

## CHAPTER IV-A

### ADMINISTRATION

When the British took over Darjeeling there was no administration worth the name. The credit for initiating the groundwork must go to Col. Lloyd., who was made the Government's Agent-in-charge of relations with the Rajah of Sikkim and also In-charge of the establishment of the sanatorium. The task was stupendous, but the assistance Col. Lloyd received was meagre, in the name of office establishment he had a Munshi and a few peons, with Rs.60.00 as the budget. Col. Lloyd rightly complained, "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 of a Munshee who can write Bengally as well as Persian and Hindustanee is indispensable and is surely not-remunerated by 40 Rupees per month, particularly when the dearness of provisions, cold, and continually being liable to move about is considered. I can not 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."<sup>1</sup> However, before he could achieve anything substantial, he had to make way for Dr. Campbell to take charge of the station.

It was Dr. Campbell who deserved to be called the real architect of the administrative infra-structure which evolved under his parental care. Though he took over as the Officer-in-civil and Political Charge he was to exercise the Police and Magisterial authority<sup>2</sup> within the ceded tract. He was also the Officer-in-civil Judge in respect of all claims, complaints and disputes cognizable in the Civil Courts of the settlement under the Acts & Regulations in force for the Bengal Presidency.<sup>3</sup>

The Officer-in-civil charge was vested with powers usually granted to Collectors as regards attachment and sale of property for arrears of rent.<sup>4</sup> He also exercised the powers of Sub-judge in disposing of appeals from the Munsifs of Kurseong and Siliguri, but he had no power to entertain civil suits of first instance. He was vested with the power of a District Delegate and in that capacity he dealt with uncontested applications for probate of wills and letters of administration and also disposed of intestate cases and of any applications to

be declared insolvent which may be made over to him by the District Judge. <sup>5</sup>

He also had the powers of a Small Cause Court Judge up to Rs. 500. He was the Post-master, Marriage Registrar, and also the Administrator of Station-funds. As the Chairman of the District Road Fund Committee he was responsible for the maintenance of a large number of roads scattered over the hills and terai. As the Administrator of the local funds he had extensive power over the local affairs, but even after the establishment of the Darjeeling Municipality in 1850, as its Chairman he continued to guide and influence the affairs of the town. As the Deputy Commissioner and the Vice-president of the District Committee of Public Instruction he was closely associated with the education of the inhabitants <sup>6</sup> of Darjeeling. Indeed, Dr. Campbell was entrusted with a herculean task by his Superior authorities, who believed that by the exercise of these special powers he could ensure that Hillmen's interests and customs were given proper attention by the local courts.<sup>7</sup>

Thus, the Superintendent, later Deputy Commissioner, <sup>8</sup> was the most important officer of the British Government in the District. And it was natural that the residence and office of this officer being located at Darjeeling would lend great importance as catalyst in the process of urbanization of the place.

The Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling had, no doubt, a super-human task before him, even though he was provided with considerably enlarged establishment compared to the establishment of his predecessors. By the 60's this establishment had taken the shape which could be shown in table No. II : 1

Table No. II : 1

## English Office of the Deputy Commissioner

Present Posts & Scale In Rs. Per Month		Proposed Posts & Scale in Rs. Per Month		Variation
A. Sheristadar	(1) 80.00	A. Record Keeper & Clerk of the Court	(1)150.60	+70
B. Head Writer	(1) 80.00	B. Head Writer (1)	100.00	+20
C. 2nd Writer	(1) 40.00	C. 2nd Writer (1)	80.00	+40
D. 3rd Writer	(1) 30.00	D. 3rd Writer (1)	60.00	+30
E. 4th Writer	(1) 30.00	E. 4th Writer (1)	40.00	+10
		F. 5th Writer (1)	30.00	
		G. 6th Writer (1)	30.00	
NOTE : F & G were new posts				

SOURCE : Extract from the Proceedings of the Government of India, Finance Department,  
No. 3541, August 3rd, 1863.

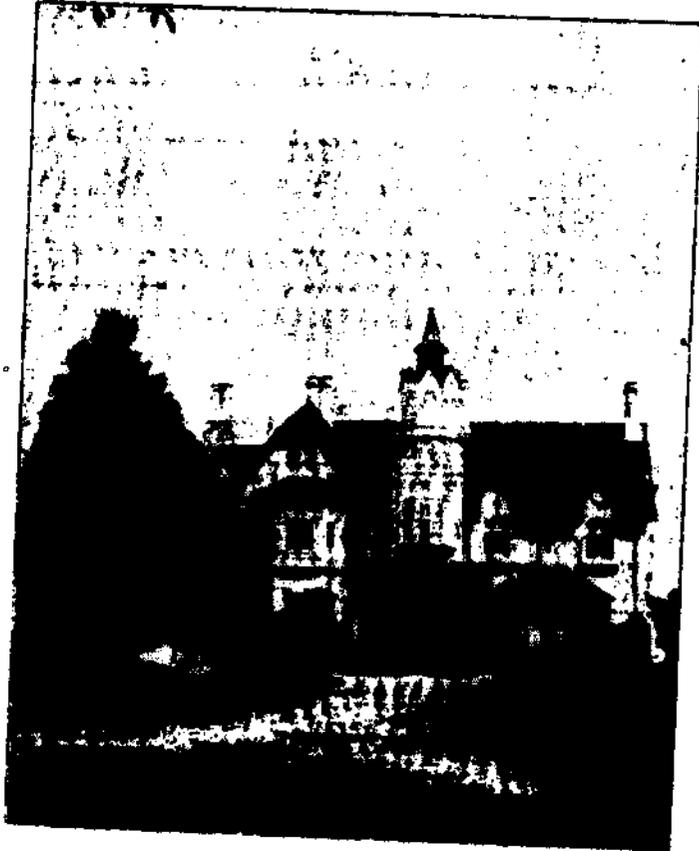
Table No. II : 2

## Vernacular Office of The Deputy Commissioner

Present Posts In Rs. per month	Scale	Proposed in Rs. per month	Scale	Variation
A. Faujdari Head Mohurir (1)	35.00	20.00		-15
B. Naib Mohurir (1)	15.00	Abolished		
C. Collectory Head Mohurir (1)	30.00	40.00		+10
D. Naib Mohurir (1)	15.00	Abolished		
E. Dewany Mohurir (1)	20.00	30.00		+10
F. Daftory (1)	10.00	F to L		No variation
G. Treasurer (1)	65.00			
H. Treasury Mohurir (1)	15.00			
I. Purkia (1)	7.00			
J. Bhotia Interpreter (1)	35.00			
K. Lepcha Interpreter (1)	25.00			
L. Tent Ciassey (1)	5.00			

SOURCE : Extract from the Proceedings of the Government of India, Finance Department,  
No. 3541, August 3rd, 1863.

Plate No. XI



*Government House*

By late 60's the Deputy Commissioner had a helping hand of a set of Ministerial officers as well. The details of such officers are given in the table below :

**Table No. II : 3**

**Ministerial Staff of The Deputy Commissioner**

Reference to to order of Government sanctioning present establishment	Designation	Salary		Mean in Rs.	Actual salary drawn by the present incumbent in Rs.
		Minimum in Rs.	Maximum in Rs.		
No.    Date					
1852    1/6/1868	Head Clerk	152.00	232.00	192.00	168.00
do    do	1st Writer	102.00	162.00	132.00	102.00
do    do	2nd Writer	87.00	117.00	102.00	87.00
do    do	Revenue Monshee	50.00	70.00	60.00	54.00
do    do	4th Writer	26.00	46.00	36.00	30.00
544    21/2/1881	Accoutn	98.00	118.00	108.00	108.00
do    do	Asst. A/c	49.00	59.00	54.00	50.00
852    15/6/1868	3rd Writer	26.00	46.00	36.00	26.00
691    18-9-1881	Interpreter				50.00
544    21-2-1881	Treasurer		70.00		84.00
1852    15-6-1868	Moharir	26.00	46.00	6.00	26.00
544    21-2-1881	Poddar		12.00		12.00
1852    15-6-1868	Nazir & Record Keeper	38.00	58.00	48.00	38.00
275    29-5-1883	Ameen				60.00

SOURCE : File No. 3, Collection 15, 25/25 July 1885

Thus, Dr. Campbell too, towards the fag end of his tenure was little relieved from overwork, for earlier he was not even allowed to relinquish any of his duties which were numerous. It was evident from the reply of the Officiating Post Master General whom Dr. Campbell had requested to assign his postal responsibility to Capt. Bishop, commanding the Sappers at the station. The Officiating Post Master General advised him to continue with the assistance of the officers whom he had suggested to be made Post Master.<sup>9</sup> This incident indirectly showed the confidence Dr. Campbell inspired in his Superior

authorities, as well as in the local people who were very happy with his administration. Dr. Campbell must have been a very satisfied man when finally in February, 1863 he bid farewell to Darjeeling, but not before he had taken the station far ahead on the road of progress and prosperity.

His successors had only to carry on his good work. The subsequent Deputy Commissioners were luckier in having a well developed bureaucracy in running the administration, with the coming up of a full fledged Kutchery which besides the Deputy Commissioner's office housed a number of officers namely Deputy Magistrate, & one Subordinate Judge, one Session Court, one Forest Police, Income-Tax, Excise and the Treasury <sup>10</sup> officer respectively for each department.

Towards the end of the century Darjeeling had another proud moment when in 1898 the Secretariat Building came up which housed a host of offices, the office of the chief Secretary to the Government, Under Secretary of Political and appointment department, Secretary of Revenue and General department, Under-Secretary of Revenue and General department. Office of the Political and Appointment departments and the Secretariat Library too were located in the same building.

## II

// However, what was more important from the local point of view, and from the point of view of maintenance and growth of the town itself, was the institution of the local administrative body, i.e., the Municipality which was more intimately concerned with the urbanization of Darjeeling. The Darjeeling Municipality was constituted in July 1850 in accordance with the Act of 1850, the second Hill station to have its own town administration, the first being Simla. <sup>12</sup> Originally the limits of the Municipality were co-extensive with those of the tract ceded by the Rajah of Sikkim, which covered an area of 138 sq. miles, extending from the hills below Pankhabari to the borders of Sikkim in the north. But later its limits were confined to the limits of the town of Darjeeling only which included an area of 8.85 sq. miles between Jorebungalow in the south, the Tukvar below St. Joseph's College in the North. On the East, it was bounded by the Calcutta Road and a strip of land below it. The boundary line then ran past and below the Chowrasta and the Bhutia Basti until it joined the boundary

below St. Joseph's College on the West. It was further bounded by the Hill Cart Road and a strip of land below it besides another boundary line continuing past and below the Bazar through the Happy Valley Tea Estate squaring up with the boundary below St. Joseph's College.<sup>13</sup>

The Municipality comprised of 25 members/Commissioners including the Deputy Commissioner who was the ex-officio Chairman. There was no elective system. The members were either officials or nominated non-officials in which the domination of the white members was pronounced. Even non-official nominated members were mostly Europeans. It was only much later that a few Indians were nominated, though they were in no way people's representatives nor they represented their interest nor aspirations. There were other constraints which made it difficult for the indigeneous members to be effective. The formality and protocol observed at meetings was as alien to them as it was awesome. The presence of senior bureaucrats and the use of English added to the reluctance or inability of the Indians to participate in the process of Governance. The forum was further restricted since several areas of Municipal management were reviewed exclusively and kept confidential by official members.<sup>14</sup> The following table amply brings out the limitations of the Darjeeling Municipality from this point of view.

**Table No. II : 4**  
**Classes of Municipal Members**

Year	Total	Elected	Number of Member		Europeans	Indians
			Official	Non-Official		
1891	25	-	7	18	21	4
1896	25	-	7	18	21	4
1901	25	-	6	19	22	3

SOURCE : *Annual Reports of the Darjeeling Municipality*<sup>15</sup>

True the Municipality was not a representative institution, but it undoubtedly exerted itself to the utmost to make the town as comfortable and pleasant a place as possible. For after all "in a town where so much depends upon appearance and the beauty of the place forms an attraction for visitors..."<sup>16</sup> that care had to be taken by the 'city fathers'

As the responsibilities of the Municipality grew with time it divided the town into nine wards and a committee comprising of Commissioners was appointed to report on and attend to the affairs of each ward. These Committees were not entrusted with any specific powers but all questions concerning the area were referred to the respective ward Committee for report prior to being brought before the Commissioners at a meeting. All questions regarding quarrying and excavations referred by the Executive to Ward Committee concerned before such applications were disposed of.<sup>17</sup> Beside the Ward Committees there were a number of Consultative committees formed for the various departments of the administration. They consisted of Assessment, Audit & Finance, Legal, Executive, & Works, Sanitation & Conservancy, Hospital & Dispensary. These Sub-committees considered questions of importance in their respective departments before submission for the decision of the Commissioners in meeting.<sup>18</sup>

Beside the Commissioners the Municipality had a permanent establishment to implement the plans and policies. This establishment was not initially very big which would be presumable from the table no 5. particularly when we see that it included the staff who were not associated with the management of Darjeeling Municipality. ✓

Table No. II : 5

## Permanent Establishment of Darjeeling Municipality

Municipal Establishment and Monthly Expenditure in Rs.		Bazar Establishment & Monthly Exp. Monthly Expenditure in Rs.	
Engineer & Secretary	300.00	Chuprassy (1)	6.00
Municipality Writer	30.00	Chowkidars (3)	15.00
Peions (2)	14.00	Sweepers (8)	48.00
Duftry	3.00	Sweepers (4) for Native Town	24.00
Interpretors (2)	15.00		<b>93.00</b>
Moonshee	10.00	<b>Pankhabari Establishment :</b>	
Collecting Peon	12.00	Transit Agent	40.00
	<b>384.00</b>		
<b>Road Establishment :</b>		Godown Churprassye	6.00
Overseers (3)	90.00	Bazar do	6.00
Chuprassies (10)	70.00	Sweepers (4)	24.00
			<b>76.00</b>
Dhangur Jemdar (1)	12.00		
do Sirdar (1)	8.00		
	<b>180.00</b>		

## Municipal Establishment and Monthly Expenditure. in Rs.

Superintendent of Roads	300.00
Clerk & Accountant to the Municipal Commissioners	80.00
Peions (2)	14.00
Duftry	3.00
Interpreters (2)	15.00
Moonshee	10.00
Collecting Peon	12.00
	<b>434.00</b>
<b>Road Establishment :</b>	
Same as in the previous column	180.00
<b>Bazar Establishment :</b>	
Same as in the previous column	93.00
<b>Punkhabari Establishment :</b>	
Transit Agent	40.00
Godown Churprassye	6.00
Bazar do	6.00
Sweepers & c. for Bazar	24.00
	<b>76.00</b>

SOURCE : Judicial Department : No. 40, January, 1865

The only alteration proposed to be made in the establishment was the appointment of a superior clerk and accountant on Rs. 80.00 in place of the writer. This is moiety of the salary of the Interpreters attached of the Court. They are found extremely useful in procuring labour. An enhancement to the salary of the Collectorate Moonshee for the work done by him for the Municipality in the land Revenue and other department was also proposed. The Transit Agency was then in the process of being made over to a private individual and the negotiations having been concluded successfully this Agent and Chuprassy were dispensed with. <sup>19</sup>

By the 90's the Municipal Establishment had assumed a much greater dimension, which had obviously suggested that the functions and responsibilities of the municipal staff had considerably increased. It also indicated the efficiency of the Municipality. The following table throws a welcome light on that aspect of municipal administration.

**Tabel No. II : 6**

**Darjeeling Municipality Establishment**

Names	Designation	Pay/Allowance per month in Rs
Mr. C.A.S. Bedford	Chairman	-
Capt. M. Power	Vice-Chairman	300.00
Babu K.C. Mookherjee	Accountant	100.00
Babu H.D. Banerjee	Head Clerk	80.00
Babu M.N. Bose	2nd Clerk	60.00
Babu P.N. Roy	Surveyer & Store Keeper	95.00
" Lalla Pritam Lall	Store Chowkidar	10.00
Maha deo Sing	Office Peon	10.00
Goochoong Bhotea	do	10.00
Saik Neamath	do	9.00
Junglee Ram	Duftry	12.00
Ram Ratan Lall	Paid Apperentice	30.00
Ganendra Lal Das	do	10.00
Mr. T.Kenay	Engineer	400.00
Babu Abinash Chand Neogi	Overseer	115.00
" Ramdhoney Singh	Sub overseer	40.00
" Ranack Sing	do	30.00
Progas Sing	Engineer's Orderly	10.00
Chuprassees(2)		9.00(each)
Babu G.M. Mukherjee	Cashier	60.00

Names	Designation	Pay/Allowance per month in Rs
"U.C. Guha	1st Collection clerk	50.00
"G.C. Chatterjee	2nd " "	39.00
"B.C. Chatterjee	Tax Collector	75.00
"B.G. Mithra	do	65.00
Goruk Bhotea	Mandala	16.00
Bulbeer	do	16.00
Chowkidar(1)		9.00
do		8.00
Jug Deo Sing	Cash Chuprassee	9.00
Chuprassee (2)		9.00(each)
Babu GostaBehari Ray	Sub Registrar	30.00
"Bijoy Lall Rochodhury	do	30.00
M. andalas (3)	Reporters of Birth and Death	3.00(each)
do(2)	do	1.00(each)
Mr. T.Herlihy	Conservancy Inspector	80.00
Hunsa Raja	Vaccinator	46.00
Mr. P. Sheridan	Assistant Conservancy Inspector	50.00
Mr. E.C. Reynold	Assistant Conservancy Inspector	50.00
Chuprassee (1)		1.00
Dr. R.D.O'brien	Food Inspector Analyst	50.00
Chuprassee (1)	For Darjeeling S.H.	9.00
do	" " Market	9.00
Bhoyrub Kamee	Pipe Layer	25.00
Chowkidar (2)	Water Pipe Guard	10.00
do(2)	do	9.00(each)
Meherman		17.00
Bungee	Mate	10.00
Babu M.N. Banerjee, B.L.	Municipal Pleader	25.00
" C.K. Pain, B.L.	do	25.00
" G.B. Ray	Prosecutor	35.00
" Rash Behari Das	Civil Health Assistant	65.00
" Mohendra Nath Mookherjee	Compounder	15.00
Peon (1)		4.00
Cook (1)		9.00
Bhistee		9.00
Sweeper		7.00
Nurse (1)		13.00

SOURCE : *Municipal Proceedings Minutes : 1889-90 Darjeeling Municipality.*

Since the town had to be clean and healthy for it was principally meant to be a sanatorium, the Municipality employed a good strength of conservancy staff. In 1885 it consisted of one Inspector, one Meat Inspector, two Sweeper Jemadars, eighty one Sweepers, six Bhisties, eleven Syce, eleven Grass-cutters, fourteen Scavengers and there were eleven carts for the removal of sweepigs.

