Ibid., No.104

¹⁹ Consultations, 4 May 1835, No.104

kinds of broadcloth and a few other trifling things with a letter from the Governor-General stating the extent required to be ceded as above friendship to the British Government, and if he was aware of those presents being delivered on the cession being completed, he would make no difficulty in complying with the Governor-General's request. I think also that Government might in the first instance have told the Rajah simply that it was necessary to establish a sanatorium at Darjeeling and that he would have made no objection at all. Provided the cession of the place had not been demanded; now as an offer has been made, such an intention would not answer...²⁰

This letter added a new extension to the already vastly expanded size of the Darjeeling tract, namely an access road, or roads, from British territory to Darjeeling.

On 15 June the Council sent a peremptory order which could not possibly be misunderstood:

Sir,

In reply to your letter dated 25th ultimo I am directed to inform you that the Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council judges from your letter that the Rajah of Sikkim is not to cede Darjeeling. You are therefore desired to abstain from urging any further negotiation having that object in view.²¹

And that ought to have been the end of the Darjeeling project and the sanatorium, but it was not so. At the beginning of November the Secretary to Government in the Political Department received from Major Lloyd this surprising letter:

Sir,

I beg leave to report that in August last the Sikkim Rajah's officers forwarded to me the grant of Darjeeling in the form which I had requested him to draw it out, in fact, the very paper I had forwarded to him was returned with his seal affixed as I had requested he would do and is now in my possession...²²

For reasons of his own Major Lloyd did not communicate to the Rajah the Government's decision of 15 June to abandon the Darjeeling project. It is open to conjecture whether he did so because he had not received specific instructions to this effect or whether he clung to the meaning of, 'abstain from urging' as 'just keep quiet'; or did he deliberately keep the Rajah on tenterhooks

²⁰ Consultations, 15 June 1835, No. 150 (dated 25 May 1835)

²¹ Ibid.

²² Consultations, 9 November 1835, (dated 31 October 1835)

knowing full well that he was anxiously waiting for the fulfilment of two dear wishes? All we know is that there was a silence for about two months which must have exhausted the Rajah's patience and he decided to force the Government's hand: by receiving the grant they wanted they would be obliged to grant him what he wanted—oriental etiquette in its simplest form. It is also possible that the silence frightened him and he tried to anticipate the Government's grave displeasure and avert some inconceivable consequences by sending this propitiatory gift. Equally puzzling is the absence of an accompanying letter which might have explained the Rajah's reason for this premature act. There is also a slight suspicion that the gift had a bearing on the border dispute and the final fixing of the boundary with Nepal.

When in 1846 two Governor-Generals had come and gone and the Supreme Council had been replaced by new members, an enquiry was ordered into the antecedents of the unsatisfactory relations between the Rajah of Sikkim and Dr. Campbell, the Superintendent of Darjeeling. In a *memo* Under-Secretary Melville probed into the past right back to the beginnings of the Darjeeling plan and made some astonishing revelations with some equally astonishing (and most gratifying) comments. In answer to the question what Lloyd ought to have done on receiving the Deed of Grant, Melville has this to say:

When therefore the Government did not accept the conditions and desired Major Lloyd to abstain from further negotiation, there was one plain course, and but one, open to him by adopting which he might have lost Darjeeling but would have saved the reputation of his Government for fair dealing. This course was to return the deed of cession; if he had been treating with one of his own countrymen for the purchase of an estate, the title deeds of which had been deposited with him, conditionally upon his being able to give another estate in exchange, or to pay the sum demanded, and if he found after all that he could not fulfil the condition, that he could not give him the other estate or pay the sum, what would he have done? He would have returned the title deeds at once...²³

By 5 January 1836, an answer had been received to the Major's letter with a short reference to Darjeeling:

You have also many times written about Darjeeling but last year the grant of Darjeeling under my red seal was delivered to you through my vakeels and there never can be any departure

²³ Consultations, 14 Nov. 1846 No. 29 *Memo* by the Under-Secretary

from that (gift) by my Government. If you have understood it differently I cannot help it.²⁴

Lloyd immediately forwarded the precious document with an accompanying letter:

The Rajah's letter in reply I have the honour to enclose (together with a translation into Hindooee and thence into English) which I imagine decides fully the question as to whether or not he meant to annex conditions to his compliance with the wish of Government to obtain Darjeeling. He means, as I understand it, that he makes the grant freely, mentions no conditions whatever and seems to regret he had been misunderstood.

Fearing that my interpretation of the Rajah's meaning might possibly be erroneous I waited the arrival of his vakeels. They repeatedly assured me the Rajah had no intention whatever of attaching conditions to his gift that he had given it freely from the friendship he entertained for the Company's Government, and it would be disgraceful to him to take it back...

I therefore enclose herewith the original grant under the Sikkim Rajah's red seal and I hope the Government may be pleased to send the Sikkim Rajah a letter of acknowledgement and a handsome present in return for his ready compliance with our request, for I beg to say his gift is no small one considering the limited extent of his country. Mr. Alexander de Koros is, I believe, now in Calcutta and would do more justice to the sentiments of Government in translating the letter than can be possibly accomplished here. I take the liberty of suggesting that it would be satisfactory to the Rajah if he was moreover told by the Governor-General in the letter the reason why Dabgong cannot be granted to him...and that our laws are opposed to our making Rummoo Purdhan account for money transactions in a foreign state.²⁵

The Government's response expressed no satisfaction, gratitude or even the slightest encouraging appreciation at Lloyd's achievement. But this attitude may have been less a reflection on the Government and more on Mr. Macnaghten who never was a wise man, writing as he did:

As it now appears that the transfer has been unconditionally made by the Rajah it only remains to consider the best means of turning it to the advantage of the British Government...An-

²⁴ Consultations, 8 February 1836, No. 85 (dated 5 January 1836)

²⁵ Ibid.

nexed is a copy of the letter written to the Rajah of Sikkim for your information.²⁶

To the Rajah of Sikkim from the Governor-General.

My friend,

Major Lloyd has informed me that out of friendship for the British Government you have made an unconditional grant of Darjeeling with a small tract about it for the purpose of being used as a sanatorium by the servants and subject of the Company, and the Major has forwarded to me the Deed of Gift executed by you in the name of the Company.

I am much obliged to you for this proof of your friendship and accept of the land in behalf of the Company for the purpose mentioned in the grant.

You will receive herewith some presents which I have directed to be forwarded to you as detailed in the accompanying list.

I regret that I was unable to comply with your requests for the cession of Dabgaon and for compelling Rummoo Purdhan to render an account. Dabgaon could not be given to you because it had already become the property of another, and it is not consistent with our practice to call people to account for money transactions which have taken place in Foreign Territories.

Fort William
8th February 1836

I remain etc.
W.H. Macnaghten
Secy. to Government of India

List of Presents for the Sikkim Rajah

A double-barrelled gun	A pair of Shawls superior
a rifle	A pair of Shawls inferior
20 yards of Red Broad Cloth ²⁷	

The presents mentioned in the list may have been suitable but they could hardly be called 'handsome' as Lloyd had suggested. The Rajah too cannot have thought otherwise, and thus the seeds for an ever-growing hostility had been sown. From that time on the Rajah was waiting for his present equivalent to the Darjeeling tract, and the Government at Calcutta had no idea of their obligation, for the cession of Darjeeling had been unconditional. Eventually, he did receive first 3000 rupees and then 6000 rupees per annum through the very ungracious successor of Col. Lloyd - 'but that is another story.'

²⁶ Ibid. No. 87

²⁷ Ibid. No. 88

Simla Escape

As the hot weather progressed and the negative accounts from Darjeeling continued to come in, hopes for a quick and early escape from 'the Ditch' faded. In desperation all eyes once again wearily turned to the far distant refuge of the Upper Provinces, accessible really only to the 'upper crust' of society and that too at great expense:

As we can have no prospect now of Dorjeling affording us an asylum for the approaching season, it may be satisfactory to those of our readers who may be disposed to court a cool retreat from the heated plains of Bengal to learn that houses are now procurable at Simlah in consequence of many of the Commander-in-Chief's party having given up the residences they had previously engaged for the season. The weather at Simlah continues to be delightful – the thermometer on the 5th instant averaging 45 degs. within doors, and 70 deg. at noon out of doors. We understand from private letters that the Governor-General was expected to have been at Bhav on the 18th or 20th instant.¹

Almost in confirmation of the hopeless situation yet more news arrive graphically describing how every grain of rice had to be brought to Darjeeling.

On the 25 March the first ray of hope appears in the *Hurkaru*:

As every thing tending to remove difficulties in the way of a speedy establishment at this place must be acceptable to our readers, we lose no time to say that we hear that on the 15th instant some bunneas arrived at Punkabarree from Kissengunge with dal and other supplies which they sold to the followers of a gentleman's camp at the spot at fair prices; for instance, ratur was sold 20 seers per rupee, when a few days previously at Titalya, which is 30 miles near Kissengunge, the same article was not to be had at 12 seers per rupee. We cannot but confess that this looks like some improper meddling

¹ *The Englishman*, 22 March 1839

by a person or persons unknown in the grain market at Titalya.²

Sam Smith must have given a deep sigh of relief when he received the latest information from Mr. Low who had gone up to Darjeeling to see for himself what could be done to help:

Letters have been received from the zealous Secretary of the Dorjeling Association...from which we collect that matters are not quite so bad as previous communications led us to believe they were. The road is, it appears, made 5 miles beyond Punkabarree and fairly round the first steep ascent by an easy slope, very narrow, however, in some places where blasting is necessary. Col. Lloyd had succeeded in obtaining a considerable number of coolies and would, immediately after the holidays, proceed in person to superintend the road until its completion, for this purpose locating himself at Mursiong (Kurseong).

Though the kindness of Mr. Halket, Mr. Low had been enabled to engage 150 coolies in the Dinagepore District for the purpose of carrying up the Hotel furniture. The evils of the Duffadar System have been avoided by a judicious arrangement, which provides food for the men while at work, and when their engagement is up, payment into each man's hand of the amount he is entitled to receive. By these means it is hoped that all the men, or the greatest portion of them, will be happy to take fresh engagement and others will come forward on the same terms. In short, it will be the commencement of a better order of things as regards the poor coolies, from which great good may be anticipated.

While on the subject we must notice a letter published by our morning contemporary, from Dr. Pearson, the Medical Officer of Darjeeling, who seems to think he has been accused in our column of 'petulantly' determining not to go up to the station. We do not remember having published anything even approaching to an insinuation of the kind—necessity, to which all must bow, had compelled Dr. P. to 'live' at Punkabarree—but of course, only so long as it was not practicable to proceed, or proceeding to remain at the 'bright spot'. We are happy to see that the worthy Doctor with his family were about to travel upwards on that very road of which it is stated 'it is *impossible* for a *timid man to travel and save his life*'. This is excellent news, given upon the best authority, and we hope before 1st May, that many travellers from Calcutta will 'wend their way' over that same road demonstrated to be practicable by Dr. Pearson's journey over it, accompanied by his family consisting of 'two ladies and two children.'

²Bengal Hurkaru, 25 March 1839

DARJELING
To The Editors Of *The Englishman*

Dear Sirs, –I should not have thought it necessary to remark upon the articles and letters concerning Darjeling which you have copied from the *Hurkaru* newspaper, had not my name been introduced in a manner calculated to convey an impression that I have petulantly determined not to proceed to the station. As it is I have merely to observe first—that the whole of our difficulties arise from want of workmen and coolies which can easily be remedied by the means pointed out, of Government directing their civil officers in the plains to render the required assistance;

secondly –that all these difficulties are only such as might be reasonably expected at the commencement of such an enterprise as settling in these hills, and may soon be overcome, as above said and by the exercise of a little patience and discretion; and

thirdly—that so far am I from having come to a determination to live at Punkabarree, I hope to proceed within the next week to Darjeling: and to travel with my family of two ladies and two children the very road of which it is stated ‘it is impossible for a timid man to travel on and save his life.’

I remain, dear Sirs, Yours truly
J. T. Pearson

Punkabaree, 21 March, 1839

P. S. I do not consider myself at liberty to introduce the names, or continue a discussion on the conduct of others, without their permission; otherwise I could state the grounds of my belief that the writers of the above mentioned letters and articles are much mistaken on many points. My doing so is the less needed, however, the parties alluded to being well able, if they think it worth while, to speak for themselves.

J.T.P.³

But some busybody, calling himself *somebody*, felt it his duty to make sure that despondency did not turn into sudden euphoria, sent a list of prices current at Darjeeling to warn prospective visitors:

Coarsest rice 14 seers per rupee, Middling ditto 10 seers, table ditto 8 seers, Dal 8 seers, Ghee 2 seers, Atta 6 seers, Salt, Tobacco, Huldi, Red Pepper, and Garlic, each 3 seers per rupee, Sukkur 2 seers, Chinee 1½ seer, Chuna 8 seers, Fowls, Milk, Eggs, Sujee, Butter, Sugar Candy not procurable at all, at all....⁴

³ Ibid., 28 March 1839

⁴ *The Englishman*, 28 March 1839

The general tone of correspondence emanating from that 'Elysium' of Bengal is, however, from now on steadily improving, and *Perdu's* attempt to establish some sort of balanced comprehensive view of the situation must have been welcomed by the panic-stricken public of Calcutta:

Dear Mr. Editors,— At a moment when considerable excitement prevails owing to the nature of those reports which have been recently published respecting Dorjeling, there will perhaps be no apology requisite for the introduction of a few remarks, dictated by a sincere and conscientious desire to disabuse the public mind of the prejudices which it may have been recently led to entertain respecting that settlement.

As to the list of awful calamities of flood and field, which have fallen upon the Sergeants of Sappers, I beg leave to mention that I am at present enjoying a comfortable tumbler of punch with the man who was described to have had 'his head fractured and his body otherwise frightfully mangled', and I regret to say that (to the destruction of all the dramatic interest of a sudden unaccountable disappearance) the Corporal who vanished in so alarming a manner, came back a few days afterwards, as soon as the pleasant inspiration which had led him astray had subsided.

Danger must always certainly exist in the construction of a mountain road, hence the loss of the coolies; but surely not after that road has been made, provided that gentlemen are gifted with common gallantry towards the gentler sex.

As for myself, I cannot conceive anything more delightful than at once to witness and report the graceful timidity of a handsome girl, and shall always be too happy to perform that pleasing office, should I be blessed with an opportunity amidst the dreary monotony of stone breaking upon the roads.

I have reason to suppose that the hotel will be completed in six weeks from the date of this letter; and even if it should not, there is furniture here which you can hire, so if you come up with a few tarpaulins which may be adjusted to the roof and sides of a hut, capable of being constructed by your servants in a few hours, you will be enabled conveniently to wait for a more elegant accommodation at this delightful season of the year.

I forbear to speak of Dorjeling itself; not that it does not afford many subjects for eulogiums, but simply because I am too sensible of this to attempt to do justice to it in so hurried a communication; in short, if it be agreeable to awake from an unpleasing dream to a happy reality, or from languor and apathy to energy and pleasure, none will regret coming to Dorjeling, nor can I easily conceive that many(?) others will be found so far engrossed by the lowest professional science as to

criticise too narrowly the means by which so great a public benefit has been attained as the foundation of this Sanatarium.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
your most obdt. servant,
Perdu⁵

Gilmore took up the cudgels in self-defence and loyalty to his superior officer Col. Lloyd and sent this memorable letter to *The Englishman*:

Sirs,—I shall commence this letter by assuring you that I never wrote a letter in my life for a public paper, and am extremely loath to do so now, but so many unfounded statements respecting Dorjeling have appeared in the Calcutta Journals during the last ten days, and as in one instance, I have been all but personally called on by an anonymous writer to refute, if I can, one of these wilful misrepresentations of facts, I feel that I am, in justification to myself and others, bound to step forwards and in my own name reply to these statements which I am, if necessary, fully prepared to prove to be incorrect, to call them by no harsher name.

I shall first notice the remarks made by your correspondent a *Lover of Truth*.

Well, Sir, this self-styled *Lover of Truth*, this searcher after knowledge, states in the concluding paragraph of his letter to your address bearing date the 8th instant, that '6 or 8 corpses are lying athwart the road' at present under construction between Dorjeling and the plains. 'Others' (Query: corpses or living men) 'have fallen over precipices or have been crushed to atoms by precipices on them.' (I should like to know, Messrs. Editors, if you or any other person ever before heard of precipices falling on corpses, or corpses falling over precipices) 'among whom have been found 2 European Sergeants who, we are informed, lost their lives within two days of each other,' and then this *Lover of Truth*, or as he might have with much more propriety styled himself a *Lover of Falsehood*, has the hardihood to remark that 'this is a fact, and let those who have had a hand in it gainsay it, if they can'. Now, as I have the super-intendence of the Dorjeling road, I cannot do otherwise than conclude that this remark is addressed solely to myself. And, Sirs, I am not only prepared to gainsay 'this fact', but to prove that there is not one word of truth in the paragraph in question, with the exception of the part which refers to the Hotel, and the writer, whoever he is, must have been fully aware at the time he penned this epistle, that he was stating that which was manifestly untrue. Still your correspondent is a *Lover of Truth (Lucus a Non Lucendo)*. As to the number of coolies

⁵ Ibid.

that have lost their lives 'by precipices falling on them' I cannot speak, but I can with truth affirm that only one coolie has lost his life by falling down a precipice, and I will appeal to every individual who has ever had the smallest experience in road-making in a mountainous country, if it is not an extraordinary circumstance that only one life has been lost in the space of five months. With respect to the Sergeants who a *Lover of Truth* has so barbarously murdered within two days of each other, I beg to remark that one of them (a Corporal) when in a fit of delirium, left his tent and went missing for two days; but he returned to Punkabarree on the afternoon of the 5th instant, 3 days before a *Lover of Truth's* letter was written. This poor murdered man, I am happy to say, returned to his duty 10 days since and is actively employed in superintending the construction of the road. The other sergeant who was killed by a *Lover of Truth* in such a shocking manner, and is stated by Messrs. Hepper, Martin & Co. in their letter of the 6th instant to the *Hurkaru* to have been shockingly mangled that no hope were entertained of his recovery: though severely injured by incautiously standing under a tree, which he himself was felling, was never in danger from the accident.

I have now disposed of the slaughtered Sergeants and corpses, and will proceed to remark on several other points alluded to by a *Lover of Truth*:

1st—Col. Lloyd has not, not ever had, to the best of my knowledge and belief, a private bazar; nor can rice, or any other article be purchased at 'his own private establishment!'

2nd—On the 8th instant, upwards of 3 miles of road above Punkabarree had been made, and on that date there was not a single tree lying across the portion of the made road.

3rd—I admit that little has yet been done for the improvement of the station of Dorjeling, the road being considered of paramount importance. The illiberal remark that 'the station road remains complete only to the agent's door' needs no comment. I, however, would here observe that the road to the plains was commenced in May 1837 by Lt. Col. Lloyd when he was the only resident at Dorjeling, and surely he was *there* justified at commencing 'at his own door', and if no greater crime than this can be laid at his door, he has little to answer for.

With respect to the allusions made by the *Lover of Truth* regarding the Sebundy Sappers, I have to observe that the Corps was *employed* for some time 'in clearing the station of trees', but this was discontinued, it being necessary to teach them their drill and other military duties. The Sappers are now employed in continuing 'the road which is only complete to the local agent's door,' and they resumed their duty as Pioneers 5 days before the papers containing the letter now

under reply came to hand, or previous to my perusing any of the statements regarding Dorjeling that have lately appeared in the public prints.

Having now refuted all the assertions made by the *Lover of Truth*, and, I think, proved him to be unworthy of his name, I will endeavour to shew, that many of the remarks which have appeared both in your paper and the *Hurkaru*, have as little claim to belief.

The *Hurkaru* states, 'that Hepper & Martin have struck work.' I think it but just to that firm to remark that they have not struck work, nor do I believe they had even the most remote intention of doing so. I left them yesterday morning at Dorjeling, and they were then busily engaged in the Hotel, the wing of which will, by their most unceasing and meritorious exertions probably be ready by the 1st of April.

The Hurkaru observes that the public have done more than could be expected from them and asks 'What have the Government done!' I will inform him: they have done more than the public; they have given the usual establishment of officers and are now constructing a road from Dorjeling to the plains for the benefit of the public, whilst they have simply subscribed a few rupees (for every one of which I believe they are to receive 8 per cent interest) for the purpose of building an hotel and 8 staging bungalows, for their own benefit, I presume. *The Hurkaru* says the Hotel is nearly ready. The road is so too, and I have no doubt, that it will be opened out the whole way before the Hotel is completed. Both of these works have been delayed by the same cause, viz. the great difficulty of procuring work people. Again, the *Hurkaru* asserts that Mr. Wilson was at Siligourie on the 8th inst. which is many miles out of the present road to the hills that—and I know to a certainty—he had not even reached Titalya on the 20th (March).

With regard to Dr. Pearson's determination to remain at Punkabarree, I can only say that he is daily sending off his things in the hope of being able to proceed to Dorjeling with his family in a few days. I may also add, that he has travelled over the line of road 'that it is impossible for a timid man to travel over and save his life'. (*The Hurkaru's* correspondents are not content with killing the Queen's soldiers, but must murder her English (subjects likewise.) Dr. Pearson has this morning sent off his cattle, ponies and farm yard stock, and has no hesitation in taking his family to Dorjeling over this dangerous route. I cannot do otherwise than express the surprise I felt at seeing such a remark on the road as that above alluded to, coming from a firm, two members of which have frequently stated their approval of the line I have chosen, whilst the third has never seen it.

As an example of the ease with which this road may even now be passed over, I may mention that I yesterday travelled

the whole distance between Dorjeling and Punkabarree in 7½ hours, having walked one-fourth of the way; 19 miles of this road have been opened out, and the three nearest the plains are practicable for wheeled carriages; these 19 miles have been constructed by a very small number of work people, and at a very trifling cost, and I shall be prepared, when called on by those who have a right to demand an account of my stewardship, to shew, that a proper proportion of work has been executed by every man who has been employed on it. On the 8th instant there were 80 instead of 30 to 40 men employed on the road, as stated by Messrs. Hepper, Martin & Co., and on the 12th there were 146 on it.

I shall conclude by observing that I have no personal interest in endeavouring to induce people to stay away, or to resort to the station this season, therefore my statement is as well worthy of belief as that of any person whose welfare may be advanced or injured by visitors resorting to Dorjeling during the present hot weather.

I am, Sir, yours obediently,

John Gilmore, Lieut.

Punkabarree, Ex. Engineer Dorjeling and Commanding
March 23rd, 1839 Seby. Sappers and Miners⁶

⁶ *The Englishman*, 1 April 1839

Lt. John Gilmore

John Gilmore was born at Stamford Hill, a village near the City of London, the son of a sailmaker. He must have received enough education at one of the many 'academies' that flourished outside London to qualify him for a cadetship at Addiscombe at the age of 15, in 1826. He appears to have had some strong Indian connection through a shipbuilding uncle at Calcutta and an older cousin in the Company's army. On the 2 July 1838 he was appointed Executive Engineer 'to raise and organize a Sebundy Corps of Sappers and Miners at Darjeeling for construction of roads in that district.' Lord Napier recalled Lt. Gilmore's start at Darjeeling:

He commenced the work, obtained some (Native) officers and N.C. officers from the old Bengal Sappers and enlisted about half of each company.

The first season found the little colony quite unprepared for the early commencement of the *Rains*. All the coolies, who did not die, fled, and some of the Sappers deserted. Gilmore got sick.¹ In September, he was already so ill that a Dr. Wilkie had to be called from Dinagepore to Darjeeling 'to attend Lt. Gilmore,' (at a cost of 120 rupees to Government, 'on account of the expenses he incurred in the journey,' and with a recommendation from Col. Lloyd that he be 'granted even a greater sum than the amount he has asked for, considering the season of the year and the difficulties of the road.')² Poor John Gilmore seems to have suffered from some chronic disease which did not improve and which incapacitated him for the whole of his time in the hills. Nowadays his troubles would probably be diagnosed as 'psychosomatic', unless he suffered from some form of endemic malaria. There is plenty of evidence that between bouts — if it was malaria — he was able to move about and up and down his road; he even got some substantial planning done for construction of buildings in Darjeeling:

¹ Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 1886, p. 600

² Consultations, Fort William, 9 January 1839

Sir, I have the honour to forward an estimate of the probable expense that will be incurred in erecting the public buildings ordered for the station of Dorjeling, provided they are constructed according to the accompanying plans and specifications.

2. You will perceive by a reference to the specification that the style of building proposed to be pursued by me as different from that which is generally followed in the plains, and I am indeed to recommend the adoption of this rather novel method of building by the following consideration:

1st. The advanced and unsettled period of the season and the uncertainty of my being at all times able to procure artificers and coolies.

2nd. The extreme difficulty there is in making bricks and the very great expense that must necessarily be incurred in making them by the undermentioned causes.

In the first place there is no cleared ground to expose them on after they are moulded.

In the second place, the very great time they take to dry in a cold climate.

In the third place, the great distance water has to be carried.

And in the fourth place, the soil is of such a variable nature that it is seldom if ever the same for three yards.

Other resources might be brought forward and prove that the making of bricks at Dorjeling is neither an easy nor a cheap undertaking; still, there is no doubt that they can be made and shall be so forthwith if the Board wish the walls of the buildings to be of Cutcha or Cutcha Pucka Masonry instead of a framework of wood with the interstices filled up with a strong walling of lath and oak, covered inside and out with mud plaster, well mixed with hemp chopped into very small pieces.

3. I certainly have had no experience in this style of building, but I understand it is usually adopted by the higher classes of Natives who inhabit Sikkim territory, and as far as I learn, is of a tolerably durable nature. Supposing therefore that it will last for the period of ten years (and I am ready to pledge my judgement that it will do so) I think (when the unsettled state of affairs in Napaul, the delay that must take place if the walls are to be built with Cutcha or Cutcha Pucka masonry, and the unfavourable state the Bazar is now in, are taken into consideration) that I should not be doing my duty if I did not thoroughly but respectfully recommend that the cheapest and most expeditious method of erecting buildings should on this occasion be adopted.

4. I here beg leave to remark that if these buildings had been estimated for previous to my going to Monghyr, the rates frusmedly (?) me would have exceeded those mentioned in the estimate by one half or fifty per cent; for Messrs. Hepper, Martin & Co. and other individuals who have had experience

in building at Dorjeling have paid, and are now paying, their working carpenter and bricklayers from 15 to 20 rupees per mensem, and other artificers in like proportion, whilst I have actually advanced for 75 carpenters and Mistries at 7 rupees per mensem, and for brickmakers, blacksmiths and tile makers for 6 rupees. A large number of these workmen have (as I reported to you in my letter No. 71 of this date) arrived at this place, and some have been employed at Dorjeling, as you are aware. It is impossible for any one who has not passed many many months at Dorjeling to form anything like an adequate idea of the dislike which Natives entertain to this place; when in the plains last month, I was frequently informed by Natives of the lowest caste, that they would rather earn 2 rupees a month where they were than go to Dorjeling, even if they were paid 12 or 20 rupees per mensem. Dhanger men who are accustomed to dwell in a hilly country have apparently greater antipathy to this place than the coolies of the neighbouring districts. How to account for this fact I know not; nevertheless, it is the case. When I was at Bhangulpore I made advances for 300 men (Dhangers); these men were to serve for three months certain and longer if thought proper to detain them, and were to be here by the 15th inst.; not one of these has yet appeared. But I am informed that a large number are now on their way hither. These men were to receive 4 Rupees a month each, but imagining from the Dhangers not having yet arrived at this place, that they are unwilling to come for that sum; I have written to the Magistrate of Bhangulpore to offer them 5, and if that sum is not sufficient, to induce them to proceed to these hills, to give them even 6 rupees a month.

5. When the estimate for the building was framed I had not the most distant idea that I should have to quit the station in the manner in which I have been obliged to do, and consequently made no allowance for such an emergency. Considering therefore the time that has already been lost, and the further period that must elapse before the men can return to their work, I am of opinion that 10 per cent on the whole amount ought to be added to the sum specified.

6. In conclusion I beg to remark that I do not imagine that cutcha pukka masonry could be constructed for less than 16 Rupees per 100 feet. I also venture to express the hope that the Board will take into consideration the engrossing nature of any duties and the very great difficulty I have had in engaging artificers, and pardon me for not having forwarded the accompanying plans and estimates sooner.

Punkabarree,
March 24th 1893

I have etc.
John Gilmore, Lieutt.
Exe. Eng. Dorjeling ³

³ Consultations, Fort William, 24 April 1839, Nos. 140 & 141

There is no record of direct criticism of his work in the annals of the Council since Col. Lloyd was made to carry the can for him; it would, however, not be too far fetched to assume that he had been made to understand by word of mouth that he had not been a great success; due allowances were made, of course, but, it was suggested, it would really be a good idea if he applied for 'leave of absence for six months to proceed to Singapore on account of his health.'⁴ In fact, the farther he went the better for all concerned. He must have accepted the suggestion, for the leave was granted in June, which seems to indicate that our Johnny was not that much of a desperate wreck if he could wait so many months for his release.

⁴ *The Englishman*, 27 June 1839

Educational Capabilities

The growing confidence in the eventual establishment of Darjeeling also revitalized the more enterprising spirits and reminded them of the station's educational capabilities. Though the philosophical and moral principles of the proposed 'academy', as such places of instruction used to be called, did not appeal to everybody as a sound basis for an educational institution, the proposal was a move in the right direction and of pioneering importance. The intention was acceptable, namely the provision of education locally which would enable European parents to keep their children with them in India for much longer than was then customary. But it was a sign of the liberalism prevailing in Calcutta that made *The Englishman* pounce on the 'projector's' illiberal and undemocratic notions for whose formulation, it is hoped, the many reverends on the committee were not responsible:

A prospectus of Grammar or High School at Darjeeling is in circulation. It is a singularly instructive document conveying at once an assurance of the capacity of the 'Projector' par excellence, and of the exalted character of his notions. Wackford Squeers and the Do-the-boys Hall advertisement are nothing to this:

The discovery of Darjeeling and the well accredited fact that it is justly entitled to be considered even in the light of a Providential blessing, as to its climate, scenery, and locality—the excitement that has been raised by it through the minds of the community—the positive public assurance that Government are now devoting their serious intention to it as a Station and Sanatarium—and the conviction that the most eligible locations will rapidly be granted away, have determined the Projector to lay his prospectus before the higher classes of society in this settlement, and other stations of this presidency, for the establishment of an institution founded on the principles, moral, religious and educational, of our popular proprietary Grammar Schools in England; and considering that the circumstances of climate, morals, idiom of language, and manners are so peculiarly unfavourable in all the

subordinate and plebeian classes of society in India, it is proposed, that the projected Institution shall be confined to the reception of children of the Civil and Military Services, and of the Clerical, Legal, Medical, and Mercantile professions.

'The Institution will be under the inspection and management of a committee. Visitors, the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of the See and the Venerable Archdeacon of Calcutta, the former being the President and the latter Vice President of the Committee: The Rev. Messrs. Fisher, Senior and Junior, Rev. R.B. Boyes, R.B. Boswell, F. Wybrow.

We believe the author of the foregoing *morceau* rejoices in the name of *Smyth*, and is doubtless connected with the aristocracy of our proud country; none but a man thus enviably situated would dream of giving the children of the upper ranks a better climate than that enjoyed by the 'subordinate and plebeian classes' – none but a man who has habitually mixed in the higher circles would manifest so lofty an indifference to clear and intelligent forms of expression. We would recommend him to advertise his prospectus far and near, and to be particular in stating whether the 'little nobleman's sons' are to provide themselves with a 'razor' and learn single stick.¹

The *Hurkaru's* Editor is kinder in his comments.

The object is unquestionably good and deserves encouragement; the mere style of the prospectus may in some parts be inflated, and some of the measures for the management of the school may be modified with advantage; the spirit of exclusiveness also, which it advocates, should yield to a more liberal system; but Mr. Smyth is probably new to the country, and a stranger to the broad and general principles on which our institutions are conducted in this country. All defects of plan and management may, however, easily be obviated by a Committee, and Mr. Smyth will, doubtless, be guided in his financial arrangements by the advice of his numerous friends, many of whom are experimentally acquainted with the subject. We feel inclined, therefore, to hail the attempt of Mr. Smyth to establish a school at Dorjeling, which from its salubrity is admirably adapted for such an establishment. It is in a great measure this circumstance, a healthy climate, which has furnished Messrs. Mackinnon's and Clarke's schools at Mussori and Landour with such a number of pupils. Fine climate, we say, is an advantage, albeit not the principal consideration connected with an establishment for education. If Mr. Smyth receives that support, which we trust he will, the

¹ *The Englishman*, 12 April 1839

desire to place his establishment on a secure foundation will naturally induce him to yield to any suggestions from the respectable sources which are at his command, and thus enable him to meet the wishes of the community in general. And the Committee has been enlarged by several notable citizens of Calcutta: W. H. Smoult, Esq., T. Dickens, Esq., W. Bruce, Esq., and H. M. Low Esq.²

The ever gentle *Friend of India* also approves of Mr. Smyth and is pleased that 'the *Hurkaru* is tender towards him, as he will be to anyone who will give help to make something of Darjeeling....'³

² *Bengal Hurkaru*, 13 April 1839

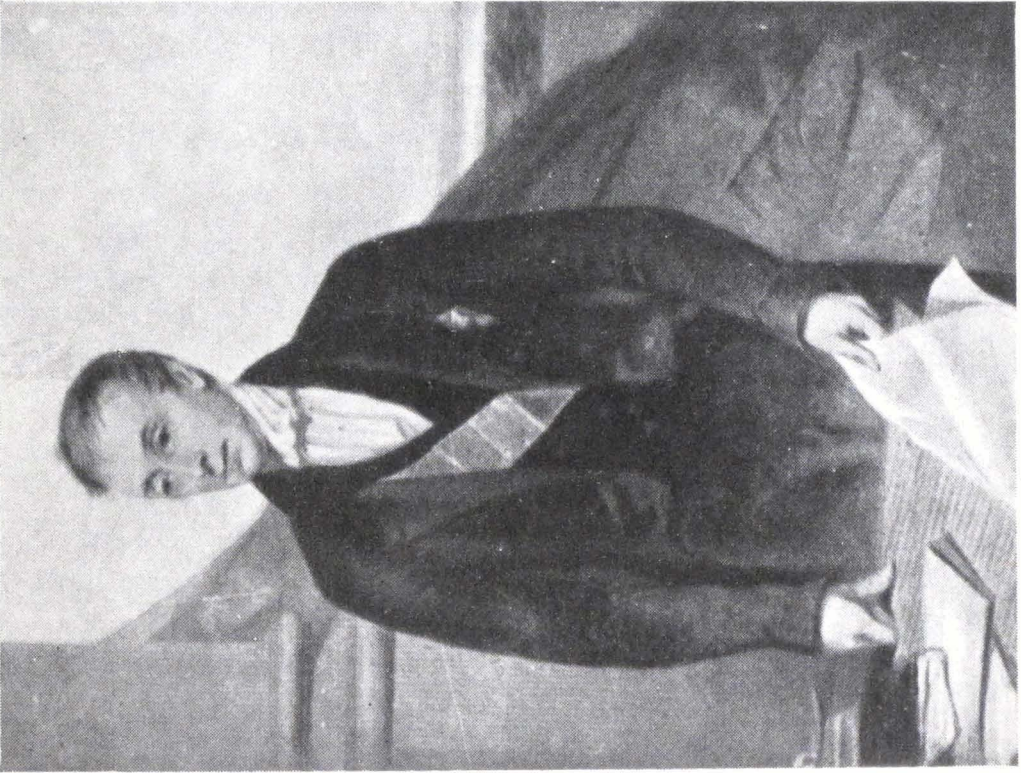
³ *The Friend of India*, 12 April 1839



Auckland Hotel, Calcutta (Now Great Eastern Hotel)



Seal of Rajah Chughui Namgyal



George Eden, Earl of Auckland



Rt. Rev. Daniel Wilson, Bishop of Calcutta



Palankeens



Punkabaree Bungalow



A Kutcherry



Darjeeling, 1850

Mr. Low's Letter

Throughout April reports from Darjeeling sound hopeful and happy. A letter from the Honorary Secretary of the Dorjeling Association dated Punkabarree, 29 March, reached the *Hurkaru* by an efficient dak service on 4 April and was printed the next day. It was an attempt by Mr. Low to smooth down all the recently ruffled feathers and reduce the general friction by a generous distribution of praise all round:

'I walked up to Rursiong (Kurseong) yesterday to which place the road was made at 5 p.m. The line throughout appears to me to be remarkably well taken, and reflects great credit on Gilmore as a Civil Engineer. Considering the number of men, too, hitherto employed, I think much heavy work has been performed, and on this score the Sergeant, Corporals and all concerned, are fully entitled to their need of praise. The working party received an addition of 82 yesterday morning, and the actual strength today is 211. Lloyd has been actively engaged in procuring men for some time past and expects to send up two or three hundred men next week; that there can be little doubt, therefore, the junction beyond Mahalderam will be effected about the 20th of April, and by that time Messrs. Hepper's and Wilson's arrangements will be far advanced. Mr. Wilson returns to Titalya on the 1st or 2nd, and you will soon see his new advertisement. This time it may be depended on...