Surface cleaning appeared to be properly attended to, and the rubbish and solid refuse from houses and kitchens were generally collected in boxes and daily removed by sweepers and shot down a khud below the Victoria Road. There were twenty one public latrines in different parts of the town, and they were kept fairly clean and the night-soil was removed from them at least once daily. Phenyle and lime were freely used for disinfecting and deodorising the public latrines. <sup>20</sup> The conservancy establishment was further improved by way of increasing strength as would be shown by the table No. 7.

Tabel No. II : 7

## Conservancy Establishment

No. of Public Latrines 31	Strength of Scavenging & Latrine Cleaning Establishment in men, cattle, &	Cost in Rs.	Remarks
No. of Public Plant Orinals 10			
No. of Private Latrines 240	Conservancy Inspector (1) Chuprassee (1) Head Jamadar (1) Jamadar, (1) Syces-cart men (13) Scavengers-cart coolis (18) Grass-cutters (10) Male sweeers (45) Female " (6) Boy " (4) Bhisties (4) Tramway breaksman (1) do coolis (10) Tramway (defective from March last), (1) Shoot (1) Ponies (13) Carts (12) Cinerator sweeper (2) Jungle cutters (2) Latrine cleaning Establishment Jamadars (3) Sub-Jamadars (2) Male Sweepers (55) Female " (5) Bhisties (3)	14,598.00	5 Public latrines and one public urinal reserved for exclusive use of males  The whole work under the European conservancy Inspector
		7,450.00	

The remarks of W.H. Gregg that "the drainage of Darjeeling is very good and is being further improved year by year ... The arrangement in connection with latrines, of which that are of good number, burial grounds, markets, roads, registration, of birth and deaths, vaccination and dispensaries are most satisfactory,"<sup>21</sup> "testify to the good job the Municipality was doing. The Municipality had to perform several tasks and a few such responsibilities as well which did not fall under its strict line of duty, for instance, management of police, maintenance of roads etc. Its multifarious duties included water-supply, Sanitation-conservancy including disposal of night soil, registration of births and deaths, health of the town i.e., maintenance of the hospital and dispensary, markets, Lighting of the roads and many other miscellaneous odd jobs.

The cost of maintaining such a big establishment was partly drawn from its own resources and partly from the contribution from the Government. Its own resources came from the following sources :

1. The main source of its income was a rate levied on holdings in the town at 7%<sup>22</sup> of their annual valuation which was assessed on the rental, actual or probable, but the holdings in and around the market and on the outskirts such as Bhutia Busti, Singamari, Tunsoong Busti, Jorebungalow Ghoom etc, were assessed at a certain scale of rates fixed for every 100 sq.ft. of the ground occupied and according to description of houses and locality.
2. The second important source consisted of the rents of lands and houses owned by the Municipality. It owned 45 acres of land in the heart of the town, various buildings leased out as shops and residences, a Town Hall rented by the Amusement Club, two covered markets where sites were let out for the sale of meat, poultry, fish, vegetables, etc.
3. The third source was the lighting<sup>23</sup> rate assessed at 2.25% on the valuation of the house.
4. Water rate<sup>24</sup> was the fourth source assessed at 2% on the valuation of the house.
5. The fifth source was conservancy charges including scavenging and latrine rates which varied according to the valuation of holding. The other sources included loans, extraordinary items of receipts, etc. It also received substantial amount of money from the 'Location Fund'<sup>25</sup> created by the order of the

Government of India in the year 1838 when the growth of the place necessitated local arrangement for conservancy, communication and other amenities. It was under the management of a Committee until 1850, when on the establishment of the Darjeeling Municipality it was handed over to the Municipality Commissioners. It is interesting to note that the Darjeeling Municipality derived an amazing income from real estate property in comparison with the other Municipalities of the Rajshahi Division. A large number of Indians from the neighbouring places started buying property in Darjeeling. The Maharaja of Cooch Behar is said to have owned half of the villas in Darjeeling by 1880. One of his houses was bought by the Bengal Government to be used as the summer residence of the Lt. Governor. The Maharaja of Burdwan too had constructed a mansion at Darjeeling, and similarly a good number of Indians from Calcutta, not so rich but disposed towards a western life-style, bought property at Darjeeling to initiate a process, though somewhat unknowingly, the indianisation of Darjeeling.<sup>26</sup>

Table No. II : 8

## Income from real estate property in Municipalities of the Rajshahi Division

Year	Municipalities					
	Darjeeling	Income Derived From Real Estate Property in Rs.				
	Darjeeling	Dinajpore	Pubna	Bogra	Sherpore	Rangpore
1890	41,808.00	36.00	1,811.00	2.00	12.00	1,502.00
1895	48,994.12	27.00	2,436.00	1.00	5.00	1,233.00

SOURCE : Commissioner's Reports Nos. 383 M and 247 M for 1890 and 1895 Respectively.

Table No. II : 9

## Income Derived from Taxation in Darjeeling Municipality

Years	Revenue Derived in Rs.
1891-92	46,900.00
1892-93	54,333.00
1893-94	57,850.00
1894-95	62,464.00
1895-96	69,728.00

SOURCE : Commissioner's Report No. 247 M, P.5

Though it might not be supported by other evidences, nevertheless it is worth mentioning that a meagre Rs. 20.00 per annum was believed to be the revenue derived from Darjeeling while it was under the Raja of Sikkim.<sup>27</sup> That the revenue went up from Rs. 20.00 to Rs. 67,728.00 per annum within exactly a span of sixty years from the time Darjeeling was taken over by the British was indeed an instance of administrative excellence.

After taking a stock of its income it would be natural to have a look at its expenditure which had indicated that the Municipal Commissioners were also good finance managers. The income usually exceeded the expenditure, in the year 1884-85 its income amounted to Rs. 1,13,685.00<sup>28</sup> while the expenditure amounted to Rs. 1,10,389.00. Their expenditure is detailed in the table No. 10.

**Table No. II : 10**

**Expenditure of Darjeeling Municipality**

<b>Municipal</b>	<b>Expenditure in Rs.</b>
Interest in instalments on loans	8,539.00
Establishment	17,797.00
Maintenance, purchase and repair of stock	136.00
Maintenance of Schools	600.00
Cost of Municipal buildings	26,105.00
All other Municipal expenses	5,871.00
	<b>59,048.00</b>
Sanitation Establishment	14,546.00
Construction, improvement & of roads	13,380.00
Private and Public latrines	1,119.00
Drainage	5,483.00
Water supply	2,807.00
Markets and Slaughter Houses	180.00
Vaccination	196.00
Maintenance of Hospitals & treatment of sick	2,473.00
Construction of Tramway	6,501.00
All other sanitary expenses	4,656.00
	<b>51,341.00</b>
<b>Grand Total of Expenditure</b>	<b>1,10,389.00</b>

The average income of the Municipality for the decade ending in 1901-02 was Rs. 2,19,000.00 whereas the average expenditure for the same period was Rs. 1,72,000.00 leaving a surplus of Rs. 47,000.00.<sup>29</sup>

Indeed, the Municipal Commissioners appeared to have worked for the benefit of the town heartily and in unison, which was the secret of the success Municipal administration had attained in Darjeeling.<sup>30</sup> In the functioning of the Darjeeling Municipality a distinct orientation is observed towards the protection of the segrigativeness of the British dwellers in the Town. In 1883 the Darjeeling Municipal Porters' Act to regulate the porters' rate and to ensure their services by granting them licences on grounds of compulsion of service and the prevention of unauthorised persons to throng in the market to act as porters. Visit to Mall by porters was said to have been restricted, just as it was done in Simla, between 4 P.M. to 8 P.M. when the Europeans would be visiting the place. In 1886, the Municipality constructed a new road to enable the Europeans to visit the Lloyd Botanical Garden by avoiding the crowd of the market.<sup>31</sup> ✓

### III

Dr. Campbell on being granted the powers of a Magistrate requested the Government to sanction a police establishment which was finally granted.<sup>32</sup> The contingent was of course hardly enough to cope with the situation for which it was sought.

**Table No. II : 11**

**Police Establishment Granted to Dr. Campbell**

Sl.No.	Designation	No. of posts	Salary per month in Rs
1.	Writer	1	20.00
2.	Chaprassee	4	5.00 (each)

SOURCE : *Consultations, Fort William, No. 129, November 27th, 1839.*

However, the Sebundy Corps of Sappers and Miners were raised by Lt. Gilmore who was appointed the Executive Engineer for construction of roads. In addition to its normal duty the Corps was also expected to look after the defence of the station. Thus the Sappers served as the first police force of the town.<sup>33</sup> The Sebundy Corps continued to do police work till 1861, for Dr. Campbell

declined to include the cost of the Corps to consolidated Police Budget Estimate for 1862-63.<sup>34</sup> Finally the Corps was transferred to the Public Works Department in 1863. Since then the cost of the Corps was to be borne by the PWD and its accounts audited by the controller and Examiner of Public Works Accounts. The Executive Engineer took over the charge temporarily as the Commanding Officer Capt. Murry was placed at the disposal of the Military authorities.<sup>35</sup> The strength of the Corps had slightly increased from the time of its inception as is indicated by the following return filed by the commanding Officer, Capt. Murry.

**Table No. II : 12**

**Strength of the Sebondy Corps**

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Number</b>
European Officers	1
Do Non-commissioned Officers	2
Native Officer	6
do Non-commissioned Officer	25
Sepoys, & c.	186
<b>Total</b>	<b>220</b>

**SOURCE :** *Judicial Department, March, 1859, No. 94, P. 279.*

But a separate Police force was developing simultaneously and by 1840 it had a strength of two Indian Officers and twelve Footmen, which went up to sixteen Indian Officers and one hundred and two Footmen in 1860. And by 70's it was fully organised with the total strength of two hundred and thirteen under the Superintendent of Police.<sup>36</sup> The entire contingent was needed for the entire District. But the fact that the Superintendent's office as well as his residence were located at Darjeeling, the station assumed importance in respect of Police administration too. A report filed by Lt. Col. Pughe would be giving a clearer picture, according to which Darjeeling station itself had one Inspector, two Head Constables and twenty constables to look after the law and order of the place.<sup>37</sup> The report in addition to information regarding the police contingent at Darjeeling shed light on other important matters also, such as, expenses and salary of the officers and men, contribution of the Municipality, etc.



The rank of the force was composed of individuals from all the tribes in the district and the arrangement was very pragmatic. In the hills especially Dr. Campbell considered the police to be very efficient in the protection of life and property. In his opinion the European settlers and visitors and all other classes of the population had good reason to be satisfied with it and that they were so. Although the population was increasing the incidence of crime was decreasing and he had no reason to believe that the crime was at all concealed in the hills.<sup>38</sup>

In 1861, Dr. Campbell vouched for the good conduct of the police force when he reported that the conduct of Darogahs, Naiks and Jamadars had been good except for two Jamadars who consequently had been dismissed.<sup>39</sup> The efficiency of the Police continued, but a report filed by the Deputy Commissioner brought an altogether new facet of the Police, particularly the constables. Far from oppressing the rural or village population they were found far too ready to fraternize, and to indulge in drinking, gambling and playing with their unofficial brethren. They often exchanged places. So, according to the Deputy Commissioner their uniform seemed to have no effect in giving them that self respect and status which made the constables of the plains oppressive as well as efficient.<sup>40</sup>

The settlers at Darjeeling not being criminally disposed crime too was insignificant in the hills. Life, person, property were very secure indeed throughout the district. In Darjeeling itself and in the hills generally this was the case and carelessness as regards the safety of property was more common than any alarm connected with the public security.<sup>41</sup> The prevailing offences were normally associated with breaches for the forest, Municipal and Excise laws.<sup>42</sup> However, by the close of the nineteenth century the scenario had considerably changed compared to what it was in the fifties. Perhaps the complexities of an urban life were partly to be blamed for this. The quinquennial report (1895-1900) is cited in table No. II : 14 to qualify our statement.

Table No. II : 14

## Types of Offences in Darjeeling

Nature	No.	Year	No.	Year	Nature	No.	Year	No.	Year
Murder	3	1895	2	1900	Riot	2	1895	1	1900
Dacoity	1	"	1	"	Obstruction				
Robbery	4	do	3	do					
Burglery	70	do	81	do	on road				
do	4	do	6	do	ways & c.	1	do	1	do
do	6	do	13	do	<b>Total</b>	<b>425</b>	<b>do</b>	<b>357</b>	<b>do</b>
Theft	334	do	249	do					

SOURCE : General Department Collection, XXX, Sl. No. 11, File No.25

Whatever be the rate of crime, the criminals had to be apprehended and made to undergo punishment if the society had to enjoy peace and security. For this purpose a jail was needed, and hence Dr. Campbell requested the Government to sanction the expense to construct a 'small building' to detain any person charged with theft or other breach of peace and the Government granted his request.<sup>43</sup> But by the 60's a jail with moderate capacity had surfaced and its staff were placed under category<sup>44</sup> 3 with the following strength :

Table No. II : 15

## Strength of the Darjeeling Jail Personnel

Posts	Salary per month in Rs.
Jailor (1)	50.00
Naib Daroga (1)	20.00
Native Doctor (1)	25.00
Warders (3)	06.00 (each)

SOURCE : Judicial Department, No. 34, December, 1864

Beside the above mentioned staff there was provision for one sweeper in proportion to every fifty prisoners. The guards of the Jail, however, did not appear to be very vigilant, for escapes from the Jail at Darjeeling were frequent. The causes attributed by the Government officials for it was 'the result of gross carelessness on the part of the Burkundazas.' The Deputy Commissioner of

Darjeeling was requested to report whether he thought that the removal of escaped prisoners to the Dinajpur Jails as punishment would have any effect in preventing escapes.<sup>45</sup>

However, the Government thought otherwise. "His Honour observes that the obvious remedy, in order to prevent such escapes in future, is to punish the guard severely and to subject the prisoners on recapture to such punishment as they are liable under the law, not to send them to a climate which is likely to prove fatal to them."<sup>46</sup> This observation is rather unique in the sense that it highlighted the humane face of the British administration though it had been always considered to be very harsh.

From the Jail statistics it could be ascertained that the average number of prisoners ranged between 40 to 60 and the total number at times reached to qualify the Darjeeling Jail as First Class though most of the prisoners were under-trials and were released<sup>47</sup>

#### IV

The prime object of British assistance to Sikkim in 1817 was to frustrate the possibility of Nepal - Bhutan intrigues against the East India Company. In 1838, Lt. Col. Lloyd, officer on special duty, North Eastern Frontier, conveyed to Fort William an intelligence report relating to the Movements of a Nepal mission, composed of two native officers and twenty sepoy who had proceeded to Bhutan. Lloyd was directed in a letter dated Fort William, 8 August, 1838 to 'be watchful and diligent in observing these intrigues.'<sup>48</sup>

In the fourth decade of the nineteenth century there were incidents of 'offensive demonstrations on the part of Nepal' exposing Darjeeling to the danger of aggression and necessity of 'some precautionary measures'.<sup>49</sup> *The Asiatic Intelligence*, Calcutta, reported in November 1838 an alarming rumour that a party of Gurkhas had taken possession of 'Nagri' (Nagree ?), a fort, ten miles from Darjeeling and considerably within India, where they were said to be stocking themselves. At that time Col. Lloyd was entirely without troops. It was this situation that prompted the British to raise a Local Sebundy of Sappers and Miners which was reported in the Register of November 1838, Calcutta. In 1838 Lt. Napier took the charge of this force from Capt. Gilmore of Bengal

Engineers. Napier wrote, 'just then our relation with Nepal became strained and it was thought desirable to complete the Sebundy Sappers with men from the Border Hills unconnected with Nepal Garros and similar tribes. Through the Political officer, the necessary number of men were enlisted and sent to me... I eventually completed the Corps with Nepaulese and I think, left them in a satisfactory condition...when I visited Darjeeling again in 1872 I found the remnants of my good sapper officers living as pensioners.'<sup>50</sup>

In Feb. 1839, *The Asiatic Intelligence* gave an account of the state of insecurity at Darjeeling. It wrote, "We hear accounts of the state of affairs at Darjeeling arising from the neglect of Government to furnish the inhabitants with the security expected. The people have got into their heads that the Gorkhas are arming and collecting in great force in the neighbourhood of intended sanatorium : a sort of panic is the result and everybody who has any property is sending it towards the Presidency for safety. The worst part of the business, however, is that the greater portion of the workmen employed under Messrs Happer and Martin have absconded, although considerable advances of pay, have been made to them". On August 5th, 1839 Nepal's secret move to form an offensive League with Bhutan directed against the Company was communciated by B.H. Hodgson, Resident at Nepal to H.P. Prinse, Secretary to the Government of India<sup>51</sup> Some extracts from the said letter are quoted below :

The Nepalese party proceeded through Tibet without question and reached the frontier of Bhootan where they were stopped by the soobah, required to deliver their message and to await the answer of the Deb. Their message purported that there had been ancient friendship between Deo Dharma and Nipal which Nipal was now anxious to revive; that the Nipal Raja had viewed with concern the insurrection against the old Deb; that this rebellion was instigated by the Company, that Nipal was ready to assist the old Deb with soldiers or small arms or canons and that the Deb had only to point out how the assistance could be best rendered and a large offensive formed against the arts and power of the Company.