Pearson took up his wife and family the day before yesterday. . . the fact of such a journey being performed in Mrs. Pearson's state speaks for itself...¹

Low himself had compliments heaped upon him by his friends and admirers who observed his activities at Darjeeling with great satisfaction:

Affairs now began to mend at Dorjeilng, and Mr. Low has since his arrival done in the way of procuring workmen and coolies, as well as a large supply of grain, more than the united

¹ *Bengal Hurkaru*, 5 April 1839

exertions of the whole of us previously, and the road also has been progressing wonderfully; everything, in fact, is now going on vigorously. That gentleman is now at Punkabarree and does not intend coming up until the furniture is despatched, and such other arrangements made as will ensure the Hotel being opened on the 1st proximo(May).

The Table d'Hote and 16 bedrooms are finished, except whitewashing, and the other 16, which complete the building, will not be long in finishing, though these may not all be complete and habitable before the middle of May. We have been at most of the places mentioned in the newspapers as a good retreat for the hot weather but none can be compared with Dorjeling. Here we have every morning strong hoar frost and may expect it up to the middle of the month, and though the sun here in the middle of the day is more than pleasantly warm to individuals under active exertion, yet, within the house a fire is found indispensable.

Everything now appears to be progressing favourably, and when the road is finished, the bazar will soon be abundantly supplied. Two staging bungalows, one at Titalya and the other at Punkabarree, have been erected as voluntary contributions, and if funds can be raised to erect a third one at Mahalderam ...the journey will become both pleasant and comparatively easy, presenting fewer difficulties of approach than Simla or any similar refuge on its first establishment. The few remaining obstacles will vanish before the termination of the season. For this happy state of affairs the public are mainly indebted to the untiring zeal of the Honorary Secretary of the Dorjeling Association, Mr. H. M. Low.²

At last Wilson's long and longingly expected advertisement appeared in the Calcutta papers and no doubt raised many a flagging spirit. The reference to the 'increase in monthly charges' has a peculiarly modern ring, reminiscent of the practice of some modern tour operators of levying a 'surcharge':

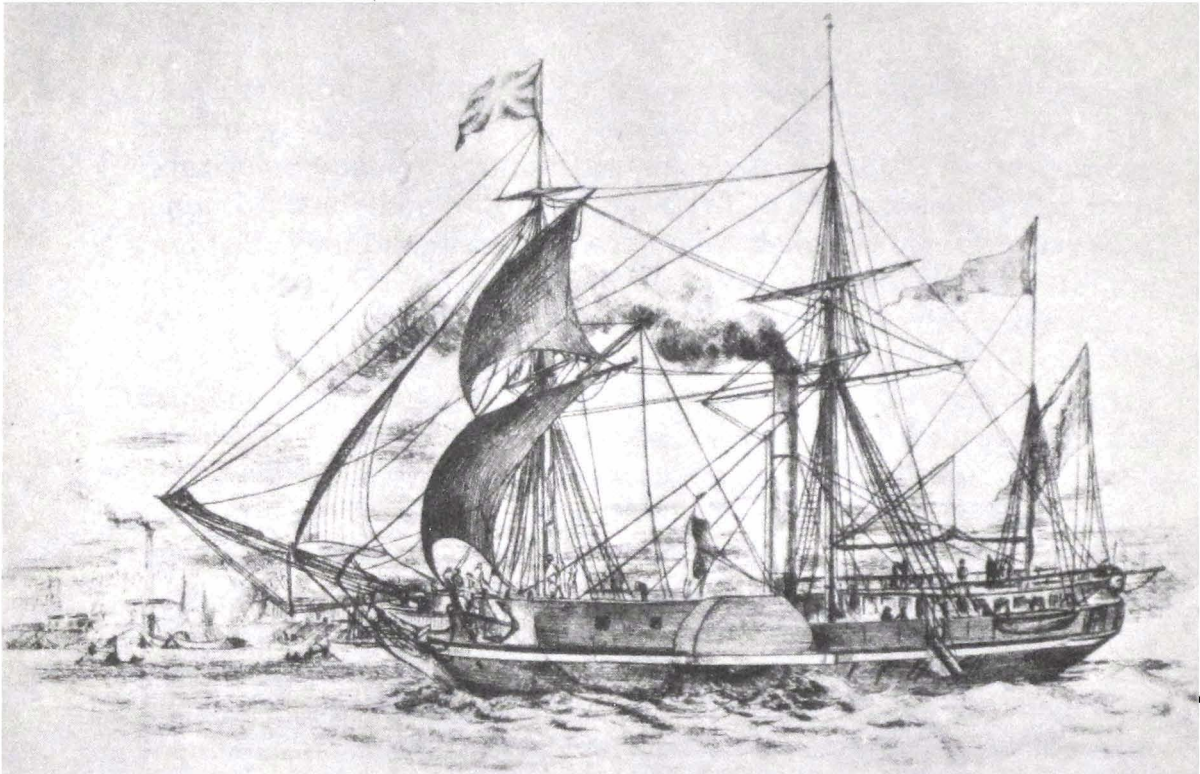
GENTLEMEN or families travelling by dawk to Titalya can be furnished with a carriage or ponies to convey them to Punkabarree, and Ponies and Tomjohns for ladies and Invalids to the "BRIGHT SPOT". The different dawk bungalows on the road will be supplied with refreshments and servants to attend to the wants and comforts of travellers.

The Hotel is provided with servants in every capacity, so that parties need not encumber themselves with more than is necessary, and even those may walk from Calcutta to Dorjeling in about 15 days.

² Ibid., 13 April 1839

The Dorjeling pinnace *Enterprise* will leave Calcutta with stores for this (Darjeeling) about the 20th instant. Gentlemen having baggage to send up had better forward it to my establishment in Calcutta, and it will be conveyed with care.

The great difficulty and expense in procuring coolies to convey stores up the hills has necessitated me to increase the



The Enterprise

monthly charges at the Table d'Hote from its originally intended 150 to 200 each person.

Applications for apartments or information respecting Dorjeling had better be made to *me*, post paid, and they will be immediately answered.

Wines, Beer and spirits, and Stores of every description may be had at the Hotel, or of my agent, Mr. Hancock, at the Titalya Store.

Dorjeling, April 2nd, 1839

D. WILSON³

³ Ibid., (also 15 & 16 April)

David Wilson's various advertisements and the numerous comments on him may have created in the reader a shadowy picture of a go-ahead and successful entrepreneur, though the admiration and certain affection with which he is mentioned raise a suspicion that there is more to him than a shrewd money-maker.

Dr. Deriah's Appointment

The numerous references to the scandalous living conditions of workmen and coolies on the Darjeeling road may give the impression that the authorities were either callous or just unimaginative and thoughtless with regard to the welfare of the road builders. That this was not so comes out clearly in the severe censure of Col. Lloyd's 'arrangements for food, clothing and shelter'; and the Government's immediate consent to send up medical assistance when applied for from Darjeeling is further proof of the Council's humane understanding of the serious situation. If things appear to have rather dragged on from the beginning of February to the middle of April, it was not for want of good will on the part of the Government. The fault, alas, lay with the 'Native Doctors' who seem to have fallen incurably ill when they were informed of their appointment to Darjeeling. It must be added though, that there was already a Native Doctor at the station looking after the Sappers and Miners and attending to the coolies in cases of emergency. But the high rate of incidents of sickness and injury among the workmen required a doctor exclusively for them. And so in April the Medical Board recommended that 'an advance of two months' pay may be directed to Deriah, Native Doctor, whom we have appointed to afford medical aid to the persons employed in the construction of the road at Darjeeling in the room of Seraj, whose state of health will not admit of his proceeding'.¹

Ten days later the recommendation was approved, 'it appearing...that indisposition will prevent Seraj, the Native Doctor originally appointed to afford medical aid... from joining that station... and sanction an advance of two months' pay to the latter officer to enable him to join his appointment without delay'.²

Shortly before Dr. Deriah's appointment Dr. Pearson had become impatient and writing a second request for help to Col. Lloyd for transmission to Calcutta:

I have the honour to state that the Native Doctor Deem Sing

¹ Consultations, Fort William, 24 April 1839, No.145

² Ibid., No. 146

has agreeably to your commands been sent to attend the sick of the Sappers and Miners and Coolees working on the road.

It is also my duty to state that without an officer of his class permanently attached to the station, and who is not liable to be sent on detached service, I shall be unable properly to fulfil its professional call. A great number of persons are at this time sick, some of them exceedingly so, and although they are mostly servants of the residents or other natives and in Government employ, still I need not point out to you the necessity there is that bad name for unhealthiness to natives the place has already should not be increased;...nor need I more than say that no exertion on my part shall be wanting, but I may fall sick myself, in which case the station will be without a medical of my description.

In obedience to your further commands I have sent a supply of medicines for the sick on the road, but I should wish that the officer in charge of that work should...be directed to make out an indent with the assistance of the Native Doctor...for my stock is not sufficient for his large establishment in addition to those for whose use I made the indent.³

³ Ibid., 29 May 1839, No. 138

Bengal Hurkaru's Criticism

From the end of April once again critical voices are heard in Calcutta. It is suggested that the slow progress on the Darjeeling road is due to lack of proper supervision: 'Another officer should be appointed to the Sappers. The Engineer Officer (Lt.Gilmore) with 30 miles of road to superintend, and public buildings to erect, has neither time nor opportunity to attend to them.'¹

Then there is the usual wail: 'Unless Government give orders to their officers to assist people to get coolies etc. the greatest difficulty will be experienced in setting the place going even now; or perhaps it may fail altogether; for we have no hill population to fall back upon as I believe they have in the western hills.'²

David Wilson too comes in for his share of abuse, and the absence of competition is much regretted:

'Sir,—Having had the perusal of a letter from Titalya dated the 1st instant (May) upon the veracity of the writer of which I place implicit reliance, and from which it would appear that matters at Dorjeling were not, as yet, a very promising aspect. I consider it my duty to lay part of its contents before the public in order that it may not be misguided by the exaggerated reports of interested people, and beg therefore that you will kindly permit me to do so through the medium of your journal.

The Hotel was not yet opened on the above mentioned day (1 May); out of fifty workmen Wilson brought with him from Calcutta six only remained...The charges for liquors, provisions etc. are most bitterly complained of; butter was selling at 2 rupees a seer, and a loaf of bread at one rupee, butcher's meat likewise so dear that according to the writer's opinion a butcher and baker would make their fortune at Dorjeling within a short time.

Wine, Beer and Brandy, in quarts and pints; cheese, Hams, Sugar, Tea etc. are particularly recommended for shipment as they would meet with a ready sale at a profit of about 200 per

¹ *The Englishman*, 26 April 1839

² *Ibid.*, 2 May 1839

cent; this surely is very encouraging, and the hint will doubtless be acted upon by one or more of our enterprising tradesmen who in such a case I would beg to recommend during the dry season to engage boats not carrying above 4 or 500 maunds; during the rainy season, however, much larger boats, say from 10 to 1200 maunds, may do and even get up as far as Titalya...

...the place is represented as possessing great attractions and may in time become a most splendid and beneficial retreat, but as it is, none but very rich people can derive profit from its advantages—and I therefore hope, that some competition (which by the way, Mr. Editor, you know is very wholesome) may soon take place—otherwise, I am afraid, that Dainty Davie will have it all his own way, and if I know him well, he will not blush to take advantage of the monopoly which enables him at present to rule the roost without a competitor.

Calcutta, 8th May, 1839

I am, Sir, yours obediently,
FAIR PLAY³

Malicious *Fair Play* is answered by David Wilson's loyal accountant who has some staggering figures to lay before the public:

Dear Sir,—Will you kindly allow me through the medium of your paper to correct a statement made in the COURIR of yesterday evening by a correspondent of that paper misnamed FAIR PLAY. An impression like the one FOUL PLAY would wish to inculcate would be very prejudicial to Mr. Wilson's interests, and I therefore feel bound to remove it by stating the FAIR truth, let the PLAY be what it may, fair or foul, to those it may concern.

In a letter dated 8th instant, which I now hold, Mr. Wilson tells me that the first of his stores are now starting up the hill for Dorjeling. A letter written on the same day to one of our most respectable merchants, who intends proceeding there, states the same. How then, Mr. FAIR PLAY, can Dainty Davie be selling butter at rupees 2 per seer, and a loaf at $\frac{1}{2}$ a rupee at Dorjeling or what monopoly does he enjoy there?

I am quite of FAIR PLAY's opinion that Mr. Wilson would not blush to take advantage of the monopoly, nor would he or I, if we, like Mr. Wilson, had launched out of the pockets of our inexpressibles a sum to the tune of Rs.44 727-7-6, which up to this day is the amount of *cash* that enterprising individual has embarked in that Dorjeling speculation(?) and of which sum I can solemnly declare he has not hitherto realized one doll(?); so far from this, I have daily to cash bills for expenses

³ *Bengal Hurkaru*, 17 May, 1839 (from Calcutta Courir)

he is at present incurring there, and am daily expecting to cash his acceptance for the sum of 1000 rupees for money he has been forced to borrow to enable him to keep moving (forward I hope).

Good, Mr. '*Fair Play*' (ahem!), if you have a troublesome friend you wish to be rid of and are anyway redundant with the 'gift of the gab', show up to him Daintie Davie with his *bright* prospects at Dorjeling, and persuade him to go and do likewise, and if he don't become a *regular settler* there, I don't guess right, I calculate.

I remain, my dear Mr. Editor, yours very obediently

F.W. BROWN

15th May, 1839⁴

³ Ibid. (reprinted from *The Englishman*)

Lt.-Col. Lloyd's Last Defence

The many accusations of incompetence and mismanagement levelled directly and obliquely against Col. Lloyd are evidence of a growing hostility against him. But he had at least one friend left in the Council Chamber who informed him at the last moment the information must have been profound, for the Colonel sat down on 5 June to anticipate the Council's move by writing his 'apologia' and describing and defending his conduct from the inception of the Sanatorium of Darjeeling:

Sir,

A rumour having reached me that it was intended to supercede me at this place and naturally feeling sensitive to the imputation which such a measure would no doubt cast on my character, as it would only be attributed to incompetency or failure in my duty towards Government in carrying out the measures connected with this place, I beg most respectfully to solicit that previous to such a decision (if it be contemplated) I may be allowed to set forth what my conduct has been from the first respecting this place Darjeeling, and Government would be pleased to take the same into its favourable consideration.

2. The dissatisfaction has been expressed by the Hon'ble President-in-Council at the failure in forming a bazar here. I always recommended that a commissariat officer should be sent to effect this object. That recommendation not having been complied with, I suggested that advances being made to the amount of Rs. 1500 for which sum, but not for less, Natives were willing to establish and carry on a Bazar. This suggestion on failing of success as it was the opinion of the President-in-Council that Merchants and Dealers would resort here, and the mere assurance of non-interference on due protection. As I knew this would never be the case till a road decently passable was made, I advanced money from my own funds for the purpose of forming a Bazar to the best of my judgement with every prospect of success until on a repetition of my representations Rs. 5000 a third of the sum which I had previously applied for, was at length authorized by Govern-

To
H. H. Mississip Esq.
Secretary to the Govt of India
Court William

Sir,

A rumor having reached me, that it was intended to supersede me at this place, and naturally feeling sensitive, to the imputation which such a measure would no doubt cast on my character, as it could only be attributed to incompetency, or failure in my duties towards Government, in carrying out the measures connected with this place. I beg most respectfully to solicit, that previous to such a decision, if it be in contemplation, I may be allowed to set forth, what my conduct has been from the first, respecting this place. Desiring, and that Government would be pleased to take the same into favorable consideration.

2. Disapprehension has been expressed, by the Honorable the President in Council, at the

ment, but was not received by me till upwards of two months after the Bazar was commenced by means of the sums I had myself advanced for the purpose.

The want of coolies to transmit supplies and the sudden influx of consumers which was totally unexpected at the time, exhausted the store of supplies at first sent up. This was soon remedied by the adoption of vigorous exertions and advancing more money. Since then and up to the present day there has been no deficiency of supply complained of in the staple articles of consumption.

3. I have dilated on the subject of the Bazar, because I am conscious it has been made a fertile source of complaint or rather clamour by persons who either were superficially acquainted with the subject or were interested in magnifying the difficulty in order to conceal the true cause of their own failure in fulfilling engagements. But I venture to assert that any amount of bazar supplies having been forthcoming would not have enabled those engagements to be completed in the face of the impossibility of procuring coolies by the means they employed. As it was, the deficiency was merely temporary and remedied as soon as possible.

4. The clamour of the public press has been directed against me, and tho' I wished to prosecute for some of the libels put forth, yet the advice of friends persuaded me to treat them with the contempt they deserve, and I cannot suppose its vituperation would carry any weight in the estimation of Government. Secret slander from envy of my situation and detraction by individuals who thereby endeavour to advance private interests are more difficult to deal with.

5. As far back as 1829 I brought the eligibility of this place as a sanatorium and place of resort for Europeans, as also its importance in a political point of view, to the notice of the Governor-General. In consequence, measures were adopted by various functionaries commissioned to obtain a footing here. None however could succeed in this object. In 1833 I received a proposition from Lord William Bentinck that I should be employed on this frontier, and shortly afterwards was authorized to request a gift of Darjeeling from Sikkim Rajah and to offer him in exchange either a sum of money or a tract in exchange in the plains. Having succeeded in obtaining an interview with the Rajah, he granted the place with a considerable tract attached, but refused a pecuniary remuneration and has to this day received no compensation whatever for his gift. This will account for his not continuing the assistance in various ways which he at first seemed disposed to afford us here.

A residence here for a twelve month to test the climate was ordered by Government, and was undergone by Dr. Chapman

and myself under considerable deprivations and great discomfort and expense in every respect. Our report, however, determined Government to offer the public the option of locating here.

6. The great fatigue, expense, anxiety and hardship I have experienced in carrying out the various details connected with this undertaking may be imagined, but can be fully felt only by myself, and I humbly conceive my exertions have been a great benefit to the British Government if the object be viewed in merely a political point.

The road into the heart of these mountains even in its present complete state is an object worth considerable attention with respect to our relations to all the Hill states, particularly as commanding the Hill passes into Nepaul and connected with such an impregnable position as this may be rendered must, I should imagine, be esteemed of great importance. Whatever may be the determination of Government with respect to me, I may be permitted the satisfaction of thinking, notwithstanding the depreciation of the envious, that my services have been of material advantage to the Government and of lasting benefit to the European population of the Lower Provinces.

7. There are various minor measures I found it necessary to adopt, such as procuring coolies or workmen without which no road could have been even commenced this season, and supplies, buildings etc. would be superfluous to obtrude in detail upon Government, but I trust, I have stated sufficient to ensure my not being put aside on account of any concealed machinations, but if there would be such, that I should be allowed full opportunity of refuting them.

I have been 34 years in the service of my Hon'ble Masters to the best of my ability, and I have served them with zeal and faithfulness and hope ere long to be enabled to be permitted to retire from it with credit.

I have the honour to be
your humble servant

G. W. A. LLOYD, Lt. Col.
On special duty, N. E. Frontier

Darjeeling
5th June 1939

It is a moving document, and would stir the compassion of anyone with enough imagination to put himself in the place of a man who is about to celebrate his 50th birthday and perhaps near the end of his career. The letter is, on the whole, a correct summary of Lloyd's contribution towards the establishment of Darjeeling with one exception: it was one of his pet delusions to think that he had 'brought the eligibility of this place as a sanatorium...to the notice

of the Governor-General', whereas it is on record that 'in His Lordship's opinion' it was to James William Grant, then Commercial Resident at Malda, and 'to the extreme earnestness of the latter in commending Darjeeling, that place would be mainly indebted for any importance into which it might hereafter rise.'¹

But the Government at Calcutta was beyond caring what Colonel Lloyd had to say. While he was composing his plea for justice, the President-in-Council was passing the sentence on him after consultation with his Council:

It is no longer necessary to retain the services of an officer of the rank of Lt. Col. Lloyd as agent to the petty state of Sikkim. Ordered that the services of Lt. Col. Lloyd be placed through the Military Department at the disposal of the Commander-in-Chief and that Lt. Col. Lloyd be required to submit his accounts of the sums advanced to him through the Military Board, making over the civil charge of the station of Darjeeling temporarily to Dr. Campbell; the command of the levies ordered will be assumed until further orders by the executive officer at Darjeeling..

H. T. Prinsep²

¹ Bayley, *Dorje-ling* 1839, p. III

² Consultations, Fort William, 5 June 1839, No. 5

On Medical Care

While the 'Resolution' was hanging like the sword of Damocles over Colonel Lloyd, he attended to the welfare of the local population. There had been an outbreak of small pox, and 'the Sikkim Rajah, dreading the infectious nature of the disease, has retreated into Thibet not to his usual residence there at the Chumbie, but gone direct at once to Lassa.' The Colonel writes: 'I beg leave . . . to submit to the benevolent consideration of Government the great blessing which would be conferred on the inhabitants of these mountains by the introduction among them of vaccination. They are often severely visited by the small pox, and the only resource they adopt whenever it makes its appearance is flight'.¹

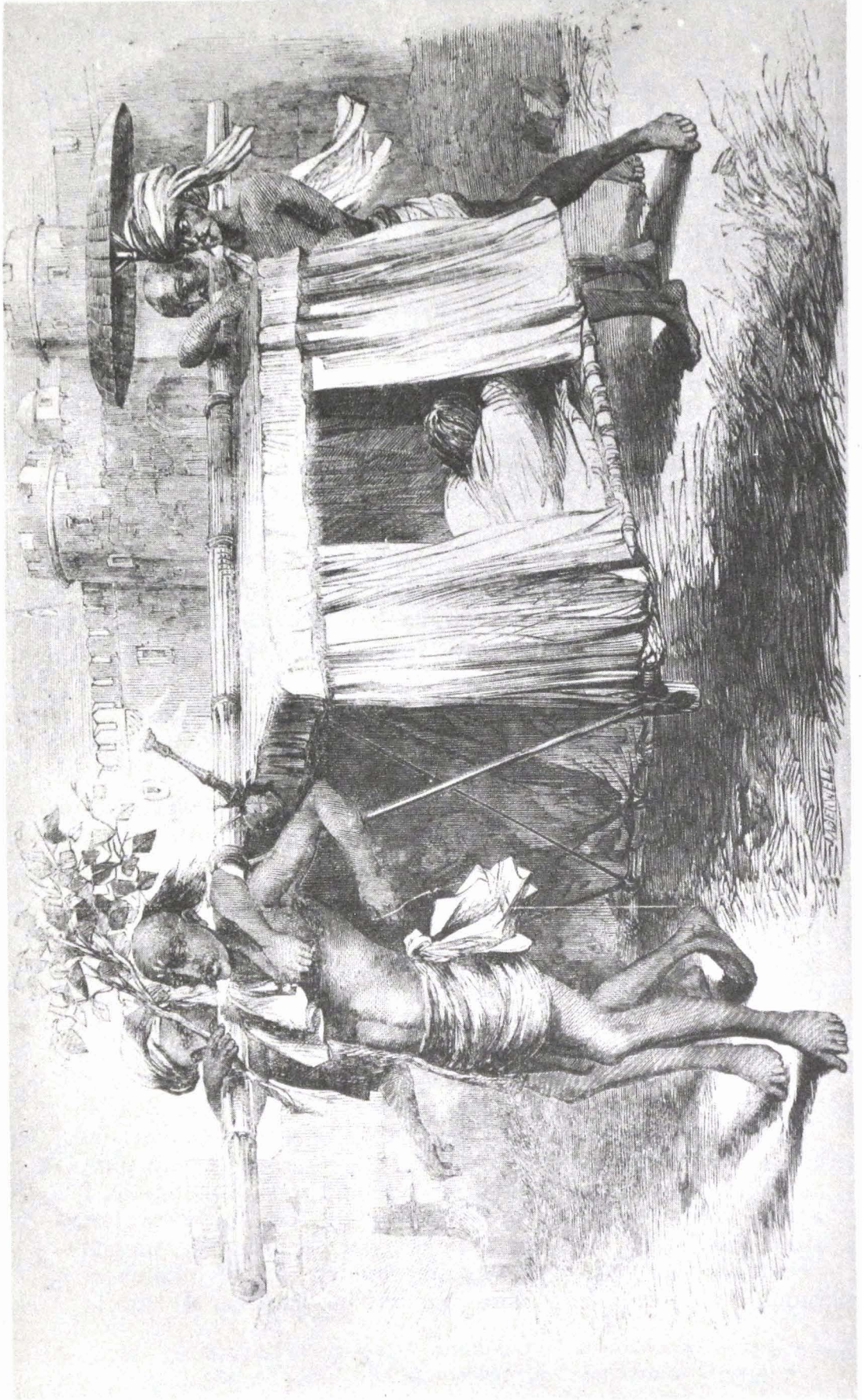
Dr. Pearson enthusiastically supported the proposal '...no exertion of mine shall be wanting to introduce vaccination among the inhabitants on these mountains'.²

Dr. Pearson had suggestions to make which would considerably improve the health care for both troops and workmen. His first request was for Hospital Doolies.

A Hospital Dooly and establishment of Bearers be attached to the Troops and another to the workmen of the road. It is not only easier and a saving of time to bring a wounded or a sick person to a Medical Officer than a Medical Officer to his patient. It may frequently happen that I shall not be able to leave my duties at the station, as indeed would have been the case when summoned to Corporal Hawthorn, had not Dr. Campbell fortunately been here to attend upon Mr. Russell who was dangerously ill. In the case of Sergeant Hobbartson (?), I believe four days, were lost before I could get to him, while that of Corporal Hawthorn was still more lamentable. I am informed he was taken ill some days before I was sent for. But I was nearly prevented from going at all, being very unwell myself, so much so that nothing but the strong claims of humanity forced me out in the terrible weather I had to

¹ 5 June—Consultations, Fort William, 3 July 1839, No. 156

² 4 June—Consultations, Fort William, 3 July 1839, No. 156



A Hospital Dhoolie

encounter. The evil, however, did not end here. There being no Dooly and Bearers, I was obliged to send him on a charpoy with coolies taken from the road, who were so unequal to the task that they sat him down on the wayside and he remained in the jungles exposed to the weather all night and did not get to Darjeeling until dusk in the evening of the next day in a wet and miserable condition. In consequence of which I despaired of the man's life several days. Even now I am not by any means certain of the result, while had I seen him as early as I might have done if sent on to me at first, I have little doubt much suffering would have been spared and the case have terminated favourably.

It is also my duty to represent that unless upon the most urgent occasions, it is desirable I should not be summoned from the station where if I can be spared at all other duties generally more important than those I go to must be neglected. In all cases which have hitherto occurred, it would, as I have above said, have been far better to send them in than to summon me out to them. Indeed, I scarcely know any disease or accident in which assistance can be of avail at all, that it would not be better to send in.³

It was now the Colonel's turn to support the Doctor by confirming that

... a Dooly at the station is certainly a requisite, and Mr. Pearson's reasoning on the expediency...of speedily obtaining medical assistance of the sick being sent in, instead of the surgeon being called out, appears quite correct.

If these Doolies be sanctioned by Government I beg to submit that in consequence of its being a hilly country eight bearers will be required for each.⁴

From the Hospital Doolies it was only a short step to the Hospital itself. Col. Lloyd was once again the proper channel through whom Dr. Pearson's plan was submitted to the Government for sanction

I have the honour to request you will lay before the Hon'ble the Deputy Governor in Council the urgent necessity there is for a Hospital for Natives at this station. The same arguments which existed for the erection of sheds on the road applying still more forcibly to the present object, the loss of life being frightful owing to the want of medical treatment. I am not prepared to state the numbers of people who have either died here or have left sick here and died on the road, but I know them to be very great and am of opinion the greater portion might have been

³ 10 June - Cons. Fort William, 26 June 1839, No. 104

⁴ 12 June - Cons. Fort Willam, 26 June 1839, No. 104

saved had there been any place in which too, shelter and medicine would have been supplied in time.⁵

Although Dr. Pearson evades committing himself to statistics and obviously uses some strong language to drive home his hospital scheme, his statement that he knows 'the numbers of people who have either died here, or have left sick and died on the road to be very great' has to be taken seriously. It emphasizes the enormous contribution the Indian work force made towards the establishment of Darjeeling and the fact that the station is as much an Indian creation as it is British.

As on previous occasions these laudable humanitarian schemes got mixed up with the Doctor's financial affairs, this time a claim for 'travelling charges when his services were required away from the station.'⁶ Almost every sentence in Dr. Pearson's bill contained some geographical, pecuniary or professional detail of interest:

To East India Company.

To my travelling allowance from Titalya to Punkabarree to visit Sergeant Hibbotson, attached to the Darjeeling Department of Public Works and returning on the 7th and 8th of March 1839, being 50 miles at Company Rupees one (Comp. Rupee one) per mile 50"0"0. To D.D. from Darjeeling to Kurseongurry to visit the sick of the Darjeeling Sebundy Corps of Sappers and Miners and returning on the 24th of May last being 44 miles at D.D. 44"0"0. To D.D. from Darjeeling to Mahalderam to visit Corporal Hawthorn, attached to the Darjeeling Department of Public Works and returning on the 31st of May and 1st of June 1839, being 31 miles at D.D. 31"0"0. -Total Company Rupees 125"0"0.⁷

In reply to this bill it was pointed out that the claim was invalid:

'as Mr. Pearson draws the larger allowance to Assistant Surgeons at Residences, viz. 500 Rupees per month, His Honour-in-Council cannot admit that he is entitled to extra payment when proceeding for short distances to attend men of the levy and establishments of Darjeeling who fall sick at outposts.

The application for Doolies and bearers, however, will be sanctioned as a part of the establishment of the levy authorized in this Department.'⁸

⁵ 5 June—Consultations, Fort William, 3 July 1839, No. 157

⁶ 12 June—Consultations, Fort William, 26 June 1839, No. 104

⁷ 10 June—Consultations, Fort William, 26 June 1839, No. 105

⁸ 26 June—Consultations, Fort William, 26 June 1839, No. 106

David Wilson's Accident

More unfortunate news from Darjeeling was given out by *The Englishman* on 6 June:

We are exceedingly sorry to hear bad accounts from Darjeeling. Poor David Wilson had met with a sad accident in the falling of a tree which had broken his leg and totally incapacitated him for the present from continuing his efforts for the completion of the Hotel. He had been generously received into the house of Mr. Hampton of Dinapore, where every attention that kindness and humanity could suggest was being shewn him; but there was little prospect of his recovering soon enough to prosecute his labours in time to be of any service this year to the panting public of the Lower Provinces. This must be a bitter mortification to Mr. Wilson who, certainly, has laboured most manfully, and disbursed prodigally, to carry into effect the project for establishing the Hotel.¹

On the following day the *Hurkaru* supplemented the news with a personal letter from David Wilson which had been written before the accident, but had only just reached Calcutta. The ever hopeful Editor prefaced it with this consolation:

The state of affairs appears to be bad indeed, but not so bad as to preclude hope of amendment after the rains when we have little doubt that all will go smoothly.

No new hill settlement was ever yet established without similar difficulties and disasters – witness Simlah, Mussoorie, etc. Mr. Wilson's sufferings and losses will, we have no doubt, be amply recompensed next season.²

Wilson's letter in his inimitable style certainly corroborated all previous descriptions of work conditions on 'The Road' in this lament to his admirer Sam Smith:

Dear Sir,

I have no doubt but that you will be sorry to hear of the troubles, misfortunes and losses which have fallen to my lot;

¹ *The Englishman*, 6 June 1839

² *The Hurkaru*, 7 June 1839

also of the difficulties which cannot be surmounted this year, this disabling me from opening the hotel, and, as it would in no way gratify or assist me to see others similarly situated to what I have for some time been, I shall feel obliged by your giving insertion to this, in order to stop all those who propose taking a trip to Dorjeling and who hope to be comfortably housed and fed while there.

On the 2nd instant (May) I received a letter from our Honorary Secretary, then at Mahalderam, advising the postponement of the opening of the hotel till the 1st March 1840. Well it would have been if I had taken his advice; but at that moment in came a 100 coolies from Mr. Halkett, the Magistrate of Dinagepore; with these, together with 80 Dangurs and 50 of my own sadaloo bullocks, and a little perseverance of my own, I hoped to have been able to have got the whole of my stores up the hills in 15 days and enable me to have said that the long talked-of Hotel was at last opened, and my anxiety and difficulties at an end; but no such good luck. The sirdar who brought the Doughars up from Calcutta tried to make his escape, and take with him the whole of these men, but succeeded only in running away with 14 the day after he had brought them up from Punkabarree. Had he taken all, it would have been of no consequence, as the whole of *these rascals* have bolted since, and I have not one left out of 150 I have got up from Calcutta.

These scoundrels, not satisfied with 7 rupees each man, which they got in advance, besides their food, also walked away with a suit of warm clothes and a blanket each, which was served out to them on their arrival at Titalya.

The Dinajpore coolies stuck to their work pretty well for about 10 days which enabled me to get the whole of my stores to Kurseong; but at this juncture a portion of them ran away, and last night the remainder. Thus the whole of the Hotel Stores together with six months provisions for my servants, which the want of a bazar has forced me to lay in, are left up on the open mountains at Kurseong. Between that place and Mahalderam there is not the least shelter to protect them from the rains, which I fear have set in; the consequence will be their complete destruction and the loss of a very heavy capital, there being no alternative, as I can neither get them up nor down, and I must now discharge my extensive establishment that I have been keeping in idleness for the last 5 months in anticipation of opening the Hotel this year.

This is downright ruin, and I suppose no one will be willing to share it with me. Yet I think I ought not to suffer singly as I did not come here without having been led to believe that all the difficulties were nearly at an end. Instead of which they are, I think, increasing. I have tried all I know to get coolies, both

by application to the Rungpore and Purneah Magistrates, going among them myself and offering them 5 rupees per mensem and their food. But, wonderful to say, money is no temptation to natives in this part of the world, at least not to go up the hill. Nor will it be until great *changes* take place here, and



'How the goods were carried'

a better road be made in lieu of the present apology for one, which has broken away in several places.

...Another and greater evil is the want of shelter at the three different stages above Punkabaree. Coolies take four days in going up from Punkabarree, and two in returning. The whole time they are exposed to the weather, let it be fair or foul. Exposure to night air created fever, more particularly when they are obliged to lay down in their wet clothes. The natural consequence of this is that the greater part of them are knocked up in one trip. If these difficulties are not speedily removed, the

name of Dorjeling will strike such a terror to the natives, that not a man for any sum will go near the place, and then what will be done? Hepper and Martin are stuck in the ruin like myself, only not so deep. They have no coolies to finish the Hotel, and only one wing is as yet covered, and not a stone laid or stick cut towards the Hotel out-offices, cook room, storeroom and shelter for servants, coolies, stock and so on. I must leave you to console the anxious public, and I assure you that, let my losses be what they may, Dorjeling will not see me there again until I am better informed than I have hitherto been of the *real* state of things there.³

³ Ibid.

Lt. Robert Napier

Government Notification

Fort William 13 May No. 70 of 1839.

Lieutenant John Gilmore, executive engineer and superintendent of roads at Darjeeling, has leave to the Presidency for one month, from the 1st proximo (June), preparatory for applying for leave to go to sea for the benefit of his health.¹

Fort William 3 June 1839 No. 11 of 1839

1st Lieutenant Robert Napier, of Engineers, to officiate for Lieutenant J. Gilmore, in superintending the construction of roads in the vicinity of Darjeeling.²

Lieutenant Napier had only in March returned from Europe with the pleasant memory of a walking tour to the Ardennes and the prospect of getting married in the near future. In April he was appointed to officiate as Executive Engineer of the Burrisal (Barisal) Division of Public Works during the absence of a Brevet Major Murray. It took him twenty days to get to the office of his Division, and when he got there the weather was not very helpful: 'The rains are unusually early and heavy,' he wrote to his fiancée, 'so that for several days I could not go out, and sat at my door looking wistfully at the stable and the sky, whilst the frogs, taking advantage of the puddles, advanced their scoundrel throats close up, and seemed crying and groaning at me in chorus.' What happened next is best told by his biographer:³

In the middle of June, when on a tour of inspection of his scattered Division, he suddenly received orders to return to Calcutta and proceed to Darjeeling...About five weeks later he reached his new post, where he arrived in the midst of the rains 'with a pair of pitarahs (light baskets slung from a yoke) as my sole possession.' He had performed the last 30 miles on

¹ *Calcutta Monthly Journal*, January-June 1839, pp. 82 & 101 respectively

² *Ibid.*

³ Lt. Col. Hon. H.D. Napier, *Fieldmarshall Lord Napier of Magdala*, pp. 27-34

foot, and in August he wrote his first impressions as follows: 'The climate and my journey have quite restored me from the fever I had...Besides, I had determined not to be ill, as a good deal of work was expected of me...From the first station in the Hills, called Punkabari, the road was through a superb forest of oak and rhododendron...The view from this place is very fine—its elevation is 6000 feet, and you see over the plains to an immense distance.' At the end of this march, he had to put up in a shed, where he dined off rice and read an old number of *Blackwood* by the light of a wick dipped in oil, and thence walked into Darjeeling. 'The people there expected me to arrive quite exhausted, and were prepared to be compassionate. So when they asked me if I had not had a very uncomfortable night, I replied, "Oh no. I had all the luxuries of the season and *Blackwoods Magazine*.' When they heard that, they wrote down to Calcutta, 'This is the fellow to suit us. Let us keep him.'

Gilmore had already left for Calcutta, so there was no handing-over ceremony, and Napier had to pick up the threads as best he could.