The answer of the Deb to this message, as transmitted through 'his frontier authority was favourable but cautious The Deb, instructed by his officer that the Nepalese had brought no credentials, directed that the party should be told to go back and provide itself with a written and formal powers when the party should be welcome to the Deb's presence.

The Deb's soobah or frontier officer was at the same time instructed to say to the Nipalese party that canons were the chief want of the Deb and that if Nipal could not supply canons the next best thing would be to cast and make them in Deo Dharma."

In the same year Nepal Darbar requested the British Resident for passage for its troops through Sikkim for the conquest of Bhutan. On 24th September 1839 Hodgson wrote to Princep, "I asked if the Durbar had received any injury from Bhootan or had demanded any explanation? None whatever, was the reply and why then attack an unoffending state; it was the custom of Gorkha nation. But, I continued, Sikkim is an independent State and she will never consent to yield you passage for such a purpose - "we care not a fig for Sikkim's Consent: we want only yours." "I then observed that my Government had too much respect for justice to sanction any such proceedings...." Hodgson was firmly convinced 'that Nepal's desire of extending herself to the eastward is an ever present urgent motive with her....'<sup>52</sup>

A dispute between the Nepalese and the Sikkimese about right of fishing in the Mechi river was reported in May 1842 to Campbell by the Sikkim Raja's officer in the Morung. Runbir Ruchal Thakur, Havildar of Nepal, was accused of using force in making good the claim of the Nepalese to the right of fishing. The matter was duly reported by the Superintendent of Darjeeling to the Resident of Nepal for enquiry and redress.<sup>53</sup> It is true that since the acquisition of Darjeeling, no Anglo-Nepalese war or Skirmish actually took place on the Darjeeling frontier, but uneasiness had prevailed. On 12th October 1853-54 the Superintendent of Darjeeling apprised the Government of India that the Nepalese troops had been ordered to occupy Sikkim. At that stage, this information was gathered from rumour only. Nevertheless, G. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government of India, wrote to Major G. Ramsay, Resident at Nepal, on 27th October, 1854: "The British Government cannot permit Nepal to possess itself of Sikkim, whether permanently or temporarily. It is resolved to act up to the treaties which were long framed to that effect and you are hereby authorised, if you occasion, to communicate that resolution to the Durbar in courteous but very decided language." In a subsequent letter dated 14 November 1854 Edmonstone informed that the preparations of Jang Bahadur were directed against Tibet and asserted, "We have no ground as yet for apprehension though we may see reason for vigilance."<sup>54</sup>

Again on 29th October, 1854, Campbell informed Edmonstone that 'rumours of an invasion of this territory by Nepalese forces are universal. The invasion would take place within a month with simultaneous movement on the plains and Darjeeling. Campbell was told that the Government 'sees no occasion to apprehend any such mad design and would not move troops so as to increase the panic which is endemic at Darjeeling.'<sup>55</sup> On September 9th, 1858, Campbell again reported to Captain Byers, Secretary to the Governor-General in Council, that Jung Bahadur was planning an invasion of Darjeeling. He emphatically added that two Nepalese armies would take the field against the British after the Dusserah festival. Capt Byers, however, held that the report of the invasion of Darjeeling had no foundation.<sup>56</sup>

Another letter, dated 26th September 1858, from Campbell to A.B. Young, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, referred to 'continuous intelligence' by persons coming from Nepal regarding the intention of the Nepal Darbar 'to attack Darjeeling simultaneously with a hostile descent on the plains in aid of the rebels and to appropriate territory withheld by us although that was the promised reward of Jung Bahadur's assistance.' Similar intelligence has also received from Dinajpur. Campbell took steps through the police to guard three roads leading from the Nepal terai Hill frontier to Darjeeling and one from Nepal terai leading to Pankhabari at the foot of the Hills. He asked Major G.R. Hopkins, Commanding troops, Darjeeling to 'instruct Capt Trevor to go on with the defensive arrangements of the Department. 'In this case, too, the Nepalese attack was baseless and expressed profound confidence on the friendly assurances of Jung Bahadur.'<sup>57</sup>

In 1860, Jung Bahadur expressed his desire to penetrate for about 32 miles beyond the banks of the Tista after that river entered India for the purpose of shooting games. Campbell wrote to G. Ramsay that the encampment of Jung Bahadur in the Terai portion of the district would cause consternation and political embarrassment in all the neighbouring districts. In his reply, dated 19 December, 1860, Ramsay informed that Jung Bahadur had 'no idea of entering Bhotan than he had of marching to China. The history of our relation for the past 11 or 12 years forbids the belief that he has any intention of breaking faith with us. He is keenly sensitive to the distrust which has always been displayed towards him in the Darjeeling directions and had this opportunity, of showing the people in those parts how absurdly unfounded their panic is, being taken,

I think it would have laid the foundation of better feeling upon the border, not only between local authorities, but also between the people of the two countries.'

On December 20th, on the plea of 'the difficulty of procuring supplies' Ramsay requested Jung Bahadur not to continue his trip beyond the Nepal boundary. 'I, therefore, beg that if Dr. Campbell addresses you upon this subject and asks you not to cross the frontier into province of the Darjeeling', Ramsay added, 'you will at once conform to his wishes.'<sup>58</sup>

Again in 1872 apprehensions were expressed regarding the proposed probable effect of the proposed visit of Jung Bahadur to Darjeeling and some places in the vicinity. The visit however did not materialize. But the relevant documents would deserve more than a passing notice. Col. Houghton, Commissioner of Coochbehar, expressed in a letter his deep concern on the effect of the proposed visit of Jung Bahadur. 'The mere idea of his visit is a cause of much alarm to the inhabitants. I have this day, received a report that the inhabitants of Dooars are burying their valuables and preparing to flee. Bhootan Durbar regards his movement with suspicion and an intimation that he was coming to the neighbourhood of the chief pass into the country, would increase this feeling. My own subjects, I am told, believed that his visit has a reference to some common projects hostile to themselves connected between Sir Jung Bahadur and the Bhootas'.<sup>59</sup> In August 1878, Darjeeling administration got the news that the Darbar had been strengthening garrisons all along the Darjeeling frontier. They had posted 500 men at Ilam and had sent two guns there, previous year, and two more were sent in the current year. They had 500 men at Dunkotah and 250 at Olangorn on the Sikkim border, besides a cordon of officials to prevent all exports of products, oil and guns..

The Darbar had been recruiting four men out of every five leaving only what was barely sufficient for agricultural purposes in their homesteads. They had raised 16,000 recruits in their eastern districts and also the same number in the west. Thus 32,000 men were despatched to the neighbourhood of Kathmandu for proper drilling. Their standing array of regulars was 18,000 strong. They had ample artillery of native manufacture. Large stores of rice and paddy had been collected and stored at Naxalbari, Dhulabari and other places. The Darbar treasury was full. They were well prepared for a short campaign at least. The informant, named Lachmikant, was thoroughly convinced that Kathmandu was determined on war with the British. The Government of India

was of the opinion that these stories were likely to be very great exaggeration. It was however true that the Darbar was engaged in taking a census of its population capable of bearing arms. Bengal was instructed 'to maintain an effective check upon attempts of the Nepal Darbar to import arms through India.'<sup>60</sup>

That a frontier force was necessary for the security of the terai portion of the Darjeeling district was admitted by the government in the eighties of the 19th century. A force consisting of one head constable and nine men as an experimental measure was sanctioned for the purpose of improving and strengthening the police on the Nepal frontier from 1st September 1883 to 1st sept. 1886. Numerous cases of robberies on tea estates in the hills were reported from time to time. Quite a lot of cases of dacoities also occurred in the northern frontier. When the culprits crossed the border, detection was considered next to impossible. Closely allied to this frontier problem was the need of proper chowkidari system in order to bring all the tea gardens in touch with the district administration. A tentative scheme was brought into effect along the Darjeeling frontier between Toribari and Simana Basti. The tea planters were also co-operating with the administration to make the district more secure by appointing police - chowkidars in these garden. Thus a 'backbone' was created at no cost to the state or to the district administration. Col. R.M. Skinner, district Superintendent of Police, Darjeeling, suggested that the frontier police scheme which was sanctioned for the terai only, should after a trial of three years be extended along the entire frontier of the district on the Nepal side.

## V

In 1865, there was a proposal for construction of a Cantonment and Barracks for European troops in Darjeeling. A committee appointed to select a site for those purposes strongly recommended Briastone in order to combine the whole in one ring fence with the Convalescent Depot in Jalapahar. Cecil Beadon, Lt. Governor of Bengal, in a minute, December 28th 1865, argued that along with the development of the civil station of Darjeeling, care should be taken to protect the British interest in the Sikkim hills. Throughout the district there were numerous tea factories and other private settlements where Englishmen stayed with their families. These were infinitely more exposed to

hostile attack than the station itself. The Head quarters of the Darjeeling Sappers were situated in the midst of the station. The police Reserve was stationed close by. The Convalescent Depot occupied a commanding position in Jalapahar. Considering all these factors, the Calcutta authorities were inclined to hold the view that the station of Darjeeling would be the very last place in the whole district likely to be attacked.

However, fear of attack from any quarter was unfounded. The Lepchas and the Aboriginal inhabitants of Sikkim were quiet and peaceful. The men who flocked into the district from the plains of Bengal, from Nepal, from Sikkim, and from the hill territory recently acquired from Bhutan were well-disposed to the British. They were busily engaged in the profitable occupation they had found in tea plantation and public works. The Nepali coolies were under the control of their chiefs. There could be no real danger except in the event of a war. Sikkim was friendly and powerless. Bhutan was too far removed from Darjeeling and too weak after the Doars war to be posing any threat. If there was any danger to the security of Darjeeling it could originate from Nepal only. And for that purpose what was required was a full regiment of European infantry, besides Indian troops to be strategically deployed at Darjeeling and in the neighbourhood. In consideration of this eventuality Beadon argued that if a patrol were at any time needed in that part of the station, which lay nearest to Nepal, Sikkim, and Bhutan it would have to be furnished from a guard very much nearer than Jalapahar.

In this connection the advantage of Bengal as a military position was judged with reference to circumstances of a general character, that is to say, to the command of roads, to the defence of all points likely to be attacked, to its communication with the plains and to its own security. There were other reasons too. The land belonged to the Government. The climate was one of proved healthiness. There was abundant space for building for exercise and recreation too. The men would be free to move about in the surrounding woods and amuse or employ themselves in a thousand different ways. Beadon maintained, 'As a military position, it is on the whole as good as another, if not the very best, in the hills, that it affords equal protection to Darjeeling as it stands, - to the extended sanatorium, which in all probability will be established on the Tukvar spur, or to Kurseong, to Hope Town, to the Cinchona Establishment in the valley of Rungbee and to the tea plantation throughout the province. The barracks of Senchal command a view of the whole of British Sikkim as much as of

Independent Sikkim, of nearly all the newly acquired hill territory of Bootan and of the ridge which divides Darjeeling from Nepal; and there are conspicuous and well-known marks for many miles in every direction. Among barbarous and ignorant tribes the site of a British Cantonment ever present to their view and ever reminding them of the existence of a power which is irresistible cannot fail to produce, as it undoubtedly does produce, a great moral effect.'

Subsequently this proposal received recommendation of the commander-in-chief. The Governor General in Council gave the matter full consideration and directed the adoption of the necessary measures for early and permanent construction of accommodation at Senchal for a wing of British Infantry and a Battery of Garrison Artillery. It was further suggested that in constructing the barracks at Senchal, they should be 'so arranged as to be defensible in the event of any crisis in order that a portion of the troops could move out, if necessary, for offensive operation.'<sup>61</sup>

B.H. Hodgson in his paper 'On the Colonization of the Himalaya by Europeans' Published in 1865, mentioned that the settlement of the Europeans on the Himalaya was accomplished in a well calculated manner. To qualify his argument he referred to Darjeeling several times.<sup>62</sup> Major-General D.J.P. Newall in his report on the Military Defence of Darjeeling and also in his book, examined the strategic importance of Darjeeling. In his book he strongly advocated the military colonization of the hills. In defence of his contention he profusely referred to the views of Clive, Warren Hastings, Wellington, Minto, Bentinck, Metcalfe, Ellenborough, Dalhousie, Malcom, Canning, Lawrence, all of whom had favoured the policy of hill colonization. The arguments of Newall however were rooted in the deeper requirements of military strategy, 'the occupation of a ridge of mountain forming waterparting whence issue the rivers which fertilized the adjacent lowlands must at once strike the eye of the military critic as the true line of domination of the plain country embrace within those rivers.'<sup>63</sup>

On the basis of this principle which admits of modification owing to local cause he argued that the troops in the ranges of Garhwal and Kumaun should command the Doab through Dehra-Dun, as far even as Allahabad. The group of hill stations represented by Almora, Nainital and Ranikhet were sought to be utilised to command Rohilkhand, Oudh and as far as the Ganges. Applying the same test, troops at Darjeeling were required to command south-east Tirhut and Bengal as far as Brahamaputra.

Another aspect of the importance of Darjeeling was underlined. In the event of rupture with Nepal, Newall reminded, this station would constitute the refuge of the whole district and might be much pushed to maintain itself. Moreover there were several splendid plateaus in Darjeeling and across the Tista which he advised to use suitably for strategic purposes. Newall further suggested that an arrangement could be made with the King of Sikkim by which, in consideration of a pension or money gratuity, the country up to the frontier might be acquired. Newall fondly hoped, 'The country up to the granite walls of Tibet would then be ours, and available for settlement, and I scarcely know of any country more calculated to form a refuge or 'military circle' such as I have suggested. In this fine Hill district, then, since Nepal and Valley of Khatmandoo cannot be availed of, I would suggest the establishment of a Grand Southern Military Reserve Circle for Bengal.<sup>64</sup> The relationship between the Government of Bhutan and the British authorities having deteriorated after the annexation of Assam Dooars, its impact was apprehended in Darjeeling as well. The Superintendent of Police, Lower Provinces, wrote to Campbell in 1814 that he had received orders from the Government of Bengal regarding the establishment of a sufficient police force on the Rungpore frontier to protect the people from aggression of the Bhutanese.<sup>65</sup> The authority of the Superintendent of Darjeeling was limited in this regard, as was evident from the letter from T.R. Davidson, which clearly pointed out, 'It was the intention of the Government to limit his general jurisdiction to cases arising along the frontier between Bootan and Cooch-Bihar and to leave to the Magistrates of Rungpore cases of offences committed by inhabitants of Bootan within any part of the frontier excepting that which separates Bootan and Cooch-Bihar. The authority thus conferred on him was that of arbiter and conservator of peace on the Bootan frontier in matters which might often and would generally be beyond the jurisdiction of the frontier Magistrate.<sup>66</sup> As a measure of protection the Government of India thought it expedient not to sell arms in the vicinity of the Bhutan frontier. A directive to this effect was conveyed in May 1850 to Campbell.<sup>67</sup> A similar direction was sent to the Superintendent of Darjeeling to the effect that measures should be taken to prevent smuggling of arms and ammunitions including gun powder, lead, sulphur, saltpeter into Bhutan and to prohibit the sale of such articles to persons likely to require them for that purpose. 'I am to request you that you will keep a watch on the Bhutan frontier, furnish the Government and its subordinate officers on the frontier and be prepared for any measure of hostile nature that may be attempted. For this purpose you are authorised to employ an extra

police force that may be necessary. You are especially directed to obtain through Cheebo Lama and by other means in your power accurate information on the state of affairs in Sikkim and keep the Government regularly advised thereof.<sup>68</sup>

In 1865 Bengal prohibited all transport of arms and ammunition to the district of Darjeeling, Purnea, Rungpore, Dainajpore and Assam in the direction of Bhutan, under the provisions of Section XXII of Act XXXI of 1860.<sup>69</sup> In 1862 information was received from four district sources of an intended attack on Darjeeling. It was reported by the local authorities of the British Government that unreasonable demands were made for Ambari revenue by the Dalingkote Jungpen. A considerable force of Bhutias was said to have been sent to the Rungpore frontier and simultaneously arrangements were stated to have been made by the Bhutan Government to cross the Tista for the purpose of attacking Darjeeling.<sup>70</sup>

In his report on Bhutan submitted to the Secretary Government of India in the Foreign Department, Eden remarked in 1864 that for the last thirty years scarcely a year had passed without the occurrence of outrages committed by Bhutan any of which would have fully justified the adoption of policy of reprisal or retaliation. In every instance, the aggressors according to him had been, not the villagers, but the Bhutan frontier officials or gangs of robbers protected and harboured by them and generally led by some of their immediate dependents.<sup>71</sup>

The development of communication system, too, was necessitated by military considerations. The Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling submitted a proposal in 1865 to construct at a cost of Rs. 1,500.00 a path along the course of the river Tista so as to allow it being patrolled from the point of confluence with Great Rangit to the extremity of the district. The object of opening the path was 'expressly the protection of Darjeeling from possible surprise attack by Bhuteeas.'<sup>72</sup>

Darjeeling served as an important centre for recruiting Gurkha soldiers. From 1886 to 1904 as many as 27,428 Gurkha soldiers were recruited by the Darjeeling Recruiting Centre. We get interesting information regarding recruiting work in Annual administrative reports of the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling. The Annual General Administrative Report for the year 1892-93, the Deputy Commissioner wrote : that 500 Nepalese were recruited for the Commissariat Department in Barma and 700 for Chittagong. A certain number of Nepalese

were recruited for building work in Assam for the Gurkha Regiment and also for Lakhimpur Battalion, Dibrugarh, and Nougong Levy Battalion, Burma.<sup>73</sup> During 1897-98, 672 men were recruited in Darjeeling for military service of whom 439 went as muleteers on the Tirah expedition and 233 to the Burma rifles and frontier hills. As many as 200 coolies were also supplied to the Lushai Survey party in Silchar for transport work.<sup>74</sup>

### Notes and References

1. *Consultations*, Letter from Col. Lloyd, No. 129, April 3rd, 1839
2. *Notification, Political Department*, September 4th, 1839, Rule-3
3. *Ibid.* Rule-4
4. *Ibid.* Rule-21
5. O'Malley, L.S.S., *Bengal District Gazetteers : Darjeeling*, Calcutta, 1907, p. 157.
6. *Ibid.* p. 157
7. Dash, A.J., *Bengal District Gazetteers : Darjeeling*, Alipore, 1947, p. 43
8. The designation Superintendent was changed to the Deputy Commissioner from 1850, Dash, A.J., *op.cit.*, p. 39.
9. From Officiating Post Master General, H.S. Oldfield, *Letter No. 184*, of 1841-42 June 18th, 1841.
10. Dozey, E.C., *A Concise History of Darjeeling District since 1835*, Calcutta, 1989, p.86.
11. *Ibdi.* p. 87
12. Westlake, G.D., *An Introduction to the Hill Stations of India*, New Delhi, 1993, p. 100
13. O'Malley, L.S.S., *op. cit.*, p. 167
14. Oldenburg-Talwar, Veena, *The Making of Colonial Lucknow-1856-1877*, New Jersey 1984, p.83
15. *Annual Reports of the Darjeeling Municipality Nos. 218, 325, 571*, of

1891, 18 1896, 1900

16. *Ibid.* for 1895-96, XXIII,
17. *Annual Report of the Commissioner, No. 325, 1896, p. 97, The Ward Committees were : S hrubbery Ward Committee, Bhutia Basti Ward Committee, Ghoompahar Ward Committee, Cooch-Bihar Ward Committee, Woodland Ward Committee, Convent Ward Committee, Post-Office Ward Committee, Uper Bazar Ward Committee, Lower Bazar Ward Committee.*
18. *Annual Report of the Darjeeling Municipality, for 1898-99, No. 626*
19. *Judicial Department, Government of Bengal, No. 40, p.32, January, 1865*
20. *Report of Mr. L Riddedale, Deputy Surgeon-General, Sanitary Commissioner of Bengal, August 7th, 1885, vide Proceedings of Meetings and Reports Committee 1885-86.*
21. *Extracts from a Report of the Sanitary Commisioner of Benfal, W.H. Gregg, Calcutta, September 3rd, 1889, p.2.*
22. The rate was raised to 8% from August, 1904, in reply to Memo No. 809L of November 30th, 1906 from the commissioner of Bhagalpur, the Chairman of the Darjeeling Municipality provided a report on finance of the Municipality, p.1.
23. *Ibid.* p.2. In 1897, the Municipality installed Electric Light, it not only lit the streets of the town in place of Kerosine-oil lamps, but also supplied to private consumers.
24. *Ibid.*, The water rate was  $2\frac{3}{4}\%$
25. Location Fund was created in 1839 for the improvement of the station and was placed under a Committee, later on when the Municipality was created it was transferred to the care of the commissioners of the Municipality.

July, Aug, 1868, NO. 10 : P.6 : Statement In Detail Showing The Amount of Municipal Income Derived From The Old or Location Fund & Also That Derived From the New Or Municipal Fund & Had Appropriated Together with a Memorandum on the Balance in Hand on the 31st March, 1868

Detail	Amount of Municipal Income For 1867-68	Credited to Capital A/C For Investment & Local Improvement	Credited to Income Account for Disbursement Under Section 16, Act III (B.C) of 1864
	1	2	3
Old or Location Fund Quit rents & rents of Old Darjeeling Hill Territory	7,983-3-6	.....	7,983-3-6
Bazar Shoprents	14,084-4-11	.....	14,084-4-11
Chowkeedary - Tax	319-7-3	.....	319-7-3
Rent of Sheds & Godown Hire on Goods	597-2-0	.....	597-2-0
Dawk Doolic Hire	13-0-0	.....	13-0-0
Transfer Fees & Sale of Location Maps	75	.....	75-0-0
Transit Fees	105-11-0	105-11-0	.....
Interest on Govt. Securities & Private Bonds	767-8-10	.....	767-8-10
Miscellaneous Receipts	286-6-0	.....	286-6-0
Commutation Money	27-171-9-8	27-171-9-8	.....
Purchase Money of Waste land in Territory Originally ceded	6-571-6-4	6,571-6-4	.....
Fines	311-8-6	.....	311-8-6
<b>Total</b>	<b>58,268-4-0</b>	<b>33,848-11-0</b>	<b>24,419-9-0</b>

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Detail	1	2	3
<b>New or Municipal Fund</b>			
Rent of Bhooteeah Village	170-3-3	.....	170-3-3
House Tax	3,566-4-0	.....	3,566-4-0
Goompahar Forest Receipts	2,476-11-0	.....	2,476-11-0
Dak Bungalow Receipts	1,080-7-0	.....	1,080-7-0
Native Town Rent	1,543-15-7	.....	1,543-15-7
Sale of Municipal Land at Sonadah	420-0-0	.....	420-0-0
Sale of Bakery	2,100-0-0	2,100-0-0	.....
Sale of Theatre	210-0-0	210-0-0	.....
Sale of Corrugated Iron Roofing From Stock	1,317-0-0	1,317-0-0	.....
<b>Total of New Municipal Fund</b>	<b>12,884-8-10</b>	<b>3,627-0-0</b>	<b>9,257-8-10</b>
Add " " Old Location	<b>58,268-4-0</b>	<b>33,848-11-0</b>	<b>24,419-9-0</b>
" " Income	<b>71,152-12-10</b>	<b>37,475-11-0</b>	<b>33,677-1-10</b>
Balance on 31st March 1868 In Cash	.....	460-3-2	.....
" Govt. 5% paper including premium	.....	38,503-4-4	.....
" Bonds on landed property	.....	1,500-0-0	.....
" Debt	.....	.....	-128-6-0
<b>Total!</b>	.....	<b>40,463-7-4</b>	<b>-128-6-0</b>

26. *F. B. Peacock to H.M. Durand, September, 12th 1886, No. 432, Foreign Department Proceedings, secret.*
27. Dozey, E.C., *op.cit.* p.38.
28. The relationship between the Government of Bhutan and the British authorities having deteriorated after the annexation of Assam Dooars, its impact was apprehended in Darjeeling as well. Extracts from the report of the Sanitary Commissioner of Bengal, W.H. Gregg, August 7th, 1885, vide Proceedings and Meetings Report Committee, 1885-86
29. O'Malley, L.S.S., *op.cit.* pp.166-67.
30. *Extracts from the Report of the Sanitary Commissioner of Bengal, W.H. Gregg August 7th, 1885.*
31. Report on working of Act. V (Darjeeling Porters' Act), March 16th, 1885, Municipal Department Proceedings of the Lt. Governor of Bengal.
32. Consultations, Fort William, November 27th, 1839, No. 129.
33. From Campbell to J.D. Gordon, Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal Letter No. 1007, October 19th, 1861.
34. *Ibid.*
35. Letter from Col. Ommanney, E.L., to the Officiating Superintending Engineer, Northern Circle, No. 2226, April 9th, 1863.
36. Hunter, W.W., *A Statistical Account of Bengal, Volume X, pp.182-83*
37. Lt.Col.J.R.Pughe, Inspector General of Police, Lower Provinces to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, No. 4225, Fort William, July 10th, 1867.
38. From Dr. Campbell to Cecil Beadon, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Fort William No. 412, p. 1-2, 1853.
39. *Annual General Administration Report for the year 1861, Dr. Campbell, pp. 86-87.*
40. *File No. 48, p.20, 1885-86, Darjeeling District Record Room.*
41. From Dr. Campbell to Under Secretary Mr. Pratt, Superintendent Office, Darjeeling, September 23rd 1854.

42. *File No. 48, p.21, 1885-86.*
43. *Consultations,*
44. *The Inspector General of Jails, Lower Provinces in a letter to A. Eden classified the Jails under three categories on the basis of prisoners' population in any particular Jail, No. 1635, October 5th, 1869. According to his classification the Jails fell under these three categories :*
  1. *First Class - 500 prisoners or upwards,*
  2. *Second Class - Above 150 and below 500,*
  3. *Third Class - 150 or less*
45. *Letter No. 2475, December 2nd, 1864, Judicial Department, No. 29, p.11*
46. *From S.C. Bayley, Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Inspector General of Jails, Lower Provinces, No. 6254, December 14th, 1864*
47. *Hunter, W.W., op.cit. pp. 186-87*
48. *Darjeeling District Record Room, Volume 41.*
49. *Foreign Secret Consultations, No. 9-19 and 11-14, dated 22 August, 1838.*
50. *Rev. Hosten, H.S.J. The Centenary of Darjeeling -Bengal Past and Present p. 106-23, 39 (1930)*
51. *Darjeeling District Record Room, 41 Volumes*
52. *Ibid.*
53. *Foreign Department Consultations, Secret, Nos. 79080, September 7th, 1842*
54. *Nepal Residency Records, Register No. 9, pp. 105. 127.*
55. *Foreign Department, No. 22-34 December 29th, 1854, pp. 1,5,6.*
56. *Ibid., Nos. 72-127, S.C. November 26th, 1856.*

57. *Ibid.* Nos. 4302, 4313, F.C. December 31st., 1858,
58. *Nepal Residency Records, Register No. 11*
59. *Darjeeling District Record Room, English Correspondence, 1841-79, Letter No. 370, December 5th, 1872, copy forwarded to the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling under Memo No. 376, december 7th, 1872.*
60. *Nepal Residency Records, Serial No. 102, file No.1151G of 1878, PartII*
61. *Darjeeling District Record Room, English Correspondence 1841-79, Letter No. 1085, February 22nd, 1866.*
62. Hodgson, B.H., *Essays on the Language, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*, New Delhi, 1972, Part II, pp. 81-89
63. Major-General D.J.F. Newell, *Report on the Military Defence of Darjeeling January 4th, 1872*, pp. 3-16
64. *Ibid.*, p. 109
65. From the Superintendent of Police, Lower Provinces to Dr. Campbell, Letter No. 99, February 8th, 1841.
66. From T.R. Davidson, Officiating Secretary to the Government of India to Dr. Campbell, Fort Willium April 5th 1843, No. 164.
67. Darjeeling District Record room, Volume -41, No. 1277, 1850
68. *Ibid. General Depårtment, Correspondence, 1841-79, No. 627, May 3rd, 1864*
69. *Ibid.* No. 309, December 5th, 1872.
70. Ashley Eden, *Political Mission of Bhutan*, Calcutta, 1865, p. 430
71. *Ibid.*, pp. 224-25
72. *Darjeeling District Record Room, Letter from the Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Commissioner of Bhagalpur, May, 1st, 1865.*
73. *The General Administration Report for the year 1892-93, Collection XXX File No. 550 1893-94., Darjeeling District Record Room.*
74. *Ibid.* Resolution No. 3252.

## Chapter -IV - B

### ECONOMY

The emergence of town signifies a new form of economic structure, quite distinct from rural setting in which trade and market play such a crucial role that many scholars hold them to be the most important determinant for urban growth. Unlike the rural economy of self-sufficiency, the urban economy is dominated by a large number of professional craftsmen, who deal with wider circulation and greater consumption. In this connection the role of merchants is of special importance. If we speak in terms of occupation, urban occupations can be broadly categorised into two groups viz. (1) those connected with productive activities and (2) those who have nothing to do with production as such. The second group composed of administrative officials and the tertiaries had hardly any direct impact on the urban economy. However, the merchants, who also belonged to this group were an intermediary group playing a vital role in the system of distribution.

Since Darjeeling proper had hardly had any professions connected with commodity production we would concentrate on the role of merchants only in the context of its economy. Two groups of merchants came to build up the economy of Darjeeling, one the retail merchants who catered to the needs of the town population and the other the whole-sale import/export merchants who carried long distance trade including trans-frontier trade. For all practical purposes the trading activities of Darjeeling visibly picked up after the completion of the Hill Cart Road in 1869 and more so from 1889, when the Darjeeling Himalayan Railway started commuting between Siliguri and Darjeeling. Besides, the urban setting led to the rise of many such crafts and occupations whose main objective was to cater to the requirement of the elite, particularly of the ruling European class. This trend led to division of labour and to the growth of narrow specialization which might be held to be another characteristic of urban economy.

Along with the developing market and trade, both internal and external, Darjeeling's economy received a tremendous boost from the rapid growth of Tea industry in its hinterland from the late 50's of the nineteenth century. All the requirements of the tea-gardens were mostly met by the Darjeeling market; the

Managerial staff usually came to the town on weekends to spend some time in the luxuries of the town life which they could not get in the gardens.

Yet another distinctive feature of Darjeeling economy was the development of tourism trade. Many European and Indian aristocratic visitors thronged the place in the summer months to escape the heat of the plains and enjoy the cool weather and serene, enchanting, beauty of Darjeeling. Though their exact number could not be ascertained for each year in the face of nonavailability of data yet roughly four to five thousand visitors used to come if the census report of 1911 was any indication of the tourist movement. <sup>1</sup> Tourism inevitably led to a flourishing hospitality sector, though it would be difficult to classify it as an 'industry' as the term 'industry' did not assume that magnitude in the nineteenth century. Nonetheless several hotels having had surfaced during the century under study definitely added to the overall economic growth of Darjeeling.

In the early days of its urbanization, Darjeeling experienced difficult times to set up a market to provide the needs of its inhabitants. Consequently, Col. Lloyd by advancing money to Mr. Perry of Soorajpore Estate, arranged to have a market run at Darjeeling. Mr. Perry actively engaged himself in all the requisite arrangements and transported a quantity of grain to Punkhabarree during the months of October, November, and December in 1838. The supplies continued to be carried up to Darjeeling by porters.<sup>2</sup> Encouraging reports were being made about the economic activities of the station, 'I am happy to say that latterly much had been done towards the improvement of the station, the bazar had been opened to the public and particularly supplied... goats, fowls, etc. procured below Punkhabaree. Midah, rice, dhol (dal), sugar, ghee were sold at the godown.....There was a bazar for supplies, chiefly of native products. When Mr. Wilson opened his hotel, no doubt there were plenty of European articles but then they depended upon Calcutta for them...' <sup>3</sup> But unfortunately things did not turn up to be satisfactory. soon a dispute arose between Col. Lloyd and Mr. Perry when Lloyd asked him to stabilise supply of provisions in the market, presumably for intermitent shortages. Perry's reaction to it was abnormal; he appeared to have taken more time to manufacture excuses to explain his lapses

Plate No. XII



*Native Market*

than explaining means to improve upon the situation.<sup>4</sup> His claim that he did not engage himself in any private trade was not accepted by Col. Lloyd. Col. Lloyd maintained that Mr. Perry was anxious to have a monopoly of supply and that his assertion that he engaged himself only to assist Lloyd was completely falsified by the fact that he made his own backeries, building and his own servants, making his own advances and, in short, transacting everything connected with the business.<sup>5</sup> Apart from the teething troubles in the market management another interesting feature in its operation was observed in Lloyd's intervention in the free operation of the market. Goods were sold to those only whom Lloyd recommended.<sup>6</sup>

As soon as Dr. Campbell assumed charge he sought to establish a market with all earnestness along with his other responsibilities. The market under his able supervision started to grow fairly steadily. He addressed himself to arrange for shop space and he built five shops in the Darjeeling market place and induced the Bunnias (business community) to occupy those shops by granting loans to them. As a result of this wise policy eighteen shops had been set up in the market in the first year of his administration, which used to maintain a good store of all requisite articles. Campbell was expecting to realize Rs. 22.00 per month as a rent from each shop besides the 12% return of the Government investment to set up liquor shops from spirit licences.<sup>7</sup>

The pace of improvement quickened after the Darjeeling Municipality came into existence in 1850. For, it not only took upon itself the task of erecting shaded stalls in the market square, and to establishing several slaughter houses but also encouraged businessmen by inviting them to undertake varieties of business activities for which it was ready to grant loans.<sup>8</sup>

*The Calcutta Review* sums up the progress of the market very well, "The market was on the whole well arranged and well supplied. The traders were all from the plains. the shops were erected by and remained the property of the Government. The authorities did not regulate the prices of the things sold in the market. Trade was quite free. Encouragement was given to traders to settle at the station...."<sup>9</sup>

Besides those shops and stalls and sheds the requirement of the town was supplemented through weekly markets held at the market square on weekends. Small traders from the surrounding areas brought their merchandise

Plate No. XIII



*Well developed Market*

mainly fresh vegetables, fruits and other food articles Dozey, an early historian of Darjeeling, drew a picture of the composition of the business community in weekly market. and their business which might be held to be tolerably true to fact. "Here will be seen astute Marwaris, whose chief business and source of income is money-lending; mild-spoken Kashmiris and Punjabi dealers in silks, skins and furs; petty grocers from the plains; sellers of old and rare coins; Bhutia pawn-brokers and cheap-jacks from whom many an article of 'virtue' may be picked up; Nepalese who deal in curios consisting of turquoise wear, coral, amber and jade ornaments, kukris, knives and brass-ware, and last but not least, the affable Parsee who deals in Japanese silver-ware and oilman's stores. In the Daroga Bazar, which leads from the east of the market square to Mount Pleasant Road just below the Central Hotel, as well as in the latter road, are located the iron-mongers, and Indian tailors so dear to the hearts of our lady visitors.<sup>10</sup> This picturesque description of the market is borne out by Waddel also who found in the Sunday market in Darjeeling Nepalese women dressed in English broad cloth with gaudy handkerchief of European manufacture thrown over their heads.<sup>11</sup> Thus the market square, indeed, represented the confluence of so many cultural, religious, and ethnic groups.