On 15 September, Napier wrote to his fiancée, 'I wished to send you some sketches, but have not a moment's time to make them. I received my charge here in a worse confusion than the last one, and have been working without the assistance of any writer or accountant. I have sent to Calcutta for a good one, when I hope to have more time. I have already done what had not been done in the whole of the preceding year—sent in a report and a plan of the place.'

And this in the rainy season when his friends predicted that he would not even be able to get there. He wrote: 'The rain is constant, as in all the Hills, but the climate extremely fine and healthy. When the clouds disperse for an hour or two, the view of an extensive valley, bounded by endless waves of mountains crowned by the snowy Himalaya, is very grand.'

On September 25 he wrote again: 'All this exquisite climate is thrown away upon me without you to share it...I have been busily occupied on the survey—every step has no be cut through the forest.'

The chief dangers to life were from wind and cold. Storms were of an extraordinary severity. When a blizzard overtook the coolies, they had to drop their loads and hasten to the nearest shelter. Failure to do this resulted in death, and this occasionally occurred when the coolies would not leave their loads, or the postmen their letter-bags. One charm of this wild life was perhaps its uncertainty. In Napier's words: 'When you pitched your tent at night, you never

knew but a tree would come down and make an end of you on the spot.’⁴

The account of Napier’s various activities is a clear confirmation of the correctness of Major Garstin’s report, however dry it may have seemed to some of its critics; and visualizing Lt. Napier pushing on from one tree to the next in this primeval forest, a natural question arises in the observer’s mind: ‘What on earth have the Colonel and his Lieutenant been up to all this time? The vigour with which Napier tackled his challenge may still have been due to his recent furlough, but his successes must ultimately be ascribed to the force of his personality: his psychological insight, his ingenuity and his fondness for the people who worked for him combined to create a happy personal relationship which accomplished the task with which he had been entrusted – three years later. . . .

⁴ *Ibid.*

The Lepcha Problem

One of the most tiresome problems Col. Lloyd had to deal with was the return of the Lepcha refugee Caze (chief) and his followers from Nepal. They had fled there about 1827 to escape from the oppressions of the Sikkim Rajah and his officers, but were not particularly happy in the Gurkha country. The Nepalese were an aggressive people and Hindus, whereas the Lepchas were – and still are – of a gentle disposition and Buddhists of a sort. These differences in mentality and religion cannot have helped them to feel at home. Being semi-nomadic, they must also have felt hemmed in on all sides whilst confined to a specific locality in Nepal when for countless generations they had been used to roam large parts of Sikkim, being the original inhabitants of the country. In fact, they had abandoned Darjeeling only two years before Grant and Lloyd visited it in 1829 and were quite simply homesick. The Sikkim Rajah was willing to have them back, partly because they represented a certain amount of 'revenue', and partly because he hoped to be able to wreak his vengeance on the Caze. The Caze was fully aware of the Rajah's intentions and asked Col. Lloyd to negotiate concessions. Firstly, the Rajah's promise of a complete amnesty; secondly, no renewal of the oppressive practices, and thirdly, a guarantee from the British Government of protection in case of the Rajah's breach of promises.

These negotiations, simple as they may seem to be, had been dragging on for at least four years without any progress: the Rajah was not willing to forego sweet vengeance and gave only vague answers in agreement, and the British Government flatly refused to guarantee the safety of the returning Lepchas on the principle that it would not interfere in the internal affairs of the Sikkim State. In 1835, Lord Bentinck was adamant in his orders to Col. Lloyd that on no account was the Government to be committed beyond the office of mediator. In the meantime the situation had changed as with the cession of the Darjeeling tract the Rajah had also lost his judicial rights within that territory – it took him some time to realize this - and any Lepcha settling on the tract was automatically

entitled to British protection. The British Government too took some time to realize this and was quite embarrassed when it woke up to its new responsibility, for it did not want to be accused by either Nepal or Sikkim of body-snatching or serving as a haven for tax evaders and criminals.

The correspondence for 1839 on this subject begins in February with the Caze'e's petition to the British Government:

The petition of your... slave Terring Caze'e. Protector of the poor, my petition is as follows: The former days my uncle Buljeet was Dewan to the Sikkim Rajah. After the death of the said Dewan and in consequence of the enmity of the said Rajah, me and our families being without any domicile, came into the Goorka Rajah's territories and have now been ryots there for 12 years; but in this country we experience difficulties in every way (are very disagreeably situated). Besides, I have heretofore often petitioned for protection and provision from the British Government; but hitherto my petition has not been complied with. Therefore I submit this petition to your presence and state that if I may beg you be returned to the Sikkim Rajah's country and settled with my family and followers at Namgya Latchee or at Runglee Rungliot in the hills and be restored to the situation of collecting the revenues, managing the country in the hills and Morung, and exercising the office of the Dewan as held by my uncle Buljeet, then I shall be provided for and will return and live with my family and followers in the above mentioned place.

The second petition of your slave is that if the Sikkim Rajah refuses to restore me to the customary office of Dewan and will not allow me to return to his country there, that you will bestow upon me the favour to permit me to establish myself with the rank and privileges of Caze'e in the Darjeeling (tract²), and that I should have the management, collection of revenue and settling of ryots in all the hills tract ceded to the British Government, in which case I will proceed with my families and settle there, at all times obey your orders. This is my petition.¹

In view of the altered circumstances the Government inclined now to consider the Caze'e's petition, imposing at the same time its own conditions:

... it is quite out of the question that the Government should give any assurances in respect to the restoration of Terring Caze'e to his former position relative to the Sikkim Rajah or in respect to the Morung, but His Honour-in-Council would be

¹ 15 February—Consultations, Fort William, 10 April 1839, No. 103

inclined to encourage the chief and his followers to settle in the tract of hill country ceded to the British about Darjeeling provided there be land on which they could be located without interfering with the possessory rights and pasturage and other claims of others, and provided they give sufficient guarantee of their peaceable intentions and engage not to render the British territory a place of preparation and refuge for predatory or any other hostile enterprise directed either against Sikkim or Nepal; under the condition of satisfying you and Dr. Campbell in this respect, His Honour-in-Council would have no objection of making an assignment to the Lepcha chief and his followers of certain defined tracts of hill country free of land rent within which they might settle and prosecute trade or agriculture retaining their ancient custom and form of municipal (?) Government, but subject to the general control of the British officers at Darjeeling for settlement of their disputes with other resident in the tract, and for the prevention of crimes and disturbances.²

Brian Hodgson, the Resident at Kathmandu had also been consulted as to how much would be said to the Nepalese. His reply fully justified the high opinion held of him at Calcutta:

. . . Nothing, I think, need be said to the Nepalese either here or on the spot, and if Latchbeer Lal or other local authority of Nepal on that frontier seek any information, a civil intimation of the substance of the President-in-Council's orders accompanied by the observation that as the British Government did not oppose the going of the refugees into Nepal so neither will it oppose their return, may probably suffice the inquirer.³

Col. Lloyd's last despatch on the Lepcha settlement was the report of a survey he carried out at Government request.

I have the honour to forward herewith a list of the Lepcha settlers ascertained to be located on the tract belonging to Government. This list is as correct as circumstances admitted; the formation of other settlers will very likely be ascertained on further enquiry, but it is difficult in a country so completely covered by forest and detect the people who come to locate unless by seeing the country from an opposite hill; I have no doubt more will turn up, but an examination cannot well take place till the conclusion of the rainy season. It will be observed that the revenue paid by the people is almost nothing; the cause of this is that the institutions of this country are feudal and their payment an (is?) by various sorts of service rendered to the Rajah or to their immediate chiefs for the people are

² 27 February—Consultations, Fort William, 10 April 1839, No. 104

³ March—Consultations, Fort William, 10 April 1839, No. 110

serfs and every man, woman and child belongs to some one or other...? It will be necessary to have the special direction of Government how to deal with these people, whether to demand their services as a payment in money as it...? It is very probable that if the Terring Cazeer comes to settle here these people would attach themselves to him if permitted and protected (?) in so doing; if this be not approved of, they might be settled with others independently or through the appointment from among them of...? ...? petty chiefs for the purpose.⁴

The following is a summary of the list of Lepcha inhabitants:

Name of place of residence: (4 names)

Name of settler: (23 names)

Time of settling: 2 years earliest, 10 days shortest

2 years ago: 10

1¹/₂ years ago: 2

1 year ago: 1

6 months ago: 1

4 months ago: 1

3 months ago: 3

1 months ago: 1

10 or 12 days ago: 3

Number of persons in the family: males 51, females 37

Former revenue or customary payment to chief

small quantity of grain: 17

1 rupee p.a. for: 3

nothing: 1

Subject: Sikkim Rajah: 7

the dewan: 1

the Head Lama: 10

to any one: 1.⁵

The list was found helpful and Government issued instructions to:

Enter into arrangements with the individuals and families named in the list so as to make them useful subjects of the British Government. His Honour-in-Council has no desire to enforce upon these persons a revenue settlement upon terms to which they are unaccustomed or to... simulate (?) their relations with the Government previously with those of agents in the plains nevertheless, they ought to contribute something in money in kind in previous (?) service in consideration for the protection that will be afforded to them and in acknowledgement of their relations with the British Government.⁶

⁴ 1 June-Consultations, Fort William 10 July 1839, No. 72

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ 10 July-Consultations, Fort William 10 July 1839, No. 103

Col. Lloyd's Dismissal from Darjeeling

The changeover at Darjeeling was so unobtrusive that no waters were troubled, no feathers ruffled (except the Colonel's) and the event passed almost unnoticed in Calcutta. The conclusion might therefore be drawn that in the circumstances the Government had shown wisdom, charity and great generosity.

Col. Lloyd's record, however, covers many more years than 1839, and if his total contribution to the establishment of Darjeeling is taken into consideration, his credit column is much longer than the debit one: For five years he had lived almost uninterruptedly in the hills. He must have walked and ridden literally thousands of miles up and down and all over the Sikkim mountains. For twelve months he served, in company of Dr. Chapman, as a guinea pig, by living at Darjeeling under most primitive and trying conditions, testing the effects of the climate on a European constitution. He kept a diary during that time which was embodied in his report with the recommendation of Darjeeling's suitability as a sanatorium. Already in 1835, he had forecast among Darjeeling's 'capabilities' its climate and soil as being suitable for the cultivation of tea.¹

Whilst engaged in settling a border dispute he obtained as a by-product the deed of grant of Darjeeling, admittedly in Nelsonian style by ignoring contrary instructions. The cession comprised approximately 250 square miles at a conservative estimate of 120000 Company Rupees (in 1835!).²

When the actual settlement of Darjeeling and the construction of the road began, Colonel Lloyd was conceivably the hardest worked man in the Presidency of Bengal. If the voluminous correspondence and the keeping of records and accounts the administration of this undertaking entailed are added, the Colonel's achievement fills one with admiration for his physical fitness and stamina.

In view of Col. Lloyd's previous exploits, his removal without a single word of appreciation lets the conduct of the Government

¹ 23 March—Consultations, Fort William, 5 April 1835, No. 103

² 25 May—Consultations, Fort William, 15 June 1838, No. 150

appear in a different light altogether, namely as an act of gross meanness and stunning ingratitude!

20 June had been a busy day for the Colonel: he not only had to copy out his correspondence for the Governor-General, but also handed over his entire official establishment to Dr. Campbell, as the latter reported to Calcutta within hours of the embarrassing surrender:

I have the honour to inform you that I have this day received charge from Col. Lloyd of the civil duties of this station and of the records of his office connected with the Sikkim State.³

From that day on the name of G.W.A. Lloyd is almost wiped from the memory of the Political Department; all his official communications are acknowledged to Dr. Campbell, and he is referred to under the pseudonym of your predecessor—rather like 'deceased'...

'Le roi est mort – vive le roi'...

Military Notifications

*17th Regiment Native Infantry – Lieutenant Colonel G.W.A. Lloyd from 26th July to 26th January 1840 to visit the Presidency, on private affairs.*⁴

³ 20 June—Consultations, Fort William, 10 July 1835, No. 68

⁴ *The Friend of India*, 26 September 1839, p. 623/b

Dr. Archibald Campbell

Government Notifications

Orders by the Hon'ble the Deputy Governor of Bengal, Political Department, 3rd July –

Mr. Assistant surg. A. Campbell, assistant to the Resident at Catmandhoo, has been appointed to the charge of the civil station of Dorgeling.¹

Dr. Campbell was officially Assistant Resident at Kathmandu and Surgeon to the Residency, and had been for a short period Acting Resident. He had spent his ample leisure time in the study of his environment and written a number of papers on such varied topics as agriculture, arts and meteorology of Nepal which were forwarded to the Governor-General and duly acknowledged to himself or the Resident, Brian Hodgson. By the end of 1837 his name was so well known at Government House that the Doctor was sent what sounds like a most polite request to stop 'pushing':

My dear sir, I am instructed by the Governor-General to inform you that he has received a letter of introduction in your favour from Lord James Stuart, and at the same time to state that, from the opinion already entertained by his Lordship of your high character and attainments, such introduction was totally unnecessary.²

In 1838 he joined the boundary commission from Kathmandu to settle the Oontoo dispute between Nepal and Sikkim. He summed up this episode on a later occasion in this neat paragraph:

I was selected by the Governor-General, (in consideration of my intimate knowledge of the character and feelings of the Nipalese officers, and the confidence of the Durbar produced thereby,) to accompany the Nipalese Commissioners, to investigate a boundary dispute with Sikkim, which for five

¹ *The Englishman*, 15 July 1839

² *Memorandum*, Appendix No. 14

years our Government had not been able to decide satisfactorily. The result was a settlement of the dispute, on which I received the approbation of Government.³

Like so many of the most capable administrators sent out by the East India Company, Dr. Campbell was a Scotsman. He was born in 1805 at Kilciarain in Argyll. He studied medicine at Edinburgh, and in 1827 was admitted to 'the service'. His progress in India is best told in his own words which come from a curious autobiographical document called *Memorandum of the Services of Dr. A. Campbell.*

I was appointed to the Honourable Company's service in 1827. In June, 1828, I joined the horse artillery at Merratt, then a strong corps of six troops of Europeans and natives, with a large establishment of native followers attached. I served four years with this distinguished corps, during which I suffered much in health from exposure to the climate, in hospital and out-door duties, having had repeated severe attacks of liver disease and dysentery. During my service with the horse artillery I was twice appointed to do duty at the Europeans Convalescent Depot, then recently established at Landour, in the Western Himalaya, and here the exposure out of doors to the climate in the rainy season, and in damp newly-constructed barracks and hospital, was very injurious to my health.

From the horse artillery I was appointed in 1832 to be surgeon to the Katmandhoo residency in Nipal. On my arrival in Nipal, finding that the medical duties were not sufficient to occupy my whole time, I devoted myself to the acquirement of the language of the Goorkas, and to the attainment of a knowledge of the country; the Government and people in all departments, which was then as now, a very difficult matter, from the jealous restrictions placed by the Government on the movements of British officers, and on their intercourse with the natives of the country. At the same time I gave my best attention to secure the confidence of the Nipalese people in our medical skill, in which I succeeded, and for which I procured the warm acknowledgement of Government.

In 1833, on the recommendation of Mr. Brian Hodgson, the resident, I was appointed to act as assistant resident, in which office I served seven years. During that time I repeatedly received the commendations and thanks of the Governor-General-in-Council, especially for 'Agricultural Statistics of Nipal', 'A Narrative of our Relations with Nipal', and 'An Account of the Routes leading into Nipal from the plains of India.'

³ Ibid., p. 2

In 1836, I was employed to accompany a mission from Nipal to the Governor-General in Calcutta, the first demonstration of the kind ever made by the Goorkhas to the British Government. On my proceedings connected with this mission, the Government expressed the greatest satisfaction.

In 1837, and at a critical time, when Bhim Sen Thappa, who had been Prime Minister for upwards of twenty years, was deposed by the 'Pandes', his rivals and inveterate hereditary foes, I officiated as Resident for four months, to the entire satisfaction of Government.

In 1839, I was selected by the Governor-General, (in consideration of my intimate knowledge of the character and feelings of the Nipalese officers, and the confidence of the Durbar produced thereby,) to accompany the Nipalese Commissioners to investigate a boundary dispute with 'Sikim', which, for five years our Government had not been able to decide satisfactorily. The result was a settlement of the dispute on which I received the approbation of Government.

In 1840, I was appointed superintendent of the new Settlement of Darjeeling, and to the charge of our political relations with Sikim. This was indeed a most difficult and anxious charge...⁴

It is strange that Dr. Campbell should give 1840 as the year of his appointment when he had actually taken over his post in June 1839. It is clear that Dr. Campbell and Col. Lloyd did not hit it off very well for a number of reasons, Dr. Campbell's superior intellectual calibre being one of them. How these two must have tried avoiding meeting each other on the few Darjeeling roads! . . .

With the already much commended 'zeal', Dr. Campbell immediately tackled Darjeeling's most important lifeline, after The Road, the postal service. He complained:

On taking charge of the Post Office here I find the establishment of the most deplorable state of inefficiency. In the . . .? distance between Rannee Danga and Dorgeling (40 miles may-be) there are only three Hurkarus present, the consequence of which is that we had lately had 4 and 5 Daks arriving at the same time, and that there have been no mails dispatched except at the intervals for many days.

I have already addressed the Post-Master-General on this subject, and as the keeping open a communication with the plains is the most urgent want of this place, what I can attempt to remedy at the present season I am resolved on proceeding immediately to the foot of the hills for the purpose.

The great delay which hitherto occurred in the receipt of the

⁴ Ibid.

Pay for the Establishment consequent on the circuitous mode of drawing for it through the Post-Master at Dinagepore, has greatly added to the other difficulties. I therefore beg that I may be authorized by Government to draw monthly on the (Postmaster) of Purneah for an advance for the amount of the Post Office salaries fixed by government, the same to be adjusted on the receipt by me of the accredited bills. The Establishment has not yet been paid for February...⁵

⁵ 22nd June—Consultations, Fort William, 10 July 1839, No. 70

Application for Plots

The clamorous newspaper campaign earlier in the year might have given the impression that large masses of people were impatiently waiting to rush up to Darjeeling, build a bungalow and be cool for ever after. In fact, applications for pottahs, or building plots, were very slow in coming in. A sketch plan of Darjeeling in 1840¹ shows 45 locations of which 43 were taken representing 32 grantees; of these our acquaintances Messrs. Lloyd, Garstin, Martin and Sam Smith owned two plots each, Dr. Pearson three and Mr. Hepper four. Even if the 28 plots of Lebong (an extension of Darjeeling) were added (giving Hepper & Martin another three sites) it brings the total only to 56 'settlers'. Perhaps the voices that claimed that all the noise came from a few interested persons like Sam Smith were right after all. And it was no doubt some of these interested persons who looked upon Darjeeling as a speculation and a gamble. That a firm of building contractors should engage in such a practice was only natural and even laudable. But Dr. Pearson? His obsession with making money becomes rather pathetic.

Two of the first applications for grants of land to reach the newly appointed officer in civil charge came from H. M. Low and Col. Lloyd.

The second application was rather more than a simple formality: it turned into an emotionally charged duel between 'the discoverer and founder of Darjeeling' and his much younger rival and successor. It appears that Col. Lloyd had applied for a large plot of land on 1 June, just before the fatal Resolution, but the reply to the application had been returned to Dr. Campbell after his takeover and had put him into the embarrassing situation of having to inform the Colonel of the Government's refusal:

I have received and recorded your application of this date for a grant of 640 acres, or one square mile, of land at Kurseonggurry on the terms proposed in a letter addressed by you to Government as my predecessor in this office on the 1st ultimo.

¹ *Bengal and Agra Guide 1841*

When only a few months ago Col. Lloyd could have allotted to himself that square mile he wanted, and possibly got away with more, Dr. Campbell's offer of a location for a house 'with a bit of garden ground' was a galling jibe. But there was more at stake than pride and vanity as Lloyd explained in his angry appeal to Calcutta against the decision:

I beg to state that my intention was to retire after completing my 35 years service (in 1839), and my object in making this application was to settle here, obtain a grant of land appropriate to the culture of tea and other objects of agriculture. I further intended to construct houses (for which part of the ground is calculated) which I passed to rent to visitors, and also a Hotel for the accommodation of travellers to Darjeeling. This last (the Hotel) has since in ignorance of my intentions been contemplated by Mr. Low, but he has offered to relinquish it to me should Government comply with my application. I am of course sought to benefit by this speculation, and considered when I must have incurred such a large outlay and which would so much contribute to public accommodation and effect the improvement of a large tract of land, I might hope for the acquiescence of Government with my request in preference to that of applicants for well building spots which might bring in a higher rent for isolated allotments on a part of the ground, but would not effect improvement or clearance on the large scale I contemplated. ³

With the usual utter lack of sympathy with anything that concerned Lloyd, the Secretary of the Political Department wrote:

...In reply I am desired to state that the President-in-Council declines to interfere with the discretion necessarily vested in the officer in civil charge of Darjeeling with respect to the admission of claims to particular localities, and likewise in respect to the extent of land which a single individual is to be allowed to occupy on any spot favourable to the erection of houses, for farming or garden purposes.

This officer has been called upon to frame and submit for the approval of Government a detailed set of rules applicable to grants of all descriptions, and you will be entitled to the full benefit of them, but His Honour-in-Council declines to make any pledges as anticipated as to hold out to you the hope of many more than will be offered to all.⁴

The Colonel's dream of becoming a gentleman-farmer never came true. Whether he had set his heart on Darjeeling, and Darjeeling

³ 10 July—Consultations, Fort William, 24 July 1839, No. 113

⁴ 24 July—Consultations, Fort William, 24 July 1839, No. 114

only, or whether his disappointment at being refused his square mile put him off the idea for ever will never be known. But from his army record it can be learnt that instead of taking early retirement he soldiered on for another nineteen years.

The Oontoo Dispute—Government's Decision

Dr. Campbell inherited from Col. Lloyd together with the status of Agent, several thorny problems. There was, for instance, the Oontoo (or Siddhi Khola) boundary dispute. Since the Sikkim Rajah had removed himself to his summer residence at the outbreak of a small-pox epidemic, the postal communication had been severed for several weeks, and the final result of the investigation had not been passed on to him. Eventually his curiosity had got the better of him and he re-established contact with Darjeeling by sending a letter to Col. Lloyd of whose dismissal he was unaware.

I have just heard of your return to Darjeeling, am glad of it and hope you are well. For several years past I have been kept regularly informed by you of the progress of the Siddhi Khola dispute investigation, but this year no accounts have reached me.

On a former occasion I addressed you regarding the Mechis and Dimals who inhabit the tract at the foot of the hills, and touching the collection of revenue from them. These people are included in the population of the plains and do not appertain to the Zilla of Darjeeling. On a former occasion did Perrinjing(?) Koochap collect revenue from them or not? He shall do so now again and do you make no objection. Last year some evil disposed people telling lies prejudiced you against me. This doubtless be done again, but do not listen to them.¹

The levy of revenue from the Dimals and Mechis was another sore point and Dr. Campbell hastened to send a reassuring answer:

Regarding the collection of revenue from the Mechis and Dimals, I beg to inform you that when your people come for the purpose of making out along with me the boundary lines in the country inhabited by these people, it will be settled what portion of them are ryots of the British Government and what yours. It will be necessary for you to send people in October or November on this account also. When I can fix a time I shall inform you. Be not at all alarmed about the result of the

¹ 5 July – Consultations, Fort William, 24 July 1839, No. 117

inquiry into your right to revenue from the Mechis and Dimals. I shall on behalf of Government do all in my power to ascertain the truth and guard your interests.

Some days before the receipt of your letter I had intended announcing my present appointment to you, but I could not arrange for sending my letter; meantime your curtok fortunately made his appearance. Let me hear often of your welfare.²

Dr. Campbell next passed on this correspondence to Calcutta with his comments and suggestions:

As the grant of the Sikkim Raja only makes over to us the tract lying between the Mahanuddi and Balasun River *within the hills*, I propose that I should be guided in defining its southern limits by the principle which obtained in forming the boundary between Nipal and Oude after the late Nepal war, when it was laid down as a rule that where mountain spurs ran into the plains the line should be drawn immediately along their bases and not across receding bays from one spur point to the next one; on the southern extremity of the ceded tract there are several small bays and very gradually descending spurs on both of which there are some Mechi settlers. In those locations I would apply the above rule rather than one which would admit of a straight frontier line and give to us portions of the plains in addition to the hill tract. Indeed, wherever it may be practicable to accommodate the Sikkimites without depriving ourselves of any portion of the hills, I should be disposed to do so rather than have any objections from them tending to show views of (rapacity?) on our part.

I hope to be favoured with the sentiments of Government on the subject of this letter.³

The Government had originally assumed that the ceded tract was uninhabited and just an empty piece of land on which to set up the Sanatorium; its embarrassment was therefore considerable when it became known that Col. Lloyd had appointed Beer Sing Chowdree to collect taxes which formerly were paid to the Sikkim Rajah and that, in fact, he had already raised a certain amount of revenue of behalf of the Government without referring to it. This is one example of the vagueness of the cession and its unforeseen consequences. The Rajah had not expected to lose part of his revenue and the Government had not wished to gain anything at the Rajah's expense apart from the tract of land. It certainly at this stage wanted no demonstration of this kind of profit and therefore expressed the most generous sentiments in the reply to Dr. Campbell.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., No. 116

In its letter to Dr. Campbell is to be found the origin of the 'pension' or 'rent' which the Rajah was eventually to receive. But this was no more than a mere compensation for the estimated annual loss or revenue in various forms (cash, kind, service, customs duty) and did not represent the purchase money erroneously alluded to by many authors stating, for instance that 'Lord William Bentinck bought a strip of land round Darjeeling from the Rajah of Sikkim'.⁴

The proposed visit to the Rajah had to be prepared with care. Its diplomatic success was closely tied to oriental etiquette which required the presentation of a 'suitable' gift. 'Suitable' meant not only pleasing but also valuable since the esteem in which the recipient was held by the donor was measured by the proportionate size and value of the present. Dr. Campbell, a student of local custom, was aware of these important niceties:

...If His Honour-in-Council sees no objection (to the) purposed visit, I would submit the propriety of furnishing me with a few presents for the Raja who, I have reason to believe, is a good deal disappointed at the little honorary nazr we have bestowed on him since his cession of Darjeeling.

The following would be highly acceptable and could be sent to me by Dak Bhungy:

50 gold Mohurs

1 pearl necklace value 800/rs.

2 coral necklaces value 800/rs.⁵

The remark that the Rajah 'was a good deal disappointed' was something of an understatement. But it shows that the cause of the Rajah's hostility was known, though nothing was done to remove it owing to the inherent meanness of the Government as exemplified in its reply: the visit was approved, but there was no commitment to the suggested list of gifts:

In the event of your proceeding the necessary presents will of course be furnished you by Government. A piece of double coloured cloth containing twenty yards will be forwarded by the first opportunity to be distributed to the Lepcha chiefs or others...agreeably to the custom prevailing among the chiefs.⁶

There was yet another obnoxious ruling by Col. Lloyd which Dr. Campbell considered a serious obstacle to the progress of Darjeeling, namely the levy of transit duty. He had got hold of Lloyd's written instructions to Beer Sing Chowdree and lost no time in sending a translation of them to Calcutta:

⁴ Moorhouse, *Geoffery India Britannica*, p. 145

⁵ 10 July - Consultations, Fort William, 31 July 1839, No. 96

⁶ 31 July - Consultations, Fort William, 31 July 1839, No. 96

Purwana of Col. Lloyd to Beer Sing Chowdry dated November 10th 1838.

From the Balasun River within the hills on the East to the Mahanuddi on the west has become the territory of the company. You will therefore treat all the Mechis and Dimals located there with kindness and consideration. Make a list of their numbers, of the revenue they have been with habit of paying, keep the same by you, and afterwards you shall have further orders on the subject.

On all the Bullocks and Hackeries belonging to Merchants which may enter said territory you will levy the usual duty and retain the amount on account of Government. You will also levy export duty as usual on cotton carried away from the tract by merchants and others.⁷

⁷ 10 November 1838 - Consultations, Fort William, 7 August 1839, No. 201

Sarkis Gaspar

At the Council meeting on 14 August, His Honour, the President had a rather mixed bag of Darjeeling correspondence put before him. The first letter referred to the vicissitudes of the Darjeeling Road and brings to mind the statement made a few weeks earlier that no man may travel this road and hope to live. This certainly was true for some men, for Dr. Campbell had to make the sad report that

A person named Sarkis Gaspar by British origin...and by domicile a British subject, while on his way from Silligury to Darjeeling died on the 8th ultimo near Punkabarree but within the Sikkim territory; an hour or two after his demise the corpse was examined by Mr. Low (?) and Mr. Tulloch of this place who buried it having previously satisfied themselves that the deceased had departed this life by the visitation of God. In corroboration of this I have a full report on the circumstances attending Gaspar's death from Beer Sing Chowdry in whose place he died.

I have the honour to forward a list of the effects found which belonged to the deceased and which are now under my charge at Titalya, and to request orders for the delivery of them to any person duly authorised to receive them....

List of property of the late Sarkis Gaspar

Wooden chest locked.....1

Pillows.....2

Europe blanket.....1¹

etc. etc.

A notification was duly prepared for the *Calcutta Gazette* which informed the public that the deceased's effects were 'under the custody of Dr. Campbell, the officer-in-charge of Darjeeling, and that they will be given to any person duly authorized to receive the same.'

In the second letter Dr. Pearson was once again harping on extra payment! Pretending that he thought the wording of his previous

¹ 20 July – Consultations, Fort William, 14 August 1839, No. 123

application had not been clear enough to justify his claim and at the same time apologizing for it, he yet further elaborated:

I have to acknowledge that I might have afforded a better explanation of the nature of the services I have to perform and the different circumstances in which I am placed with regard to such extra duties from the Surgeon to a Residency and of the nature of the corps I have to attend upon...the Troops attended to at Residency (are), I believe, for the most part if not always cantoned together and never at a distance from the Residency to which the Surgeon is attached, so that he is not called upon to visit them at outposts; but here on the contrary, from the sappers and miners being employed on the road not only on the duties of attending upon them...? from their exposure to the weather and liable to accident, but I must perform my long journeys to visit them - last cold weather some men at Titalya, a distance of nearly sixty miles from the Station and a journey of six days to and fro; and this detachment was then miles below Punkabarree, a distance of 33 miles from the Station...

I should be very sorry if His Lordship and His Honour-in-Council should think I knowingly preferred an improper request. ²

Although all previous communications had been forwarded to Calcutta by Col. Lloyd, this letter was sent direct to the Secretary of the Political Department. If the Doctor meant to demonstrate his loyalty to the Colonel by ignoring the presence of his successor, or whether he wanted to hide his greed from Dr. Campbell, in either case it was an ill-chosen move and liable only to increase his unpopularity.

² 24 July – Consultations, Fort William, 14 August 1839, No. 128

No News is Good News

With the beginning of the monsoon, the stream of letters to the newspapers dried up to a mere trickle. It must be assumed that most correspondents had beaten their retreat to Calcutta and the few remaining residents, though glad to receive their regular newspaper had little to return by way of news. All work on the road higher up in the hills had come to a standstill, and building activities at Darjeeling were limited to dry hours and interior decoration. Now and then a snippet appeared in *The Englishman* or the *Hurkaru* to prove to their readers that the sanatarium had not been forgotten:

DARJEELING. Those who look to Darjeeling as the future Simla of the cocknies of Bengal will be glad to hear that the officers there are promised five hundred coolies from the Hazarebagh districts, to be at Titalya on the 15th of October next, whose pay is to be four hundred rupees a month, and their food found them. It will have been remarked that the want of these people has hitherto constituted the great obstacle to the establishment of the hotel and the completion of the buildings. We may now hope that there will be a retreat from the hot weather of the plains by April next, and all means and appliances of comfort to boot.¹

Eventually reports shrank to two sentences:

Accounts from Darjeeling are more favourable than they have been. The people from the plains continue to bring in supplies.²

Finally even the trickle ended with a few *Government Notifications* of which Dr. Campbell's appointment to the charge of the civil station of Darjeeling must have given great satisfaction.³

For lack of news from Darjeeling attention focused a little farther down on Kurseong. The gallant Mr. Low who had offered to relinquish his plans for a hotel to the scheming Col. Lloyd had not

¹ *Bengal Hurkaru*, 2 July 1839

² *The Friend of India*, 17 July 1839

³ *The Englishman*, 15 July 1839

been obliged to do so; instead he had pursued his project with some vigour and was ready to realize it, as his friend Sam Smith explained, though careful not to mention the proprietor's name:

We have been favoured with an inspection of a plan for a Family Hotel and servants accommodation, at Kurseong, to be conducted by Mr. Watson, formerly of the Sailor's Home in Calcutta, and late assistant to Mr. Wilson in his spirited undertaking at Darjeeling. The building will contain 12 apartments besides bathing rooms, and is conveniently divided into 4 distinct compartments, the whole to be ready for occupation in February next.

Kurseong is the first hill stage on the Darjeeling road, and six miles distant from Punkabarree. It is described as a ridge facing the plain and computed to be about 4000 feet above sea level. It commands an extensive prospect over the country below, where the rivers Balasun, Mahanunda and Teesta are seen issuing from the mountains; on the opposite side are several alpine views terminating in that great snowy range. We are likewise informed that the climate is remarkably mild and equable; and the vegetation rich and varied. Kurseong thus appears to offer no small attractions to the artist, invalid and naturalist; while its vicinity to the Morung (abounding with game) will no doubt point it out as a convenient residence to the sportsman. Either pursuits may be followed as leisure and opportunity gradually develop the resources of this part of the Sikkim range. In the meantime we congratulate our Dorjeling friends on this accession to their comforts and heartily wish the projector all the success he deserves. A plan of the building lies on our table and is open to the inspection of the public. ⁴

The establishment of the Kurseong hotel seems to have been a speedy and successful undertaking. A report prepared during the following year for the *Bengal and Agra Annual Guide and Gazetteer* is unstinting in its praise:

..The hotel apartments at Kurseong are very comfortable – the wine excellent. The hotel was built by the liberal Secretary of the Association, Mr. H. M. Low, and a few friendly contributors; it is let to Mr. F. D. Bellew, who, aided by his wife, a very intelligent and business-like dame, manages generally to give satisfaction. This is certainly the quietest and most comfortable place for a family who intend to remain a season in the hills especially during the months of November, December, January and February... ⁵

⁴ *Bengal Hurkaru*, 20 July 1839

⁵ *Bengal and Agra Annual Guide and Gazetteer*, 1841

Two stars at least, whereas the number of stars allotted to the then open Darjeeling Hotel depends on the accentuation and interpretation of the phrase 'Mr. Warman is employed by Mr. D. Wilson & Co. to superintend the hotel and he gives satisfaction as far as personal attention and civil demeanour go.'

In Praise of the Dak-runners

The rain came down in buckets that August of 1839—33 inches in one month. The damage to the road, particularly the more exposed and precarious stretches, must have been considerable. The slippery paths became even more slippery until all movement up and down came to a stop.

And yet Darjeeling kept contact with the plains and Calcutta thanks to the exertions of the Indian Dak-wallahs, dak-runners, or simply postmen. At times it is amazing how these men scaled the heights to Darjeeling and unfailingly delivered the precious mail—but they did! Their praises were sung in Rudyard Kipling's inimitable and beautifully descriptive verses that can never be repeated enough, for much of the administration's efficient functioning lay in the hands, or rather feet, of the dak-runners:

With a jingle of bells as the dusk gathers in,
He turns to the footpath that heads up the hill—
The bags on his back and a cloth round his chin,
And, tucked in his waistbelt, the Post Office bill;—
“Despatched on this date, as received by the rail,
Per runner, two bags of the Overland Mail.”

Is the torrent in spate? He must ford it or swim.
Has the rain wrecked the road? He must climb by the cliff.
Does the tempest cry halt? What are tempests to him?
The service admits not a ‘but’ or an ‘if’.
While the breath's in his mouth, he must bear without fail,
In the name of the Empress, the Overland Mail.

From aloe to rose-oak, from rose-oak to fir,
From level to upland, from upland to crest,
From rice-field to rock-ridge, from rock-ridge to spur,
Fly the soft-sandalled feet, strains the brawny, brown chest
From rail to ravine-to the peak from the vale—
Up, up through the night goes the Overland Mail.