The Marwaris, who have been taken by Dozey as money-lenders, were in fact, the pillars of the trading activities of Darjeeling. It can not be denied that the Marwaris had played an important part in the development of the district; in Darjeeling town itself the firm of Jethmul Bhojraj was established as early as in 1845.<sup>12</sup> They did pioneering service in providing Banking facilities to the town. other important business establishments of the town were those of Smith Stanistreet and Partridge & Co. (Frank Ross of later times ); Robert and Company,<sup>13</sup> Jaylal Nursingh Das & Sons.,<sup>14</sup> Francis Harison whiteway & Laidlow, Hall & Anderson,<sup>15</sup> T.E. Bevan's Piano Shop, Hingon and Sons etc.<sup>16</sup> There were more than required number of excise shops in the town. A report<sup>17</sup> put the number at thirteen of which twelve were in Darjeeling town itself, and out of those twelve, six were imported retail shops and the other six were found to trade in all sorts of drugs like marigoana, opiumcannabis. With regard to the six imported retail shops.... we think that their number being excessive as compared with the number of actual consumers is tending to alarmingly increase consumption, that their very prominent sites, as affording improper facilities for the sale of foreign intoxicants, are objectionable. A negative side of Darjeeling economy was the wide prevalence of usury. O'Malley's observations in this

regard are worth mentioning for they reveal the entire gamut of the operation and also reflect on the extravagant habits of the hill people. In spite of general prosperity which prevailed, the indebtedness of the people was one of the most serious economic problems of the district. Due to the reckless manner of the people owing to customary obligations to incur heavy expenditure on marriages, funeral and other ceremonies they contract debts. Their simple delight to display themselves led to an extravagant outlay on dress, ornaments and jewellery and finally to their improvident habits. As soon as money was required they turned out for loan to the money-lender, the Marwari. The ignorant hill people were recklessly willing to sign bonds at high rates of interest for ready money, interest accumulated after interest and the unhappy debtor rarely managed to clear off his crushing debt.<sup>18</sup>

The mechanism which was applied by the local-money-lenders to overwhelm the debtors was described by O'Malley. The cunning operation of the moneylenders suggest a reference to O'Malley varbtim. "The difference between the original loan and the sum finally claimed is due to the ingenuous device of the usurer, for example, 'A' wants to borrow Rs. 100/ agreeing to pay at the rate of one anna in the rupee per month, has to sign first a note of hand for Rs. 106.25 at the end of the first month he thus owes Rs. 112.27 compound interest being charged on the original Rs. 106.25 and at the end of 12 months he has actually been charged compound interest at 6.25% for 13 months and owes Rs. 219.90. The money-lender then gets him to sign a fresh loan and in this note he (the borrower states that he has received Rs. 219.90 and agrees to pay at the same rate of interest as before. Sometimes the old note is destroyed, if a suit is instituted, the court has no means to know what was the original sum lent. Rates of interest vary according to the nature of the security given.<sup>19</sup> Interests charged on loans were charged according to the following rates :

1. One anna, which is 0.07% (approx.) interest per month was charged for each rupee lent and excluding compound interest the debtor had to pay 75% interest per annum;
2. Rs. 5.00, which is 20% interest per month on every hundred rupees but would make total linterest of 60% per annum.<sup>20</sup>

The table below further highlights the fleecing rates of interest prevalent during the last decades of the nineteenth century.

Table : III : 1

Rates of Interest in %	
Years	Rate of interest in percent
1897	300%
1898	30%
1899	36% to 37%
1900	60%

SOURCE : *Bengal District Gazetteers : Darjeeling*, P. 117. O'Malley, L.S.S.

The usurer had his own explanation for charging such high interest rates. The proximity of the frontier and the ease with which a debtor could escape into Nepal and the risk consequently incurred by the money-lender were certain factors which suggested an imposition of the rates which they charged.<sup>21</sup> This might be true in the case of tea garden labourers who did not have permanent base, but the same rates being applied even on the town dwellers who were permanent residents went against the substance of their arguments. Moreover, the money-lenders were careful not to lend without obtaining any security. The rule of the money-lender community was perhaps facilitated by the absence of Banks,<sup>22</sup> except for a few agricultural banks and the money-lenders being few in number. The Marwaris who had family ties with each other or formed a close ring had practically established monopoly control on usury.<sup>23</sup>

In spite of this evil of usury poverty in the ordinary sense of the term was said to be unknown owing to the large amount of land still available for cultivation and the constant demand for labour. The abundant facilities for petty trade could have been gainfully used to make a living. Anyone who was in need of employment could find ample work and good money. The Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling wrote : "In no part of India, I suppose, is the material condition of the people so good as both in the hills and plains of this district. They are well-fed, well-housed, and well-clothed. The demand for labour is far in excess of supply. The indigeneous races of the hills, the Lepchas and Limbus are undoubtedly worse off but they have all they want and are contented and happy."<sup>24</sup>

No doubt the market was an important focal point of the economic

activities of the town, but the hotel business too was fast becoming the parametre of its economic importance, The growing popularity of the hill stations enticed visitors even from abroad besides the domestic tourists. One such foreign visitor was Edward Lear who came to India in 1873, invited by his friend, the Viceroy Lord Northbrook for landscape painting of Indian views. He placed his easel on the slopes of Darjeeling in order to fulfil a commission to paint the Kunchanjunga. He was startled by the enormous and inimitable vastness of that fabulous peak. "Kanchanjunga is not sympathetic mountain", he wrote, "it is so far off, so very God-like and stupendous!" Although he found the view of the mountain at sunrise, a glory not to be forgotten', so overawed was Lear that he felt himself unable to do the mighty mountain full justice. He depicted Kanchanjunga, therefore, as mere background in a sketch of the foothills, with a Buddhist shrine as the principal feature in the landscape, before packing up his easel and paints and moving on....<sup>25</sup>

The pace of urbanization thus set by the emergence of hotels started off by the near completion of the first and the only one hotel, "Darjeeling Family Hotel", inviting prospective visitors to quickly book their accommodation. Mr. David Wilson, the proprietor of the hotel, put in an advertisement in the Englishman which was, infact, more than an advertisement, for it provided an insight into the type of journey, the rates and other interesting information.<sup>26</sup> The much awaited and advertised hotel of Mr. Wilson finally opened on 31st March, 1840, when a party of 12 sat down to dinner. Two good fires kept the temperature at 65 F. Once the Darjeeling Family Hotel started functioning there was no stopping and soon it was followed by Wilson Hotel, a two storied house having eighteen rooms and a large one storied building of the same name (later known as Castleton) on Hooker Road. Then came into existence the 'Woodland' shortly followed by 'Drum Druid', Rockville, Bellevue, and the Central Hotel, the transition eventually touched up 'Hotel Mount Everest'.<sup>27</sup>

Hotel Mount Everest, completed on the 12th October, 1915, was the scene of a fashionable gathering in the following evening when a dinner was given by the proprietor, Mr. A. Stephen, to commemorate the opening of this up-to-date hotel built on the latest principles adopted in all continental hotels. It was a palatial structure constructed with a sense of architecture which seemed to have elicited admiration of those who saw it. The hotel commanded view of over hundred miles of the snowy range and stood well above the town on the

Plate No. XIV



*Hotel Mount Everest*

Auckland Raod and was designed by Mr. Stephen Wilkinson. The building had undergone a further expansion in course of time. It consisted of a central block with a north to right wing attached toilet and contained 120 rooms appropriately furnished for comfortable living<sup>28</sup>. Although we do not have any reliable data to determine the exact number of tourists visiting Darjeeling at that time the number of hotels that came up by the first decade of the twentieth century suggested that the number of visiting tourists visiting Darjeeling had ensured occupancy of rooms for a good part of the year. The populatin figure of the town given in March, 1911 being 17,053, but increasing to 21,553 in September, 1911, pointed to the fact that at least around 2,000 people out of 4,500 extra population had been tourists visiting the place.<sup>29</sup>

## II

In mid 40's of the nineteenth century the process of urbanization was further speeded up by gradual progress it made in building up trading relations with its neighbours. Though the chief trading centre remained to be Calcutta from where it imported several articles for consumption as well as for export to Sikkim, Nepal, Bhutan, and Tibet. Yet Darjeeling's importance as a transit market was gradually assuming importance. Some of the important articles imported from Calcutta are given in the table below.

**Table No. III : 2**

<b>Articles Imported to Darjeeling From Calcutta</b>	
<b>Commodities</b>	<b>From Calcutta</b>
European Piece-goods	
Cotton Yarn	
Rice	
Kerosine oil	
salt	
Coal and Coke	

A part of the goods imported from Calcutta were found to be sold in Nepal. The British India also imported a number of commodities from Nepal for use in the Darjeeling locality and partly to be siphoned off to Calcutta for the larger Indian market.

Table No. III : 3

Items of Trade Between Darjeeling and Nepal	
Articles Imported from Nepal	Articles Exported to Nepal
Food-grains	European piece-goods
Cotton piece-goods	Cotton twist
Manufactured wool and hides	Salt
Potatoes	Kerosine oil
Sheep	Tobacco
Goats	Food-grains
Poultry	

SOURCE : O'Malley, L. S. S. Bengal District Gazetteers : Darjeeling, pp. 129

One of the problems with O'Malley that had surfaced was that he had not been careful about scrutinising his facts. Either he had been overenthusiastic or he had messed up information in total disregard of chronology. The table III : 3 which was obtained from O'Malley had shown export of tobacco to Nepal though it was not included in the list of imports from Calcutta vide table III : 2. The nearest place from where tobacco could not have been locally produced. Cooch-Bihar and if it was so a few other commodities must have been procured from that place for the purpose of export trade, which O'Malley did not mention.

The trade with Sikkim was much of the same nature as that with Nepal though of a smaller volume. The significance of the Sikkim trade was underlined by the fact that much of it was addressed to Tibet which the British India intended to use since the time of Warren Hastings. The articles which Darjeeling imported from and exported to Tibet are enumerated in Table No. III : 4.

Table No. III : 4

## Darjeeling trade with Tibet

Articles imported	Articles Exported
Blankets (Coarse)	Broad cloth
Blankets (Fine)	Flannels and similar clothes
Ponies	Chintz and cotton
Salt	American drill
Jewellery	Tobacco
Yak's tail	Indigo
China caps	Latechu
Musk	Umbrellas (gingham)
Silk	Iron hooks and pots
Tea	Brass utensils
Sheep	Looking glasses
	Goor (molasses)
	Hookahs
	Miscellaneous

SOURCE : Minute by The Lt. Governor of Bengal, No. 1410 T, June, 28th, 1875.

The list of export articles will be still longer if we add articles given by Edgar.<sup>30</sup> Looking at the tables 3 and 4 it is clear that the balance of trade was not in favour of Darjeeling. Trade with Nepal even declined in the late fifties as was reported by Dr. Campbell.<sup>31</sup> However, trade with Tibet continued to be reasonably good; inspite of many restrictions and duties the trade with Tibet through Sikkim route had a value of Rs. 50,000/ annually. Jackson suggested that British manufactures could be exchanged with Tibetan gold, salt, and wool.<sup>32</sup> The works of B.H. Hodgson on the Himalyas, Campbell's parental anxiety for its development and the findings of the Jackson's report added a new dimension to the importance of Darjeeling as a centre of transfrontier trade. By the 60's the British commercial interests in Tibet had been found to materialise through the Sikkim route going through Chumbi valley to Lhasa then through anyother route in the west. It was the shortest rout between Calcutta and Lhasa with Darjeeling as an entreport for Cnetral Asian trade.<sup>33</sup>

Ahley Eden wrote in 1861, "A very considerabel trade will spring up between Lahsa and Darjeeling. The Tibetans will only be too glad to exchange golddust, musk, borax, wool and wait for English cloth, tobacco, etc. and the

people of Sikkim will gain as carriers of this trade, and their Government will raise a considerable revenue from the transit duties."<sup>34</sup> From 1861 onwards Darjeeling as a commercial centre attracted attention of the mercantile class as well as of the Government. On 20th May, 1864 the Bengal Government addressed a long letter to the Superintendent of Darjeeling. It was pointed out that the Indo-Tibetan trade would be greatly promoted if a suitable place near Darjeeling was assigned to the Tibetan traders where they could find proper accommodation for themselves and their cattle during their stay. It was further suggested that the local Government might resume land at the end of the Lebong spur to prepare a proper spot for this purpose. The Superintendent was further requested, 'to prepare and submit a general report on the trade between Darjeeling and Sikkim and Tibet, showing... the quantity and value of every kind of produce imported into Darjeeling from those countries during 1860-63" The Government appeared to be very keen to know the routes by which the traders conveyed their goods in details and also about all impediments which might hinder the trade and the suggestions for the removal of those difficulties. Further, Superintendent was requested' to ascertain and report the particulars of any trade that may now exist with Bhootan on the one hand and Nepal on the other, and make any suggestion for the encouragement of such trade that may occur to him'. It is evident from this letter that Bengal was more interested in the prospects of Indo-Tibetan trade than those of the Indo-Nepalese and Indo-Bhutanese trade. The Bengal Government was determined to develop Darjeeling as a centre of Indo-Tibetan trade. This explained its earnest for detailed information about the transfrontier trade with Darjeeling as entreport.<sup>35</sup>

The Superintendent in his reply to this letter furnished, according to himself a tolerably accurate' report, the details of which were supplied by Cheebo Lama.<sup>36</sup> The merchandise imported from Sikkim consisted of horses, cattle including sheep and goats, blankets, salt, musk, wax, butter oranges, millet, rice lime, and copper. There was a steady annual increase of trade. The imports in 1863 were nearly double of those of 1860. Money earned during the four year under notice amounted to Rs. 89,535.00 out of which the sum of Rs. 19,450.00 was returned to Sikkim in the shape of goods. The articles of export to Sikkim included English cloth, metal utensils, tobacco and coral. Among the items of export, only tobacco was grown in the terai and others were not of local manufacture. With the improvement of communications, the Superintendent expressed hope that great quantities of tea would be exported to Sikkim and

Tibet replacing brick tea which was formerly imported from Lhasa and China.

The trade with Tibet consisted of the importation of horses, blankets, tea, turquoise, wool, musk, ox-tails, musical instruments and shoes. The horses found a market in the plains. The blankets were distributed among the numerous porters in Darjeeling. The imports increased greatly during 1860-63. The total price of goods sold amounted to Rs. 64,005.00. Out of this amount Rs. 43,700.00 was spent in Darjeeling for purchase of goods for exports. The balance of Rs. 20,305.00 was taken away in cash. The articles exported to Tibet were chiefly tobacco, indigo, kutch (catechu). Both in Sikkim and Tibet there was a steady demand for English cotton goods, cloth and foreign luxuries. The phenomenal increase of trade with Sikkim and Tibet was largely explained by the improved Anglo-Sikkimese relations. There was a suggestion that completion of a direct road through Sikkim and railway communication with Calcutta be undertaken to further the cause of trade (a considerable portion of the China trade would doubtless be diverted from other and more circuitous routes. ) and make Darjeeling 'important as a mercantile depot'. The Superintendent reported that the trade with Nepal was uncertain. Instead of showing steady annual increase it remained static. Some hopeful change was noticed in the import of cattle and balanket. The increased population of Darjeeling afforded ready market for these. The sales figures in 1863 showed only Rs. 25,140.00 against Rs. 23,040.00 in 1860. The total amount realized in four years figured out to Rs. 96,960.00 out of which Rs. 4,000.00 were spent in the purchase of chintz and cotton goods. As exports of cattle and iron from Nepal were prohibited they were smuggled secretly.

Trade with Bhutan was small and showed scarcely any perceptible increase'. The only item of import was muscle, required by numerous labourers employed in public works and tea plantations in Darjeeling. The total value of this item was Rs. 1,700.00 while the value of goods taken in exchange amounted to Rs. 4,200.00. Bhutan had a large demand for all sorts of cloth and cotton goods.

Trade with Sikkim was conducted in four routes viz. two via Namchee and Chadam to the Great Rangit, and two via Zeeme to Gok and Tramduc to Colbong. The Tibetan merchants entered Darjeeling by routes starting from Chola, Yekla, Nathey, Cumra and Dangsa. All these met in Sikkim through which they entered Darjeeling via Gangtok and Dikeeling. The Nepalese traders

reached Darjeeling by three routes : 1. via Elamghuree in Nepal crossing the Mechi to Nagri, 2. via Mayoong in Nepal to Goong, and 3. via Toongloong and Fulaloong in Nepal to Samabjong near Gok. There were two roads by which Bhutan trade entered Darjeeling 1. via Shougney and Jungsa to Dalimkot, then crossing the Sumlienghat to Pashok, 2. from Paro passing the frontier of Tibet and Bhutan by Chumbi and Rinchingong in Tibet, then via the Chula Yeklah and Nathey passes in Sikkim to the Great Rangit.

There were usual 'difficulties confined to ordinary vicissitudes of travel in mountainous and sparsely populated countries'. Some traders, however, complained of 'uncertainty of markets'. 'much access' was confined to few scattered individuals. Moreover, there was no convenient spot where one could carry on trade in open competition. To remove these obstacles, the Superintendent reiterated his suggestion for the institution of an annual fair at Darjeeling.