The Bazar

Colonel Lloyd was not allowed to forget the Bazar for the rest of the year. Like a monster raising its ugly head from time to time, it repeatedly reminded him of one of his bigger blunders. This time it was Dr. Campbell's intention of organizing the use of the Bazar ground and taking over for Government purposes the existing structures that brought up the delicate matter. Naturally, Col. Lloyd had been approached first for information on the ownership of the buildings. His answer produced a letter from Dr. Campbell to Mr. Perry at Kissengunge:

I am informed by Col. Lloyd that you were (at) the expense of building the Bamboo houses now occupied by the bunneah in the bazar ground of this Station; as that ground is reserved for Government purposes, the buildings become necessarily forfeited. I beg that you will inform me what price you put upon them that I may take into consideration the propriety of paying for them on behalf of Government.¹

The letter took six days to reach the addressee and Perry answered by return of post:

In reply to your letter of the 1rst instant which has only this moment reached me, I beg to state that you are misinformed respecting my having any claim to the Bamboo house about which you write, and that I possess no other land, building or property of any description at Darjiling.²

He also informed Col. Lloyd, but still suspecting that the Colonel must have a hand in the building of the houses once more suggested payment in compensation:

I have the honour to forward copies of correspondence with Mr. Perry of Kissengunge regarding the Bamboo houses in the Bazar ground of this station from which you will see that I have taken possession of the premises on behalf of Government. I

¹ 1 August—Consultations, Fort William, 28 Aug. 1839, No. 111

² 7 August—Consultations, Fort William, 28 Aug. 1839, No. 111

shall still be ready to pay their cost on valuation so soon as can learn at whose expense they have been erected.³

He apparently received no reply to this communication and two days later sent the whole ludicrous correspondence to Calcutta expressing his puzzlement:

I do not understand the nature of the arrangement which has subsisted between the Colonel and Mr. Perry or how it comes that the former gave me to understand that the buildings were the property of the latter who denies the ownership, nor do I consider it incumbent on me to establish where the proprietary right lies, but I hope for the approval of Government to my having taken possession of the houses for public uses, and for its sanction to paying their cost to whomsoever the same may be proved to be due.⁴

His Honour-in-Council, understanding 'the nature of the arrangement between the Colonel and Mr. Perry replied that he had no doubts that the huts on the Bazar ground were prepared with the funds advanced by Government for the establishment of a Bazar, and you were therefore at liberty to occupy them accordingly. The amount expended on these will be carried to credit in the accounts hereafter rendered by Lt. Col. Lloyd'.⁵

The subject of houses reminded the Doctor that he could well do with a better one for himself and so he sent in this request:

I beg leave to solicit the sanction of Government to the cost of a small building for my office, one for the post office, and one for the purpose of temporarily detaining any persons charged with theft or other breaches of the peace. As these for the present must be built of wood and bamboo, their cost will be very small, probably not more than 1000 Rupees for the whole. They are, however, indispensibly necessary to enable me to perform the duties of the place and will, I hope, be sanctioned as soon as convenient, and an assignment for 1000 Rupees on their account forwarded to me.⁶

His Honour was pleased to authorize a Cutchery, a Post Office and a Jail.⁷

³ 16 August – Consultations, Fort William, 28 August 1839, No. 111

⁴ 17 August – Consultations, Fort Wiliam, 28 August 1839, No. 111

⁵ 28 August – Consultations, Fort William, 28 August 1839, No. 112

⁶ 18 August – Consultations, Fort William, 28 August 1839, No. 114

⁷ 28 August – Consultations, Fort William, 28 August 1839, No. 115

Beer Sing Becomes British

Beer Sing who more than once had been suspected of throwing a spanner into the building project by dissuading or preventing coolies from joining Col. Lloyd's labour force, had at last made up his mind that the British had come to stay. His long and close contact with the representatives of two different Governments has convinced him that the new masters were preferable to the old ones and a transfer of loyalty could be most profitable. The auspicious absence of the Sikkim Rajah at Chumbi enabled him discretely to set in motion the necessary negotiations. Dr. Campbell gladly reported this development:

I have the honour to inform you that I have received an overture from Beer Sing now or lately a chowdry of the Sikkim Rajah's stationed in the Morung stating his desire to settle in the Darjeeling territory in the neighbourhood of Punkabari and requesting to have the management and superintendance of the Mechi and Dimal population already located on our lands thereabouts.

Beer Sing is himself a Mechi, at present the recognized Chief of a large number of that tribe, and certainly the most intelligent person of his race I have yet met with; indeed, he is the only man among them of any education or knowledge beyond what suffices for the clearance of jungle and the prosecution of a very indifferent sort of agriculture. It is probable that in coming to settle with us he will be followed or accompanied by a considerable and valuable addition to our population which can be made useful to us in many ways thro' his agency, and I shall regard his advent under such an arrangement as Government will have an opportunity of approving as a most fortunate circumstance connected with the progress of Darjeeling as a sanatorium.

The Mechis and Dimals inhabit exclusively the forest land along the base of the hills extending from the Eastern frontier of Nipal through Sikim and into the Dooars of Bootan, ascending for locations to the elevation of 800 or 1000 feet, avoiding equally higher sites, and a residence in the open plains. They rarely form permanent villages, and generally

quit a clearance after having had two or three successive crops from the land, taking up their abodes in a fresh portion of the forest. Their occupation is cotton growing, the cultivation of rice and grazing of Buffaloes. They use the Hoe only in agriculture, the common Dhan in cutting the jungle. They are physically a fine race of men, hardy under exposure to cold and wet compared with the Bengalese, and in fitness for employment in the mountains occupy a middle station between them and the Lepchas. In fine, they are entirely averse to a military life, and have no such political importance as the Refugee Cazees have raised for that people (the Lepchas) in Nipal and Sikim.

The custom in Sikim regarding the levying of land rent from those people is very simple. They are allowed to name their own Mundils or heads of villages or settlements through whom a capitation tax of one Rupee per annum is paid to the Chowdries of districts for all adolescent males in the Mundilship, and no other money payment is claimable by Government from the ryot whatever may be the extent of his cultivation. The Mundils are vested by the Chowdries with the power of settling all petty disputes among their respective ryots, the graver matters for adjustment only being referred by the Mundils to the Chowdries who in conjunction with the former finally settle the case and forward it on to the Koochap, or Officer of Justice and general administration on behalf of the Raja in their neighbourhood.

It is either in a capacity similar to that of a Koochap, or in that of a Chowdry that Beer Sing would desire to settle with us, and I think that we might with every prospect of advantage to ourselves give him the higher place and entrust him with similar authority under similar restrictions over all settlers located by himself and over the Mechis and Dimals now in the ceded tract, as it is proposed in your letter of the 27th February last to Col. Lloyd's address, to grant to the Terring Cazees over his Lepcha followers.

Ere long I hope to be able to furnish Government with complete details of the habits and usages of the Mechis and Dimals, and of the systems of Government they have been subject to in this quarter, and after I have had an interview with Beer Sing and shall submit a draft of the terms I propose we should make with him. Meantime I desire the sanctions of Government to entertain his proposal of settling with us, and beg to mention that as the aid of working men is a greater desideratum with us just now than Money Revenue, I shall make the furnishing of the former from among his followers at a fair rate of remuneration a prominent part of his agreement.

Should Beer Sing take up his abode with us previous to the

receipt by me of any instructions on the subject of this letter I shall give him and his followers welcome reception.¹

Government received the news with pleasure but was chary and insisted on careful handling of all such offers and requests.

The case of Beer Sing Chowdry seems to His Honour-in-Council to be one requiring some delicacy and it will be right that you should inform yourself fully of the particular relations in which he stood to the Sikkim Rajah, and whether there are any claims outstanding against him still to be adjusted with the Rajah. In case Beer Sing should be free from such embarrassments and should honestly desire to clear and settle a tract of land under the protection afforded by the British Government it will (give) His Honour-in-Council satisfaction to confirm and encourage him in taking this step, and he can see no objection to his taking the title of Chowdry and exercising over Ryots and settlers located by him and others of his tribe who may be placed by you under his control. Such defined authority as may be usual amongst the Mechis and Dimals, but subject of course to your approval and general improvement.

His Honour-in-Council has already called for a report upon the revenue arrangements and system of management heretofore pursued by the Sikkim Rajah in the Tract. The arrangements to be finally settled with Beer Sing will depend in some measure upon the scheme of administration that may be determined consequently upon the receipt of that report.²

The many rainy days forced the Doctor to keep indoors and enabled him to attend to his varied and lengthy correspondence which required sorting his notes and marshalling his facts before he could submit his findings; and so his Revenue report followed a few days after the second reminder and is an interesting ethnographic document:

Sir, I have the honour to submit for the information of Government the accompanying abstract statements of the Revenue supposed to be derived by the Sikkim Raja from the tract of the foot of the Darjeeling territory inhabited by Mechis, Dimals and a few Garrahs (Garos?).

2. The extreme diameter of the tract in question from the branch of the Balasun River which runs nearly East to join the Mahanuddi below Siligori on the South to Punkabarri on the North is about six miles and its extent from the Mahanuddi on the East to the main stream of the Balasun on the West about

¹ 13 August—Consultations, Fort William, 28 August 1839, No. 107

² 24 August—Consultations, Fort William, 28 August 1839, No. 108

14 miles. (The main stream of the Balasun has a general course from N. to S. but in recent years it burst its East bank and the great body of its waters reach the Mahanuddi by the New Channel the course of which is E.S.E.)

3. A small portion of the extent above noted being hill land will necessarily belong to the Darjeeling territory after the demarcation of its plainward limits and along with that portion the Sikkim Raja will have given up to us the Revenue hitherto derived from the few inhabitants residing on it. It is with a view of ascertaining as nearly as possible the actual loss of Revenue which the Raja must sustain without depending on his statements and a guide in forming rules for Mechi settlers with us that I have enquired into the custom of his government in this portion of the Morung.

4. I am not prepared to state that the accompany(ing) return(s) are correct, altho' I have taken pains to render them so, but pending further enquiring at my expected meeting with the Raja's deputies after (the) rains they may be of some use.

5. You will observe that the average number of houses under each Mundil is something more than 24(?). The minimum is 11, the maximum 36. There is no rule regarding the number of houses over which a Mundil has control, it may extend to any number whose proprietors are willing to place themselves under him, and it is not uncommon in new clearances to find so few as three settlers located together to whom a Mundil of their own choosing is appointed.

6. The number of Dhaws(?) on which the tax is levied and which is equivalent to the number of adult males does not average 2 per house.

7. The remission of revenue by Government to the Mundils in consideration of their trouble in collecting the tax of their respective colonies has also no fixed rule. The highest rate is less than 30 per cent, the lowest is short of 12 per cent. This arises from the confirmation of the appointment as Mundil lying with the Chowdry of Government Collector who exercises his own discretion or indiscretion in the business. The average of the payment to the Mundils by Government by these returns is not quite 12 Rupees per annum for each. The cost under the head of Mundil's pay amounts however to about 23 per cent on the whole collections of Land Revenue. The Mundils receive a small remuneration in acknowledgement of the superiority from each of their Ryots. It is generally in kind and consists of a few pods of cotton, a fowl, a bottle of spirits, or some grain, the aggregate money value per annum of which is not easy or even possible for me just now to ascertain.

8. So far as I am now aware the number of Mechi houses on the low hills belonging to the Darjeeling tract does not exceed 40 or 50; as these were erected previous to the cession of

Darjeeling, it will be just to indemnify the Sikkim Raja by paying him annually the net revenue he had previously derived from the occupants. If the Raja should desire to make over the whole of the lands occupied by the Mech, Dimals and Gurrah population in the above described tract, it would be advantageous to us to have the management of it, and in conformity with the tenor of your letter of the 24th ultimo I shall endeavour to arrange it so with the Rajah's Deputies so soon as his own views become known to me.³

The Net Revenue per annum amounted to Rs. 692-2-0 but the actual total was Rs. 959-2-0 from which were deducted Rs. 267 which went to the Revenue Collectors.

In reply Dr. Campbell was informed that 'to His Honour-in-Council it appears generally that the measures already adopted and proposed to be adopted by you for ascertaining exactly the resources derived by the Raja of Sikkim from the tract referred to by you, His Honour-in-Council thinks there can be no reason for delaying the communication to the Rajah of the intentions of the Government in respect to the Nett amount of the resources and an invitation to forward any more detailed information he may possess on the subject.'⁴

³ Ibid., 4 September 1839, No. 67

⁴ Ibid., No. 68

Founding of the Dorjiling Garden and Plantation Society

Although Col. Lloyd had given up plans of large scale farming, his interest in the subject of agriculture had not waned, and most likely it was he who proposed the formation of an agricultural society. His three guests happened to be all enthusiastic botanists and became the founder members of the 'DORJILING GARDEN AND PLANTATION SOCIETY'. The founding of the Society was formally announced in a letter to Dr. Campbell:

Sir,

As the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India desire to send some plants to Darjiling to inure them to the climate, the undersigned are of opinion that the following plan for this and still more important purposes may be advantageously adopted.

2. We propose to form an establishment which shall be—

I. A Nursery for Oaks, Chestnuts, Maples, Rhododendrons, Pines and all other Forest Trees growing in these mountains to supply the Agricultural and Horticultural Society in India, and establishments and individuals in Europe, America, the Cape, and New Holland free of expense beyond carriage and packing.

II. A Nursery for Fruit Trees of all kinds, particularly European, such as Gooseberries, Currants, Cherries, Apples, Pears, Plums etc. etc. which cannot be raised in the plains, but which, by being first reared and planted out here, may either supply seed, which can be raised below, or the young Trees themselves can be supplied to parties who wish to try the experiment of inuring them to the climate of India.

III. A Garden for the purpose of growing Vegetable Seeds of the best quality; and to ensure this, the vegetables planted will be entirely appropriated to the raising of Seed, and not for the supply of Vegetables for the table.

IV. A Garden for flower seeds on a like principle. And should the circumstances of the case admit, we further propose that —

V. The whole establishment shall as much as possible be formed on the model of a Botanic Garden, and be specially

adapted in the strictly Botanic part, to the vegetable productions of these regions, not however excluding those of other countries.

3. To accomplish these things, a portion of ground will be required at the Station, which it is probable you may be able to grant free of cost, in consideration of the great public benefit such a scheme is calculated to confer; but if not, we are willing to pay such yearly quit rent as may be reasonable.

4. As no plan can be permanent without a permanent income, we propose to raise by subscription a sum, the interest of which may (together with what we hope to obtain from the Agricultural and Horticultural Society,) be sufficient to maintain the establishment; and in that case, to prevent loss, all funds will be invested in Government Securities.

5. To effect this, it will perhaps be expedient to form a society to be called 'THE DORJILING GARDEN AND PLANTATION SOCIETY', which will act in conjunction with, and as a branch of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society, and of which all persons subscribing to the amount of 50 Rs. and upwards within the ensuing twelve months, will have a right to be Members without being ever afterwards called upon for any further subscription.

6. The produce of the Garden, Trees, Plants, Seeds, etc. will be distributed as those of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society are, giving the preference to Members, who will receive them free of all expence except that of carriage and packing; and such as remain will be open to the public at a reasonable extra charge, to be hereafter determined upon.

7. As no profit is to be expected, the establishment will be extended according to the extension of its means.

8. We have thus stated the object and means proposed to accomplish it, of a society which, if properly conducted, will be of very great benefit both to this and to other countries. More particular details must be left for future consideration by the Subscribers, and a Managing Committee at Darjeeling. We have only further to observe that this climate is particularly adapted for raising vegetables; the Carrots, Potatoes, Cabbages, Peas, Beans, and in short all yet tried, are quite equal to those of Europe; and the importance of an abundant supply of good Garden Seeds growing in the country, and consequently not liable to fail like those brought from Europe, the Cape, and other distant places, need not be dwelt upon.

The introduction of Forest Trees of so noble a description as those of this region, into our own country, and the temperate latitudes of Europe, America New Holland and the Cape, would, of itself, if nothing else of immediate benefit to this country were to arise from it, be an object of incalculable value. We cannot doubt therefore, of raising a sum fully

adequate to the end in view; and as a beginning, the undersigned beg to subscribe the sum of 50 Rs. each, and one of our members, Mr. Pearson, has agreed to act as Secretary and Manager.

We have the honour to be Sir,
Your most obedient and humble servants,
G. W. Lloyd, Lieut. Col.
R. C. Napier, Lieut. Engineers
Henry M. Low
J. T. Pearson

Dorjiling, 28th August, 1839¹

Dr. Campbell replied immediately and graciously:

Dorjiling, 29th Aug. 1839

To Col. Lloyd
Lieut. Napier
H.M.Low and
J.T.Pearson, Esq.,Dorjiling.
Gentlemen,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th instant, containing proposals for the establishment at this place of a Garden and Plantation Society, stating the various objects to be attained by the same, and submitting an application for a suitable piece of ground, free of cost if possible, but if not, stating your willingness to pay a reasonable quit rent for the same.

2. The scheme appears to me full of usefulness to the Settlement of Dorjiling, admirably calculated to aid the objects of the Agricultural Society of India, and to meet the wishes of many persons in our own country and throughout Europe, who are anxiously desiring to transfer the treasures of the Himalayan forest to those countries.

3. I beg leave however to suggest, that as a portion of our proposed plan, an arrangement for supplying the Lepchas about Dorjiling, and the Hill people generally of the neighbouring countries, with improved descriptions of Wheat and Barley Seed, is much to be desired, while the introduction of the potatoe into use among the same people is an object well worthy your care and attention.

4. The most eligible piece of ground at the Station for your purpose, and one not well suited for building on is, I think the cleared space to the South and West of Colonel Lloyd's location, and to the north and West of the road leading to the

¹ *Bengal Hurkaru*, 6 October 1839

Spring; it is of considerable extent, of varied form and aspect, and close to the water. As the expected arrival of Trees and Plants from the Agricultural Society renders it necessary to afford you the early means of receiving them, I shall take it upon me at once to grant you the Ground above alluded to, free of all charge for rent for five years, and subject to quit rent afterwards of 2 Rs. per acre per annum; and at an early date, should you still desire it, I will submit your wishes for a free grant of the land for the consideration of Government.

5. The ground alluded to is bounded on the south and west by the Bamboos now defining Colonel Lloyd's location, on the east and north by the road leading to the great Spring, and the house of the European Sergeants; the boundary towards the valley will be the junction of two Streamlets which have their sources in the ground itself.

6. In furtherance of your project I beg your acceptance of 100 Rs. donation as my private subscription, and I shall annually, while in my present office, pay you 30 Rs. towards the current expences of the establishment.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient Servant,
A. Campbell

The gentlemen thus addressed acknowledged the Doctor's letter on the same day:

Sir,

We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this date, and in reply to inform you, that we accept the Ground therein described and on the terms offered.

We are also of opinion, that your suggestion to introduce wheat, barley, potatoes and other agricultural products among the natives of these mountains is a very valuable one, and it shall be adopted accordingly. (Indeed, it has already been done to a considerable extent by Colonel Lloyd.)

We further beg to express our thanks for the cordial manner in which you have joined the Society.

We have the honour to be, Sir,

your most obedient humble servants,

(sd.) G. W. A. Lloyd, Lt. Col.

R. C. Napier, Lieut. Engineers

Henry M. Low

J. T. Pearson

Members of the Dorjiling
Garden and Plantation Society

Dorjiling, 29th August, 1839.²

² Ibid.

After this exchange of courtesies Dr. Campbell sent the entire correspondence to Calcutta with a special request for a small Government donation to the project.

And Government expressed its approval:

.....the President-in-Council is always glad to see the residents at stations in the interior devoting themselves to such objects as the Agricultural and Horticultural Society proposed to be formed at Darjeeling have in view; but His Honour cannot consider the society to constitute at present an association of sufficient permanence and stability to warrant the Government in making a pecuniary donation in aid of the objects indicated.

His Honour-in-Council thinks it will be sufficient to authorize at present a spot of ground to be set apart free of rent for all purposes of the kind zealous individuals may desire to set in foot experimentally.³

³ 18 September – Consultations, Fort William, 18 September 1839, No. 166

Rules for Allocation of Building Plots

On 1st August Dr. Campbell sent in his promised rules for regulating the assignment of building locations and grants of lands in the hill tract attached to the station of Darjeeling for the consideration of Government. He prefaced his code by saying that he had endeavoured to embrace all essential points likely to become subjects of reference to himself and to furnish a rule of action which would be satisfactory assurance to settlers that their interests would not be liable to be tampered with at the discretion of the Officer in charge there.

The 'set of rules' was immediately passed on to the Committee of the Darjeeling Association with a request for their observations. They accepted the bulk of the proposed rules and their suggested changes were so minimal as to be of no interest here.

Notification
Political Department
Fort William
Bengal

Rules For Regulating the Assignment of Building Locations and Grants of Lands in the Hill Tracts Attached to the Station of Darjeeling and for the Administration of the said Tract passed on the 4th September 1839 to be in Force from the Date of Promulgation.

Rule 1:

All lands not previously assigned or occupied with consent of the Officer in Civil Charge to be open for selection by parties themselves and to be assignable by the Officer in Charge to parties applying in the rotation of the receipt by him of their written application.

Rule 2:

Any person holding or occupying land not under a grant or title from the Officer in Civil Charge duly registered, who shall refuse to engage for, or to remove from, the land within one month from the date of which he shall be called upon to do so in writing by the said officer, shall be subject to ejectment. *This*

rule will of course not apply to ancient Residents and parties in possession at the time when the territory of Darjeeling was made over by the Rajah of Sikkim.

Rule 3:

The police and Magisterial Authority within the tract ceded by the Rajah of Sikkim will be exercised by the Officer in Civil and Political Charge until otherwise ordered or directed by the Government of India. If at any time these functions should be separated, the Magistrate shall aid on the requisition of the Officer in Civil Charge in enforcing the ejection of persons occupying or holding lands without Authority, and any such unauthorized holder who shall not vacate when duly ordered by notice in writing shall be liable to a penalty of 50 Rupees, and, if he shall resist the officers of the Magistrate who may be aiding to enforce such ejection, he shall on the offence being duly proved before the Magistrate, to be liable to a fine of 500 Rupees leviable by distress.

Rule 4:

The Officer in Civil Charge is vested with the power and authority of Civil Judge in respect to all claims, complains and disputes, and be cognizable in the Civil Courts of the Settlement under the Acts and Regulations in force for the Bengal Presidency.

Rule 5:

All deeds of grant or lease shall be signed by the Officer in Civil Charge and shall specify the name of the grantee or lease holder, the quantity and boundaries of the land included in the lease, and the lease, and the rate of quit rent for building locations, and of rent per acre for garden, farm or their ground, to be paid per annum.

Rule 6:

On furnishing a settler with a deed of grant or lease, the Officer in Civil Charge shall require the individual to set up good and solid land marks for the distinct demarcation of his boundaries; and it shall be a condition in every deed of grant or lease to maintain the boundaries in good repair.

Rule 7:

When the Officer in Civil Charge is satisfied that the prescribed landmarks are in such a state of disrepair as to lead probably to disputes about limits, he shall call upon the settlers in writing to conform in this particular to the terms of his grant on the failure of which, at the end of one month, it shall be competent to the Officer in Civil Charge to cause the proper repairs to be made, and to levy three times the cost of such repairs from the holder or occupier of the land, the amount to be levied in the same way as provided for the collection of rents.

Rule 8:

When the boundary marks are put up to the satisfaction of the Officer in Civil Charge, he shall note the same on the back of the lease without which the lease or grant cannot take effect.

The offence of removing or effacing boundary marks shall be cognizable by the Magistrate, and parties duly convicted shall be liable to a fine of 100 Rupees for each offence which fine shall be leviable by distress.

Rule 9:

Deeds of grant or lease shall be issued by the Officer in Civil Charge bearing dates the 1st of January and 1st July respectively. Parties however desiring possession at intermediate period shall be put in possession according to their applications and shall be charged as provided in Rule 16.

Rule 10:

A duplicate of every lease or grant shall be entered in a Register to be kept by the Officer in Civil Charge.

Rule 11:

The Officer in Civil Charge will collect the rents by demand in writing to be presented within 15 days after the same may be due, and if not paid within one month from the date of such demand, the Officer in Civil Charge may levy distress upon any personal property found upon the location in arrears, and the charges of such distress and of interest on the arrears at 12% shall be taken from the proceeds of the sale of the property distrained.

Rule 12:

A transfer failing to register shall be liable to double rent until the transfer is registered.

Rule 13:

On the registry of a change of title to lands, the new holder to pay a fee of five Rupees to be applicable to the same purposes as the money received as rent.

Rule 14:

A space of 200 yards broad on either side of the principal line of the Kurseong to Darjeeling road reserved for building locations, grants of land for farm or other cultures cannot be made in that space.

Rule 15:

Building locations of an extent not exceeding 100 yards square will be allotted to applicants subject to the payment of a quit rent of 5 Rupees per annum for each allotment.

Rule 16:

Rent shall be chargeable upon all locations from the beginning of the $\frac{1}{2}$ year, otherwise from the commencement of the next following $\frac{1}{2}$ year.

Rule 17:

The Officer in Civil Charge is vested with discretionary power of allotting larger locations (than 100 yards square) where the nature of the ground and other considerations may appear to him to warrant it. All allotments of building locations made previous to the date on which these rules come in force will be binding on Government according to the conditions, but

parties desiring to change their locations, have the option of doing so on the above terms.

Rule 18:

Lands for agricultural purposes will be assigned to applicants in lots of not less than ten acres, and leases will be granted for the same for a term of not less than 30 years, an exemption of five years payment of rent on uncleared spots will be allowed after which rent will be leviable at the rate of 2 Rupees per acre per annum. If there be no clearance made or actual occupation with implements of agriculture at the end of five years, the lessee to forfeit his tenure.

Rule 19 :

At Darjeeling, Mahalderam, Kurseong and Punkabarree cleared spaces shall be allotted for shops and the dwellings of trades. People within which locations a frontage of ten yards will be let in annual lease, at a rent of not less than 10 Rupees ; any increase on this sum to be left to the discretion of the Officer (in Civil) Charge who shall regulate the amount of rent by the offers received.

Rule 20 :

Government reserves to itself the right of making and constructing such roads and bridges as may be necessary for public purposes in all the lands connected with Darjeeling, and also the right to such indigenous timber, stone and other materials, the produce of the land, as may be required for making and keeping the said roads and bridges etc. in repair, and for any other public works. Government also reserves to itself all mines as well as elephants' ivory and other natural productions of the tract at the bases of the Hills, also free access for all persons to all the known springs of water within the tract allotted for building locations.

Rule 21 :

The Officer in Civil Charge to be vested with the powers usually granted to collectors as regards attachment and sale of property for arrears of rent.

H. T. PRINSEP¹

¹ 4 September – Consultations, Fort William, 4 September, 1839, No. 70

The Editors' Apologies to the Government

The *Rules* took a week to get into the Calcutta newspapers. *The Englishman* and the *Hurkaru* were pleased; Sam Smith even graciously apologized for his previous attacks on the Government—now calling them 'appeals'—and conceded that 'the fault of the delay... has never been fairly attributable to Government.' Both articles are of particular interest, as between them they had worked out in some detail the actual cost to date of setting up the sanatorium of Darjeeling. This is what the papers had to say:

Dorjeling

We publish in to-day's issue the Rules enacted by Government for regulating the assignment of building locations and grants of land, and for the administration of the tract of country attached to the station of Dorjeling. We consider the Rules in general to be good and the rates moderate—but think the proposed rent for shops rather high—indeed, although the expense for clearing the spaces required for shops may be considerable, we would suggest, for the indulgent consideration of Government, that it might be the better plan to let shopkeepers to have their allotments free of rent, stipulating only that the occupant should always have a certain quantity on hand of the goods he dealt in, for the use of the public. Should our suggestion meet the eye of the active Officer now in civil charge of Dorjeling, we know that he will, if he find it necessary, act upon it—and we are equally assured that his representation will at once be attended to. We have been induced to notice this circumstance from knowing the difficulty which has already occurred in inducing persons to proceed to Dorjeling for the purpose of supplying the residents with such articles as are required there—and more particularly for the food of servants and that class of natives. We have transferred to our columns some details from *The Englishman*, which we believe to be correct and likely to interest our readers. We some time ago appealed to the Government to redeem the pledge which they had given to the public, and it is with great satisfaction that we record our present conviction

that the fault of the delay which has taken place, has never been fairly attributable to Government—for they could not do more than provide the means of making roads, etc. to those who were expected to carry their intentions into effect—and when they found that these intentions were frustrated—they did the only thing in their power to remedy the evil. They have improved the Executive Department, and we shall soon see the advantages of the change. We confess that we should be glad to hear that the Governor-General had ordered a cottage to be built at Dorjeling, for his example would induce many to flock thither, and we admit that we think His Lordship's occasional visits would NOT have the effect of rendering the roads WORSE constructed or looked after, than if he were not to honour the place with his presence.—Ibid.

Some time had passed without public notice having been attracted to Dorjeling. The approach of the Durgah Poojah holidays tempts us to offer to our readers such information as we possess of the later proceedings directed to the furtherance of the establishment of our Simla, and we trust that the narration of the measures taken may lead our cits to undertake an excursion thither in order to be eye-witnesses to the progress made in the last ten months and to judge how far that progress promises to terminate next hot weather in the complete success of the place.

We will briefly mention what has been done in furtherance of the settlement and what appears still to be required to be done. In regard to the aid given by Government, we must be understood to speak of that not made known in the official pamphlet published in March 1838, but granted at subsequent periods.

Ten or eleven thousand rupees were assigned to the Political Agency, and a like sum to the Road Department between March and December 1838 for the improvement of Dorjeling, the establishment of bazars, and for public buildings, and the construction of roads.

In April 1839 the Dorjeling Committee requested the aid of Government in the erection of a traveller's bungalow at a spot called Mahalderam, the third stage from Titalya. The Government immediately placed 1500 rupees at the disposal of the Committee. In July last, Dr. Campbell having succeeded Col. Lloyd, and being most anxious to accomplish the establishment of a bazar, suggested that the best mode of inducing dealers of the plains to settle permanently at Dorjeling, would be to provide accommodation for their goods, and shelter for their coolies, and sent an estimate of the cost of the building he considered requisite. The estimate amounted to 1210 Rupees, and that sum was assigned to meet the object he had in view. In the same month of July last a sum of 6000

Rupees was made over to Dr. Campbell that he might proceed with the establishment of the bazar, the procuring of coolies, and the building of reservoirs. Thus it will be seen that in the way of hard cash the Government has expended nearly 30000 Rupees on Dorjeling since March 1838.

Nor is it only by the supply of hard cash that the improvement of the place has been laboured for.

The road from the plains is reported partly passable for wheel carriages, and throughout so for bullocks and ponies. The entertainment of two native doctors, under Dr. Pearson, the Civil Surgeon, has been sanctioned; the dak has been placed entirely under Dr. Campbell, and now comes in seven days to Calcutta instead of ten, that officer himself having selected as bearers fine young men of the Mechi tribe and posted them at different stages, placing with his own their due wages into their hands, and ordering them to complain to him face to face if any man tried to take ought of those wages from them. It was recommended by the local authorities that a hospital for such natives of the plains as might fall sick on their way to Dorjeling, and have no means of relief, should be established, and that vaccination should be largely introduced among the inhabitants of the mountains. Sanction has been given to such a hospital, and the medical authorities are to take measures to promote vaccination in every way. Orders have been issued for the entertainment of more labourers for the repairs of the roads than there have hitherto been, and for more effectual means to be taken to conciliate and keep contented, and in comfort, the thus increased numbers; in connexion with this point we may notice that 400 coolies are to proceed from Major Ouseley on the S. W. Frontier to Dorjeling for the road when the rains cease, and that Capt. Davidson at Chota Nagpore has promised 300 more, and may possibly be able to furnish 500; and Dr. Campbell's own good management promises him 200 for six months from his own neighbourhood. We hear that Beer Sing Chowdry, the head of the Mechis and Dimals, has also offered his influence with his own tribes to provide labourers and workmen.

We are informed by our correspondents that Dr. Campbell has addressed all the influential zemindars near him, frankly acknowledging that the causes of aversion to work, of which their people complained, did exist, and pledging himself solemnly to obviate all of them in future. He has also offered labourers such terms as it is expected they will accept, without being forced to do so by other district officials; in short, he is trying fairly and fully every means most likely to bring a constant supply of voluntary labour to the place. Lieutenant Napier is making a very complete map and survey of the whole place. A Police has been ordered to be organised, and the

necessary police buildings directed to be constructed. Dr. Campbell is progressing well to the completion of a bazar and has cleared away many previously existing obstructions to its establishment. An (Isthar) proclamation has been published throughout Purneah, Dinagepore, Rungpore and Sikkim, giving assurances of protection to all traders visiting the Dorjeling tract, promising shops to those who desire to stay permanently, and a guard to those who remain but temporarily. Buneahs, bricklayers and many others have joined the settlement, and the reservoirs and bazar will be ready in October. The Civil Officer at Dorjeling will abolish all land customs and other levies upon goods entering or quitting Dorjeling, so as to leave perfectly free the communication with the plains to and from the British tract; the Sikkim Rajah's own country remaining of course uninterfered with. We hear that timber-cutters would not find an unprofitable trade in that quarter, the privilege of cutting the finest trees in the forest tracts being obtainable for a small money payment. We should indeed be happy to see far greater numbers of Bengali Buneahs led thither by the inducements held out, viz. to those who resort thither early, shelter for their coolies, and a shop and house for themselves with a nominal rent for the first year. Nor should Mr. T. E. Thompson of Calcutta lose the opportunity to have a branch establishment there. Dr. Campbell would doubtless inform him of all particulars he might be anxious to learn, and it would doubtless prove a good speculation. The Committee have been soliciting Government to make a road from Purneah to Titalya, and to allow the use of convict labour. Our citizens will see on a reference to the map that the monthly steamers to the N. W. P. will drop them at Karagola, and we learn that from Karagola to Purneah a beautiful road fit for Mr. Holroyd's team exists, and that a road from Purneah to Titalya can be easily made, and is all that is required to ensure us a most comfortable, easy and secure route to the foot of the hills. In another column is printed the correspondence of the Committee and Government in regard to this road. The Government, it appears, have acceded to the Committee's request and given 3000 Rupees in aid of the execution of the required repairs, and the labour of the convicts certainly would be better employed in such a work than in making holes to fill up again in the station of Purneah ! The above route will tend greatly to overcome the difficulties of travelling even for delicate females, and we hear that safety and security is ensured to us when at Dorjeling, as the levy is now really a willing and trustworthy body of soldiery.

A sufficient military protection was all along promised, and too tardy have the authorities been in giving effect to the measures necessary to ensure it. This censure will be found by

no means undeserved, for besides the importance of that protection with the reference to political relations and public property at the spot, it ought to have long since provided for the private property at stake at Dorjeling, and in this place it may not be irrelevant to inform our readers what sums have been laid out in prosecution of private interests at Dorjeling. The following will, we think, be found near the mark:—

1rst.—	Amount advanced by associations and private individuals for buildings, etc. at Dorjeling and Kurseongurree,	28 000 Rs.
2nd.—	Value of furniture, goods, stores, and payments for carriage.	15 000 Rs.
3rd.—	Expenses incurred for the Hotel, for boats, carriages, stores, cattle, etc. at least.	30 000 Rs.
4th.—	Expenses incurred by private individuals, besides the advances above mentioned for buildings, say	10 000 Rs.

Rs. 83 000

And we dare say before May next a similar sum will have been expended in the completion of the schemes of private associations and of individuals...

With respect to what we consider remains still to be done for Dorjeling, we would suggest that the Committee in addition to the measures already adopted by them in respect to the Purneah road referred to in the correspondence, published in another column, move the Government to instruct the Executive Engineer of the nearest division, that is Lt. Goldie at Moorshedabad, to report whether any line of road from Berhampore, via Bogwangola and Chippigunge, offers greater facilities for travellers to Dorjeling than the Purneah one alluded to; for if such a line exists it certainly would be more convenient for Berhampore, Beerbhoom, Burdwan, etc. though certainly our Bangalpore, Monghyr, Patna and Tirhoot friends would find the Karagola route suit them better, as from that place to Titalya would only involve a land journey of 90 miles; while from Moorshedabad to Titalya, via Dinagepore, would extend to a land trip of double the distance. Again, in order that every endeavour may be made to discover the most expeditious route to Dorjeling a flat bottomed steamer of light draught, like the 'Experiment', should be sent to explore the navigation of the Mahanuddee or any other river promising to be passable and to offer a safe route for the water passage of heavy stores to the foot of the hills. Indeed, the Doorga Poojah holidays would offer a capital opportunity for our merchants to take advantage of such a

vessel to visit their Indigo Factories in the direction of Purneah, Natpore, etc, and to enjoy shooting excursions with their planter friends.

One further proposition we would make; we see that Government quasi-promise convict labour for the road between Purneah and Titalya. The same is, we hear, much required and would be of vast importance, if applied to the road from Titalya to the foot of the hills.

With united endeavours towards the complete establishment of Dorjeling with a moderate quantity of the Company's ekbal (good luck) and with the continued services of the military and political officers at present there, the settlement **MUST** be completed and nearly perfect by next hot weather. Many will resort there,—indeed, who will not that can when they learn that on this last 26th August the thermometer at Dorjeling at midday stood at 61 F.?...

Dorjeling **MUST** and **WILL** be our Brighton; its air will be like that of Brighton, remove or lessen 'the ills that flesh is heir to'.—Doubtless a Viceregal Pavillion will soon be erected at the 'Bright Spot', and fashion gather round it, with all the benefits the said fashion brings to general trade. Further, when future Governor-Generals require recreation or change of air for health, their absence at Dorjeling will not involve the business of the State and of private individuals in the same delay, and consequent universal inconvenience that the sejour of the 'heads of the people' at Ootacamund and Simla and such lands ends *invariably* entail.¹

¹ *The Englishman*, 11 September 1839, *Bengal Hurkaru*; 12 September 1839

Letter from a *Lover of Truth*

To The Editor of *The Englishman*

Sir,—An editorial article relating to Darjeeling, having appeared in your paper on the 11th instant, which is calculated to mislead the public, and having been lately in that neighbourhood myself, I beg to offer the following corrections:—

You represent the road as being passable as far as Punkabarree for wheeled carriages: such unfortunately has not been the case since the commencement of the present rains, nor is the road from that place to Darjeeling passable, as you would imply, for loaded bullocks or for ponies. You also infer that a great improvement has taken place in the dak, and say that it now comes in seven days instead of ten. From all I can learn it always came in from five to seven days, (excepting when there was snow) until lately, when it has occasionally been ten; and it is now generally seven or eight days, and sometimes even longer, consequently no improvement in the dak has yet been effected.

With regard to other improvements which you say have taken place under the present authorities: the introduction of vaccination was, before they came into office, proposed by Col. Lloyd; the native hospital was, at Dr. Pearson's suggestion, who offered to conduct its duties gratis, also proposed by Col. Lloyd, and so were the arrangements for the bazar.

I am ignorant of what line of the road Lt. Gilmore was 'forced' to take; the general direction was pointed out to him by Col. Lloyd, but the time was left entirely to himself. It is true that Col. Lloyd insisted upon the road being carried down more expeditiously than that officer wished to proceed; and fortunate it was that he did so, for if it had been attempted to finish it all in like manner with that portion which has been pointed out by the Committee to the notice of 'His Honour-in-Council', there would at this season have been no road at all. But Col. Lloyd wisely preferred to have a passable road all the way to the plains, instead of a bowling green gravel walk for a few miles.

I am delighted to hear of the number of coolies, bricklayers

and other workmen, who are to be at Darjeeling at the end of the rains. I will venture to say that no one at Darjeeling was aware of their actual arrival until the receipt of your paper there. I have heard that a hundred coolies were expected at Mahaldiram on the 1st September, but know they were not there on the 10th of this month, and I understand they cannot be there before the middle of October. I am sure the residents at Darjeeling will be equally glad to hear that the construction of the hotel at Kurseong Gurry is going on so fast; for they, like myself, imagine that not a single step has yet been taken to clear the ground on which it is to stand.

With reference to the measure adopted by Dr. Campbell for the encouragement and protection of bunneahs and all traders resorting to Darjeeling, by the proclamation he has issued to that effect throughout the districts of Purneah, Dinagepore, Rungpore and Sikkim, I am told that Col. Lloyd tried the same means of inducing speculators to frequent the place, and I have no doubt that this repetition of the encouraging invitation will at length prove successful.

As you have recommended persons to go up to Darjeeling during the Doorga Pooja holidays, I have thought it right to correct the most material of the errors which have appeared in your editorial article; for not only is the public misled as to the forwardness of the place, but much private inconvenience, or even worse than inconvenience, may be experienced in consequence of the articles which from time to time appear in the newspapers. Unless I am greatly mistaken, Mr Wilson advertised the Hotel as 'rapidly progressing towards completion', at a time, when not a single stick was cut upon the ground on which it stands; the bungalows at Mahaldiram and Senada were stated to be nearly ready for the reception of visitors, whilst up to the present moment they have not been even begun; and a spring of water was stated to have been discovered at the former place, and, 'fenced round for the convenience of travellers', which, on enquiry, proved to be a hole scooped out in the mud, which contained an almost undrinkable puddle.

I shall forbear to touch upon the hardships experienced by those, (particularly the ladies), who are now at the place, but I earnestly recommend no one to think of proceeding to Darjeeling until they have first heard from Dr. Campbell or Dr. Pearson, (who I am sure will be glad to give all the information in their power), what is the real state of affairs at that place.

Darjeeling
September 13, 1839¹

Your obedient servant
A LOVER OF TRUTH

¹ *The Englishman*, 2 October 1839

To The Editor of *The Englishman*

'Dear Mr. Editor,—In a letter treating of Darjeeling, which appeared in your paper on the 11th instant, I have had occasion to observe such an unblushing violation of truth, such egotism, and such a bombastic parade of operations instead of efforts that I really cannot say whether I have been most amused or disgusted by its perusal; in short, the style of the modest production to which I allude ('on n'auroit guere de plaisir, si l'on ne flattois point') is without a parallel, excepting in the despatch of Sir J. Keane about the fall of Ghazni; or the proclamations of those merchants who perambulate the streets of Constantinople, solemnly vociferating 'In the name of the Prophet Figgs !!!'

2. However, as I do not aim at turning into ridicule the letter in question by mere ingenuities—but at the refutation of its statements, I shall confine myself to the relation of facts.

3. Imprimis, that the road is 'entirely passable for loaded bullocks' I assert to be incorrect, as on the contrary there is not a single stage between Darjeeling and the plains, in the course of which it would not be necessary to unload and reload a bullock several times, the bank in many places having slipped down over the road, whilst in others the narrowness of the path would inevitably occasion any considerable bulk to come in contact with rocky projections and thereby endanger both the life of the animal and the loss or destruction of the property it carried.

4. As to the MAGNANIMOUS 'frankness' with which (in his communications to the zemindars) Mr. Campbell is said to have reflected upon the causes for aversion to a voluntary supply of labour which he describes to have existed under his predecessor—it appears doubtful, whether we should most admire the gentlemanly feeling in which such an observation has originated, or the enterprising and sanguine spirit which has caused the honour of a British officer to be 'solemnly' pledged upon the issue of CONTINGENCIES, forgetful of that admonition of a fellow country man:

'The best held schemes o' Mice and Men
Clang aft a glu

And leave us naught but grief and pain
For promised joy.

5. That the political relations of Darjeeling render it an important military post, we may soon perhaps be enable to judge from experience, but that the Sebundy sappers are either a 'willing or a trustworthy' body of soldiery I utterly deny and would stake my life upon the possibility of their being hunted from Dan to Beersheba by a single sub-division from any regular corps in the service.

6. There is much justness, however, in those remarks alluding to the unprotected state of private property, existing by the by, to a much greater extent and with less excuse under the present administration than the preceding one, for I can confidently promise that about ten thousand rupees worth belonging to the Association, to Mr. Wilson, and to Messers. Hepper, Martin & Co. etc through exposure to the weather — theft — and such other causes has been completely destroyed and made away with.

7. May I take the liberty of enquiring by what veritable authority the Association have been informed that there 'is a square mile of ground cleared at Kurseangurry, and also a hotel under construction there? For this personage must doubtless be one of the happy few who are said to have acquired for Darjeeling—(like the far-famed Castle Blarney)—the reputation of possessing a Talisman which will entitle all who pay it homage to be as economical of truth as the votaries of the latter are prodigal of flattery. But as I have not been fortunate enough to discover it in my rambles, I can only say that there is not as much as half a mile, no! not a quarter of a square mile of continuous cleared ground at Kurseangurry, not the place been even yet marked out for the site of the building alluded to,—unless indeed we were to consider that as your correspondent tells us of buneahs and brickmakers, etc. etc. having resorted to the station whom no one else can perceive—it might be only proper to suppose that their labour might be carried on to a vast extent in an equally invisible manner to the apprehension of all such as were not fortunate enough to be under the influence of the Talisman in question.

8. In contradiction to the 'Brightonian' anticipations of the committee, I would by no means feel justified in inviting an indiscriminate resort of Invalids to the Station, as the 'bright spot' is as wet and gloomy as can be well conceived for FIVE months of a rainy season; and although possessed of much scenic beauty and the grand desideratum of a cold climate, yet is liable at every period of the year (from clouds, etc.) to a dampness of atmosphere obviously unfavourable to all modifications of rheumatic or pulmonary disorders.

9. Among the various propositions submitted to Government as to the means of facilitating and improving the approaches to the station: the works requisite in the immediate vicinity of the hills seem to have been overlooked; in the first place it will be necessary to construct a bridge over the Balasun (a river otherwise wholly impassable from June to the end of October) should the route via Runeedunga be approved of; or of making several smaller ones at various places (that are impracticable for wheel carriages for the same period) should the direction of Salagory (Siligury) be preferred.

10. The institution of a Police establishment has been rendered essential indeed, since the encouragement of the Lepchas in the settlements as they are both ingenious and daring in their thefts. They are a perfectly savage people; the laziest in the universe without exception, and rendered still more useless as servants by their peculiar ineptitude or unwillingness, to acquire the more prevailing Indian languages.

11. With reference to the paragraph expressing the second object of the committee's address wherein 'His Honour-in-Council' is invited to a comparison between that portion of the road in which Colonel Lloyd is described to have FORCED Lt. Gilmore to have conformed to his directions, and that part in the construction of which the latter is said to have been 'unfettered' by the former officer's authority, I beg leave, with due deference, to tell the committee that, practically, they know nothing at all about what they are talking of, and that it would argue more sense as well as decency upon their part to give less implicit confidence to the statements of interested parties, and to be less invidious in their animadversions upon an individual whose comparatively high position in society as well as the circumstance of his being generally known to have deserved far differently in public opinion, has consistently enabled to treat all such malignity with merited contempt. '*La craillerie ordinaire fait qu'en s'y accoutume, et que chacun la meprise.*'

But as I am not personally involved in the foregoing matters, and therefore free to exercise an impartial judgment, whilst I am thoroughly acquainted with them, I shall proceed to draw the contract which has been suggested to perhaps a greater extent than will prove agreeable to the parties from whom I suspect it to have originated.

12. In the first place, had not Colonel Lloyd (at the sacrifice of his own domestic comfort) for the considerable period of Lieut. Gilmore's indisposition personally superintended the construction of the road it would not, in all probability, have been more than three-fourths executed this last season; and had he (when Lt. G. entered upon the performance of his duties) permitted him (Lt. G.) to keep on beautifying it, instead of rapidly carrying into effect a work which was then anticipated would have been much sooner in public requisition, all the advantages (in point of time) accruing from his (Col. Lloyd's) previous exertions would have been, of course, rendered nugatory;—The one was doubtless actuated by professional vanity, the other by an earnest desire to give speedy efficiency to a measure materially affecting the interests of a settlement whose founder he may with great propriety be considered, and for the establishment of which he has so long! so zealously! and every one must join in saying, so very

thanklessly laboured—‘*Car il a semé des fleurs sur un terrain aride*’.

But with reference to Col. Lloyd’s imputed interference with a portion of the ‘line’, I am pretty well aware that it only extended to that local information for which (in the absence of any survey reconnoissance of his own,) he has reason to feel indebted to Col. Lloyd; whilst as for the remainder or boasted portion, I think it would have been quite as judicious to have left the credit of it with the corporal who was deputed to mark it out; for any person who has travelled both can maintain that the position called ‘Col. Lloyd’s road’ is (though less regular) more generally available and more permanent; whilst in about three and a half miles of Lieut. G.’s road above Mahaldirum there are (for the sake of obtaining a regularity of ascent) no less than 25 nulla bridges incurred—in not one of which either proper materials or constructive skill have been employed, independent of many places in which, to avoid blasting, uneven beds of granite have been plastered over with earth now converted by the rains into deep mire, instead of having been filled up with a very appropriate frangible material (a kind of quartz I think) which abounds throughout many parts of the route; there are also many artificial embankments thrown out upon rapidly decaying timbers, thus rendering the journey highly dangerous for cattle or mounted passengers; exclusive of all which considerations, this part is more than twice as long as the old route collateral to it.

I know it to be a theory in the profession that length should never constitute an object in a mountain road, as if facility of ascent were the only one to be considered; I do not consider this rational, for it appears to me that both being duly weighed with reference to their advantages and effects—it should be the province of common sense and expediency to decide the balance, and not for scientific prejudice to determine it. ‘*Mais revenons a Moutons*’

13. In point of actual existing advantages to its residents (I, of course, do not include under this head mere **PREDISPOSING ARRANGEMENTS**,) the station is worse off now, than it was last year, notwithstanding the much greater advantages enjoyed by, and support afforded to, the present civil officers. To justify this assertion let us first consider the state of the bazar; provisions were at that time not half as dear and the godown always open; now the prices of such **VERY VERY** few things as can be had are enormous, and the Bazar opened only as the caprice or necessities of the civil officer’s establishment may require. As for the Hotel, it has been converted into a series of stables, water closets, cooking rooms and other offices for the three European gentlemen who have **MONOPOLIZED** it.

14. Now let us consider the state of the dawk. In Col.

Lloyd's time the wages were trifling and the number of dawk runners very limited, and yet there was not much to complain of; but now that Government has sanctioned an expensive establishment there is every cause for discontent. As one of many such instances of irregularity, let me inform you that an invalid traveller (within the last month) despatched a letter from Titalya a full day before he left that place, which was not received by the party to whom it was addressed until three days after his arrival in Darjeeling.

15. Lastly, we may fairly conclude that instead of things being as they are, were they even placed upon an improved footing, it would only be what ought to have followed from the much greater advantages enjoyed by the present civil officer who has SLIDED into his appointment at a period when all the incipient difficulties were overcome by the energy of his predecessor, and when Government had at last awakened to a sense of the expediency of affording a more adequate and liberal support. Now that all this should produce satisfactory results, would I am sure constitute no great claim upon opinion, and if the fine promises to gild the future made by certain parties, and the specious falsehoods to embellish the present contributed by others, would effect all that was desirable, happy would be the prospects of Darjeeling; but, notwithstanding there are a few whom recent circumstances have led to moralise upon the love of change, and who think when TOO LATE upon the adage, 'we may go further and far worse.'

'Virtutem in columen odimus,
Subtatum ex oculis, quaerimus invidi.'

Yours, Sir, most respectfully,
PERDU²

Credit has to be given to *The Englishman* for publishing the two rather uncomplimentary letters to the editor, even though it was done in the smallest type available; and the vigour with which the two gallant defenders of Colonel Lloyd took up the cudgels has perhaps restored some readers' waning faith in mankind. The Colonel must have been comforted by this attempt of his supporters at a public exoneration. It might have been the encouragement from these two letters, or the fact that he was now free from the fetters of his former position, that induced him at last to speak for himself:

To The Editor of *The Englishman*

Sir,—In your paper of the 11th instant, there is a long editorial of two columns and a half, stringing together a series of

² Ibid., 3 October 1839

mis-statements by some flippant writer, who seems to have partial access to official documents, and whose chief object, no doubt, is to draw a comparison between Dr. Campbell's good arrangements and popularity here, and my bad ones and my want of good will and cordial co-operation towards the settlers. As I do not mean to suffer such assertions to go forth without refutation, I shall proceed to make a few observations on what he has put forth with the two-fold view of vindicating myself, and of preventing the good folks of Calcutta from being too sanguine as to accommodation being ready for them here, or at the foot of the hill, in January or February next, (as is asserted by the *Hurkaru*), or even by next hot weather (according to your editorial).

The aid I received from Government since the publication of Mr. Bayley's compilation in March, 1838, to enable me to accomplish what was required, was as follows: In August I received 2000 rupees (this may be gathered from the publication), in the end of September or beginning of October 5000 rupees were added. And in January 1839, I received 5000 rupees more, assigned for the establishment of a Bazar, for which purpose I had reported 15000 rupees would be requisite to do the thing effectually. Total 12000. The manner in which the money was appropriated will appear from the subsequent statement. In the month of August Rs. 4600 were advanced for coolies to work on the road, and Rs. 2000 towards the bazar. In addition to these sums, I had also advanced 1200 rupees to the recruits entertained for the sappers and miners; 5800 rupees of this amount were advanced by myself from my own funds. In September or October, when I received the first sum of 5000 rupees, I did not from them repay myself the money I had advanced, but devoted the whole 5000 to the establishment of a bazar, as far as such scanty means would admit, and the bazar was opened on the 14th of November. In January 1839, I received the second 5000 rupees and immediately advanced upwards of 4000 rupees to provide more coolies for the road, being quite sensible of the paramount necessity for completing it without delay. It will be evident that had I not thus advanced my own funds while awaiting for the grant of a supply from Government objects, which were of the greatest importance to accomplish with dispatch, must have been much procrastinated. My acting in this way is, I think, a sufficient refutation of any imputation of want of zeal in the cause.

The author of your editorial omits mentioning the condition attached by Government to the grant of 1500 rupees for the Bungalow at Mahaldiram, which condition was provided the building should be completed before the setting in of the rains; the accomplishment of this was under the circumstances of the case impossible, and no bungalow is yet in existence there. I

have no doubt, however, the grant will be renewed this season.

The suggestion of providing accommodation for people resorting to the bazar had formerly been placed in another shape by me before Government, but not noticed.

The measures of providing native doctors, introducing vaccination, and an hospital for natives might be supposed from the context of your editorial to have been originated by Dr. Campbell. I venture to say he himself does not wish to appropriate any merit for these propositions.

With respect to the dak, I had to manage it from Gobindnuggur to this, a distance of upwards of 90 miles; the runners, while I had charge, were none of them allowed more than 4 rupees a month (most received only 3 1/4) though the necessity of higher pay was reported. No proper establishment for keeping the accounts was allowed, though applied for; they were directed to be kept at the Dinagepore Office, from whence also the runners' pay was to be drawn; and the money was sometimes not received here till six months after it was due. Dr. Campbell has to manage it only from Junnyapakutta, between 45 and 50 miles hence; he has the entire control in his own hands for establishment and every thing else; expense is left to his discretion, and he pays some of the runners as much as seven rupees a month; the dak may reach Calcutta in seven days (letters hence on the 1st instant did not arrive till the 10th) but from Calcutta to this it is frequently nine or ten; often for two or three days we are without any dak, and as often two or three days' dak come in together. Last year in this month the arrival of the dak here was regular, and it came in much less time. I am at a loss to perceive the improvement you mention.

The arrangement for coolies from Chota Nagpore originated, I believe, with Lt. Gilmore. I can say nothing, as I know nothing of the causes of aversion to work, which Dr. Campbell has pledged himself to the zemindars to obviate for the coolies; the cold of the climate is the only cause I am aware of, and that I imagine cannot be got rid of. The terms offered in money are, I think, exorbitant, and may perhaps induce the zemindars to force their ryots to engage; if compulsion is exercised, it is of little consequence by whom. When it is considered that the usual pay in the plains for labourers (vide Buchanan's Dinagepore) is 18 Rupees per annum, which includes food and clothing, an increase to the rate of 72 for coming to work here is far too much. This rise in coolie-hire besides having the injurious effect of increasing the expense of building 50 percent at least, will most probably make all other expenses at this place so high as will debar the middling classes of society in Calcutta from resorting here, the facility for which was at the commencement contemplated as one of its principal advantages.

I see no evidence of what has been done lately towards the completion of a bazar, nor do I know what obstructions were ever offered thereto; difficulties from the nature of the road, and the apathy of the bungalow, no doubt existed; and directly the road was opened, or even before merchants began to resort here, Ishtabars promising them protection were published by me long before, and Rabadarree Perwannas were furnished to several merchants. Bunias, bricklayers and many others already having joined the settlement, I am happy to learn, and so I doubt not would the other residents here at present, if they could only find them out.

There has been a good large earthen reservoir constructed of the principal spring here for two years past; if the reservoirs mentioned as to be ready in October are to be of packa masonry, I think their construction by that time is an impossibility.

The civil officer will not be able to abolish any land customs or other levies upon goods entering or quitting Darjeeling for a very good reason,—namely that none ever were in existence; how could they when they had been abolished by order throughout Bengal years ago?

All the timber worth cutting in this quarter of the Morung has been cut and removed long since, if cut upon the hills, it would not repay to remove it.

No doubt it would be an advantageous thing *For The Public* if Mr. T. E. Thompson was to form a branch establishment here just now.

The levy always was, in my opinion, composed of good materials; patience and consideration is all that is required to perfect its organization; but it is a question of some consequence how far contentment amongst these men is likely to be insured, when they see common coolies paid six rupees a month, while their own pay is only $5\frac{1}{2}$; and they are employed in doing the same work, (road making), with the addition of risk incurred in the operations of blasting, and being engaged to fight, as well as to work, if occasion require.

With the estimate of the amount of property at stake at Darjeeling I have no concern, nor with what you consider remains to be done for the place, but I think, your assertion that the settlement **MUST** be completed and *Nearly Perfect* by next hot weather will never be verified by the event; the great bane of the place hitherto has been the impatience of the people of Calcutta to avail themselves of its advantages, expecting that to be effected here (where there are more difficulties to be surmounted) in a few months, which has not been accomplished at Simla and Mussooree in less than 20 years. The consequence has been, that operations were undertaken by individuals without a proper knowledge of the means available, and of course, as they did not contemplate

any difficulties, they made no adequate arrangements to meet those which actually occurred; failure naturally ensued, and most of the labour and time expended, has been thrown away; and things must be begun de novo.

The *Hurkaru* is pleased to say there never existed any obstacles here, that might not have been speedily removed or surmounted by a little zeal, good will and cordial co-operation. But surely it would be a curious anomaly if a man who had strained every nerve to bring this place into notice and get the settlement established, incurring great inconvenience and annoyance to accomplish it, without whose exertions it would neither have been discovered or acquired, most probably for many years if at all, should without apparent cause thus cut his own throat, as it were, by throwing obstacles in the way of its success, and after having exerted all zeal and good will towards it, should of a sudden become apathetic and inimical.

The *Courir* with his feeble cry, echoes the statements of his contemporaries. If, as he asserts, *He Knows* that the representations of the active officer, now in civil charge of Darjeeling, will be at once attended to, which certainly was not the case with me, he is quite right in rejoicing at the change in the executive department.

Darjeeling,
20th September, 1839³

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
W. H. Lloyd

A second letter of the same date addressed to the Darjeeling Committee and its Chairman dealt with the subject of the road alone:

To J. W. Grant, Esq.
Chairman of The Dorjeling Committee, Calcutta

Sir,—in the newspapers just received I see published a letter from you as Chairman of the Dorjeling Committee to the Secretary to Government, dated the 2nd instant, respecting the repair of the road from Karagola to Titalya via Kissen-gunge, and suggesting that the control and supervision of roads and public works out of the station itself be taken out of the hands of the civil officer.

With the first of these propositions and the statements supporting it, I have nothing to do, further than, as a member of the association, I hope that body will leave the committee themselves to pay the cost, above 3000 Rupees, which will be incurred, if the very unavoidable and expensive line of road mentioned is constructed. With regard to the second proposition, I should have had still less concern, had not the

³ *The Englishman*, 5 October 1839

committee thought proper to go so far out of their way as to make it a handle for asserting that which they must have adopted as true on the vague information of some interested party; I leave it to the committee to reconcile such a proceeding to themselves and shall merely tell them, that Col. Lloyd did not *force* Lt. Gilmore to take any particular part of the line adopted, nor was Lt. Gilmore allowed to adopt *any* line, unfettered by Col. Lloyd's authority; the *whole* line was pointed out to Lt. Gilmore, and of course, he naturally exercised his discretion in deviating a little to the right or left of the old road, as the nature and advantage of the ground rendered advisable. The object in view was to make a road, in the first instance, practicable for loaded cattle, and that with as much celerity as possible; such a road was run nearly half the distance down from Dorjeling in about a month and a half by Col. Lloyd, as Lt. Gilmore was too unwell to do so till the end of November, when he came out and took charge of the works; and the remainder of the work was full five months before it was completed to its present state. The force exercised over Lt. Gilmore was the obliging him to abandon widening and polishing the part which had been executed by Col. Lloyd, instead of running the line quickly down to the plains; he was working back towards Dorjeling cutting twelve feet into the solid side of the hill, all which he had been directed to do by the Superintending Engineer, Major Garstin, and by which a month of precious time had already been wasted. Had I not interfered on this point, there would have been no road for the next two years at least, and the advantage which resulted from my interference was, that the moment it had been opened in its whole length, numbers of merchants resorted to Dorjeeling with supplies, and some have continued to do so even through the rainy season. Further, I must observe, that if the committee, or any one else, suppose it possible to lay down a line of road over mountains covered with a dense forest jungle, where the range of vision in any direction is confined to a few yards, in an off hand manner, they labour under a great mistake; some kind of a preliminary road is indispensable, and if afterwards an easier line here and there should be hit upon, it can be taken advantage of without the expense which would have been involved in fully completing the road as it was first carried on. An example of this occurs where Lt. Gilmore expended a month's labour in completing that very part of the road which is referred to by the committee, and which will very probably be abandoned in favour of a better line, which it is hoped may be found; and Lt. Gilmore also found it necessary to abandon several parts of the road which he had at first constructed. All road making, even in cleared countries, is liable to alterations and improvements. This occurs even in

England, and although a couple of years may have been devoted to an accurate survey of the proposed line, we had no survey to go upon, and all the expedition we could make in carrying down what was never intended to be more than practicable for carriage cattle, was insufficient to meet the impatience of the Calcutta public.

Another point I must remark, is, that the Committee refer His Honour-in-Council to part of the road as if they spoke from their own knowledge and had seen it themselves, which I will venture to say they have not, so that this, though it appears otherwise from the context, is mere hearsay. Had many or all of the Committee travelled the line before the present road was made, and also since, they would have been too sensible of the vast difference to have cavilled at what had been done.

I have etc. etc.

W. H. Lloyd, Lieut.-Col.

Dorjeeling,
20th September, 1839⁴

The Colonel has had his say and may have felt better after it. The detached observer who has been able to look behind the scenes and knows some of the 'inside story' will have noticed that the name 'Perry' is not mentioned at all, though he was the proverbial last straw that broke the camel's back. There is also a fair amount of 'simplification' in the Colonel's argument; but as the exact facts of 'Lloyd's road' and 'Lloyd's bazar' will never be discovered now, it will be best to forget and forgive the Colonel's real and alleged blunders and to concede his just claim to every tourist's gratitude for his 'great zeal and exertion' he so obviously had displayed in the founding of Darjeeling.

⁴ Ibid.

The Saga of the Bazar

A new chapter was added to the saga of 'Col. Lloyd's Bazar' by the servants employed in the godown, or store. Each of the men performed a different duty, but they were collectively held responsible—or so they thought—for the efficient (and honest) running of the place at Darjeeling and Punkabarree. When a rumour of the Colonel's impending departure from Darjeeling reached this staff, they were thrown into a panic lest they be left with the responsibility of the store and the possibility of having to answer to a new officer who might know nothing of their work conditions and make unreasonable demands when settling the accounts. They quickly put in an application to be allowed to hand over stores and cash. Their story of how they had run the bazar throws some dark shadows on Col. Lloyd's various denials and statements of having had absolutely nothing to do with it. The men's assertions could be suspected of being just a pack of lies (encouraged by Perry), had they not been corroborated by reports of David Wilson and other visitors to Darjeeling who could not buy a grain of rice; and so it must be conceded that the Colonel either from forgetfulness or from deliberation did not always stick very closely to the facts; (in his long letter to *The Englishman* he clean forgot to mention 8000 Rupees though he remembered all the other figures!). The ultimate arbitrator, Dr. Campbell, was called upon to intervene:

Petition of Johur Odeen Jemadar Mugofer and Biswas Mohammed Jan Gomashta Hadoo Kali Goolami and Kadim of the Darjeeling servants of Col. Lloyd.

Our petition is this: Mr. Perry of Kissengunge having received a sum of money from Col. Lloyd in Bahadoor of last year (August 1838) for the purchase of grain and other stores, Mr. Perry, on account of friendship to Col. Lloyd sent stores etc. to Moodamalla and Punkabarree.

Col. Lloyd then requested Mr. Perry to send servants to him for the charge of the Darjeeling Punkabarree Godown, and accordingly we were engaged for that purpose and sent to the Colonel at the following rates of wages: a Jemadar at Rs. 8 per month and food; Putwari and Gomashta at Rs. 8 and food

from the dates of our appointment in Assaur last (October 1838); until the present time we have performed our respective duties selling stores at such rates as we were ordered by Col. Lloyd and to such persons only as the Colonel indicated, refusing to sell to such persons as he prohibited; without the express orders of Col. Lloyd we did nothing. Col. Lloyd is now about to leave Darjeeling. We have waited on him to beg that he would take our accounts, but he has not done so or paid any attention to our request except by ordering us to take our accounts to Mr. Perry and telling us that he had nothing to do with our present affairs. The Colonel has therefore by denying having any charge of our affairs left us without any master. We are therefore likely to be great sufferers by being kept responsible for the goods under our charge as during the last twelve months our accounts have not been ever settled. Mr. Perry, from friendship to Col. Lloyd, has been at great trouble in procuring grain and other stores, and in engaging us informed us that we were to be the servants of the Sirkar under Col. Lloyd's orders, and that in all things connected with our work we were to obey the Colonel only. To this date we have done the Sirkar (s) work faithfully; now, however, Col. Lloyd is out of office and tells us that we are without any master to look on the part of Government. If Col. Lloyd has any dispute to settle with Mr. Perry that can be no affairs of poor servants liked us, wherefore pray that you will induce Col. Lloyd to take our accounts and settle with us, and that he will take charge from us of the goods remaining in that Godown and give us leave to go to our homes.

If Col. Lloyd should not at your desire give us our discharge and settle our accounts, we pray that you will take the goods in the Godown under the seal of your office.

Now there are no sales being made from the Godown as Col. Lloyd has ceased to give us the nirikh, and without his orders we cannot sell.

Darjeeling
30th. September 1839

True translation
A. Campbell
In charge Darjeeling¹

The second petition was partly identical in its wording except for the names of a second set of servants with different rates of wages:

1 Chowdry at Rs. 7 per month and food, a Putwari and Gomashtha at Rs. 8 and food, 1 Kales (?) at Rs. 4 and food, 4 Burkundauz at Rs. 3 each and food, 4 Goal puharis at Rs. 3 each and food...In the month of Bhagoon (March) Col. Lloyd gave us a nirikh under his signature according to which we

¹ 30 September–Consultations Fort William, 23 October 1839, No. 110

sold some of the goods. Some time after this Col. Lloyd having come to Pankabarree, forbid us to sell any more of the stores, and in conformity to his order we shut shop. Had the sales not been stopped by Col. Lloyd the whole of the stores had on this been disposed of...²

Dr. Campbell passed the petition on to Col. Lloyd who by return sent this reply:

...I have to inform you that I don't acknowledge having any thing to do with these people. All my concerns with regard to the subject is with Mr. Perry himself.³

Since the Colonel refused to co-operate, Dr. Campbell was compelled to forward the entire correspondence to Calcutta:

I have the honour to forward translated petitions of Johur Odeen Jemadar Chowdry and others calling themselves servants of Col. Lloyd and to report that having furnished Col. Lloyd with copies of the Petitions and being informed by him that he had no intention of settling the accounts of the petitioners, I have complied with their prayers and attached the seal of my office to contain properties in the Godown here as per list recorded in my office.⁴

The Government's directions were ominous:

... His Honour-in-Council has been pleased to approve the measures adopted by you; you will proceed upon the complaint of these parties as on this of any other person under the general powers conferred upon you of exercising jurisdiction in civil as well as in criminal cases.⁵

For once the prompt and eager Doctor held his hand...

² Ibid.

³ 2 October-Consultations, Fort William, 23 October 1839, No. 110

⁴ Consultations, Fort William, 23 October 1839, No. 109

⁵ 23 October-Consultations, Fort William, 23 October 1839, No. 101

Objects of the Dorjiling Garden and Plantation Society

The Dorjiling Garden and Plantation Society had been founded at the end of August but became Calcutta 'news' only in the middle of October. A circular from the Honorary Secretary Dr. Pearson was sent for publication to the Editor of the *Hurkaru* who, of course, obliged:

Sir,—I am directed to forward for your consideration a copy of correspondence relating to the establishment of a Society to be denominated the Dorjiling Garden And Plantation Society, and to express the hope of the present Subscribers that you will support an Institution likely to be of great public utility, by becoming a member.¹

The *The Calcutta Courir* commented enthusiastically:

It is impossible to extol a plan of this kind too highly, and we therefore think the gentlemen who established the Society deserve the warmest thanks of the public—and the advantage which the establishment of these Nurseries promises to all the Lower Provinces, and particularly to us who have not only the prospect of eating Gooseberries, Raspberries, Cherries, etc. at Dorjiling in the course of a couple of years—but the means of stocking our gardens with acclimated plants will, we trust, render it unnecessary for us to urge our readers to secure the accomplishment of so desirable an undertaking by becoming subscribers to the Society.²

Calcutta Courir concluded his congratulations by adding a paragraph of the latest news from the 'Bright Spot':

We have a private communication from Dorjiling of the same date as the Circular (4 Oct.) from which we will present our readers with a short extract. 'We here think the weather getting quite agreeable with the thermometer at 83 d., which it was this morning about 11 o'clock in the house'. Our correspondent says, 'At present our news is confined to the weather, which is now delightful. A few days ago there was a

¹ *Bengal Hurkaru*, 16 October 1839

² *Calcutta Courir*, 14 October 1839

fall of snow on the second Ridge, the one under that covered with perpetual snow, which cooled the atmosphere and brought the thermometer down to 49 d. It ranges from 50 d. to 70 d., and as the rains are over we may expect to have it cooler every day.³

A few days later *The Englishman* was moved to a long philosophical effusion wandering off into Roman history but eventually returning to the subject under discussion:

We had not time, when the correspondence and list of subscribers to the Dorjiling Garden and Plantation Society appeared, to remark upon it, but we delay as little as possible doing so at our earliest disposable moment, convinced as we are of the great benefit such establishments are likely to confer upon all classes wherever they are found, from the poorest to the richest, Natives as well as Europeans.

'Where the Roman conquers he inhabits'! says proudly and truly one of their historians. 'The British are but encamped in India; they do nothing in return for the vast tribute they draw from it; and, if expelled from that country tomorrow, in fifty years not a vestige of their power would remain' was the just reproach of a British statesman; and the comparison is in truth a humiliating one for us. It ought, too, to be a useful lesson, for the Romans, when he wrote 'inhabit' meant that he had roads and temples, and fortifications and villas; that he mixed with the inhabitants of the conquered provinces, admitted them gradually to the privileges of citizenship, and the lapse of two thousand years still sees the name of 'Roman' an epithet for everything that is great and enduring amidst the work of man. It is true, as to part of our analogy, that the Roman Empire from Asia Minor and the coast of Northern Africa to the British Islands, did not embrace so great a diversity of climate as to render it dangerous for the natives of Italy to inhabit any part of it; and none of the natives whom they overran were, like Hindoos and Mussulmans, the most immiscible, perhaps, of the human races, from the peculiarity of their religious tenets and civil institutions.

According to our London correspondent's statement, published in *The Englishman*, our twenty-four praetors in Leadenhall Street, with their deputies here, manage also to 'extort' a pretty round sum from the provinces they govern; and as our London Senate on the one hand are but little inclined to trouble them, and the people of the provinces are of an incredibly submissive turn, on the other, they get their perquisites.

We cannot, therefore, having the twenty-four praetors and

³ Ibid.

all the shareholders to satisfy, make unto ourselves enduring monuments of brick and marble and stone. What remains for us then? Truly, to plant trees, which if they bring not fruit for ourselves, will do so for our children—trees ‘whyche growe whyle menne sleep’, and become property almost without care—and to introduce plants which may add to our comforts or our pleasures, or our commercial resources.

This is what the Dorjiling Society proposes to accomplish; and we suppose there are none of our readers who do not look forward with interest to this spot, the advantages of which are too well-known to need any expatiating upon now-a-days. We trust that many will be found ready to contribute their mite in the way of donation or subscription to this very laudable object.

We trust the Society will not fail to turn its early attention to the European trees producing valuable articles of commerce and food such as the Cork, the Olive, the Vine, the Spanish chestnut, and the like, all of which will doubtless thrive at Dorjiling or between it and the plains. When we recollect the enormous amount of the oil trade, and the extent to which it would be carried if cheaper oil was obtainable, we do not exaggerate in saying that these things are really national objects; and if it be objected that they take a long time to bring them about, that, we opine, is a reason for setting about them the sooner; we hope too the Society will not forget the American trees, such as the Sugar maple, the Locust and the Tulip tree, which may be taken as types of their classes, food, timber, and ornament. The Locust especially would be invaluable; it grows quick, makes excellent fences, and its timber is next to incorruptible.⁴

⁴ *The Englishman*, 18 October 1839

The Plains Road

Now that the hill road seemed to be making satisfactory progress in the hands of the capable Lt. Napier, the Darjeeling Committee felt it safe to direct the Government's attention once again to the plains road. The Chairman, J. W. Grant, therefore addressed the Secretary to the Government from Darjeeling:

Sir,

Since the last application to Government on behalf of the Committee regarding a new line of road from Karagda (Karagola) to Titalya, circumstances have come to our knowledge which I am instructed to communicate for the information and consideration of His Honour the President-in-Council.

In former years there was an excellent road from Berhampore to Dinagepore, and though now out of repair, it is so much shorter that Native Travellers still prefer it to the more circuitous one by Maldah.

If this line could now be opened to Dinagepore and continued thence to Titalya, passengers by the steamers could be dropped at the mouth of Mahanunda where they would join the Dak Road and by uniting at one point additional facilities of Travellers would soon follow.

Mr. Halkett, the Acting Collector at Dinagepore, has already obtained the sanction of Government to employ the prisoners at that station to a certain extent, and Dr. Wilkie reports most favourably on the effect the measure has produced on the state of their health. There appears to be no reason, therefore, why these prisoners should not be allowed to construct so useful a work as that now recommended; and on the subject of its practicability and early completion, I take the liberty to quote an extract of a letter from Mr. Halkett to the address of the Secretary of the Association. It was received a few days ago and is as follows; viz.: 'If Government will allow me the use of convicts, I will engage with the Rs. 7000. I have got to make a Buggy Road from the Ganges to Titalya before the setting in of the hot winds, but to enable me to do this no time must be lost.'

In making the present application the Committee by no means desire that the other road proposed from Karagda (Karagola) should be abandoned. It will undoubtedly be one of great public utility and must always be the best approach to Titalya for persons coming from the Western Provinces. But so far as the Darjeling Association and the Bengal Community are immediately concerned, the line now recommended would prove of infinitely greater service, and I trust therefore, the Committee will be excused for pressing the early attention of His Honour the President-in-Council to the subject.¹

Since all members of the Darjeeling Association were Calcutta citizens, it was only natural that they should try to interest Government in the shortest land route to the hill station from the Presidency, though at certain seasons the water route up the river would be more preferable. They had, however, their rivals in the prospective visitors to Dajeeling coming down the Ganges to Karagola and thence using the access road via Purneah and Titalya.