This was the first comprehensive report on the transfrontier trade of Darjeeling. The importance of this document can hardly be exaggerated.<sup>37</sup> The report was thoroughly examined by the Bengal Government, which was convinced that the trade was capable of considerable expansion especially in the direction of Sikkim and Tibet. The Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling was instructed to facilitate the establishment of Serai and Bazar on the Lebung spur. There were other instructions too. 'The road to the Great Rungeet must be kept up in good repair... you would also call upon the Maharaja of Sikkim, through the Dewan Cheebo Lama, to see that the road made to the Teesta by the British Force in Sikkim in 1861 is kept in good repair... you should give every information in your power to those likely to engage in the trade. In 1865 The Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling reported that if greater facilities were afforded for the transport of merchandize between Darjeeling and the main line traffic in Bengal, the station would become the centre of a large and increasing traffic with the neighbouring states. Articles such as fine wool from Tibet; rice, fruit and copper from Sikkim and cattle from Nepal would be imported to Darjeeling in exchange for English cloths and printed calicoes, metal wares, indigo, and tobacco.'<sup>38</sup>

Bengal also recommended that the Eastern Bengal Railway Company should be allowed to extend their line from Koosta to the valley of Tista' at which merchants of Eastern Tibet were willing to bring their goods for exchange with the products of Bengal and the Manufactures of Europe.<sup>39</sup>

The Commissioner of Cooch-Behar, Col. Haughton strongly recommending friendship with the Lamas of Tibet submitted a report in July 1870 on the commercial relations with Tibet and China. He suggested that Peking should be asked to remove all restrictions on the free passage of merchants and travellers. The British Minister at Peking informed in January, 1871 that there was no possibility of eliciting from the Chinese Emperor necessary encouragement for trade with Tibet. In a separate report Col. Haughton enumerated the route through which merchants of Central Asia could be reached : 1. via Ladakh; 2. via Nepal; 3. via Darjeeling; 4. via Bhamo and Burma; 5. via Buxa and western Doars; via Assam and Towang. The route most frequently used was that through Assam and Towang. He induced some of the Patna merchants, who had used the Nepal route to establish an agency at Darjeeling. In spite of this effort trade appeared to pass through Darjeeling, the eastern route by Brahmaputra valley being most frequently used.<sup>40</sup>

In a subsequent despatch Bengal requested the Government of India to induce Peking to abandon her exclusive policy. The importance of the Sikkim route was also reiterated, 'since even if the trade were not thrown open to us directly any radical improvement of the road must lead to a considerable increase of indirect traffic, and perhaps by bringing the Tibetans down to the plains pave the way for a more liberal policy in the future.'<sup>41</sup> In April, 1873 a deputation from the Society of Arts, London, led by A. Campbell, Lt. Col. Gawler, J.D. Hooker, and B.H. Hodgson submitted a memorandum to the Duke of Argyle, Secretary of State for India. They advocated a more dynamic commercial policy in central Asia on strategic and commercial grounds. They laid stress on the improvement of existing communications in Sikkim by extending roads to the Tibetan frontier and also by completing Railway connection between Darjeeling and Calcutta. In the same year the Raja of Sikkim had an interview with Sir John Campbell. One of the results of the results of the interview was the visit, on deputation, of J.W. Edgar, the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling to Sikkim and Tibetan frontier, 'to enquire into the conditions and prospects of trade with Tibet and advisability of making a road through Sikkim to the Tibetan frontier.'<sup>42</sup>

During his visit Edgar met some Tibetan traders who were on their way to Darjeeling where they wanted to exchange coarse blanket for tobacco in October, 28th, 1873. At Keu Laksh he met a family of herdsmen from whom he learnt that they had supplied butter and cream cheese to the markets of

Darjeeling and Lhasa. These markets were mainly dependent on the herd of cows of the hari valley for beef, butter, and cheese. At Gnatui pass Edgar met a man from Gangtok who had brought murwa valued at Rs. 6.00 only which he was taking to Chumbi for sale. He claimed that he expected to sell and would be able to buy with this sum at Phari four maunds of salt which he expected to sell in Darjeeling for Rs. 32.00 while the price of murwa at Gangtok used to vary between Rs. 4.00 and Rs. 8.00 only.<sup>43</sup>

The Tibetans told Edgar that they could not buy in Lhasa tea as fine as some Darjeeling tea, though as much as Rs. 2.00 a pound was paid for the best Darjeeling tea available there. Edgar suggested, "I have no doubt that if tea were freely admitted to Tibet, our Darjeeling growers could easily produce a tea of better quality than that now commonly consumed and deliver it even at Lhasa at a lower price than is now paid for the Chinese article. But they would have to manufacture for the market, and break away from the ideas formed under the influence of brokers catering for English tastes."<sup>44</sup> The tea market was disturbed by a number of factors. There was no doubt that the prohibition of the importation of Darjeeling tea was caused by Chinese influence. Besides, the policy followed by the Darjeeling growers was also responsible for this. The Chinese tea was imported through Tibet into Darjeeling for consumption of the local inhabitants of the district, who were practically unable to obtain the tea grown on the spot. The problem of communication was also taken into account. A road along the Teesta Valley and then via Rhinokh to the Nethai Pass would near the frontier join an excellent road through the great mart of Jagartchi to Lhasa..... The Public Works Department was asked to arrange for the survey of the road. The Magistrate of Rungpore was instructed to induce the Marwaris and other merchants in his district to bring to Darjeeling in the cold season indigo, tobacco, cloth and other articles required by the traders from Tibet and Sikkim in exchange for the produce of those countries.<sup>45</sup> In spite of these efforts trade in Darjeeling remained insignificant.<sup>46</sup> The Deputy Commissionr of Drjeeling supplied the returns of 1876 which gave the following approximate estimate of value of trade with Tibet through Sikkim.<sup>47</sup>

**Table No. III : 5****Trade with Tibet through Sikkim in 1876**

Items	Value of Imports in Rs.
Poines	51,440.00
Cows	6,320.00
Sheep	7,536.00
Blanket	18,750.00
Salt	11,960.00
Yak-tails	6,640.00
Miscellaneous	7,980.00
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>1,10,626.00</b>

The exports were estimated as follows :

**Table III : 6****Export Commodities**

Items	Value of Exports in Rs.
Cloths (including broad cloth, all kinds of cotton goods, mixed silk and cotton and country cloths)	1,25,000.00
Indigo	43,000.00
Tobacco	7,140.00
Miscellaneous (paint furs, spices, umbrellas window panes, looking glasses lanterns)	10,400.00
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>1,85,540.00</b>

SOURCE : Annual Administration Report of Rajshahi & Cooch Behar Division : No. 32, July, 24th, 1876

With the opening of the Darjeeling Himalayan Railway in 1881 and the Northern Bengal State Railway earlier Darjeeling was brought within an easy reach of the Tibetan frontier. It now took less than a week to reach the Tibetan frontier border from Calcutta. Its effect on Darjeeling trade was immediately

discernable. While in Tibet December, 1881, Sarat Chandra Das, learnt from Nepalese merchants in Tibet that Nepalese trade had suffered greatly on account of the introduction of Calcutta goods in the Tibetan market. His observation on the growth of the Indo-Tibetan trade would be interesting to those who would be examining the trend of frontier trade. 'By the opening of the Darjeeling Himalayan Railway, Calcutta where most of the Chinese articles valued in Tibet may be easily and cheaply procured, will be brought within three weeks' journey of Lhasa....The Tibetans thoroughly appreciate these facilities, and every Tibetan who has ever visited Darjeeling warmly praises our Government for making the Jelep La road. The Chinese Government naturally fear that with the opening of free intercourse between Tibet and India, China will be a great loser so far as her commercial interests are concerned.<sup>48</sup> So, it could be easily presumed that the Anglo-Tibetan trade had not only affected Nepalese trade in Tibet but also Chinese trade there. With the developing opportunities in communication and transit the question of promoting commercial intercourse with Tibet gained a new dimension. In 1885 Colman Macaulay, Financial Secretary to the Government of Bengal, was deputed to visit Sikkim and Tibetan frontier. He was asked to enquire among other things into certain rumours of the stoppage of trade through the Lachen valley between Darjeeling and the province of Tsang, which was reputed for the quality of its wool. At Giagong he met the Kamba Jongpen a Tibetan official and collected much useful information. Next year he visited Peking. There he obtained a passport from the Chinese Government to visit Lhasa to discuss with the Chinese Resident and the Tibetan Government the issue of free admission of the Indian local traders through Sikkim and Darjeeling.<sup>49</sup> It did not materialise, the circumstances that eventually led to the abandonment of the mission and finally to the conclusion of the Anglo-Chinese Convention of 1890 were familiar to scholars working on Central Asia. In 1881-82 it was reported that in spite of Darjeeling Himalayan Railway and the completion of a good road to Jelep Pass trade with Sikkim did appear to be sufficiently encouraging. 'Probably no large expansion of commerce with the small state of Sikkim can be expected.'<sup>50</sup> However, the 90's of the 19th century belied the apprehensions of the report and showed satisfactory increase both in export and import. The rise in export was noticed in the volume of timber, hides, cattle, sheep and goats and woollen manufacture transported into India. The rise in import was evident in cotton goods, tobacco, rice, provisions and Indian twist and yarn that were shiphoned off to Sikkim.

During 1893-94 trade with Sikkim showed increase by between 15.47% and 41.20% in comparison with the percentage in the two previous years. Substantial improvement was achieved in the export of rain crops, timber, gram, and pulse, and hides of cattle and in the import of rice, salt, mineral oils and cattle in Sikkim. The aggregate value of the traffic of 1895-96 was 24.21% greater than of 1894-95 and was nearly double of the trade of 1893-94. In 1896-97 the aggregate value of the trade with Sikkim was 30.36% greater than that of 1895-96 and 61.93% greater than that of 1894-95. Commodities like spices (other than betel nuts), fresh fruits and vegetables, provisions (other than ghee), raw cotton, sheep, goats, gram, and pulse and yak-tails were imported in Darjeeling in profusion. The import in yak-tail had valued at Rs. 622.00 in 1892-93, it had altogether ceased in the two subsequent years and was revived in 1895-96 fetching the value of Rs. 3,000.00. Commodities which were exported to Sikkim in large quantity were silver, tobacco, brass and copper, Indian cotton piece-goods, European cotton-twist and yarn, vegetables and mineral oils, horses, ponies and mules. For the first time since 1890-91, horses, ponies and mules were found to be exported to Sikkim during 1895-96.<sup>51</sup>

As a centre for Indo-Nepal trade Darjeeling presented a comparatively dull picture. Lamb had estimated that the trade of Bengal with Nepal was between 20 to 25 times as great as that with Tibet.<sup>52</sup> Yet, surprisingly Darjeeling was considered more important as a centre for Indo-Tibetan trade than as a centre for Indo-Nepalese trade. It occupied eighth position as trade centre that conducted trade with Nepal, the first seven being Calcutta, Champaran, Bhagalpur, Purnea, Darbhanga, Muzaffarpur, and Saran respectively. Out of the total value of Bengal-Nepal trade of Rs. 17.24 million (approx.) and Rs. 21.74 million (approx.) in the years 1879-80 and 1880-81 respectively, Darjeeling carried on trade only to the amount of Rs. 45,122.00 and Rs. 54,334.00 respectively for the two above mentioned years. This clearly showed that as an Indo-Nepalese trade centre Darjeeling was never rated very high though no explanation could be found from the records why it was so.

The import from Nepal to Darjeeling included cotton-piece goods (Indian) food-grains, gram, and pulses, hides and skins, clarified butter, wool (manufactured), sheep, goats, cattle, poultry, butter, mustard, blanket. Exports to Nepal from Darjeeling included piece-goods (European and Indian), cotton, twist, and yarn, salt, kerosine, tobacco, food-grains, brass-pots, copper.

Darjeeling depended to a very great extent on Nepal for its supply of animal food. The following figures give us an idea of the volume/value of the transactions. :

Table No. III : 7

## Indo Nepal Trade Through Darjeeling 1876

Items Imported	Value in Rupees
Goats	9,264.00
Pigs	14,500.00
Fowls	4,900.00
Cows	1,200.00
Sheep	2,100.00
Buffaloes	1,080.00
Pigeons	1,200.00
Ghee	8,280.00
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>42,524.00</b>

Some other items of export and import to and from Nepal are given in the table below :

Table No. : III : 8

## Indo Nepal Trade Through Darjeeling 1876

Items Imported	Value in Rupees
Blankets and Nepal cotton goods,	13,000.00
rice, pulses, grains and other food-grain	5,780.00
Iron	20,600.00
Shingles for roofing houses	2,600.00
Miscellaneous	10,000.00
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>51,980.00</b>

SOURCE : *Proceedings of Bengal Government, General Miscellaneous, August, 1876,*

Table No. III : 9

## Indo Nepal Trade Through Darjeeling

Chief Export Items	Value in Rs.
European cotton and woollen Goods and cotton-twist	22,000.00
Miscellaneous	15,000.00
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>37,000.00</b>

SOURCE : *Proceedings of Bengal Government, General Department Miscellaneous*, August, 1876.

However, according to the proceedings of Bengal Government of October, 1883 it might be held that both import and export had increased at the two hill-stations of Kainjalia and Ghoompahar through which Nepal traffic passed. Items whose import increased considerably were poultry, sheep, clarified butter and butter, the import of blankets decreased. The exports of piece-goods to Nepal had gone up substantially.<sup>53</sup>

The Government of Bengal was determined to take every step to utilise in full its Tibetan target market and then to explore the potential markets of the Central Asian region. Understandably, Darjeeling occupied an important place in realizing this grand scheme and accordingly measures were suggested and taken to make Darjeeling a 'mercantile Depot; particularly for Tibetan trade.

Table No. III : 10

Items of Import	Items of Export
1. Horses	1. Tobacco
2. Blankets	2. Indigo
3. Tea	3. Kutch
4. Turquoise	
5. Wool	
6. Musk	
7. Ox-tail	
8. Musical Instrument	
9. Shoes	

SOURCE : *Proceedings of Bengal Government : General Department*, July, 1864.

In the report of the external trade of Bengal, it was suggested : 'If native merchants could possibly be stationed in the principal towns in Tibet with liberty to carry on unrestricted communications with the plains through Darjeeling, there is no doubt that a very large trade would spring up, and English goods would not only have a large market in the valley of the Sanpo, but find their way into Tibet and Southern Mongolia. With The Railway to Darjeeling and good roads to the neighbouring frontier, it only required commercial organisation and freedom from obstruction to ensure a flourishing trade between Calcutta and Lhasa.<sup>54</sup>

During subsequent years trade with Tibet and Sikkim fell off on account of disturbed state of relations with those countries. The sikkim expeditions caused anxiety and alarm among the residents at Darjeeling. The Marwari merchants carried on trade with more circumspection than usual.<sup>55</sup>

The returns of 1889-90 showed that 789 maunds of wool were imported in 1889 compared to 1154 maunds in 1888. Since January 1st, 1890, a large increase in the import of raw wool was noticed.<sup>56</sup> In 1891 the exports of cotton-piece goods rose from Rs. 18,486.00 to Rs. 51,858.00. But from a resolution<sup>57</sup> of the Government of Bengal it could be gussed stated that the whole value of trade with tibet, sikkim, and Nepal did not satisfy the Government.<sup>58</sup>

It was reported in 1892 that a large consignment of gold, valued at Rs. 0.288 million was for the first time registered in 1891. The gold was taken to Darjeeling by two rich traders of Lhasa. The Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling, however, held that the value shown was enormously exaggerated in the returns. The import of raw wool, musk, and yak-tails from Tibet showed steady development.<sup>59</sup> In 1893-94 the import trade in raw wool amounted to 84.31% of the total imports. The export trade to Tibet showed increase in items such as indigo, European cotton piece-goods, brass, copper, and other manufactured articles of merchandise. The steady development of the Indo-Tibetan trade was triggered by the increased feeling of security that prevailed in the border.<sup>60</sup>

The Tibetan authorities had imposed prohibition on the export of tea and salt from Tibet. This created discontent in Sikkim. The result was on the whole beneficial, according to the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling and Darjeeling tea was sold at Rs. 0.25 a pound in Gangtok which was better than the Chinese brick tea sold at Rs. 0.5 a pound. Indian salt also was cheaper than that which came from Tibet. There was no difference in quality. The command of the

Tibetans over the market rested merely on the habit of the consumers. The Tibetan prohibition weakened that habit. The Anglo-Chinese Convention of 1890 added importance to the tibetan trade. Indo-Tibetan trade almost ceased in 1888-89 owing to political complications. The trade showed a tendency to increase with the establishment of a permanent route through the Jelep pass.<sup>61</sup> Amongh the chief export articles to Tibet European piece-goods, brass indigo, and tobacco deserved to be mentioned.

One of the commodities which had a steady demand in the transfrontier trade was salt. We find ample references to salt as an important item of trade among the people of the Himalayas.<sup>62</sup> The only districts to which untaxed salt was imported were Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri. In the last few years of the 19th century no untaxed foreign salt was imported into India through any of the other frontier district.<sup>63</sup> The details of quantity of salt imported are given below :

Table No. III : 11

## Import of Salt

Years	Quantity		Quantity in approximate kg.
	Maund	Seer	
1878-79	1,588	13	63526.50
1879-80	2,268	9	90724.50
1883-84	1,113	20	44530.00
1894-95	108	25	4332.50
1898-99	189	0	7560.00

SOURCE : *Report on the External Trade of Bengal.*

The consumers of this salt were mainly Nepalese, Bhutias and Lepchas. The imports showed a downward trend, which seemed to be the result of the facilities of transport provided by the Darjeeling Himalyan Railway and the reduction in duty on the duty-paid salt from the palins.<sup>64</sup> The principal places from which salt was obtained were Waloongchang and Takpay in Nepal, Tibet, Sikkim and Bhutan.

Table No. III : 12

## Import of Salt.

Registering Posts	Quantity in mound	kg.(approx.)	From the place imported
Kainjalia	65-2-0	2601.00	Principally from Waloongchang and Takpay in Nepal
Rangit	267-10-0	10685.00	Sikkim
Pedong	431-0-0	17240.00	Tibet mainly, a small quantity from Sikkim and Bhutan also
Ghoompahar	250-8-0	10004.00	Waloongchang in Nepal

SOURCE : Report on the External Trade of Bengal, 1883-84, p. 13.

The following table throws a light on the price and and consump of this salt in this district.

Table No. : III : 13

## Types of Salt &amp; Their Prices

Description of Salt & Main Consumers	Price Current Per Rupee
Bhootea salt from Tibet, used by all hillmen	5 seers 2.50 (approx.kg.)
Nepal salt, used by hillmen	do
Lahouri or rock salt, also called sinda or shondhab, used mainly by the Bengalees, not much in demand	3 seers 1.50 (approx.kg.)
Liverpool salt used chiefly by Europeans	4 to 5 seers 2 to 2.50 (approx.kg.)
Pungahor-the ordinary uncleaned salt used largely by all plainsmen	6 seers 3.00 (approx. kg.)
Black salt from Dinapore used as medicine	2 seers 1.00 (approx. kg.)
Sambur or Red Salt used as medicine	2 seers 1.00 (approx. kg)
Jharruk, Kamih, and Moolia-all medicinal	1 seers 0.50 (approx.kg.)