¹ 28 October—Consultations, Fort William, 6 November 1839, No. 83

Poor Condition of the Hill Road

Newsletters from Darjeeling to the Calcutta newspapers were few and far between now, chiefly, no doubt, because no news could happen until the end of the rains. The people who were really interested in information had all their private contacts and were not dependent on the newspapers. The editors had no cause for complaint since it had become clear that Government was making maximum efforts and the new brooms at Darjeeling were sweeping clean. But the occasional letter still reached 'the ditch' and was printed with great caution:

The following is an extract from a letter from Darjeeling dated 28th ultimo (Oct.). It gives the latest news from that locality, but we beg it to be understood that we do not answer for the authenticity of the facts:

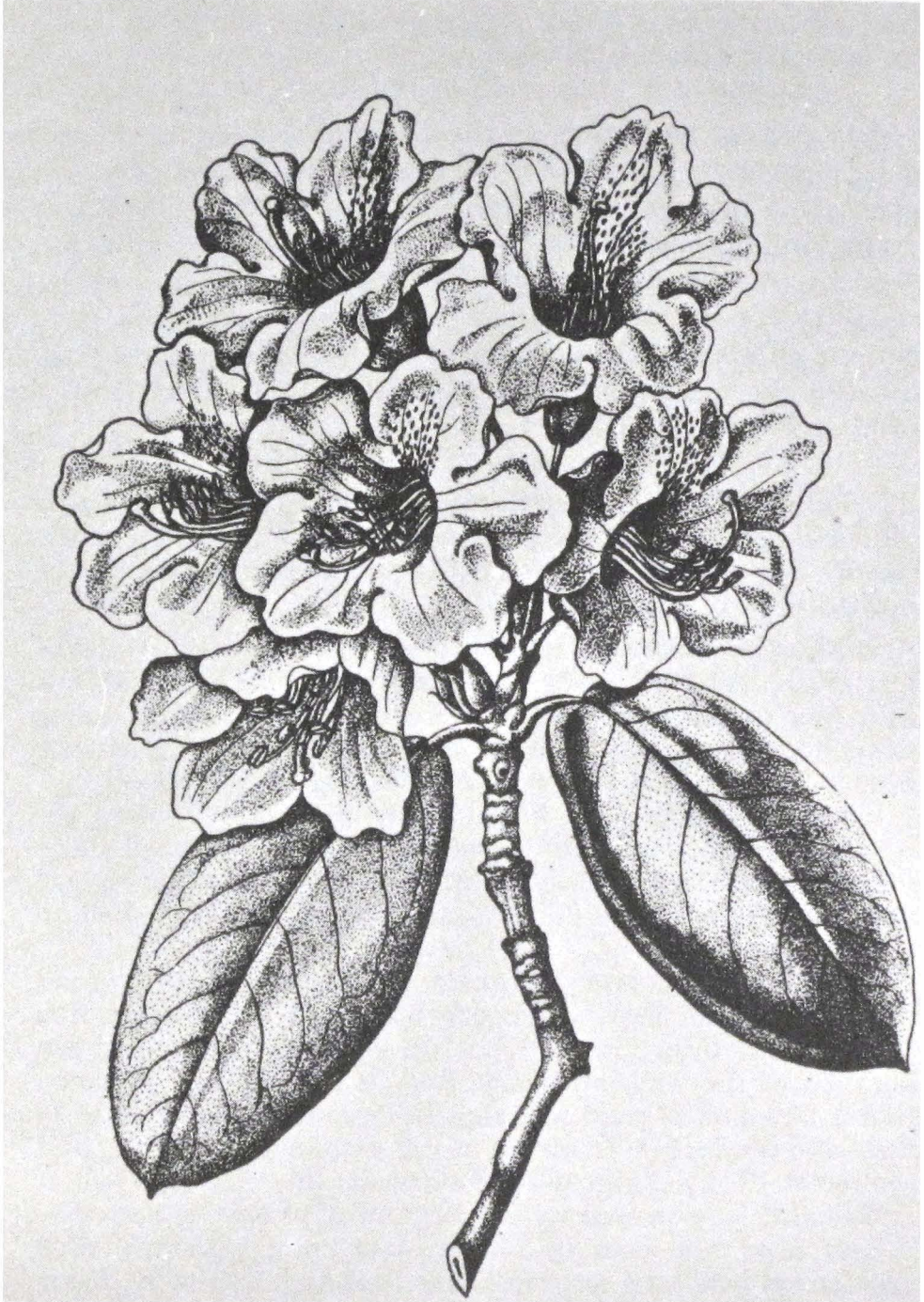
According to promise I hasten to let you know something of Darjeeling. As I have not been long here, and have had but little time to look about me, I shall confine my present remarks to such things as may be most useful to you and such of your friends as may feel inclined to visit this 'Bright Spot'.

Notwithstanding all I heard to the contrary, I found the road from Pankabarree to Kurseongurrie in a wretched state; the water has wasted away all traces of it in some places; and in others, the bank has fallen down and completely choked up the passage.

From Kurseongurrie to Mahalaum (Mahalderam) the road is pretty well for foot passengers, but hence to Senadah, it is shocking – nothing, in fact, but up one precipice and down another all the way into Darjeeling. It is, however, expected that a new line of road will shortly be marked out instead of this, and the engineer officer being a man of business, and zealous in the discharge of his duties, all other obstacles will, it is thought, be removed by the beginning of next hot season.

You need not then be afraid of meeting with any such accident as befell the sergeant some time ago. By the by, I saw the same sergeant the other day hopping about on crutches. A fine young fellow he is, but evidently past all future service,

either for himself or his masters. The Engineer Officer would do well by having the poor fellow removed to some place more adapted to one in his condition. Darjeeling is no place for cripples, besides the keeping a none-effective Overseer-Sergeant here, where there is so much work to be done, and so few hands to do it, cannot lend much to the good of the place.



Rhododendrons

Darjeeling is, as may be expected, but a wretched looking place at present, Col. Lloyd's is the only decent looking house in it. Dr. Pearson has, also, built a small house which, with a neat little cabbage garden in front, looks very well when compared with the surrounding objects. The hotel is about half built and no more. A corner of it was filled up as a temporary abode for a few gents, but they have been turned out lately in order that the work might go on without interruption. Poor fellows! They have since been without a place where to lay their heads!

Should you venture up here, take care and bring plenty of creature comforts for self and servants. It is only a short time since a cook, whom one of the sergeants brought up from Dum-Dum, died through the effects of cold and hunger. This is a fact.¹

A few day later the same paper brought 'the following scrap of cheering intelligence:'

The climate here is really delightful; fine, frosty weather with clear sunny days – and everything is going on as well as the Calcutta folks could desire. The natives are evidently getting over their *funks* they had of the hills and are flocking in every direction; supplies of all kinds and plentiful, and the roads rapidly progressing.²

¹ *The Englishman*, 7 November 1839

² *Ibid.*, 12 November 1839

Dr. Campbell's Activities on the Road

One of Dr. Campbell's many talents was his ability to communicate—at least with the Government. His long, detailed and regular despatches to Calcutta enabled the Council to share, as it were, in all that was going on at Darjeeling and gave Council members a feeling of participation. Every little progress reported strengthened their confidence in the Doctor's competence and made them all the more willing to support his efforts by granting yet another sum of money. They could see where all the rupees went and the success they had bought. The following reports covering his activities during the month of October are fine examples of Dr. Campbell's skill at keeping up the interest of Government in his doings:

Sir,

I have the honour to report that I left Darjeeling on the 2nd ultimo (October) for Kurseong and Punkabarree for the purpose of meeting working coolies I had previously engaged to be there about that time, and for the better enabling me to communicate with the people of the plains who were likely to engage for work at Darjeeling during this cold season, and with the small traders in grain who had then commenced supplying the station with rice and other bazar commodities.

On the 11th of the month 100 coolies joined me at Punkabarree. Referring to the selection of Kurseong as a sanatory station subordinate to Darjeeling by the proposed erection of a Hotel there, and to the entire absence of shelter at that place for travellers, I commenced the operations of the season by building two large sheds, one of 104 feet long by 15, and another of 94 feet by 16. These were completed on the 20th and (one) of them now affords shelter to Messrs. Hepper and Martin's people who are building the Hotel.

On the 21st I moved upwards to Mahaldiram where it will be recollected a shed of 100 feet by 18 was last season erected by Messrs. Hepper and Martin at a cost of Rs. 600 to Government. The roof, however, having been made of mud, renders the building anything but water tight, and it behoved me to provide shelter there also as soon as possible. I set my

people to work and erected two sheds, one of 68 feet by 15, and one of 50 feet by 14, roofing them with bamboo matting from Kurseong.

I cannot at this moment state what the exact cost of these four sheds will be to Government, but I believe I can within the mark by estimating it under Rs. 650.

While thus employed at Mahalderam, Lt. Napier was engaged here in erecting sheds on the Bazar ground where one of 90 feet has been completed and two others of 150 feet are now in progress.

On the 30th I was joined at Mahalderam by a party of Brick and Tile makers (31 in number) from Tirhoot engaged for me by Mr. Brown, the Deputy Collector of Mootiary, to work at Dorjeling until the commencement of the next rains. I came in here with these men on the 31st, since when a second batch of the same craftsmen (21 in number) from the same quarter has arrived, and they are now busily employed in Brick-making and promise to be a most valuable acquisition to the station, as hitherto all the efforts at building have been confined to woodwork for the walls and mud or bamboo for roofing.

With the present prospect of an abundant supply of Bricks and Tiles it is my intention—supported by Lt. Napier's opinion—to have all the Government buildings now authorised formed of those materials, except perhaps the Charity Hospital, and Lt. Napier has undertaken to design and execute the works.

The cost of building in Pukka Brick will of course be greater than of the temporary erections for which I estimated in soliciting assignments of Money, but the greater durability of the former will, I feel assured, induce Government to sanction the increased expense, and as it is not possible for me to furnish an estimate of the probable cost of Brick buildings until the workmen shall have burnt at least one kiln, and as I must keep them employed in the meantime, I shall go on with my arrangements for Pukka buildings pending the decision of Government.

When the Brick makers were engaged to come here it was my intention to have made over half of their number to Messrs. Hepper and Martin for their Hotel and private buildings, but on their arrival they preferred to working in one party and under the person they were engaged to serve; as the men will most probably be able to furnish more bricks than we shall require for Government purposes previous to the expiration of their engagement with me, it will only be necessary to save Government from any extra expense on their account to dispose of the surplus produce of their labour to the building from here, and other persons desirous of settling at the place. This arrangement will probably be of great

advantage to the progress of building at Dorjiling and cannot require any further aid from Government than the placing at my disposal for a few months such a sum of money as may suffice to pay the current expenses of the workmen. The funds now at my disposal, however, will probably suffice to meet all current demands, but I shall venture to reckon on the assistance of Government as above indicated should they be required for any more urgent public propose.¹

The second report was sent two days later:

Sir,

I have the honour to report that on taking charge of Darjeeling from Col. Lloyd I found that the cleared ground reserved for Government purposes consisted of only one small hillock adjoining the Colonel's own location, and which was designed by him for the situation of catchery.

It was the expressed desire of the Darjeeling Association on behalf of the public that Government should at once fix on the reserve for its own purposes that settlers might know how much, and the description of ground allotted for these purposes, and I believe, it was the intention of Government that this should have been done. It was, however, overlooked, and the whole of the ground which had been cleared at Government expense was assigned to settlers except the hillock already alluded to and a site for a church.

In anticipation of the extension of Darjeeling as a sanatorium and of the consequent increase of the Government establishment it appeared to me necessary to secure a portion of the cleared ground for the Government Civil Station. With this view I proposed to four gentlemen to whom Locations of 80 yards square had been assigned on the clearance to give up these claims in favour of Government of conditions of having choice of other sites under the rules of 100 square yards. Three gentlemen cheerfully met my wishes, and there is now a very appropriate piece of ground reserved for the Government on which the Civil Office and Post Office are to be built, and which will admit of other public buildings when they become necessary.

Dr. Pearson was the holder of one of the resumed locations on which stood a small building called 'Storm Hall', his property. This erection was valued by him at Rs. 50 and I leave him that sum with the concurrence of the Executive Engineer and request the sanction of Government to the disbursement, as this small building is the only place I at present have for my office Record; it will be sufficiently useful until the office is built.

¹ 5 November – Consultations Fort William, 27 November 1839, No. 122

As all the choice ground within nearly a mile of the Civil Station locality has been assigned, it would be extremely inconvenient to the performance of my duties was I to reside at such a distance as taking an available location would involve; especially while I have such a variety of matters to overlook and arrange as at present, I therefore propose if I can accomplish it after the Government works are completed, to build a small house on a narrow ridge of hill close to the site of the Kutchery and request that the same may be assigned to me according to the Rules lately published. This ridge does not form any portion of the four locations resumed for the Civil Station.²

Government responded to this wealth of good news as might be expected:

His Honour entirely approves the measure taken or proposed ... His Honour-in-Council has learnt with satisfaction... His Honour-in-Council is prepared to sanction... His Honour-in-Council appreciates the conduct of the gentlemen who have resigned their grants...; only when it came to Dr. Campbell's proposed 'small house on a narrow ridge of hill' the President-in-Council was 'unable to determine as to his assignment... part of the ground which was obtained for Government... until he shall have before him a map with the localities of different grants...', 'but unless it should jut inconveniently into the Government reserved land, His Honour-in-Council will of course have no objection to your taking the spot on the terms prescribed.'³

² 7 November—Consultations, Fort William, 27 November 1839, No. 123

³ 27 November—Consultations, Fort William, 27 November 1839, No. 124

State and Progress of Darjeeling

Dr. Campbell's confidential report to Government was ably supplemented by a communication from an anonymous correspondent to *The Englishman* for publication, partly in response to the letter published earlier in the month.

State And Progress of Darjeeling

We have very great pleasure in laying before our readers the following report of the state and progress of the Hill of Promise, – Darjeeling. It is derived from the letter of a friend upon the spot, whose means of judging correctly and reporting accurately are undeniable. We are at liberty to mention his name to enquirers.

Darjeeling, 16th November, 1839.—Some of your anonymous informants seem to have their mouths so full of the spirit who persuaded the king of Israel to go up to Ramoth Gilead, that I recommend you to publish nothing concerning this place without attesting it by the name of the author: this you may do by the following, which I hope will prove satisfactory to those who intend to come here next hot weather.

Road – A good deal is now doing at the road, and I have no doubt of its being accessible for loaded ponies before next season. Some more sanguine people talk of loaded bullocks; but a bullock is cowed by a steep hill, while a pony pushes up against it; mules might be better than either. However, Lt. Napier is upon the road zealously and actively urging on the work, and every thing may be expected from his exertions. A new line has been marked out for the last seventeen miles which, I am told, will make what was the most difficult, the easiest part of the whole. One of your correspondents said, the road had fallen down, and there was no vestige thereof in one part; I have heard of a few hundred feet having fallen lately, (a matter every body expected, who knew anything about it, when the new soil should be loosened by the rains) but I believe that part has been already repaired, and it could not have been very bad for no interruption has taken place of loaded coolies travelling up and down it. At any rate it is now

passable, and in a short time will be equal to the wants, and may be the not very reasonable expectations of you ditchers, being easy of ascent, quite wide enough, with hardly anything that deserves to be called a precipice, and no danger where there is, — in a word, superior to those to any of our mountain stations.

Accommodation On The Way—At Titalya and Punkabarree the bungalows are finished. That at Mahalderam ought to be ready ere long; and in the meantime Dr. Campbell has set apart one end of a shed he has built, for European travellers, where they will be very well off. He has built very excellent sheds at Kurseongury, and at Mahalderam, for native travellers, and two at Darjeeling, while at Senadah, and on the way thence, there are dawk huts, so no fear of people dying by exposure on the way.

Provisions—How the unfortunate fellow you speak of came to die of starvation I cannot conjecture, provisions having been since the end of September plentiful, though not very cheap; rice has varied in price from 11 to 18 seers the rupee, so if he was famished what was his master about? At least two thousand (2000) Bhuniahs have come in during the last two months with rice and native provisions of all kinds, and more are coming every day, so we have no reason to dread a famine in the land just at present.

Buildings—When I was at Kurseongurry three weeks ago, the ground was cleared for the hotel there, and the building is said to be rapidly advancing. The bungalow at Mahalderam is also begun, as I am informed, though it was not three weeks since. The hotel here is in status quo, and whether it will be finished or not by March I can't tell; I only know the 'poor devils of gentlemen' your correspondent so superfluously compassionates have not been turned out yet, and that they *have* 'a hole to go to' where they are. Dr. Campbell talks of going out to-day, but there is no reason for his doing so beyond his own pleasure. Part of the hotel will, I *think*, be ready by the time aforesaid.

In the meantime, several private houses are building, and no doubt they will be ready.—The Public Buildings are getting on too. Dr. Campbell has procured a sufficient supply of coolies, brick makers, tile makers, etc., and has already made more than a lac of bricks which are almost dry enough to burn; and he is now superintending the erection of shops for Bunniahs. His zeal and activity both in procuring the workmen and superintending their labours merit great praise. Our friend, the *Friend Of India*, in the exuberance of learning, said something about Themistocles a short time ago; he will sympathise with my hinting at one whose deeds were rather more approachable, who found the mistress of the world brick,

and left her marble; so truly will the mud cabins of Darjeeling be ere long changed to palaces of burned clay.

Darjeeling A Wretched Place—De Gustibus, etc. saith the wisdom of ages; and so may we account for this description of your correspondent. True, our houses are of mud; our grounds laid out by nature, or somewhat disfigured by man; a cabbage garden is a phenomenon! But there is an air of thriving activity and natural beauty about the place, which remove far my mind all ideas of wretchedness. Get up in early morning, brush the dew off the sweet smelling herbs or the hoar frost from the dead leaves below; watch the first deep red glowing tinge on the edges of the snowy mountains spread rapidly down their sides and change into gold and silver, and think it wretched if you can. Truly 'the mind makes its own place';

'Every man his taste and his opinion

Some like an apple, some an inion;'

so after all, one has no right to snub another for differing from one self, even though he should tack the term 'wretched' to the successful exertions of man, and to the glories of nature.

Climate—I have been here now more than twelve months and have found the climate almost as pleasant as that of England, while it is certainly still more healthy. One of your correspondents lately described it as damp, an error which arose from his having been in the station but little more than during the rains. Even then, however, it is not so damp as in the plains; nor at any other season, though dry, is it of that parching dryness which is complained of in Upper India, and in some hill stations. Nothing like a storm has been experienced, January and February are cold months; in the former we may expect snow, while the latter is chilly and unpleasant; March, April and May are bright pleasant months, the last showery, as in England and very like it. June, July August and September are the rains which, from the situation within the tropics, partake of a tropical character, but modified by the great elevation, and intermontane situation, the surrounding hills being higher than Darjeeling and so protecting us from the storms of the plains, and drawing the mists and the clouds away. October and November are glorious months, with a bright sunshiny sky, and the ground covered with flowers. Hoar frost begins in the latter month. The first half of December is bright, cold and bracing; but the latter has a shower or two of rain, or sometimes sleet and snow. At all seasons you may walk out at any hour of the day with safety, though a chattah is pleasant. Some persons prefer this climate even to that of England. I do not, for the rains cut up the summer, and make it too cold, so that although the winter is not so cold as that of England, neither is the summer so warm; still it is a pleasant place to the feelings, while in salubrity it cannot be surpassed...

The rains ceased on the 28th of September, since which time not a drop has fallen.

Such is my experience of the climate, and present state of matters here. But come up and judge for yourself. Difficulties, troubles, annoyances, and vast expenses there are, as at all new places in the wilderness; but I am much mistaken if you do not prefer, not the tent, but the mud hut at Darjeeling to a gorgeous 'throne of royal state' in the Pandemonium of the City of Palaces.¹

¹ *The Englishman*, 26 November 1839

The Police Establishment

It is a noteworthy fact that Government in its consultations showed at all time great reluctance to confer judicial powers of any kind when asked for them. A request was either refused point blank or the subject was quietly ignored until circumstances demanded a definite decision. Even the plausible Dr. Campbell whose every wish was fulfilled with great promptitude had to point out to the Council that if he was to carry out the duties of a magistrate he really did require a police contingent to enforce the law. After more than three months of patient waiting he sent a reminder:

I beg leave to bring to the notice of Government that in para. 2 of my letter of the 1st August last submitting Draft of Rules for the settlement of Darjeeling I stated that on granting me the powers (of) Magistrate, it would be necessary to allow a small Police establishment of 1 writer at 20 Rupees per month, and 4 chuprassies at 5 Rupees each, Total 40 Rupees. This portion of my letter has not been as yet replied to. May I beg the early attention of Government to it and sanction to the above expense from the 15th instant.¹

This time the point was taken and the requests complied with and authorized. Darjeeling's first police force had been established!

¹ November-Consultations, Fort William, 27 November 1839, No. 129

Appeals for Subscribers

Now that the future of Darjeeling seemed assured and the road and the bazar in good hands, newspapers could afford focusing on ventures in need of support such as the Darjeeling Garden And Plantation Society:

We publish today a list of Subscribers to the Experimental Garden at Darjeeling, and regret to observe that it comprises as yet so few Calcutta names. The object is one of very general interest to all classes of Europeans in this Presidencly, and if it only served the purpose of enabling them to oblige their friends at Home every year with a packet of Himmalay Forrest seeds, it would be well worth the donation. The Secretary (Dr. Pearson) has circulated his prospectus extensively through the Mofussil, and ere long we expect to see a number of additional subscribers. But in an undertaking of this nature, little can be done without adequate funds; and if the grounds and walks are to be laid out as they should be during the present season *these funds must come in quickly.*¹

This urging paragraph was followed by a list of thirteen subscribers contributing a total of Rs. 850 in donations with a promise of annual subscriptions from six.

A month later the *Hurkaru's* editor (donor and subscriber!) got rather impatient with the high and mighty of Calcutta and wrote bluntly –

We are happy to observe several additional names to the subscription List of the Dorjeling Garden Society, but, with a few honourable exceptions, we are sorry to perceive that the magnates of the land keep aloof from Darjeeling and all the improvements connected with it in the most unaccountable manner. It has been stated that the Council of India will be held there next hot season! In 1841, however, we have little doubt this will be the case; and yet there is scarcely a single official of high standing who has contributed any thing to bungalows, hotels, or land of all this garden.²

¹ *The Englishman*, 8 November 1839

² *Bengal Hurkaru*, 4 December 1839



Chinchona

Next day *The Englishman* came out in support of the *Hurkaru's* appeal though being much more careful in the choice of his words:

We are happy to have it in our power to inform such of our readers as are interested in the progress of affairs at Darjeeling, that every thing promises well for the garden lately projected

and planned by Dr. J. T. Pearson. Between the 8th and 25th of the last month (Nov.) twenty-five men were employed in this useful undertaking, and the ground prepared for the plants which had then arrived from Calcutta. A walk had been cut to the water; the stream dammed up; apples collected for seed, so as to give stocks to graft upon, if nothing better; and seeds of oaks, chestnuts, cherries, etc. for planting and some for distribution. Dr. Pearson was anxious to obtain seeds of the apricot and other fruit of the Western Hills, and a couple of bee-hives—if English so much the better. Perhaps some of our friends will suggest where these may be procured, in case the worthy Secretary to the Association should not be successful in obtaining them.

Considering all things, and especially the brief period that has elapsed since the garden was projected, Dr. Pearson has done wonders and is certainly entitled to the co-operation of all those who look forward to a sojourn, brief or extended, at Darjeeling. If they cannot counsel, suggest or practically assist, they can at any rate add their names to the subscription list, and we will engage that the funds will be judiciously and frugally applied.³

³ *The Englishman*, 5 December 1839

The Oontoo Decision

'Agent-in-charge of relations with Sikkim' was one of the several titles in which Dr. Campbell gloried. It was a thankless task he had inherited from Col. Lloyd which dogged his steps throughout his career and within a few years led to the gradual deterioration of his reputation as the perfect administrator. Eventually he was even obliged to submit copies of all his letters to the Rajah for official approval before they were sent off. It must be emphasized, however, that the Doctor was most likely not fully informed of what had gone on before, and as he and the Colonel seem to have shunned each other's company and did not discuss the various problems which suddenly faced Dr. Campbell, progress and enlightenment depended on luck and inspiration. One such illuminating shaft of light had struck the Doctor when he wrote to the Government with reference to the Rajah's strange behaviour which 'while it is so inexplicable considering the relations to us, seems to me worthy the attention of Government to its removal'. Unfortunately, he did not follow up on this, though because of it he at first adhered to a modicum of courtesy. But as his irritation with the Rajah's non-co-operation increased, his use of diplomatic language proportionately decreased until he became the sort of bully who is, wrongly, quoted as a typical example of the overbearing and arrogant Britisher (especially since he was a dour Scot to boot). It actually was this attitude which discredited him with the Government at Calcutta which greatly disapproved of his style and forced him to keep closely to the prescribed guide lines.

The long drawn-out exchange of letters is a fine example of diplomatic correspondence between the East India Company and one of the petty princely states such as Sikkim. The whole despatch is introduced by a covering letter from Dr. Campbell:

Sir,

I have the honour to submit translated correspondence with the Sikkim Raja for the information of Government.

No. 1 of the series I received from the Raja in reply to my letter already laid before Government informing him of the

decision of Government on the Oontoo dispute. It will be observed that the Raja's natural vexation at the result having produced adverse to his claims has led him to leave my announcement unnoticed, and while tacitly overlooking the decision against him, to revert (?) to a former opinion of the Governor-General's on the result of Col. Lloyd's former enquiry.

Government approved of Dr. Campbell's proceedings:

It seems to the President-in-Council that with reference to your appointment in succession to Col. Lloyd and to the final decision that has been passed upon the Oontoo boundary question, the occasion is a proper one for addressing a letter to the Sikkim Rajah, and enclosed I forward one from the President of the Council and Deputy Governor of Bengal containing expressions and suggestions of the kind recommended by you.

This letter with a translation which it will be necessary that you should make in the proper (language) or dialect may be forwarded or delivered by you accordingly as you may find the Rajah disposed to permit the journey into the interior of this territory.¹

To
The Rajah of Sikkim
From
The President of the Council and Deputy Governor
My friend,

You are well aware of the discussions that have long been carrying on to bring to a final settlement the disputes between yourself and the Court of Nepal respecting the proper boundary for your respective territories as fixed by the Treaty of Segowlie and by the treaty entered with yourself and negotiated by Major Latter. To settle this finally, Commands (?) were in the past year sent from Katmandhoo and you were invited thro' Col. Lloyd to send persons to be present at the investigation conducted on the spot.

The result has been that the Easternmost of the two Rivers which from the Mechi is decided to the stream which retains that name and is the continuation of the river forming the boundary between the 2 Ra(n)ges. The Oontoo ridge therefore being to the west of this river belongs to Nepal.

This decision will have been communicated to you by Col. Lloyd, the late agent for your affairs. Dr. Campbell, formerly Assistant in Nepal, has been appointed to reside at Darjeeling and conduct with you the correspondence of Government.

My friend, the British Government has always considered

¹ 4 December—Consultations, Fort William, 4 December 1839, No. 58

your interests to be connected with its own and has received from you many proofs of your desire to seek its friendship, more especially in the permission given by you to establish a place of resort and residence at Darjeeling for servants and subjects of this Government. It is my desire that this should be a source of wealth (wealth?) and satisfaction to you, and I trust that thro' the market afforded for produce and the means of employment opened for all who reside in the vicinity and the money that will be spent by those who resort to the station, this desirable end will be attained and much happiness and contentment will be produced. It appears from recent reports of Dr. Campbell that a small portion of the Darjeeling territory ceded by you was inhabited at the time of cession by some Mechis and Dimals at the foot of the hills and by some Lepchas in the interior, and that from these your Highness drew a certain annual amount of revenue. I have directed Dr. Campbell to ascertain precisely what amount was received by you from these people and from other sources, and whatever it may be found to be, will be faithfully remitted to you in such manner as you may desire.

I shall always be happy to hear of your prosperity and health. Favour me with your auspicious letters and accept the assurances of my high esteem.

T. C. Robertson²

It might be mentioned here that the Sikkim Rajah's officers were never sent to witness the indignity of the transfer of their territory to Nepal, and the demarcation of the southern boundary of the Darjeeling Tract dragged on for many more years.

Another point in the correspondence should be emphasized and borne in mind whenever the question of ownership of the ceded territory crops up: the annual payment that eventually was made to the Rajah was not the purchase price of the tract, but a compensation for the-generously-estimated loss of revenue. The ignorant Government at Calcutta still regarded the cession as a free gift from the Rajah.

Equally enlightening is the Rajah's pronouncement on the principle guiding Government decisions: 'The orders of a great government are always final.' Belonging into this category by his own estimation, he had therefore refused to revoke his deed of grant even though his conditions for the cession had not been fulfilled—certainly a noble gesture!

² Ibid., No. 57

Darjeeling Association Annual Report

For the last time in 1839, Darjeeling featured in the newspapers in a report of a general meeting of the Darjeeling Association. The account makes fascinating reading as the not insubstantial sums are revealed. If all the figures are multiplied by twenty at least a modern approximation might be obtained. The revelations also contained a not uncommon surprise for members: a vast deficit owing to under-estimated expenses, an excusable mistake considering the nature of the enterprise.

Darjeeling Association

A meeting of this Association took place at the Trade Hall, on Saturday, 14th December, 1839.

Present:— Messrs. J. W. Grant, R. Walker, J. Abbott, C. K. Robinson, R. Davidson, W. H. Smoult, W. Patrick, S. Smith, Capt. Harrington, Capt. Clapperton, Capt. Bruce, Messrs. Deanie, Latty, Cantor, Cragg, Westerman, and H. M. Low.

On the motion of Mr. Davidson, Mr. Walker was unanimously called to the chair, and the following report was read:

Report of the Committee

Your Committee have hitherto delayed calling a meeting of the Association, because until lately there was little information of a satisfactory nature to communicate.

The meeting must be aware, that attempt to open the sanatorium last season proved a failure, and it is perhaps unnecessary here to enquire into causes which led to this result, as they are generally known, and were altogether beyond the control of your Committee. The experience, however, of last season, enabled your Secretary to remedy several unforeseen defects in the construction of the hotel, and pointed out the necessity of farther accommodation being provided. These details on his return from Darjeeling in October he reported to your Committee as follows:

First. It was found that clay would not make a tight roof. The earthen floor proved damp and the bedrooms required ventilation. Tiles are now being substituted for the clay roofing. The floors and verandah are to be boarded. The bedrooms properly ventilated, and one wing of the building

will have doors of communication for the convenience of families. By the original estimate, the hotel was to be built for Rs. 6000. These alterations and improvements will make an additional cost of Rs. 7150.

Second. A kitchen, large godowns and servants' accommodation required to be provided. These have been contracted for at an aggregate expence of Rs. 9680.

At the time the first call of Rs. 100 per share was made, 110 shares were taken. Several persons, however, withdrew on various grounds; and when the second call of Rs. 100 was sanctioned, another section retired from the Association and allowed the first call to be considered a donation, thus diminishing the number of shares to 78. The funds at the present moment, therefore, stand as under:

Amount collected	Rs. 16 059	10	0
Expended in furniture and buildings	37 499	3	6
<hr/>			
Leaving a deficiency of Rs.	21 499	3	0

Note. About Rs. 5000 of the above is not yet advanced, but will be paid by Messrs. Hepper, Martin & Co. on the completion of the contracts.

Your Committee knows that the present meeting cannot be called on to pay more than the last instalment of Rs. 50 per share; and as this will not produce Rs. 4000, it falls to be considered what steps can be adopted to relieve the Secretary from the heavy advance he has come under for the public benefit.

Another circumstance requires to be stated. Mr. Wilson, tenant of the hotel, who proceeded to Darjeeling last March, suffered severe losses on that occasion, and in addition, had the misfortune to break his leg. In consideration of these circumstances, your Committee has felt justified in granting him a new lease for five years, from 1st March next. The first year to be rent free, and shareholders to have a preference in applications for accommodation. In all other respects, the tenant to conduct the hotel as he finds most advantageous to himself and the public.

Though not properly belonging to the business of the Association, your committee takes this opportunity to state for general information, that another hotel is now being built by private subscription at Kursing (Kurseong), the first mountain stage, at an elevation of 4000 ft, and 24 miles distant from Darjeeling. It is chiefly intended for delicate persons, who might find the climate above too cold. But a part of the accommodation will be reserved for travellers passing to and

from Darjeeling. This hotel has been let to a respectable tenant, and will be opened on the first of March next. At Mahulderam, six miles from Kursiong, a bungalow is likewise being built; and another, half way on the new line towards Darjeeling, will be finished in the course of next summer.

Your Committee trusts these arrangements will be satisfactory to the meeting. Since the failure of last season, every exertion has been used to prevent the occurrence of a second disappointment, and from the change of circumstances this year, there is no reason to apprehend any, the bazar being now fully supplied, the road open, and natives from different quarters flocking to the station.

Before concluding this report, your Committee begs to call the attention of the meeting to a correspondence which has lately taken place with Government on the subject of a new line of road from Bogwongola to Titalya, which, if carried out would prove a great convenience to the Calcutta community. Mr. Halkett, the Acting Collector at Dinagepore, has already repaired the road to the limits of his district within six coss of Titalya, and he is desirous now to effect its extension on this side of Dinagepore to Bogwongola—The Native Lady mentioned (Pran Koomar Barminee, a Resident of Rungpore) has since subscribed Rs. 10 000 for the construction of bridges on this line; an instance of liberality your Committee feels happy to record, and it is to be hoped the example may not be thrown away on the zemindars through whose Estates the road is carried, and who may consequently derive much advantage from it.

J. W. Grant
Chairman of the Darjeeling
Committee.

The following resolutions were passed after the reading of the report had been completed:

1. That the Report now read be received and adopted. Moved by Mr. Deane and unanimously carried.
2. That the call for payment of the last instalment of Rs. 50 per share be now ordered. Moved by Mr. Cragg and seconded by Mr. Davidson, and carried with one dissent, who afterwards withdrew his objection.
3. That the Committee be requested to ascertain among the present shareholders, and all others interested in the success of the Sanatarium, how many additional shares these parties are disposed to take, and to report the same to another general meeting. Moved by Capt. Bruce and seconded by Mr. Smoult, carried *nem. con.*
4. That the thanks of this meeting be given to Mr. Halkett for his activity and zeal in suggesting and carrying on the repairs

of the Titalya Road. Moved by Mr. Patrick and carried by acclamation.

5. That the Committee be requested to draw the attention of Government again to the subject of the Road to Titalya via Bogwongola, and further to endeavour through the proper channel to have a line of bungalows constructed from Calcutta to within a night's run of Titalya. Moved by Capt. Herrington, seconded by Capt. Clapperton and carried by acclamation.

6. Thanks to the Chairman being proposed, was carried unanimously, and the meeting separated.¹

The editors refrained from commenting on the plight of the Association either because they did not want to rub salt into the wounds, or from sympathy with the hardworking Committee and the even harder working honorary secretary. It is also possible that everybody knew about it and had accepted it as an unavoidable fact in the certain knowledge of better things to come. *Bengal Hurkaru*, on the contrary, skipped over the sad past and stressed the promising future:

We are happy to see that notwithstanding the great and almost insurmountable difficulties which were opposed to the Association last season, a new administration has, this year, opened a fair field for their labours, which accordingly promise to be eminently successful. To the zealous and efficient services of their Honorary Secretary are the Association and the public mainly indebted for the present state of affairs at Dorjeling. The new chief of the 'bright spot' and the acting Engineer officer not only opposed no unnecessary difficulties, but give every proper facility in aid of the exertions of the Committee and their Secretary. We think no doubt need now be entertained of the permanent prosperity of the settlement, and the actual opening of the Hotel in March next.²

Bengal Hurkaru's estimate was correct:

The Hotel at Darjeeling was opened on the 31st March, when a party of twelve sat down to dinner. Two good fires kept the temperature at 65 d. The place is thriving and facilities for travelling are increasing.³

¹ *Bengal Hurkaru*, 18 December 1839

² *Ibid.*

³ *Asiatic Journal*, Vol. XXXII, May-August 1840, Pt. II, p. 206

Note on the Mechis

In spite of his multifarious duties which required an almost divine omnipresence in all places and at all times within the area of his responsibility, Dr. Campbell still found time to write up his notes on the Mechi tribe 'for the information of Government'. This is probably the first more comprehensive study of one of the hill tribes of the Darjeeling district and of great interest to ethnologists and anthropologists:

Note on the Mechis

The Mechi people inhabit the forest portion of the Turai stretching along the base of the mountains from the Burrumpootur to the Konki River which leaves the Nepal mountains about 20 miles to the West of the Mechi River. In this tract they are respectively the subjects of the Nepalese, Sikkim and Bootan Governments occupying along with the Dimals—an allied tribe and a few Garrows, a country of about 250 miles in length, having an average breadth of from 12 to 15 miles. In the Eastern portion of the Nepal Turai they are but recent settlers at Nagol Bundi on the Right bank of the Mechi River; there are about 20 families, at Kalikajhar about the same number, and west from these places in the thickest parts of the forest there are several small colonies amounting in all to about 150 or 200 families. In the Sikkim Turai between the Mechi River and the Mahanuddi there are about 400 families; to the East of the Teesta River and in the Doors of Bootan they are still more numerous, and to this latter portion of their habitation they point as the original seat of the tribe although its name would indicate its derivation from the Mechi River. I believe that Mechis are also to be found on the northern confines of lower Assam.

The tribes immediately in contact and mixed with the Mechis are the Koochias or Rajbungsi, Bengalees whose original country is Kooch Behar, the Dimals, Thawos (?) and Garrows. These neighbours of the Hills are the Limboos, Kerantis, Lepchas, Murmis and Bhotias (of these several tribes I hope to furnish some particulars anon. A. C). As they associated much with the former and frequently meet the latter

at the frontier marts, their habits and manners are naturally a good deal modified by the contact, still their peculiar usages, form of religion, language and appearance entitle them to the acknowledgement of their claim as a distinct people. They are fairer than the Koochias and have little of the regular features of the Hindoos which characterise that tribe. The cast of the Mechi countenance is strongly Mongolian but accompanied by a softness of outline which distinguishes them readily from the more marked features of the same order of the Lepchas, Limboos and Bhotias. They resemble the Newals (Newars?) of the valley of Nepal in complexion and feature more than any other people I have seen in or near the mountains. They are taller, however, and the fairness of the complexion is entirely of a yellow tinge, whereas the Newars are frequently almost ruddy. Many of the Mechis strongly resemble the Mugs and Burmese in face and figure, and like them are much addicted to drinking spirits, smoking and eating Pann. In common with the Assamese they are fond of Opium eating.

They never live on the hills at a higher elevation than 800 or 1000 feet, and scarcely ever settle in the cleared and inhabited parts of the Turai, but keep entirely to the forest in which they make clearances, cultivating crops of rice and cotton with the Hoe and grazing Buffaloes. The Malaria of the forest so deadly to the strangers does not at all affect them, on the contrary, they are a remarkably healthy race, and dread visiting the plains where they are subject to severe fevers; they have no towns and rarely even live in permanent villages, generally quitting a clearance after having had two or three successive crops from the land, to take up their abodes in a fresh portion of the forest. In the above respects the erratic habits of the Mechis resemble those of the Thawns (?) ere that race commenced as lately to form permanent villages in the open Turai, and are identical with those of the Dimals.

The Religion of the Mechis in so far as they have any, is the Shivaite form of Hindooism, but it goes not further than to the occasional sacrifice when they can afford a merry-making of goats, buffaloes, pigs and fowls at a clay image of Kali, when they drink spirits and a fermented liquor made from Murva to excess, and indulge in much licentiousness. The influence of the Brahmins is not recognised, they have no Guroos, nor priests, no temples; do not perform the shradh, and bury the dead in any convenient part of the jungle, confining the obsequies to a feast among the relations of the deceased, and placing spirits and prepared food over the grave. Tombs are never raised over the graves, nor have the small communities any common burying ground.

There is no distinction of castes among them. In the Nepal Turai, the population of which is composed of the most varied

assemblage of would-be Hindoos and almost destitute of real ones, the Mechis are admitted within the pale and water is taken from their hands by persons of caste although they eat fowls, Buffaloes—the cow when beyond the Nepalese limits—and the carrion of all animals except that of the elephant which animal is held in high respect by them altho' not venerated so far as I can learn. The carrion eating and other impure but cherished practices of the Mechis are not followed to the fullest extent in Nepal where Hinduism is at a high premium, and breaches of the Hindoo law by all pretenders to that faith are punished with much severity. In Sikkim and Bootan, however, the Mechis indulge their natural habits and are as omnivorous a race of human beings as any in the world.

Marriages are contracted in youth or adolescence at convenience, the men purchasing their wives at prices varying from 10 to 16 Rupees according to the beauty of the female and the means of the male; when an accepted husband has not the means of paying for his wife in money, he joins her family party working for the parents until he has fairly earned his bride according to previous contract; like the poorer classes elsewhere in India a man can seldom afford to have more than one wife at a time; there is no restriction, however, on this head.

The women share equally with the men in all the labours of the field and manage household affairs exclusively; they likewise attend at the periodical fairs (Hauts) selling, buying and bartering the various articles of home and imported produce. They are generally comely and disposed to fleshiness; the usual dress is a Sari (Robe) of red silk made of the 'indi' or thread of the silk worm which feeds on the castor oil plants, and their ornaments are confined to bangles and necklaces of white shell. The Indi Silk is entirely a domestic manufacture and wove by the women who also colour it with the lac dye.

The Mechi language has no written character, nor is it, I believe, allied to the Sanskrit; whether it is of Thibetan or Burmese extraction, or akin to the aboriginal Indian dialects known among the Coles, Goonds, Beels, and other wild tribes, I am unable to say, but perhaps the accompanying small vocabulary may enable competent persons to decide its root and original country. The Mechis are necessarily uneducated except with a very few exceptions in the Bengali language from which they have derived all the terms in use for articles common to a state of life removed from the savage. I regret that I have not as yet had an opportunity of meeting a person intelligent enough to give me some idea of the construction of the language. This must remain for further enquiry. In the vocabulary I have omitted entering words for which the language has no equivalent of its own excepting a few

instances to prove the rule above noticed. All the words with B affixed are evidently corruptions of Bengali or Hindi, none of the metals except silver and iron have names, there is no word for money, gender is designated by the affix 'Tilla' or male and 'Tin' or female for all animals but man. (The names of the months and days of the week are Bengali and the Mechis who furnished me with the vocabulary are unable to give more than nine of the cardinal numbers in their own language.)

In the arts the Mechis have made but small progress; they excel in the care of their cotton agriculture, but as they grow only the common annual plant the produce is not of a superior kind. Weaving is confined to the women as a domestic act; they are not addicted to trade, are averse to military service, have no artizans among them, and are truly in a very primitive state of society. They are, however, very cheerful, have no jealousy or prejudice towards strangers, are industrious and honest, and crimes of violence, so far as I can learn, of rare occurrence among them.¹

¹ Consultations, Fort William, 18 December 1839, Nos. 62 and 63

Dr. Campbell's Request for More Money

Dr. Campbell's progress report for November was just another blast from the Doctor's own trumpet to which the President-in-Council could only reply 'Well done !'. It also concluded like most previous communications with yet another request for more money:

I have delayed thus long making any report on the subject of a Bazar for Darjeeling that I might previous to troubling Government inform myself of the means of the neighbouring plains to furnish one, and of the means and willingness of the people to set and keep it in motion.

2. On taking charge of the duties here I was deeply and painfully impressed with the conviction that under a continuance of the existing aversion of our subjects below to free resort hither for the tender of their service and produce of their country the early success of the endeavours of Government to meet and aid the public wish in the establishment of a Sanatorium was extremely doubtful.

3. The importation of labourers from our more distant provinces might be commanded by a small increased outlay of cash, but it was very evident that the distance of Darjeeling from the plains and its position in the midst of uninhabited mountainous country added to the indifferent means of transport from great distances rendered it impossible for us to rely with safety for food on any other than the proximate plains, yet the people were decidedly not disposed to seek our market, and without their good will our prospects of a bazar were of the most discouraging nature.

4. In this predicament my anxiety for the result of the opening of the favourable season on the prospect of securing a Bazar could only be mitigated by the hope of a favourable turn taking place in the native mind of the grain countries of the immediate neighbourhood, and in the belief that I was doing the utmost in my power towards this end by written assurances of encouragement and protection to those who might visit us and by the observance of liberality and rigid justice in all my dealings with the few with whom I had come into personal contact.

5. It gives me great satisfaction to report now that the unwillingness of the people to resort here with articles of general consumption is on the wane. This is evidenced by the fact of the station having been fully supplied with food from this source since the termination of the rains, and by my having been able in addition to bring up on Government account an overplus of 500 Maunds of Rice besides considerable quantities of other necessary articles of food. The people being willing to supply us, and their country abounding in what we want, nothing remains to secure a permanent and full Bazar but the possession of capital to direct their commodities hither.

Of this necessary the people who visit us are totally in want, nor has their country any amount disposable for that purpose.

6. Of the means at my command for Bazar purposes, I have already disposed of the greater part in advances for grain in the plains to be delivered in January and February, and in advances to persons who have established themselves as Bunniah here, and at Kurseong and Punkabarree, pledged and resolved to drive their trade in these different stations. There are now five temporary shops on the site of the Bazar here whose proprietors are awaiting the completion of the buildings authorised by Government. They have each a fair supply of all necessaries of food for workmen, and I look upon them with confidence as a nucleus on which we can rely for supplies until the extension of the station and the consequent attraction towards it of private capital shall enable Government to withdraw its money from the field and leave it entirely to individual adventure. But for the ensuing season I see no prospect of relief to Government from the continuance of its support in aid of the Bazar, and 15000 Rupees seems to me that utmost extent to which that support is likely to be taxed. It is probably that not nearly so much as this may be actually required should the new line of road prove, as I believe it will, safe and easy for laden Bullocks, yet as I reckon confidently on preparation being made for the reception of many visitors for the next hot season I should not feel secure of their wants and those of the Government establishment being fully supplied unless there were 6000 Maunds of Rice in store at the station previous to the commencement of the rains. At present I am buying up small quantities of Rice here at 17 seers per Rupee; it is not likely that without Bullock carriage it can be much cheaper; it would therefore be advisable in addition to the sum already assigned me for the Bazar I should have 10000 Rupees at command in the Purneah Treasury, and I solicit the sanction of Government to this sum as soon as convenient.

7. I take this opportunity of reporting that there is a well supplied provision shop at Kurseongurry, that when there last

month, I had a small reservoir built at each of the two springs of water here; that I have had a shed of 10 feet by 18 built at Punkabarree by the Mechis at a cost of only 150 Rupees; that 300 Dhangurs sent to me from Chota Nagpore have been made over to the builders of the Hotel for the whole of the working season; that I have a sufficient supply of men for the Government works here now, and coming from the neighbourhood; that I have made an easy road from the station to the principal spring of water; that the civil and military buildings are progressing steadily; and that upon the whole the progress made in public affairs here since the cessation of the rains gives reasonable hope that by the next hot weather the Government will have done its duty by and redeemed its pledges to the community.¹

After such a splendid report His Honour-in-Council could hardly refuse the 10000 Rupees though a tone of hesitation and wariness crept into this assignment:

It will, however, be necessary with reference to the advances heretofore made that periodical accounts of Receipts and Disbursements should be rendered by you to that officer (the Accountant-General) in such form as he may prescribe.²

¹ 5 December—Consultations, Fort William, 18 December 1839, No. 64

² 8 December—Consultations, Fort William, 18 December 1839, No. 65

Vaccination Results and Request for a Suitable Vaccinator

At the beginning of December Dr. Pearson submitted his first statistics on his vaccination campaign for the information of Government:

I have the honour to send a register of persons vaccinated last month by me at Darjeeling...

I regret that the column headed 'Result' is so unsatisfactory, but such I fear will be the case until I am allowed a vaccinator to go down to the valleys to the homes of the inhabitants and there propagate the disease. I believe I have succeeded in most of the cases latterly vaccinated, but the people have so great an aversion to remain from their homes that unless in the case of those who are serving here, I rarely see them a second time, especially if they imagine the disease to have taken effect. I am thus uncertain in most instances of the result of the operation and dependent upon a foreign supply of lymphs which would not be the case were a good vaccinator allowed who could go to the villages and watch the progress of the cases.

I must beg to express my thanks to Dr. D. Stewart, Superintendent of vaccination, for his unremitting attention to my request for a supply of lymph, for it is entirely to the repeated supplies with which he has favoured me that I owe the success that has attended my efforts.¹

The Register contains the names of 62 vaccinated persons aged '1½ years to adult'.

Dr. Campbell commented in support of the application:

The resort of the Lepchas to the station for Medical advice, and in particular to avail themselves of the blessings of vaccination is a satisfactory circumstance well meriting the aid of Government towards its increase, and as Dr. Pearson's attention to the latter is wholly gratuitous, I would respectfully solicit compliance with his application for a well qualified vaccinator.²

¹ 1 December—Consultations, Fort William, 26 December 1839, No. 82

² 12 December—Consultations, Fort William, 26 December 1839, No. 82

A reluctant Medical Board obliged with reservations towards the end of December:

We have already directed the Superintending Surgeon of the Dinapore Circle to appoint and despatch a suitable vaccinator instructed at the Patna Depot for the Station of Darjeeling, although we confess that at present we are not sanguine of success.³

Yet the figure for the month of December were even better—75, clearly justifying the presence of a native vaccinator who, however, had not arrived yet by 22 January 1840...

³ 20 December—Consultations, Fort William, 8 January 1840, No. 94

Col. Lloyd Reopens the Bazar Case

Some time between the end of October and the beginning of December Col. Lloyd had left Darjeeling and gone to Calcutta on private affairs which among other things most probably meant sorting out his future employment. Military operations in China may have offered the Colonel an opportunity to get away from the scene of his humiliation and wipe out the disgrace by enabling him to gain fame and glory on distant battlefields. Whatever his motives, he realized he was likely to be absent from the hill station for many months or even years. He therefore at last abandoned his obstinate attitude and acknowledged his involvement with the Bazar, knowing full well that a large sum of his money was at stake. This made it necessary to reopen the case of the unclaimed godown to Dr. Campbell's great surprise, puzzlement and, of course, annoyance:

Sir,

There being a large balance (3419 Rupees) of Government money unpaid by Mr. Perry of the amount advanced him for the establishment of a bazar at Darjeeling, and as he declines giving any acknowledgement for the same and states it to be vested wholly or in part in the cost of the grain etc. remaining at Punkabarree, Darjeeling and Moondmalla. However, the only way of realizing the money due will be by the sale of those articles. I have therefore the honour to request you will attach the grain etc. remaining at those places, and if you do not require it yourself for Government purposes, that you will have the quantity ascertained and the whole sold to the best advantage retaining the money at the credit of Government and letting me know the amount.

There will be, I imagine, no difficulty in disposing of it, as Lt. Napier told me he was willing to take all the coarse rice at 30 seers per rupee, and will no doubt, likewise require the Ghee, oil and sault, perhaps also doll or grain.¹

Dr. Campbell refused to handle the matter without definite orders from Government, and he wrote:

¹ 8 December—Consultations, Fort William, 1 January 1840, No. 114

....When the native establishment attached to the above Godowns sought my interference in relieving them of their charge, you may recollect that I was willing to take the grain from you at the then market price on account of Government, but you did not at that time consider the goods as public property or as belonging to yourself, but wholly Mr. Perry's. Of the circumstances that have since led you to regard the articles as property on which Government has a claim, the only case in which I could justly attach them to your request. I am informed, besides, while desiring me to attach and sell the articles to the best advantage, they have been offered by yourself on sale at fixed prices to Lt. Napier, at least those not at Darjeeling. Had I proceeded on your requisition and had Lt. Napier accepted your terms at the same time, I should have found that my authority from you for the attachment and sale had been nullified. I would suggest that as you are now at the seat of Government, that you procure orders on the subject for my guidance.

Mean time it appears to me best means of securing the value of the property at Darjeeling would be to sell it at auction the highest bidder on your behalf. I shall be glad to manage this for you and cause a correct account to be made of the quantities and amount realized.²

Dr. Campbell did not wait for a reply from the Colonel and posted this whole unpleasant correspondence 'regarding the long unsettled grain affair' for information to Calcutta. But the Political Department had finished with Col. Lloyd long ago and passed on the whole exchange of letters to the Military Board 'in the hope that the correspondence may be of use in the adjustment of Col. Lloyd's accounts.'³

Thus ended the sad and cautionary tale of 'Col. Lloyd's Bazar'.

Early in 1840, Col. Lloyd set sail for China, to participate in the First Opium War, of which the First Lord of the Admiralty had written to the Governor-General of India: 'After all, it is nothing more nor less than the conquest of China we have undertaken'.⁴ They did not exactly conquer China, but they took Chin-Kiang Foo after it had been bombarded into submission by five British battleships. Col. Lloyd was awarded a medal for his part in this particular action, as commander of the 2nd Volunteer Regiment and returned to India from this inglorious war in 1842.

² 20 December 1839—Consultations, Fort William, 1 January 1840, No. 114

³ 1 January—Consultations, Fort William, 1 January 1840, No. 115

⁴ Jack Beeching, *The Chinese Opium Wars*, pp. 98, 150-2

The Fire of 29 December

Historians of Darjeeling are greatly indebted to the Government procedure of recording all correspondence received and despatched. For had it not done so, no records of that period would have survived. A blazing fire which destroyed Dr. Campbell's house also destroyed public records and the official correspondence. It took the Doctor a day to recover from the shock and to assess the damage, before he wrote his report of the disaster:

....The loss of private valuable property to myself has been heavy, while the destruction of Accounts and Receipts and of a considerable mass of manuscripts notes made at Catmandoo and during my late journey to the Turai and Nipal containing statistical information of various kinds of none of which I have copies left, is altogether irreparable and a great personal misfortune.

The calamity was entirely accidental. Lt. Montgomery, who is very unwell, and who was then staying with me, had, along with myself, retired to bed about 11 o'clock; a fire had been left in store (stove?) from which the wall of the house—formed of posts and plaister—caught fire and communicated so rapidly with the roof that on our awaking we had barely time to rush out of the house ere the flames had spread to such an extent as to render it altogether impossible to save anything within except a small box of the Public Records snatched from the flames by Lt. Montgomery to the entire neglect of all his own wearing apparel and a few suits of my clothes which were lying near the door to which we escaped.

It will be apparent to Government that under the loss of the Cash Book in which all my disbursements of public money were entered, it will be impossible for me to furnish entirely accurate accounts, or to show the exact state of payments with dates and other particulars made up to the time of the fire. As many of my accounts, however, have been kept by my office people as well as by myself, I hope to be able to have the greater part arranged. But with reference to my deficiency which may occur from the necessity, I shall be under (obligation) of trusting to my memory and to the more

treacherous memoirs of my people; it occurs to me that it would be well for Government to desire Lt. Napier and Dr. Pearson to receive from me such documents of account as I can furnish and my declaration on honour to accounts rendered from memory, and they should with my assistance make out the accounts for the satisfaction of Government.

I shall endeavour to prepare a list of Public documents and property destroyed for the information of Government. I have applied to the drawer of the destroyed drafts, the Presidency Paymaster, for fresh ones and shall forward to Purneah the remaining mutilated rupees last (lest?) a question should arise as to the property (propriety?) of my having kept public documents and accounts in my dwelling house, I beg to state that having no building ready for an office, they were kept by me for greater security than a tent afforded.¹

¹ 30 December—Consultations, Fort William, 22 January 1840, No. 66

Epilogue

The fateful road was at last made. Some called it a road of sorts, but it must have been negotiable enough to allow large numbers of coolies to carry great quantities of food of all descriptions to Darjeeling to Dr. Campbell's satisfaction. There is no record of what happened to the 125 hackery loads of furniture, but anyone who has seen what coolies are capable of carrying on the heads and backs will willingly believe that all those chairs, tables, bedsteads and mattresses ascended in similar style. With the establishment of this more or less permanent link with the plains, Darjeeling was saved.

Many readers will now turn to the characters in the drama of the Darjeeling road—the human element in the story—and wish to know what happened to the four chief actors in the drama.

Poor Gilmore! Instead of going to a hot and sticky spot like Singapore in the middle of the monsoon—and that after Darjeeling—he waited till the end of the wet season, probably staying with his relatives in Calcutta. In October he sailed to the Cape and from there to New South Wales in Australia. Only in 1842 he returned to duty and became successively Executive Engineer at Benares, Burdwan, Nimach and Mhow. He was promoted to Captain in 1843 and died at Mhow in 1847, at the age of 36.

Gilmore's successor, Lt. Robert Napier, fared rather better. In December 1839, after a gruelling six months, he was fretting to get leave, but doubted whether it would be granted though he felt entitled to it:

Everything that depended on myself has been done. All who ought to have assisted me have failed. The magistrates who were pledged to secure me people have not done so. I have been obliged to advance money on my own personal risk like a prodigal to an amount which quite frightens me, but it is my only chance of getting anything forward. I am now encamped at the foot of the Hills, giving my personal superintendence to the road here, which is climbing the hill along the face of a precipice. Every step has to be cut out of the rock by means of

gunpowder, so that it goes on slowly. Beneath me are the plains spread out like a map...¹

Napier's biographer recounts:

Nearly a year later Napier succeeded in getting leave. The journey to Calcutta, however, involved such hardships that, on arrival there, he fell ill of jungle fever, and for six weeks hovered between life and death. At the end of that time he was carried on board ship, bound for Madras. The vessel was becalmed, and the voyage lasted thirty days. It was the best possible thing for Napier. The doctor declared that nothing but the object before him could have saved his life.

At Madras, Napier's long patience found its reward. On 3rd September 1840, he was married...After a brief holiday spent in the neighbourhood of Madras, Napier returned with his wife to Darjeeling.

During Napier's absence a house had been built for him at Darjeeling, and his kind friend, Dr. Campbell, had done everything to make it comfortable. In January 1841, Napier wrote: 'Our little garden is struggling to emancipate itself from the shade of the forest. Between the great labour of clearance and our reluctance to cut down trees which were flourishing in the days of Akbar or Humayun, it makes little progress. It seems to me so poor an exchange to give a tree of hundreds of years, perhaps, for cabbage and potatoes.'

His first child was born on the 14th October, 1841, and named Catherine after Napier's mother. Meanwhile, Napier had been appointed Executive Engineer of the Sirhind Division, but the Calcutta Committee, interested in the establishment of Darjeeling, thought so highly of his work that they took the unusual step of protesting against his transfer, and that so earnestly, that the Government consented to defer his removal until the autumn of 1842.

In January of that year Mrs. Napier wrote: 'I have indeed every reason to be thankful to God for the great blessings He has bestowed on me, and to be proud of my beloved husband. He is beloved by the Natives... he never turns away from their complaints...I must give you a sketch of what he has to do. In the first place he has three roads all going on at the same time, and the survey of the Dalagunge road to make out—a work of time and anxiously looked for by the Military Board and Lord Auckland. Then comes his own office, letters, etc. and lastly, all Dr. Campbell's business (who was then absent on a political mission)—political, magisterial, dak-master, and a dozen other things. Yesterday he had five cases to try. He certainly is not an idle servant of the company.

¹ H. D. Napier, *Field-Marshal Lord Napier of Magdala*, pp. 30-2

The time for leaving Darjeeling and its romantic forest life was now at hand. His Chief, in reporting to the Government, said: 'It has so frequently been my duty to report on the value of the services done by Captain Napier while he was employed here, that I have nothing now to add farther than that the completion of his roads especially, and of his other works generally, is very much to the credit of the zealous and able character he has held.'²

Capt. Napier left Darjeeling at the end of June 1842, for Ambala and a brilliant career which took him to most of the major battles and sieges in India during the next twenty years, including the relief and defence of Lucknow. In 1868 he commanded the victorious punitive expedition to Ethiopia which got him the title of Lord Napier of Magdala (after the stronghold he stormed and destroyed). In 1870 he was made the Commander-in-Chief of the Army in India. After being made Field-Marshal in 1883, he became Governor of Gibraltar, and in 1886 Constable of the Tower of London—one of most desirable honours conferred on distinguished soldiers.

These are only some of the highlights in an almost meteoric rise from Lieutenant to Field-Marshal. It is tempting to say that Robert Napier made the Darjeeling road and the Darjeeling road made Robert Napier, but for a lurking suspicion that he would have made it anyway by any road...

Dr. Campbell must have given a deep sigh of relief when Col. Lloyd left Darjeeling, though he does not appear to have been particularly worried by the Colonel's presence. For one thing he was much too busy attending to his countless jobs, for another, like the Colonel, he was not too thin-skinned either—it was just embarrassing to have to share the same locality with your deposed rival. The Doctor simply threw himself into his administrative duties: making rules and regulations (in which he revelled), experimenting and recording the results, investigating and satisfying his boundless curiosity, and all with a relentless drive and admirable zest. He even found time to get married in November 1841 to a girl fifteen years younger than himself; two of the four witnesses on the marriage certificate were his staunch supporters Robert Napier and James Grant, Chairman of the Darjeeling Committee.

In 1853 a Special Commissioner was sent up to Darjeeling to report on every aspect of the station. The introductory remarks to this very comprehensive document summed up splendidly the Superintendent's achievement:

In speaking of the administration of this district generally, before going into detail of the various departments, it is

² *Ibid.*, pp 32-3

necessary to observe that whatever has been done here has been done by Dr. Campbell alone. He found Darjeeling an inaccessible tract of forest, with a very scanty population; by his exertions an excellent sanatorium has been established for troops and others; a Hill Corps has been established for the maintenance of order and improvement of communication; no less than seventy European houses have been built, with a bazar, jail and buildings for the accommodation of the sick in the Depot; a revenue of 50,000 Rupees 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 use 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 has been introduced, and various European fruits and grapes; and this has been effected at the same time 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. The way has been shewn, and those who succeed Dr. Campbell have only to follow it, as far as they are capable of doing so.

It is not only to the simple matters of administration, the results and objects of which are immediate and palpable, that Dr. Campbell has applied himself; he has exerted his abilities in the pursuit of science, and in exploring the routes, the ultimate object of which is less apparent to those who act under more limited views of direct and tangible utility. His journey to the confines of Tartary, at much personal risk, has extended our knowledge of the geography of the great Himalayah range, of its position and produce, and of the means of communication with the countries to the north of it. I may in short say of him, that to him is the Government indebted for the formation of the district of Darjeeling, for the revenue which is now derived from that district, and for the organization of the whole system of management. The people, on the other hand, are indebted to him for the blessings of a just and paternal Government, under which they at this moment enjoy a degree of liberty, as well as of protection of property and person, unknown to them under their former masters and they are fully sensible of this advantage.

It is to the personal character of the Superintendent that this success is due; and to the admirable temper, deliberation and forethought with which he has acted throughout; and this success would have been greater had he received more support, and more ample means of carrying out the sound views which he entertains of improvement of the district entrusted to his charge.

Salary of Superintendent insufficient. I cannot omit to mention in this place, that I consider the salary attached to the office of Superintendent of Rupees 1,200 to be inadequate with reference to the trust reposed in him, and the importance and onerous nature of his duties; and when in addition to this the success which has attended his proceedings be considered, the actual gain to the Government of about 50,000 Rupees annual income, obtained by his sole exertions, and the peaceful and effective administration of the district under his charge, which he found a mere jungle, and has rendered so productive, I have no hesitation in saying, that the remuneration given to him is insufficient, and that his monthly salary should be raised to Rupees 1,500 (This is the salary attached to other similar offices in the North-west Provinces.) If actual work and the importance of it be considered, there is no comparison between the mere political duty of a Resident, and the toil and tact required in performing the task assigned to the Superintendent of Darjeeling, and I have no doubt that if Dr. Campbell's measures and views receive support, this station of Darjeeling may yet be rendered of much greater importance than has hitherto been ascribed to it.³

Dr. Campbell ruled Darjeeling for 22 years until his retirement in February 1863, with a total service of 35 years. It is perhaps somehow astonishing that a man could tear himself away from a place he must have considered his own creation. Why, one wonders, did he not retire to Darjeeling? There is just one event which suggests itself that might have made up his mind to leave: in 1857 his old rival, Colonel Lloyd now General Lloyd had himself retired to Darjeeling...

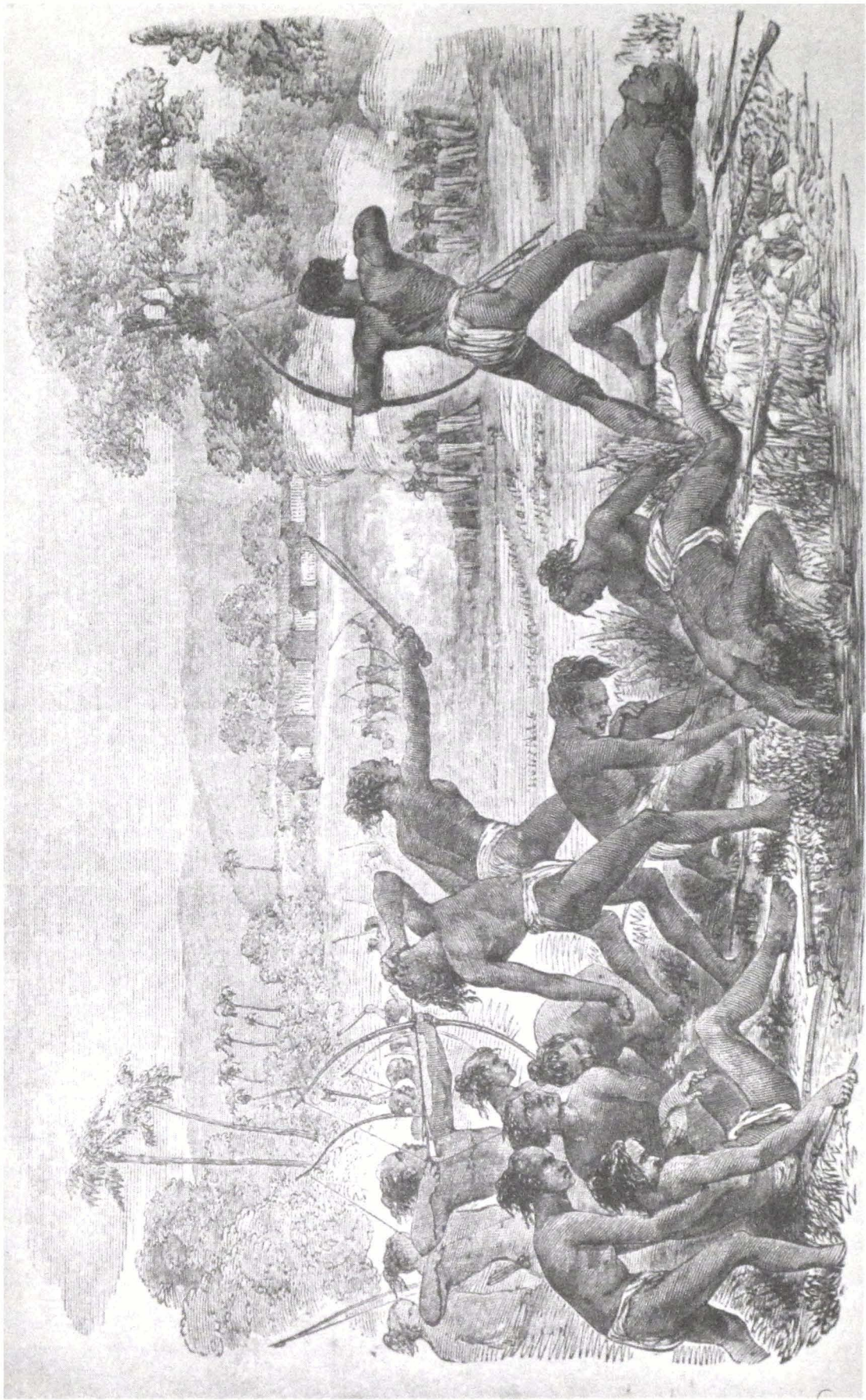
A sad yet pleading sequel is indicated by a memorial tablet in St. Andrew's Church:

In Memory of WILLIAM NAPIER CAMPBELL, Assistant Commissioner, died 2nd November 1881, aged 33 Years ; second son of the late Dr. A. Campbell, Superintendent of Darjeeling.⁴

No reader of this account of the Darjeeling Road can help wondering what happened to the chief actor in the drama, Col. Lloyd. He had been refused his square mile at Kurseong, and so obviously gave up all plans of retiring into farming and carried on in the army. He moved about in India quite a bit and, promoted Brigadier in 1848, commanded first the Rajputana Frontier Force, and then the

³ W. B. Jackson, *Selections From the Records of the Bengal Government, 1854*

⁴ C. R. Wilson, *List of Inscriptions on Tombs or Monuments in Bengal, 1896*



The Santal Insurrection

Multan Frontier Force; later he spent three years at Agra and became temporary commander of the Cawnpur Division. In 1854 he was appointed to the Divisional Staff of Army with the rank of Major-General, and later in the year became Commanding Officer of the Dinapore Division. In the following year he was engaged in suppressing the Santal uprising.

In 1857 at the outbreak of the 'Sepoy Mutiny' Major-General Lloyd, high up in the military hierarchy, was at his headquarters at Dinapore. The events of this historic moment in India's history in which Lloyd was fatally involved, are described by several contemporaries in language varying from mild and sympathetic to scathing and vitriolic. All shall make their contributions to this agonizing chapter of the General's downfall.

When the news of the Sepoy Rising at Meerut in May 1857 spread like a wildfire through India, the uppermost question in each military establishment was whether or not to disarm the troops. General Lloyd's instructions from Calcutta, dated 12 July, read: 'if, when the regiment (the 5th Fusiliers) reaches Dinapore, you see reason to distrust the native troops, and you entertain an opinion that it is desirable to disarm them, you are at liberty to use the 5th Fusiliers to assist you in that object.'⁵ On this order from the Commander-in-Chief, Holmes in his *History of the Indian Mutiny* still rages thirty years later: 'Well knowing that Lloyd had only promised that his men would remain quiet if some great temptation did not assail them, well knowing that a great temptation was even then strongly assailing them, well knowing that Lloyd would never have the courage to use his own discretion yet he left it to him to decide whether he would employ the newly arrived reinforcements to deprive his regiments of the power of doing mischief.'⁶

Meanwhile, the public voice, the great mercantile community, besought the Government to issue positive orders for such disarming. The Government absolutely refused, but, as a sop, they threw the responsibility of the action to be taken upon an aged soldier, whose nerves were utterly unequal to the task; who, in fact, emulating the action of his superiors at Calcutta, endeavoured to reconcile the responsibility thrust upon him, with the evident reluctance of the Government that he should exercise it, by devising another half-measure, which brought about the catastrophe which strong and resolute action would have avoided. Well might Lord Dalhousie write when the news of the catastrophe and its causes reached him: 'Why was it left to General Lloyd, or to General or Mister Anybody, to order measures so obviously necessary to

⁵ G. B. Malleon, *The Indian Mutiny of 1857*, p.218

⁶ T. R. Holmes, *History of the Indian Mutiny*

safety. ... Under the weight of the responsibility thrust upon him, the mind of General Lloyd vacillated like the pendulum of a clock. When on the 22nd, the main body of the 5th Fusiliers arrived off Dinapore, the pendulum was at the left corner, and he would not order them to disembark. Two days later, when two companies of the 37th reached the station, the pendulum had veered to the right, and he ordered them to land. The day following, the 25th, he resolved not to disarm the sipahis, but to deprive them of the percussion caps which had been served out to them, and of those in the magazine. By a display of force he succeeded in securing the caps in the magazine. Then, believing he had scored a triumph, he dismissed the European troops, and went comfortably to his luncheon. But when an hour or two later the officers, by his direction, endeavoured to persuade the sipahis to surrender the caps in their actual possession, the latter broke into open mutiny, and went off towards the river Son (Soane), in the direction of Arrah. The European troops were at once called out, but there was no one present to give any orders. The General had gone of board of one of the steamers, and in the matter of taking upon themselves the smallest responsibility in his absence, the two officers next in command took example from the Government of India. Nothing, or next to nothing, was done. The mutineers got off scot free. It was one of the most painful incidents of those troublous times.

'It was the obvious duty of General Lloyd to despatch English troops at once in pursuit of the rebels. He had a sufficient number at his disposal. But the heavy weight of responsibility had made his brain slow and his arm powerless to strike. He did, indeed, despatch a few riflemen the following day, in a river steamer, to the mouth of the river Son. But there the draught of water was insufficient, and the men returned, having accomplished nothing....

William Tayler, the Commissioner of Patna, then persuaded the General to despatch a 'body of troops, 415 in number, with 15 officers, commanded by Captain Dunbar, to be conveyed by steamer to the point not far from the spot where the road to Arrah strikes the river Son. Thence they march to the former place where it was believed the sipahis would be found.' (Malleon)

The story of Arrah was one of the highlights in every history book on the Mutiny. Fifteen Englishmen and Eurasians, besides the Deputy Collector, one Mohammedan gentleman, fifty Sikhs, inclusive of native officers, a water carrier and a cook, had fortified themselves in the house of a railway engineer who had the foresight to prepare his residence for just such an occasion. It was to this miniature fortress that the Dinapur mutineers laid siege and Capt.

Dunbar was sent to relieve. The relief came to nothing, for, as an eye-witness wrote, Capt. Dunbar made a sad mess of it. He did not, it appears, take the precaution of throwing out an advanced guard; and when our gallant soldiers were marching on in the full hope of doing good work, they were fired upon by 2000 sepoys who were lying in ambush for them.⁷ The following massacre was terrible, and of the whole contingent nearly 200 were killed and only 50 men and three officers had been untouched by the enemy's fire. Holmes describes the return of the remnant to Dinapur:

As the steamer hove in sight, the crowd grew breathless with excitement: they looked in vain for some sign of triumph on her deck: their hearts sickened as they saw her run past her moorings and make for the hospital; and, as she eased up and blew off her steam, the soldiers' wives rushed down, beating their breasts and tearing their hair, to the water's edge, and screamed out curses against the General who had brought this calamity upon them.⁸

After these two disasters, criticism of General Lloyd, and in fact, of the whole army set-up, was widespread:

'The imbecility of the General,' wrote the surgeon of the 10th regiment, 'whose cowardly conduct for many weeks past has been the means of bringing heavy affliction on Her Majesty's 10th...General Lloyd had been, I am informed, nearly fifty years in India, and from bodily infirmity is altogether unfit for such a command in such troublesome times. Surely, it is high time for any field-officer to retire when he requires help to be put on and taken off his horse. We are all disgusted with him...'⁹

Another eye-witness remarked: 'The General, an old man in his second childhood, managed the whole affair very badly, or rather did nothing at all...'¹⁰ to and some he was just 'an old muff.'