SOURCE : Darjeeling District Record Room, Volumes 55-56, No. 91, 24-11-1871

The emergence of Registering stations for transfrontier trade were closely linked with the commercial development of Darjeeling. On 25th August, 1875, Bengal Government sanctioned certain proposals mooted by the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling for the registration of the frontier traffic.<sup>65</sup> Three frontier stations namely Pedong, Rangit, and Labah, the first two for Sikkim and Tibet and the last for Bhutan, were sanctioned. Samples of form meant for

inter-provincial traffic with Nepal were enclosed to give some idea about the nature of registration expected.<sup>66</sup>

Subsequently, Registration Station at Kurigallia, Ghoompahar, Adhikari and Naxalbari were established to register the frontier traffic between Darjeeling and Nepal. From June 1st, 1879 a common system of traffic registration was adopted in Bengal and North West Provinces under the orders of Government of India.<sup>67</sup> On 1st June, 1885 Rhenok and Kalimpong were substituted for Pedong on the Sikkim frontier. Siliguri took the place of Naxalbari as a registering station for the Nepal trade from the same year. The purpose behind these steps was to make the registration of the trade between Darjeeling and Tibet as complete as possible. Again, by September 1889 some changes in the arrangement of stations for registration of traffic with Sikkim and Tibet became necessary. A road was opened direct from Pakyong to Pedong by which traffic from Sikkim to Damdim could be carried without passing the registering stations at Kalimpong and Rhenok. The Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling proposed to remove the registration from Kalimpong to Labah and that at Rhenok back to Pedong. The Rangit station remaining where it was. The arrangement was approved by the Government and from January 1st, 1890, registration of trade was started at the new stations. The system continued upto November 3rd, 1893 and on 4th November a new station was started tentatively at Singla which was permanently sanctioned in August, 1895, for registering Sikkim trade that passed over a newly constructed bridge across the Ramam river. 'The increase in traffic passing through the part of Sikkim owing to the construction of a bridge over the Ramam river warranted the establishment of this registering station...<sup>68</sup> The traffic which passed through the Rangit, Labah, and Singlia stations was chiefly with Sikkim. The traffic that passed through Pedong was almost entirely with Tibet.<sup>69</sup> In 1896 the Commissioner of Rajshahi Division, after necessary consultations with the Political Officer of Sikkim and the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling made a number of recommendations regarding the re-arrangement of the registration stations. he recommended that the trade with Tibet be registered at Gangtok and Yatong, instead of at the existing stations under the control of the Deputy Commissioner; second, that the registration of Sikkim trade which was very small be abandoned; third, that the stations maintained for the registration of the trade of Bengal with Tibet and Sikkim be abolished."

The Government of Bengal accepted the first proposal. The second could

not be accepted because a record of trade across the frontier was required both by the Government of India and also by her Majesty's Secretary of State to compute the monthly accounts of foreign trade. Regarding the third proposal it was pointed out that Pedong and Labah stations at which a portion of Bhutan traffic was intercepted, be used as the Registration Station for trade with Bhutan. Immediately after these decisions were communicated the Commissioner of Rajshahi asked to establish a registration post at Gangtok. He was further asked to obtain and furnish the Government with statistics of trade from January 1st 1898, as registered at Yatong by the Chinese Custom Department.<sup>70</sup> By 1907, the frontier trade was registered at eight stations; the details are given in the table below :

Table No. III : 14

## Registering Stations for Frontier Trade

Registering Stations	Places to and From
Malighat	
Rangit	Sikkim
New Rangit	
Singlia	
Sukia Pokhari	Nepal
Kanilia	
Labah	Bhutan
Pedong	Tibet, Sikkim and partly Bhutan

SOURCE : O' Malley, L.S.S. Bengal District Gazetteers : Darjeeling p. 130.

The Government became aware that the registration system was inefficient. Investigations by reference to the Railway records and enquiry among some residents at Darjeeling and Jorebungalow, in whose house the Tibetan traders were known to have stayed, revealed, though incompletely, that the registration figures were quite unreliable.<sup>71</sup> The Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling also in his Annual Report mentioned that the hill trade with Nepal was more or less accurately recorded. Yet, he himself regarded the system far from perfect, as many traders refused to give information about their wares.<sup>72</sup> The registration figures only represented the trade passing at the time when the registering officers were present at the stations. The most valuable and portable articles frequently escaped notice.<sup>73</sup>

Formerly, Nepal Darbar did not levy any duty on articles imported into Nepal, <sup>75</sup> but the situation had changed in course of time. From the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling report of duties levied by the Darbar on traders entering into Nepal from India could be assessed. No export duty, however, was levied.

Table No. III : 15

Duties Levied on Articles Entering Nepal	
Articles	Duties Levied in Rupee
Cattle	0.5 to 1
Buffaloes	0.5
Sheep and goats	0.13
Coarse cloth	0.013 per thana (bundle)
Rice, pulses, salt bhutta	0.06 per load of 1 maund
Oil and clarified butter	0.5 per maund

SOURCE : Report on the External Trade & Bengal -1882-83-p.3

The imposts levied at the registration stations in the Nepal terai and those on the hills varied considerably. A load of raw cotton imported into Nepal was charged at Rs. 0.25 in the hills against only Rs. 0.007 in the terai. Iron and other metals, (except brass and copper, paints, colours, spices and sugar both drained and undrained), were all taxed at Rs. 0.5 per load in the hills as against Rs. 0.007 per load in the terai. No duty was levied in the hills on Indian-twist and yarn, raw jute and gunny bags. But the imposts on the articles in the terai were Rs. 0.07 per pony or bullock load and Rs. 0.14 per coolie load. The Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling reported some changes in the traffic system in 1885, 'In the terai especially duty was realized at so much per loaded pony or cart or per head of cattle, irrespective of quantity of the articles imported or exported. In the hills, the nature of the articles in some places affected the rates. But they were uniform everywhere for imports and exports, all traders, British, Nepalese or foreign.'<sup>75</sup>

In 1894 levy of duty on metals exported to Nepal was discontinued. In the frontier of Darjeeling district taxes were levied for the first time in 1897 by the Nepal Darbar on turmeric, raw jute, gunny bags and earthen vessels imported from Nepal and linseed and manufactured wool exported to that

country. Duties were levied by Sikkim also. At Phari in Tibet duties were levied on traders who were formerly Tibetan subjects but had left the country to settle elsewhere. The rate of duty was from 1% to 5% ad valorem. In 1883, the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling reported that the Maharaja of Sikkim had proposed to reintroduce duties. At Phari duties were levied on traders leaving or entering the country. Bhutan levied no duties. Rates of duties seem to have no decisive effect on the pattern and volume of transfrontier trade. The Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling asserted in 1884 that the fluctuations in the quantities of imports or exports at the different registering posts on the frontier did not depend on the rates levied at different points.<sup>76</sup>

Transfrontier trade was also facilitated by fairs; Dr. Campbell mentioned one such fair organised at the foot of the hills to which many thousands of Indians flocked from all quarters and which exercised a most beneficial influence throughout the neighbouring territories.<sup>77</sup> There used to be yet another Fair held on the last Wednesday and Thursday of every November which attracted not only the surrounding villagers but also people from Nepal, Bhutan, and Sikkim and Tibet and was very useful in stimulating both agriculture and trade of Darjeeling.<sup>78</sup>

As a result of all economic activities Darjeeling played a vital role in the transfrontier trade, being the most important centre of distribution. 'The main centres of distribution have been in order of their importance-Darjeeling, Matigarah (in the terai), Kurseong, Kalimpong, Siliguri, Pulbazar, Pankhabari, Nakshalbari (in the terai).'<sup>79</sup>

### III

The growth of tea industry played a key role in the development of Darjeeling. Tea came to Darjeeling in the wake of a report received from the brokers in England after the first auction sale in January, 1839. Those teas were not of good quality but they had whetted the curiosity. However, this report proved instrumental in Dr. Chapman obtaining sanction to give the Chinese variety a chance, and accordingly the first lot of seeds and plants were imported into Darjeeling in 1841; along with a number of Chinamen to teach laying out and manufacture of tea. Dr. Campbell started experiment in Darjeeling. The success of experiments encouraged others also to experiment with seeds distributed by Government. In 1852, Mr. Jackson remarked in a report, "I have

seen several plantations in various stages of advancement, both of the Assam and China plants, and I have found the plants healthy, and vigorous, showing that the soil is well adapted for the cultivation. In the gardens of the Superintendent, Dr. Campbell, in Darjeeling; in the more extensive plantations of Dr. Withcombe, the Civil Surgeon, and Major Crommelin, of the Engineers, in a lower valley called Lebong, the same satisfactory result has been obtained. The leaves, the blossoms and the seeds are full and healthy the reddish clay of the sides of the hill at Lebong seems to suit the plant better than the black loam of Darjeeling. This has been the result at and about Darjeeling itself, at a height of 700ft. But the opinion of Dr. Hooker and others competent to judge seems to be that there is too little sun at Darjeeling to admit of the cultivation on a large scale becoming remunerative. The objection, however, does not apply to the lower sites of Pankhabari and Kurseong, where a plantation of both tea and coffee has been established by Mr. Martin, and the plants are now in a highly thriving condition. In this tract of country, between Morung and Darjeeling every variety of elevation and aspect is to be found, and there seems to be little or no doubt that tea cultivation in that tract would answer."<sup>81</sup>

By 1856, development had been stepped up from the experimental to a more extensive and commercial stage. The first tea garden on commercial basis was the Alubari Tea Garden opened by the Kurseong and Darjeeling Tea Company and another at Lebong spur by the Darjeeling Land Mortgage Bank, in 1859 Dhaturia garden was started by Dr. Brougham and between 1860 and 1864, four gardens at Ging, Ambutia, Takdah, and Phubsering were established by the Darjeeling Tea Company and the gardens at Takvar and Badamtam were started by the Lebong Tea Company.<sup>81</sup> By 1866 there were 39 gardens in production with 10,000 acres under cultivation and an annual outturn of over 433, 000lbs. of tea. The subsequent development of the gardens, acreage, and outturn are given in the table below :

Table No. : III : 16

## Tea Production in Darjeeling

Year	No. of Garden	Area under cultivation in acres	Outturn in Pound (lbs.)	In approx. kg.)	No. of Labourers employed
1870	56	11,046	1689,186	854.00	8,347
1874	113	18,888	3927,911	2010.00	19,424
1885	175	38,499	9090,298	4560.00	not available
1895	186	48,692	11714,551	5884.5	do
1905					

SOURCE : The Bengal Gazetteers : Darjeeling, p.74. O'Malley, L.S.S.

Out of these 186 gardens 49 were situated in the Sadar division of Darjeeling itself which was a great boost for its economy. By the last decade of the 19th century, thus, tea had become the staple industry of Darjeeling and its hinterlands. The rapid growth of tea industry was the fruit of the efforts of several pioneers among whom the name of Francis Colbroock stood out prominently a few other planters too could be mentioned as pioneers. It appears that the industry in this district at least is not a little indebted to Mr. Fooks. He was influenced by Mr. W. Taylor, son of Mrs. H.C. Taylor-one of the pioneers of the H.T. Scheme, to buy the Neej-Kaman garden at Sonada in 1866. On arriving at Sonada to his great surprise he found the following conditions obtaining : 1. The H.T. Scheme had ended in complete failure; 2. That the garden had been deserted by their Managers and allowed to revert to scrub jungle; 3. The tea-bushes had been laid out in irregular patches and about 10ft. apart in order to enable the projectors to advertise their gardens as covering so many acres of land with a view to impose on the credulity of purchasers, as in those days it took the best part of a week and much trouble to get to Sonoda.<sup>82</sup>

Fooks in order to better supervise a smaller area had the tea-bushes uprooted and laid out in parallel rows of three feet apart and facing due east and west near his shanty. But before replanting them he had the tap-roots cut off, thus, treating the plants as one does fruit trees and rose bushes. The result, as anticipated by him, proved exceptional for the outturn increased by 100 fold although nothing but failure was predicted by Lemesurier in the Terai and others in Darjeeling. He might therefore, be considered as in this district, the pioneer in spite of what ever the Chinese who were imported might have taught the projectors of the H.T. Scheme in the way of planting out tea. He was the first to recognise the utility of planting out in parallel rows facing due east and west in order that the plants should obtain the greatest amount of heat and light so necessary for their well-being, conditions so essential for growth and reproduction.<sup>83</sup>

Besides tea industry a brewery was set up at Sonada called Victoria Brewery, managed by an European. The output of this brewery was 75,000 to 100,000 gallons per annum. The beer manufactured was of excellent quality and it mainly supplied the Army commissariat Department for the soldiers stationed at Darjeeling.<sup>84</sup>

The Annual General Administration Report of 1872 referred to the spread of the culture of cardamom, the introduction of which apparently having come from Nepal.<sup>85</sup> Waddel found Indian dealers at Darjeeling conducting profitable business in 'much of the aconite of commerce that finds its way to Europe and which is largely used now-a -days by homeopaths.'<sup>86</sup>

Darjeeling also produced good quality potatoes. Introduction of this staple here proved very successful at first. Darjeeling potatoes were remarkable for their size, and were considered far superior to the potatoes grown in the plains. A large quantity was, therefore raised for exportation. The appearance of European potato blight, however, among the crops about 20 years ago has well-nigh ruined potato cultivation at Darjeeling. An outturn of four rimes the seed sown is now considered a fair one...<sup>87</sup>

Thus, by the turn of the century, Darjeeling had a well organised, flourishing local market. In addition to that a Sunday market was held in the upper part of the market place. On the other days those flats were used by squatters at normal charge. The market was well provided with drains, water, and latrine accommodations. The markets at Jorbungalow and Ghoompahar too were provided with some civic facilities.<sup>88</sup>

Besides, around the market square there came to stand three storied concrete structures for accommodation of Indians and their shops, conceived and built by the Municipal Engineer, Mr. G.P. Robertson.<sup>89</sup> It also served to enhance the transfrontier trade with Nepal, Sikkim, Tibet and Bhutan. Though it was not intended at the outset that a study of the trans-Himalayan trade would be undertaken, nevertheless our sojourn into it was necessitated by the fact that trans-frontier trade had been appearing to be one of the extremely important factors to speed up the process of urbanization and to dictate the policy towards it. Because, it was not only the goods and services that were being considered to study urbanization activities. Trade brought in its train people of various ethnic groups and occupational and socio-cultural backgrounds whose settlement in Darjeeling, determined the settlement pattern in the city. While new areas of the town were colonised by the settlers it posed a challenge to the civic administration, in as much as to the Police authorities, in the matter of maintenance of law and order. Besides, health services had to be geared up to cope with the situation arising out of the settlement of immigrants in addition to its activities in the Sanatorium set up for the English soldiers.

In the context of the study of the growth of Trans-Himalyan trade in Darjeeling one finds it difficult to appreciate two views of Kennedy <sup>90</sup> that "most hill stations are parasitic"<sup>91</sup> and "...the essential impetus to the development even of those hill stations that operated as important entrepôts.... was their political standing."<sup>92</sup> Our very close scrutiny of the Darjeeling District records suggest modifications in both the remarks. While it is established beyond doubt that Darjeeling's development depended largely on the resources which the township could have generated after 1850 for the period from 1835-1850, the only Government investment that took place was in road-building and in the construction of a couple of office and residential complexes. Even the Sanatorium for which the hill was sought from the Raja of Sikkim came much later in 1890. Besides, Darjeeling is important as a market was underlined by its strategic location rather than by any political importance that was imputed to it by making it as the Summer Headquarters of the Lt. Governor of Bengal. We need not explain it again as we had explored all the routes which were opened towards Tibet to utilise its trade in the appropriate context. And the construction of roads to facilitate Tibetan trade indicates that Darjeeling grew as a trade mart independent of its use as a sanatorium or its importance as the Summer Capital of the Bengal Presidency.

### Notes and References

1. Census of India, 1911, Population of the town was 17,053 in March, it was recorded as 21,553 in September; the population being increased by about 4500 persons who were possibly visitors.
2. Consultations, Fort William, 3rd April, 1839, No. 131.
3. Bengal Harkura, January, 22nd, 1839.
4. Consultations, Fort William, April, 3rd, 1839, No. 131
5. *Ibid.* No. 131
6. Petition of Johur Odeen Jemdar Mugofer and Biswas Mohammed Jan Gomastha Hadoo Kali Goolami and Kadim of the Darjeeling servants of Col. Lloyd. Our petition is this: Mr. Perry of Kissangunge 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 Punkhabarree.

Col. Lloyd then requested Mr. Perry to send servants to him to take charge of the Darjeeling Punkhabarree Godown, and accordingly we were engaged for that purpose and sent to the Colonel at the following rates of wages ; a Jemdar at Rs. 8.00 per month and food; Putwari and Gomastha at Rs.8.00 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 order 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 affair of poor servants like 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."

True translation

Darjeeling

A. Campbell

30th September, 1839

In charge Darjeeling

30 September-Consultations, Fort William 23 October, 1839, No. 110

7. Foreign Political 'C', January 11th, 1841, No. 84. 87 : From Superintendent's Office, Darjeeling, January 2nd, 1841 to I.H. Maddock, Secretary to the Government of India, Fort William, No. 3.
8. Judicial Department No. 24, 1867; From Capt. B.W. Morton, Deputy Commissioner Darjeeling to Lt. Col. J. C. Haughton, Commissioner of Cooch-Bihar, No. 452M, January 16th 1867.
9. Darjeeling-The Calcutta Review, 28(1857)
10. Dozey, E.C., *A Concise History of Darjeeling District Since 1835*, Calcutta, 1922, p.90.
11. Waddel, L.A., *Among the Himalyas*, London, 1908, p. 45
12. Dash, A.J., *Bengal District Gazetteers : Darjeeling*, Alipur, 1947, p. 174
13. Chemist Shop
14. Hardware shop
15. Departmental shop
16. Outfitters
17. Report of the Special Committee in connection with the sites for excise shops, para IV & VIII, December 4th, 1888
18. 'O' Malley, L.S.S., *Bengal District Gazetteers : Darjeeling*, p. 114-15
19. *Ibid.*, p. 115
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 115-16
21. *Ibid.* pp. 118-19
22. A proper Bank came to be founded in 1908, called The Darjeeling Mission Savings Bank Ltd. (Registered No. 373 of 1908 under Act X of 1904. Printed at the Gorkha Press, Darjeeling, 1908.