On the 30 July, General Lloyd reported the latest misfortune by telegraph to the Commander-in-Chief as follows:

Dinapore 4.20 P.M. (30th)

The result of the expedition to Arrah has been, I regret to say, very disastrous, owing entirely to the mismanagement of the officer in command, the late Capt. Dunbar, of Her Majesty's 10th regiment ... The retreat seems to have been a hurried flight. (Ball)

⁷ Ball, *The History of the Indian Mutiny*, II, p. 114

⁸ T. R. Holmes, *History of the Indian Mutiny*

⁹ *Narrative of the Indian Revolt*, pp 134-5

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

Finally, the Governor-General in Council transmitted on 8 August to the Court of Directors the feelings that prevailed upon the subject at the seat of Government:

Major-General Lloyd has been removed from his command (at Dinapore) for his culpable neglect, and the Commander-in-Chief has been requested to institute the usual preliminary inquiry preparatory to his trial by court-martial.¹¹

Lloyd's army record reads: 'Removed from the Divisional Staff in July 1857.'

Ball, in his *History of the Indian Mutiny* tries to be kind:

It is only fair, that an officer whose professional reputation has been so rudely assailed by private individuals, and whose conduct had been stigmatized by his superiors (previous to inquiry) as involving 'culpable neglect', should be allowed to vindicate himself.

The following passages from a letter written by the Major-General addressed his brother, the Rev. A. F. Lloyd, dated 'Dinapore, September 3rd' may enable a disinterested reader to form a just estimate of the whole affair:

On the 25th of July, 1857, I was far from well; and on that day the crisis occurred here; and, in consequence, my manner may not have been so firm and decided as it used to be. But my acts will, I think, bear the strictest scrutiny; and although from my gouty feet I am physically unequal to active bodily exertion, I assert that in judgement and intellect I am fully equal, if not superior, to any of the younger commanders at Dinapore. The way I have been vilified and abused by the press, force me thus to assert my own qualifications in a style which might otherwise be thought unbecoming...¹²

The letter is a very long one and, as we know from previous similar ones, Lloyd is always right and always wronged. It was published in the *Daily News*, 30 October 1857, and drew this comment from his arch-detractor Holmes: 'I am not aware that Lloyd has ever had any defender but himself.'¹³

General Lloyd retired to Darjeeling to a secluded and—in spite of all—well deserved rest. His countrymen will not easily have forgiven or forgotten his last two debacles. The punishment they inflicted was silence and oblivion. For sixty years later the compiler of a Darjeeling guide exclaimed: 'And such is fame! and the gratitude of

¹¹ Ball, *The History of the Indian Mutiny*, p.121,

¹² Ibid.

¹³ T. R. Holmes, *History of the Indian Mutiny*

posterity that his name is not preserved in Darjeeling, for the Road and Botanic Garden perpetuate the name of Mr. W. Lloyd, the proprietor of a bank of that name.¹⁴

When the General died in 1865 there were no public demonstrations to honour his memory. It was left to his widow to remind posterity of the service he had once rendered to generations to come by her putting up a plaque in St. Andrew's Church:

Sacred to the memory of
GEORGE AYLMER LLOYD, C. B.
a Lt. General in Her Majesty's
Bengal Army
who died at Darjeeling on 4th June
1865; aged 76 years

To his exertions and personal influence with the Rajah of Shikim the Province of Bengal is indebted for the Sanatorium of Darjeeling.

This tablet is erected by his bereaved widow¹⁵

¹⁴ E. C. Dorzey, *Darjeeling Past and Present*, p.147.

¹⁵ C. R. Wilson *List of Inscriptions on Tombs or Monuments in Bengal*, 1896, pp. 188, 191

APPENDIX

Memorandum by the Under-Secretary

ON THE CONNECTION OF THE SIKKIM RAJAH WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, and Dr. Campbell's reports of the Rajah's unfriendliness.

At the time we established ourselves at Darjeeling it would have been difficult to point out among the Chiefs of Hindostan and its frontiers any one who was entitled to greater consideration and kindness from us than the Rajah of Sikkim. The British connexion with him commenced during the Nepaul war. The Rajah had for many years suffered much from the encroachments of the Gorkhas who had wrested from him a considerable portion of his ancient dominions including that hilly tract in which Darjeeling is situated. Though often reduced to extremities, he had still preserved his independence, and 'notwithstanding the Gorkha usurpation, his authority had never been wholly abrogated, all (?) orders having invariably had the joint seal of the Sikkim Rajah's Dewan and the Gorkha subah at Nagree' (Capt. Salter's report in the Po. Office). When the rupture with the Gorkhas occurred in 1814 'the Rajah of Sikkim immediately declared against them and acted the part of a faithful, and according to the extent of his resources, a useful ally to the British nation.' When peace was about to be returned his exertions were not forgotten.

The Treaty of Segoulee had been signed but not ratified when Captain Latter, the Agent through whom the Rajah was communicated with, was thus addressed by order of the Governor-General-in-Council—'You are already apprised of the stipulations in favour of Sikkim which it was the resolution of the Governor General to introduce into any Treaty of Peace which might be concluded with the Government of Nepaul, and I am now instructed to enclose for your communication of them to the Rajah of Sikkim, a

transcript of the 3rd and 5th articles of the Treaty actually signed at Segoulee providing for these objects.'

Of the Treaty of Segoulee he referred to it will be seen that the 3rd article of 5 clauses, each of which specifies a certain tract to be ceded by the Nepalese to the British Government. These tracts had for the most part belonged once to Sikkim, but the particular territory which the Governor-General-in-Council had determined to make over to the Rajah is described in the 5th clause, and in the letter to Capt. Latter, instructions are given for putting the Rajah in possession of the territory as soon as possible upon certain stipulations ('All the territories within the Hills Eastward of the river Meitchee including the Forts and lands of Nagree and the pass of Nagarcote leading from morung into the Hills together with the territory lying between that pass and Nagree.') The Treaty with Sikkim which thus originated contains these stipulations (The Treaty was done at Titalya 10th Feb. 1817) the territory was ceded and made over 'in full sovereignty to the Sikkimputtee Rajah, his heirs and successors.'

Very soon after the cession of the territory, Capt. Latter wrote in the following terms to the Government of India: 'The policy of strengthening the Sikkim Rajah by supporting him in his government need not be expatiated on—The cession of the Hill country without the annexation of some low land will not accomplish this object, and it is very doubtful whether he would be any gainer (?) by the acquisition unless allowed to hold lands which will enable him to subsist (?) the garrison he must maintain for the protection of the passes.' (Capt. Latter to Secretary Adam 23 Mar. 1816.)

This is the origin of the sunnud which the Rajah holds for his Morung lands.

On the 28th December 1816 the Governor-General-in-Council ded (?) Captain Latter to make over to the Rajah that portion of the low lands ceded by the Nepalese which is situated between the Mitchee and Mahanuddee to be held by him as a Feudatory to the British Government upon certain conditions. These conditions are contained in the sunnud, and the intention of the words 'a Feudatory to the British Government' is thus explained by Captain Latter (Capt. Latter to Mr. Secretary Adam 28 April 1816): 'It was my intention to suggest that the low lands to be made over to the Sikkim Rajah should be held by him' as a Feudatory or Tributary of the British Government 'by which I mean that the right of the Hon'ble Company to the lands in question should not altogether be relinquished, but that the British Laws and Regulations ought on no account to be introduced,' and in submitting the draft of the sunnud he thus writes in reference to the terms in which it is drawn up

(Capt. Latter to Mr. Secretary Adam 25 March 1817): 'The relations which exist between the Sikkimputtee Rajah and Chinese Government together with the circumstances of the land in question having been part of his ancient Dominions and of his having maintained his independence notwithstanding the encroachments of the Goorkhas render it expedient that the sunnud should be granted in terms suitable to his situation as an ally of the British Government.' (The sunnud bears the date the 7th of April 1817.)

Thus it appears that the Country ceded to the Rajah was ceded to him as a just and well merited reward, and that the cession of the low lands was afterwards suggested as a measure of policy. It would have been unjust not to have restored to the Rajah some portion of the lands wrested from him by the Goorkhas. It was the hope of getting back these lands that made him so strenuous in his cooperation with the British, and Captain Latter states that 'the probability of recovering the whole of the Hill Country East of the Conti was held out to him as an inducement to bring forward a greater number of Troops.' (Letter 23 March 1816.)

How erroneous then is Dr. Campbell's notion of the connection of the Sikkim state with the British Government when he says (*see* his letter of the 25th July last 5th *para*) that the Rajah 'owes his country and his existence as a Ruler to the Government' — for was he not a Ruler when he aided us with his troops? Had he no country then? It was no favour on the part of the British, it was an act of justice to restore to him as an ally a portion of what the Goorkhas had wrested from him.

In June 1830, several reports having been received of the healthy climate of Darjeeling from officers who had visited the place, Lord William Bentinck proposed to open negotiation with the Rajah of Sikkim for the transfer of it to the British Government. In his minute of June 17th 1830 on this subject he says: 'Mr. Smith, the Magistrate of Rungpore, may be directed to communicate to the Rajah of Sikkim the desire of the British Government to establish a Sanatarium at Darjeeling, and if the Rajah is willing to give his consent, to ascertain the terms upon which the arrangement would be most satisfactory. Mr. Smith should be informed that the retransfer of so much of the territory as may be required for the purpose to the direct authority of the British Government would be by far the most eligible (assuming that it was desirable to get Darjeeling, this was undoubtedly the proper course to be pursued—it would have been well had it been ultimately pursued.) and a compensation in money the most convenient to us in every respect. I think the cession should not be ultimately insisted on unless the terms offered as an equivalent to the Rajah should be really

satisfactory to him.' (This was conformable to strict justice. Lord William Bentinck was anxious to get Darjeeling, but he would not force the Rajah to cede it on any terms that were not readily satisfactory to him.)

The Governor-General's proposal was opposed by Sir C. Metcalfe who had two objections to it. The main one was that it would rouse the jealousy of the Nepaulese; the other was that it would rouse the jealousy of the Sikkim Rajah, and might involve us in disputes with him. 'We may be sure,' says Sir Charles, 'of his (the Rajah's) abhorrence of our establishing ourselves in that position, and we may calculate on his discrediting wholly our assigned motives for the intention (*see* his minute 19th June 1830). His aversion may be subdued by dread of the consequences of refusal, but that is an influence which it would not be fair to exercise, or his compliance may be obtained by tempting his capacity. In the latter case we need not concern ourselves further as to his reluctance taken abstractedly. But reasoning on it before hand, it furnishes grounds for not making the overture, and even if the Rajah's consent be purchased, the sore of our presence in his country will still rankle hereafter.' (How just his opinion was the result has shewn.)

These opinions appear to have prevailed, for the subject was not resumed till 1833 when Lord W. Bentinck brought it forward again and was again opposed by Sir C. Metcalfe, who referred to his former minute and quoted from Hamilton's *Hindustan* to show the importance that was attached to Darjeeling both by the people of Sikkim and by the Goorkhas.

It was not till 1835 that any steps were taken to effect the object in view. Major G. W. Lloyd was at that time employed on special duty on the North East Frontier, and in a private letter addressed to Captain T. M. Taylor at Government House, dated 17th January 1835, he asked information whether Government intended to form a Sanatorium at Darjeeling. He stated that the jealousy of the Sikkim Rajah was the only obstacle, that this jealousy might be removed, that the Morung was in a wretched state from bad government, and that the presence of an English Gentleman at Darjeeling might be of great use and enable the Rajah to govern his country better. The result of this application was that on the 23rd of January the orders of the Governor-General-in-Council were conveyed to Major Lloyd (Mr. Macnaghten's letter 23rd January 1835) to proceed and obtain 'an interview with the Rajah of Sikkim and procure the cession of Darjeeling to the British Government if that desirable object can be accomplished without any great sacrifice.' 'His Lordship-in-Council,' the letter goes on to state, 'sanctions your offering to the Rajah such equivalent either in land or money as you may deem

receivable, and it would be satisfactory to learn your views as regards this point previously to your entering on the negotiation if these can be communicated without causing any delay in the attainment of the object.' (This was impracticable as the letter only reached Major Lloyd two days before he met the Rajah.) 'You will course take particular pains to make the Rajah understand that the superiority of the climate of Darjeeling and its consequent fitness for a Sanatorium are the only reasons which induce us to wish for its possession.'

Before this letter reached Major Lloyd, he had quitted Titalyah in progress to meet the Sikkim Rajah upon other business connected with the state of the Morung. The Rajah had given the collection of the revenues of the Morung to a Zamindar named Kummo Pradhan, a consummate scoundrel, who had duped Mr. Scott (the Magistrate of Rungpore) into giving him a recommendatory letter to the Rajah of Sikkim in consequence of which, it is stated, the Rajah appointed him Zamindar of the Morung. Kumroo Purdhan (Kummo Pradhan) revolted and embezzled the revenue, and was joined by the Rajah's discontented subjects of the Hill Country and by their Cazees or head men. The intention of Kumroo and the Cazees was to give over the Morung country to Nepaul. It was with the hope of being able to terminate these disputes that Major Lloyd had proceeded on the 8th February 1835 to meet the Rajah of Sikkim (*see* Major Lloyd's letter 9th March 1835). After 9 days' march on foot he found the Rajah at a place Ponk Samp on the banks of the Teesta awaiting his arrival, he having come three days' march from his residence at Puhlang to meet him. Major Lloyd had fortunately received the letter from Government dated 22nd (23rd?) January regarding the cession of Darjeeling just two days before his meeting the Rajah. He was received very courteously in Durbar. The Rajah presented him with a written paper containing a statement of his grievances; there was no discussion, however, at this first interview. The Rajah seemed somewhat alarmed and said 'that Kumroo had written to him on former occasions not to meet any of the English Gentlemen, for if he did, they would take his country from him as they had done to all the Princes of Hindoostan.' The next day Major Lloyd again saw the Rajah in Durbar. The Rajah told him he had three requests to make. The first was that this western boundary should be extended to the Konti. This, Major Lloyd told him, could not be done, and it was given up accordingly. The second request was that Kumroo and the Cazees might be seized and delivered up, to which Major Lloyd replied that he had no power to do this, but that he wished to mediate between the Rajah and the Cazees so as to put an end to the unsettled state of the

country. The third request is thus stated by Major Lloyd: 'He then requested that the Dahgong might be added to his lands in the Morung. (This tract had once belonged to the Rajah; it was among the lands ceded to the British by the Nepalese.) This I met by saying I had received orders from the Governor-General to request the Rajah to cede Darjeeling to the British Government in exchange for lands in the plains, or for a sum of money, explaining at the same time that it was on account of the cold climate that Government wished to have the place as a resort for sick persons who could not recover in the hot climate of the plains, instancing the necessity to us natives of a cold climate of a cool place to resort to by their own custom of flying from the plains from fear of, or when attacked by the Acol (?). To this the Rajah replied he would give an answer the next day, and I withdrew as on the day before after the presentation of fruit and sweetmeats.'

It is proper to pause for an instant and consider the import of this conversation. What was the impression likely to be left on the Rajah's mind? He had made a request which was met by a request of a similar kind on the part of the British Agent. He had asked for a tract of country which had once belonged to him, and the Agent replied by asking for a tract his Government desired to have. Could the impression on the Rajah's mind be otherwise than that if he conceded, the Agent would concede, and that if he would give Darjeeling. For three days after this conference Major Lloyd did not see the Rajah, who however sent his Awlat to discuss different points connected with his requests. On the 6th day of his stay he was again sent for by the Rajah to whom he then delivered a note requesting a definite answer regarding Darjeeling and stating that he had been ordered by the Governor-General to request the Rajah to cede it 'in exchange for land in the plains or for a sum of money.' The Rajah after sending away the greatest part of his attendants entered into a discussion regarding his affairs in the Morung, and before the close of the conference gave Major Lloyd a paper or statement of what he wished to be done and said: 'if his request were complied with, he from friendship would give Darjeeling to the British Government, but that his country was a very small one.' The requests (as contained in the paper) were that Kumroo should be made to account for his proceedings, and to restore his plunder, and that Dabgong should be ceded. The Rajah's requests conclude with these words: 'Also if from friendship Dabgang from Amadeggee north be given to me, then my Dewan will deliver to Major Lloyd the grant and agreement under my red seal of Darjeeling that he may erect houses there, which I have given in charge of the said Dewan to be so delivered.' Now it is quite manifest from this that the Rajah

intended his grant of Darjeeling to the British Government to depend on their compliance with his requests at the same time. He thought, and probably had good reason to think, that his requests would be complied with. Major Lloyd did not see the Rajah again, but he says, the Rajah delivered to his officer 'whom he appointed to accompany me to the plains, a paper purporting to be a grant of Darjeeling to be given to me *as soon as his* requests should be complied with. I annex a copy and a translation of this paper which is very unintelligible to me. (It is as follows in the Lepcha language — 'That health may be obtained by residing there, I from friendship make an offering of Darjeeling to the Governor-General Sahib.') I did not see it, however, until two days after I had left when I wrote to the Rajah and enclosed him a copy of what I conceived he ought to write as a grant of the place, in which I stated the boundaries as well as I could ascertain, and requested him to substitute this or a similar paper for the one (he) had delivered to his officers which latter was too vague to be acceptable. If this vagueness has not been purposely preserved, the Rajah will, I conclude, comply with my request. At present it seems as if he wishes to obtain all he wanted and avail giving up Darjeeling as agreed upon. I suspect this is his object, and to prevent it I would suggest that the Morung be taken into our own hands until he fully performs his promise. Assuredly nothing could have been further from Major Lloyd's mind at the time he wrote this than the idea that the Rajah would cede Darjeeling unconditionally. He suspected the Rajah, it seems, of fraudulently intending to get all he could from us without giving us what we desired. If any one had predicted to him that this proceeding would just be reversed, and that the British Government with the most honest intentions in the world would get what they desired from the Rajah without giving him any one of the things that he wanted in return, would he have credited such a prediction? There can be no question whatever that when Major Lloyd wrote to the Rajah stating the terms in which he thought the grant should be expressed, he considered that the grant was to be dependent entirely on a compliance with the Rajah's requests, for in his letter to Mr. Macnaghten dated the 13th March 1835 (written a few days after he had forwarded the amended grant to the Rajah) he says: 'The only thing that now remains to be done to fulfil the conditions of obtaining the cession of Darjeeling is to give the Rajah Dabgong in exchange for it, and to oblige Kummoo to account for the revenues of the Morung for the last two years.' And in a further letter of the 23rd of March he reports on both these conditions in a detailed manner and recommends the Government to comply with both. The Government complied with neither. (See Mr. Macnaght-

en's letter to Major Lloyd of 6th April 1835 — 'Debgong is a fertile and prosperous district which was settled in perpetuity with the Rajah of Julpye Gourree in 1828; its transfer to Sikkim is therefore out of the question. It is doubtful, too, how far we should be justified in compelling a settlement of accounts between Kummoo Purdhan and the Rajah of Sikkim. Yet Major Lloyd, who knew the country, declares that he thought Darjeeling would be cheaply got by exchanging Dabgong for it.')

The Rajah returned with his red seal impressed on it the very paper which Major Lloyd had forwarded to him, as a proper grant of Darjeeling. That paper is now in the Foreign Office. It seems to be in the Thibetan language, but there is no translation of it. This is the deed of cession under which the British Government have formed an establishment at Darjeeling.

There remains, however, one circumstance to be mentioned, and it is one which deserves particular attention because it is calculated in some degree to remove the appearance of unfairness with which this transaction is so clearly marked. Major Lloyd alleges that after he had received the grant, as soon as he was informed that Government would not comply with the Rajah's requests, he wrote and told the Rajah so and offered to return him the paper. Major Lloyd's words are (in his letter to Mr. Macnaghten of 31st October 1835) 'Under these circumstances' (that is the non-compliance of Government with the Rajah's requests) 'although I had received the grant of Darjeeling, if in consequence of his not obtaining these two requests he felt at all indisposed to cede it, I would forthwith return the paper to him;' if, however, 'from friendship to the British Government he still thought proper to give Darjeeling. I requested he would say so, and I would report having received the grant and apply for the orders of the Governor-General on the subject.' (Gloss: Yet the offer was conditional. So also he says 'if from friendship Dabgong shall be given me' and yet he.....(?) wished to get Dabgong except ceding Darjeeling.)

It was in August that Major Lloyd states he made this reference to the Rajah. He then had the grant in his possession, but he had never communicated this circumstance to Government, probably because he felt that he had no right to make use of the grant unless the conditions on which the Rajah had given it were likely to be fulfilled. (Gloss: Let it be clearly noted that Major Lloyd possessed the grant *conditionally*, the paper containing it being a substitute for the one which the Rajah gave to his Dewan to be delivered to Major Lloyd *as soon as his* (the Rajah's) requests should be complied with.) When however he received a letter from Government (Mr. Macnaghten's letter 15th June 1835, the words quoted are Sir C. Metcalfe's)

desiring 'to abstain from urging any further negotiation for the cession of Darjeeling since it appeared the Rajah was not cordially disposed to cede it, then, and not till then, did he intimate to Government that the grant of Darjeeling was actually in his hands, and at the same time he intimated his having made the reference to the Rajah' and added, 'It seems probable to me that the Rajah will decline resuming his grant.' It is much to be regretted that Major Lloyd did not send Government a copy of the letter he addressed to the Rajah. The Rajah's reply is on record, and since it was upon receiving this reply that Major Lloyd considered himself at liberty to make use of the deed of grant and to forward it to Government who thereupon took possession of Darjeeling. It is a document deserving of particular attention. The circumstances under which it was written (if indeed it was written by the Rajah) should also be considered, and a more accurate judgement might have been formed of the weight to be attached to it had the tone and language of the letter to which it is a reply been made known, and whether that letter touched upon other matters in which the Rajah's interests were concerned, and which were pending at the time under the arbitration of Major Lloyd. There was a boundary dispute between Sikkim and Nepaul Major Lloyd was about to investigate and settle it. The Rajah's reply was as follows. It is forwarded by Major Lloyd of the 5th of January 1836 which also enclosed the grant of Darjeeling. 'Your letter and present of a box has reached me, and having been understood has afforded me much pleasure. You write that the vakeels from Nepaul have arrived and have been waiting a long time, but that my vakeels have not yet come, and you wish to know the reason of this delay, and request that on receipt of your letter I would despatch them in order that the boundary of Sidhi Kala may ne ascertained and fixed. You have thus written to me—but I am now sending you both the vakeels, and have the goodness to settle firmly the boundary for me; and you have also many times written about Darjeeling; but last year the grant of Darjeeling under my red seal was delivered to you through my vakeels, and there never can be any departure from that by my Government. If you have understood it differently, I cannot help it. Continue to gratify me with information of your welfare. I send as a present 3 yards of Cochin.' The letter is a curious one. It is certainly a reply to more than one letter and on different subjects, the main subject being the boundary dispute and the non-arrival of the vakeels, the subordinate subject being the grant of Darjeeling; and on this point the whole purport of what the Rajah says is that having giving the grant in 1835 he could not depart from it. Major Lloyd's impression of the meaning was conveyed in the following words:

‘The Rajah’s letter in reply I have the honour to enclose (together with a translation into Hindooee & thence into English) which I imagine decides fully the question as to whether or not he meant to annex conditions to his compliance with the wish of Government to obtain Darjeeling. He means, as I understand it, that he makes the grant freely, mentions no conditions whatever, and seems to regret he has been misunderstood.’ (Major Lloyd’s letter 5th January 1836.) Major Lloyd also stated that the vakeels assured him that this was the Rajah’s intention. The Government of India replied to Major Lloyd (Mr. Macnaghten to Major Lloyd 8th February 1836) in the following notable terms: ‘As it now appears that the transfer has been unconditionally made by the Rajah, it only remains to consider the best means of turning it to the advantage of the British Government.’

Here it is right to pause again and consider what the transaction really was which is called ‘the unconditional transfer of Darjeeling.’ Did the Rajah when Major Lloyd met him show any disposition whatever to cede Darjeeling unconditionally? On the contrary: he was earnest in making two requisitionings, and he made them the conditions of the grant. Major Lloyd understood this and accepted the grant conditionally upon the Government complying with the Rajah’s requests, which requests Major Lloyd thought reasonable, for he recommended Government to accept them, distinctly stating that he thought Darjeeling would be cheaply acquired by the cession of Dabgong. When therefore the Government did not accept the conditions, and desired Major Lloyd to abstain from further negotiation, there was one plain course, and but one, open to him by adopting which he might have lost Darjeeling but would have saved the reputation of his Government for fair dealing. This course was to return the deed of cession, if he had been treating with one of his own countrymen, for the purchase of an estate, the title deeds of which had been deposited with him, conditionally upon his being able to give another estate in exchange, or to pay the sum demanded; and if he found after all that he could not fulfil the condition, that he could not give him the other estate or pay the sum, what would he have done? He would have returned the title deeds at once. To suppose that he would have kept them and asked the owner of the estate whether he really wanted the other estate or the sum of money, is quite out of the question, because he would have been well aware that no proprietor of an estate is such a fool as to give it away for nothing. If we go back indeed to the time of Henry VIII, we can imagine such a transaction occurring but the Agent in it could only have been that despotic Monarch himself. We can conceive him designing to possess himself of a subject’s property,

and that subject asking an equivalent which the Despot is unwilling to give. We can conceive his desire getting the better of his justice, and the subject obliged to yield under fear of the King's displeasure; with a sense of his power we can conceive this of Henry VIII without supposing that he was at the time the arbiter of a dispute in which the interests of the very subject whose property he wanted, were involved.

(See Sir Henry Fane's minute of 17th April 1836) 'May it not be well,' said the Commander-in-chief, Sir Henry Fane, when it was proposed to take possession of the grant, 'may it not be well to pause in accepting the cession of Darjeeling (if it has not already been done) pending the settlement of the question relative to the frontier between the Sikkim Rajah and Nepaul, lest the cession at so critical a time (as Nepaul might deem it) should carry too much of the appearance of a bribe.' (Gloss: The settlement of the boundary question was unfavourable to Sikkim. Upon which Mr. Robertson remarks of 'The objection stated by the Commander-in-chief is entitled to great weight.')

Darjeeling was taken possession and we have held it since Dr. Campbell went there in 1839/40; and in January 1840 he forwarded a complaint from the Rajah of Sikkim to the Government of the non-performance of promises made to him by Major Lloyd, and in reference to it he says: 'I believe that the Rajah is mistaken in asserting that Col. Lloyd had promised to procure him land or money in exchange for the Darjeeling tract. When the Colonel visited the Rajah for the purpose of proposing the cession of Darjeeling, he was authorized to offer any suitable piece of available waste Turai in the neighbourhood in return for the Hill land, but Col. Lloyd could not point out to Government any such available land, and the Rajah after much delay made an unconditional gift of the Hill Tract to our Government.' Dr. Campbell here evinces an ignorance of the transaction by which the cession of Darjeeling was brought about. Major Lloyd was not authorized at the time of his meeting with the Rajah to 'offer any suitable piece of available waste Turai in exchange for Darjeeling,' but he was authorized simply to procure the cession by exchange for land on the plains, or for money. When the Government declined to comply with the Rajah's conditions they asked Major Lloyd to state whether he knows of any waste land which the Rajah would be content to accept, and they also asked what would be in his opinion a sufficient pecuniary compensation. Major Lloyd's reply is dated the 25th May 1835. He therein describes a tract of waste country which might have been offered but which never was offered to the Rajah. He writes that without a reference to the Rajah it is impossible to say whether he

would be content with it—and as to pecuniary compensation he says: ‘I suspect that the Rajah of Sikkim sets little value on money and perhaps a valuable present such as a handsome string of pearls, coral necklace, broad cloth, etc. would please him better than any sum of money the Government could offer. He values (the reply to this letter was the one already alluded to of 15th June 1835 in which Major Lloyd was desired to abstain from further negotiation) Darjeeling at about Rs. 6000 per annum or Rs. 120 000 and says the Government would be reimbursed by the rent of the land. ‘I can only say,’ he adds, ‘that could I as an individual purchase the land, and had I the money, I should be glad to give Rs. 100 000 for it.’ (Gloss: ‘He describes it as about 30 miles long from the North to the South, and from 6 to 10 broad, and was capable of cultivation as any part of the Hills.’) The truth of Major Lloyd’s remark that the Sikkim Rajah sets little value on money was strikingly illustrated some years afterwards when after repeated letters from the Rajah complaining that promises made to him had not been fulfilled, that he had never been put in possession of Dabgang, and that Kummoo had not been brought to account. That, in fact, no compensation whatever had been awarded to him. The Government authorized Dr. Campbell to make him an offer of Rs. 3000 per annum as compensation. A letter from the Governor-General to the Rajah of Sikkim at the same time communicated this offer to him. ‘I am very anxious,’ the Governor-General says, ‘to promote your welfare and have therefore authorized Dr. Campbell to arrange for paying you annually a sum far exceeding any profit which you could ever have expected from Darjeeling.’ The Rajah with much reluctance accepted the offer, and in his letter to (Dr. Campbell) he thus writes on the subject: (Dr. Campbell’s letter 14th September 1841) ‘The Company’s territory is very extensive and it would not be difficult to give me some land in exchange for Darjeeling. The offer of Rupees in exchange for Darjeeling has vexed me, but of the friendship I bear the British Government and which is very important to me, I agree to take the Rs. 3000 annually in exchange for the Darjeeling tract. I should like instead of Rupees to have Rs. 1000 worth of Gold Mohurs, Rs. 1000 worth of fusils with bayonets and accoutrements, and the remainder in cloth and coral. A specimen of the sort of coral I want is sent.’ This innocent request which might easily have been complied with from the Government Toshakhana, had Dr. Campbell, actuated by a desire to conciliate the Rajah, applied to Government on the matter, was refused. Dr. Campbell stated: ‘I am sorry that it is out of my power to comply with your wishes as none of the articles are procurable here in sufficient quantities for the purpose.’

Whatever the circumstances under which it was obtained, the deed of cession granted by the Rajah gives to the British Government title to Darjeeling, but it is important to observe that this deed which is untranslated and its purport only generally known, is the sole title, and as we have no other title to the place than this deed, so we can have no other rights in the place but what are expressly stated in the deed. It is only because we are so powerful and Sikkim so insignificant in comparison, that this fact has been overlooked. Sikkim, it is easily seen, has no rights in the Morung except what are expressed in the Sunnad which the Rajah holds from the British Government. The Government, it is equally certain, has no rights in Darjeeling except what are expressed in the deed of cession. Lord W. Bentinck saw the importance of having a properly expressed grant, a grant which should, in fact, transfer Darjeeling to British authority and British Laws. Is the paper in the Foreign Office such a grant, or does it merely cede as a gift a certain roughly defined tract in the Sikkim territory? This ought to be ascertained, because the Rajah has more than once declared to Dr. Campbell that when he ceded the land 'to build houses on' he did not at the same time give away his jurisdiction over the inhabitants. The Rajah's conduct to us at Darjeeling has been unfriendly. Is not this what might have been expected? He is somewhat alienated from us, and he does not scruple to avow it. Even his dread of our power is scarcely sufficient to prevent his expressing a contempt for our character.

(A gift of a certain tract for a certain purpose does not in itself imply the transfer of sovereign rights; such rights can only be given by express stipulation.)

When the Rajah's officer, Penrinsing Krochap, who was sent to look after the Morung affairs, visited Dr. Campbell (*see* Dr. Campbell's letter 9th September 1840) in 1840, he said to him, speaking of promises which he alleged have been made to the Rajah that 'not one of these promises having been as yet redeemed, his master had become somewhat doubt(ful) of the value of our promises, that he had become somewhat alienated from us, and that he was very anxious to avoid a repetition of broken promises, and therefore wished that I should previously state the nature of compensation to be awarded (for Darjeeling).' By conciliatory conduct towards the Rajah our position at Darjeeling might be improved. Such conduct does not appear to characterize the proceedings of Dr. Campbell. He seems from the first to have found fault with the Rajah, and never to have considered how natural it was that the Rajah should be jealous of us in his country, a most extraordinary and novel position acquired in a very questionable

and unsatisfactory manner; to maintain such a position advantageously and peaceably, the object should have been to conciliate the Rajah as much as possible, to make him ample compensation and of the kind that he desires, and to put up with a little unfriendliness (which was to be expected) so long as it did not affect our position or interfere with our proceedings. Whether the Rajah has committed any breach of treaty may admit of question. The case last reported by Dr. Campbell (and which it is to be observed occurred four months before it was reported, that of a dacoit who committed an assault near Darjeeling and then fled to the Sikkim Territory where the Sikkim Rajah's people prevented his being arrested is a violation of the treaty with Sikkim if the territory from which the dacoit fled is territory properly *subject* to the regulations of Government, whether it (is) so must depend on the terms in which the deed of cession is expressed. (Gloss: 'This (is) one among many proofs of Dr. Campbell's desire to make out a case against the Rajah. The assault occurred near Darjeeling in April. It was not reported to Government till the end of August when the Rajah's conduct being under consideration, Dr. Campbell reports the case in order that it may 'be again obvious to His Honour-in-Council that the Sikkim Rajah requires to have his perception of duty to us under this head quickened and sharpened.')

P. Melville

Offg. Under Secy. to the Govt. of India

September 1846

(Gloss on *subject* at the end of the *Memorandum*:

Hill Vattel would perhaps have said, had he been asked the question whether this was a breach of treaty, that the provisions of the original treaty could not be considered to apply to lands which might subsequently be ceded by one party to the other, for that every such cession should be made on separate stipulations. Thus if the Rajah of Sikkim were to refuse to deliver up criminals who had fled from Rungpore into the Morung lands, this would not be a breach of the original Treaty with Sikkim; but if the stipulations of the sunnad in which it is made incumbent on the Rajah to deliver up criminals and to allow the police officers of the British Government to pursue into those lands and apprehend all such persons.

It is indeed pretty evident that the Rajah could defend himself against the charge of breach of Treaty (in the case referred to by Dr. Campbell) by an argument not easily answerable and which may be put as follows: 'The British Government charges the Rajah with a violation of the Sixth Article of the Treaty in that he prevents the seizure of a dacoit who has taken refuge in the Sikkim territory; "But", says the Rajah, "I consider the Dacoit as my subject to be

dealt with by me, the territory where the assault was committed being territory which by the First Article of the Treaty was given over to me and my heirs in full sovereignty." "True," replies the Government, "the territory was given over to you in full sovereignty, but you afterwards ceded a portion of it to us, and it was in this portion that the assault was committed." To which the Rajah might reply: "You asked me for a spot in my territory to which your servants might resort for their health. I gave you such a spot, but in giving it I did not yield up my sovereign rights in it. Now, as I possess these rights by treaty, I still possess them unless you can show me that I have transferred them to you."'

To this there is no reply except what may be afforded by the terms of the Rajah's grant. (P. Melville, *Bengal Political Consultations*, 14 Nov. 1846. No.29.)

GLOSSARY

<i>Banghee (s)</i>	person carrying loads evenly distributed on a pole slung across his shoulders
<i>Bunneeah</i>	merchant or trader
<i>Buxis (baksheesh)</i>	tip or gratuity
<i>Charpoy</i>	bedstead with wooden frame interlaced with coir string
<i>Chuprasee</i>	office-bearer
<i>Chattah</i>	umbrella
<i>Dak bungalow</i>	rest-house for travellers maintained by the Government
<i>Darogah</i>	local chief of police or head constable
<i>Dooly</i>	covered litter especially to carry injured soldiers or sick people
<i>Duffadar</i>	petty officer of local police
<i>Foujdar</i>	originally an officer of the Moghul Government
<i>Gharriewallah</i>	coachman
<i>Gomastha</i>	local agent
<i>Gurvo (guru)</i>	spiritual teacher
<i>Hackery</i>	bullock cart
<i>Jheel</i>	lake
<i>Jumadar</i>	non-commissioned officer in the Indian Army
<i>Midah</i>	flour
<i>Mistry</i>	artisan
<i>Mofussil</i>	outlying areas of an important town or district
<i>Moodee (mody)</i>	grocer
<i>Muchan (muchaan)</i>	a raised platform for protection of crops or hunting

<i>Nirikh</i>	tariff or standard rate imposed by Government
<i>Palankeens</i>	box-litter with a pole projecting before and behind which is borne on the shoulders of four to six men for transporting travellers
<i>Paun (pan)</i>	betel leaf
<i>Pharee</i>	police outpost
<i>Pukka (pucca)</i>	made of brick and mortar (especially houses)
<i>Putwari</i>	accountant clerk in a Zamindar's estate in charge of collecting rents and revenues
<i>Russaee</i>	quilt
<i>Sahib log</i>	Europeans
<i>Sipahi</i>	policeman
<i>Sirdar</i>	chief; title of respect; recruiter of plantation labour
<i>Sirkar (Sirkar)</i>	Government
<i>Thannah (thana)</i>	police station; administrative unit
<i>Toujohn (taunjauns, toujons)</i>	a sort of portable chair. It is carried as a palankeen by a single pole and four carriers
<i>Turaee (terai)</i>	foothill
<i>Vakeel</i>	advocate
<i>Zumeendar</i>	landlord, esquire

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