## Constitution & General :

1.....

2. It shall be open to 1) Ordinary members, namely native Protestant Christians (of the age of 18 years and over ) in Darjeeling and surrounding District; all extraordinary missioneries of the Church of Scotland's Eastern Himalyan Mission; 2) Extraordinary members-namely and others who may be admitted at a general meeting subject in both cases to their being approved as members of the society in the marnner herein after described....

3. The Object of the Society :

A) To encourage thrift by affording a means to save a portion of income on which a fair return may be reckoned in interest. (interest at the rate of 5% per annum on all sums under Rs. 100/ and a minimum of 3% per annum on all sums above Rs. 100/. The rate of interest on loan was 12 1/2% per annum.

B) To prevent hopeless indebtedness by enabling members to obtain advances on reasonable terms and rates of interest.

Some relevant rules :

**Rule : 5.** The initial share capital of each member shall be paid up within a period of 10 months in monthly instalments of no less than one rupee.

**Rule : 10.** A Register shall be kept containing a list of names, descriptions and addresses of the members of the society. Every duly selected member shall sign his or her name in this Register and shall thereupon be deemed, subject to the provisions of Rule 11, to have acquired all the rights, obligations, responsibilities of a member of the society as laid down in these rules of business. All transfer of shares must have the consent of the Managing Committee and be noted in this Register.

**Rule 11.** A member shall, on admission, be required to subscribe at least one share of the Society. Most faithfully,

Secretary.

23. O'Malley, L.S.S. *op. cit.* p. 119
24. The Annual Administration Report of the Rajshahi Division for 1884-85, General Department, Miscellaneous, January, 1886, File No. 222, Calcutta, December 31st, 1885.
25. Westlake, G.D., *An Introduction to the Hill-stations of India*, New Delhi, 1993, pp. 135-36
26. The Englishman, January 11th, 1839 : The advertisement ran thus : Darjeeling Family Hotel-as the hotel is rapidly progressing towards its completion and the greater part of the accommodation 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 under taken the management of the hotel, which we hope to be able to open in the first week of April next; and be glad to receive applications for the remaining part of the accommodation 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'Hote and lodging, Rs. 150/ per month each person (wines & 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 can not 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 Titalia, will be provided with servants to attend to the wants of the travellers.

We shall be glad to assist parties proceeding up to make their journey easy, and will undertake the forwarding of their luggage.....

December, 17th 1838

D. Wilson and Co.

27. Dozey, E.C., *op.cit.* pp.27-28

28. *Ibid*, p.28
29. Census of India, 1911, p.37
30. Edgar, J.W., *Report on a Visit to Sikkim and the Thibetan Frontier*, New Delhi, 1969, p. 48. Edgar's list of export articles to Tibet were : rice, sugar, various sorts of dried fruits, stick lac, madder, red and white sandal wood, ivory, rhinoceres horns, peacock tail, red and white endi cloth, looking glasses.
31. Letter from Dr. Campbell, Deputy Commissioner, Darjeeling to A.R. Young, Secretary, Government of Bengal, Fort William, No. 67, Darjeeling, January 11th 1859.
32. Jackson, W.B., *Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government: Report on Darjeeling*, Calcutta, 1854.
33. Lamb, A. *Britain and Chinese Central Asia : The Road to Lhasa*, London, 1960 p. 103
34. *Ibid*. p. 103
35. Proceedings of Bengal Government, General Department, July 1864, H.C.Wake, Superintendent, Darjeeling to Under-secretary to Government of Bengal, No. 227, June, 30th, 1864, pp.47-57
36. Cheeboo Lama was the Political representative of Sikkim; accredited by the Raja of Sikkim and stayed at Darjeeling.
37. Hunter, W.W., *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Volume X New Delhi, 1984, pp. 158-64.
38. The proceedings of Bengal Government, General Department, July, 1864, A. Eden, Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling, No. 1335T, July, 7th 1864.
39. From Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Secretary to India No. 308T, July. 8th 1865.
40. Report on the Administration of Bengal, 1871-72, part II, pp. 10-12.
41. *Ibid*, 1872-73, Ch. II, p.49
42. Risley, H.H., *The Gazetteer of Sikkim*. Calcutta, 1894, p.v
43. Edgar, J.W., *op.cit*: p.32

44. *Ibid.*, p.46
45. Proceedings of Bengal Government, General Department, July 1864, No. 27, S.C. Bailey, Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Commissioner of Cooch-Bihar and to the Magistrate of Rungpore, No. 1337-8T, July, 7th, 1864.
46. Proceedings of Bengal Government, General Department, August, 1873, Annual General Administration Report of Rajshahi and Cooch-Bihar Divisions, No. 2345, July, 19th, 1873.
47. *Ibid.*, *General Miscellaneous*, August, 1876, *Annual General Administration Report of Rajshahi - Cooch Behar Division No. 32.*
48. Risley, H.H., *op.cit.* p.vii
49. Lamb, A., *op.cit.* vi.51. Report on the External Trade of Bengal, 1881-82.
50. Report on the External Trade of Bengal, 1881-82
51. The Commissioner's Report, No. 247M, 1895-96.
52. Lamb, A., *op.cit.* pp. 345-46.
53. Proceedings of Bengal Government, *General Miscellaneous*, October, 1883.
54. *Report on the External Trade of Bengal for 1884-85*, pp.24-25.
55. Proceedings of Bengal Government, *General Miscellaneous*, August, 1888
56. *Ibid.*, October, 1890
57. Resolution, *Miscellaneous*, No. 1099, September, 1891.
58. Proceedings of Bengal Government, *General Miscellaneous* October, 1891. 60. Report on the External Trade of Bengal for 1891-92, p.10
59. Report on the External Trade of Bengal for 1891-92, p. 10
60. *Ibid.*, 1893-94, p.11
61. Proceedings of Bengal Government, *General Miscellaneous*, October, 1895.

62. Das, S.C..*op.cit.*
63. Report on the External Trade of Bengal, 1884-85 p.9
64. *Ibid.*, 1883-84, pp.13-14.
65. Darjeeling District Record Room, File No. 48 of 1885-86, No. 242G, May 25th 1886, General English Correspondence-1841-79, Finance Department Statistics No. 2975.
66. *Ibid.*, No. 2975.
67. Report on the External Trade of Bengal for 1881-82, p.1.
68. Proceedings of Bengal Government, General Miscellaneous, October, 1894.
69. Report on the External Trade of Bengal for 1893-94, p.10
70. *Ibid*, p.11
71. *Ibid*, pp.22-23
72. Darjeeling District Record Room, Collection XXXII, File No. 48, 1885-86, No. 241G, May, 1886.
73. Report on the External Trade of Bengal for 1884-85, p.3.
74. *Ibid*, 1882-83, p.3
75. *Ibid*, 1884-85, p.9
76. *Ibid*, 1883-84, p.13
77. Hunter, W.W., *op.cit.* p. 158
78. O'Malley, L.S.S., *op.cit.* pp.130-31
79. File No. 48, No. 241g, May 25th 1886, DDDR.
80. Jackson, W.B., *op.cit.* no. XVII
81. O'malley, L.S.S., *op.cit.* p.73.74
82. Dozey, E.C., *op.cit* p.209
83. *Ibid*, p.210

84. O'Malley, L.S.S., *op.cit.* p.127.
85. Proceedings of Bengal Government, General Department, August, 1873.
86. Waddel, L.A., *op.cit.* p.325
87. Report on the Administration of Bengal, 1901-02, pp.16-17
88. Annual Report of the Darjeeling Municipality, No.213,Part-XIV,1889-90.
89. Dozey, E.C., *op.cit.*, p.90
90. Dane, Kennedy, *Hill Stations and the British Raj*, Delhi, 1996, p.95
91. S.Robert Aiken, *Early Penang Hill Station*, *Geographical Review*, 77, No. 4, 1987, p. 434, and Anthony D. King, *Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power and Environment*, London, 1946, p. 158.
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## CHAPTER IV-C

## EDUCATIONAL AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS

From the very inception Darjeeling had been a centre for European education for the education of European and Anglo-Indian boys and girls. This educational development can be considered part of the original purpose for which Darjeeling was obtained, that is to say, use as a sanatorium for Europeans.<sup>1</sup> Schools were, therefore, opened to meet the needs of those European government servants who used Darjeeling as a sanatorium and who could not afford to send their children for education to their native places. At first the schools which were started were on a small scale and had a precarious existence. But gradually they gained stability. Though the schools were designed and maintained for European and Anglo-Indian children, the type of education they provided attracted a number of Indian parents who could afford to pay the fees.<sup>2</sup>

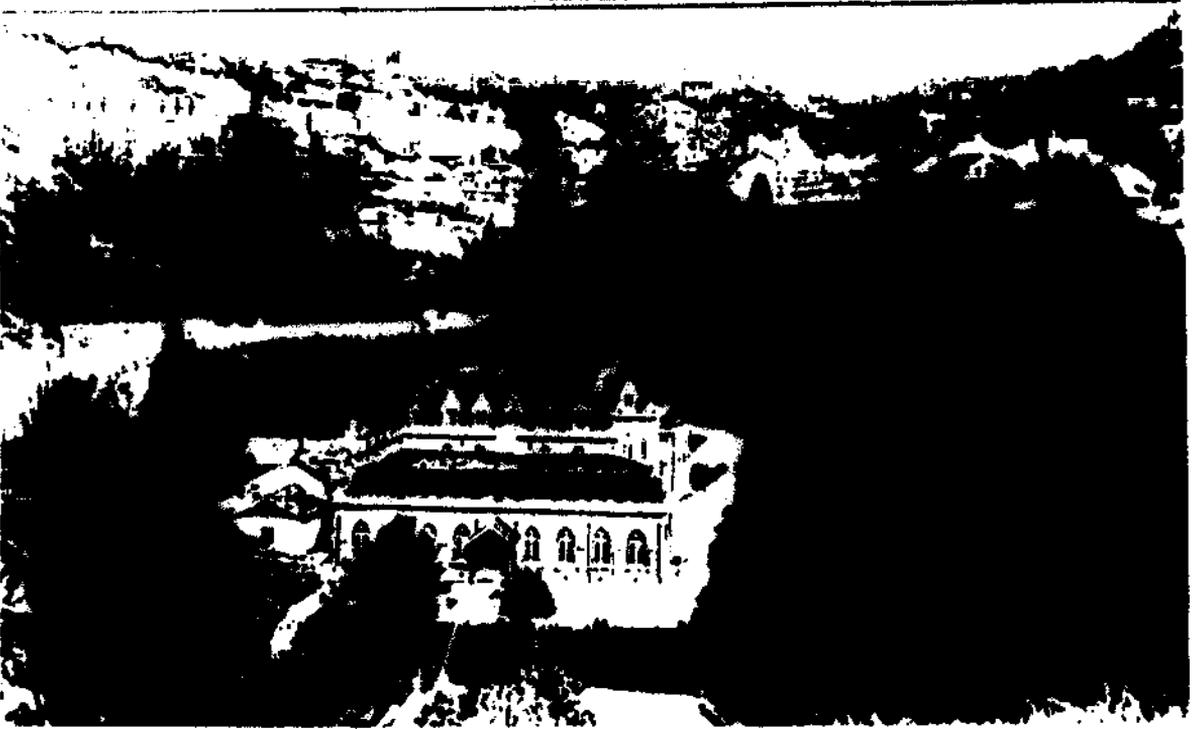
1

The first English school to be started in Darjeeling was the Loreto Convent. The original Convent was built by funds provided by Mr. William Moran, tea broker, Mr. R.J. Laughnan, I.C.S., the then District Judge of Darjeeling, and Capt. Sambler, as early as 1846, when Darjeeling was still struggling to organise itself. In 1892 the modest thatched house of the school was replaced by the new imposing building which was planned and erected by E.J. Morarity.

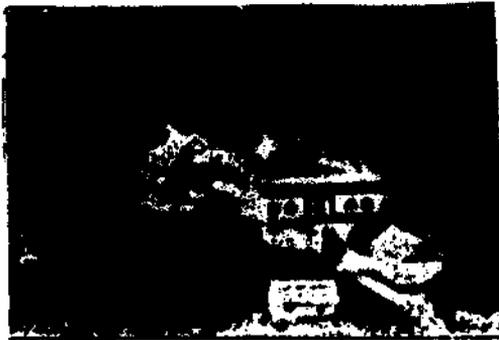
The Archbishop Casew impressed by Laughnan's recommendation thought it likely that parents would be equally pleased to have a hill school opened, especially for their girls. Soon he was in correspondence with Laughnan about the plan for Branch schools of Loreto House' in Darjeeling. His idea was that the nun's Chaplain could run classes for small boys as well as keeping open houses for convalescent priests, the domestic control of both schools being under the control of the nuns.<sup>3</sup>

On April 25, 1846, Casew published the prospectus for the two schools and also a rough calculation of the costs for which he opened a public loan. This was to cover the cost of clearing land, erecting a ten roomed Convent and a somewhat smaller boys' school, travelling expenses and up keep for two

Plate No. XV



*Loreto Convent*



ORIGINAL CONVENT.

years, and the rent of a temporary residence. The total was calculated at Rs. 22,000.00 and subscriptions were called for in shares of Rs. 200.00 to be paid back from the school revenue. The property was placed under the management of the Loreto Convent. Only a small fraction of expense seemed to have been subscribed and the subscription dropped greatly to the disappointment of the Archbishop, who had declared that a dozen children were ready to join the school. In July, a fine property had been purchased in Darjeeling and a six months' lease was taken of a temporary residence. The land which Judge Laughnan bought was in three locations namely the first included the site of the present Bishop's House and Sunny Bank, the second being the site of the present Convent and Caroline Villa and the third the extensive Convent gardens.<sup>4</sup>

Mother Teresa Mons was chosen as the Superior with whom came one choir sister, one lay sister, a lay sister Prestulent and a little orphan girl. 'They will have one pupil at least; there goes, also Father Megirr to be their Chaplain.'<sup>5</sup>

The party left Calcutta on August 10th 1846 and reached Darjeeling on October 10th, their engagement for next six months centered around a cottage called 'Snowy View'. The nuns set up the house and got to know their neighbours. There were a few houses dotted round Birchhill and Observatory hill, a few more appeared on the slopes of Jalapahar, though the barracks were not built there till two years. Since 1844 there had been troops on the Plateau of Sinchal, above Ghoom. Troops might have been kept in this prominent place as a warning to the hill people, for in that decade there was much discontent among the Bhutanese and Sikkimese.<sup>6</sup>

The nuns must have been very poor during the first few years. An old account book indicated the meagre sum of Rs. 2.00 that was spent to buy eggs till the end of the first year forced by circumstances they built their fowl house the following year. Bread for the same period totalled only Rs. 20.00 and it had to be brought from afar. Fish did not appear at the dietary till 1852, for by that time the military in Jalapahar were arranging food supplies. Probably the nuns could buy at the door the diminutive country fowls But the administration had nothing to worry about their table, for there was not a death in the community for thirty years. <sup>7</sup> The pioneering nuns, thus, had a very difficult time to manage the Convent. They were however, persevering set of people determined to achieve their goal. Though saved by not having servants and did all the tasks

usually performed by matrons and domestics but they did not consider a piano a luxury. It had to be carried up the hills on the shoulders of one hundred porters. By May 1847 the new Convent on the present site was declared ready for occupation and the nuns moved their scanty possessions there. It was a small house of lath and plaster, with a thatched roof and latticed windows and was connected by a covered passage with the temporary Chapel. It did good service for forty years, was added to but not pulled down until the present stone building was erected. There was not much in the way of equipment at first but the early mothers and those who came out to help them gave their best, both in studies and accomplishments. There were frequent reports of excellent concerts. A delighted spectator wrote to the press about the healthy and happy looks of the children and their proficiency in English and French, Music and Drawings. 'The separate boys' school was discontinued in 1850 and the smaller boys were taken over by the nuns in a building called 'Tara Hall' on their own property. The Convent, then, was the only educational establishment in Darjeeling till St. Paul's school moved up in 1864. A practical tribute to the work of the nuns was received in a letter from the Lt. Governor informing the Superior that the whole convent property was exempted from income tax and sums already paid to be refunded. Loreto Convent then was preparing for a glorious future.<sup>9</sup>

Darjeeling could never repay its debt of gratitude to those pioneering nuns, though there were letters of praise even during that period. But what the writers of those letters did not know was that, "The Head-Mistress put on her apron every evening to clean the children's shoes."<sup>10</sup> After such privations and loneliness of those early days the Sisters must have felt great satisfaction and pride when the tiny thatched cottage gave way to the stately stone building and the five boarders increasing to <sup>11</sup> hundred by the eighties of the nineteenth century.

The courses of study were those laid down by the Code of Education for European Schools and included preparation for the Cambridge Junior School and Higher School Certificate Examinations, for the Trinity College and Royal Academy Examinations in Music and Theory of Music, the Royal Drawing Society for art examination and for elocution examinations. Religious instructions were given to Catholic pupils in Catholic doctrine and to non-Catholic students in moral philosophy. Lessons were also given to those whose parents so desired, in piano, violin and cello playing, in art, dancing and culture and in needlework, domestic science, shorthand and typing.<sup>12</sup>

The other English school which followed Loreto Convent was the St. Paul's school for boys. Originally founded in Calcutta in 1845, it was shifted to Darjeeling in 1864 with 130 pupils. The original building at Chowranghee Road was sold for Rs. 1,30,000.00 another sum of Rs. 1,12,300.00 was collected by private subscription to which half was contributed by the Government and an endowment was formed and invested in 1864.<sup>13</sup>

It was managed by a Committee headed by the Bishop of Calcutta. The Course of study was that prescribed by the Cambridge University Local Examination Syndicate with the addition of religious training upon the principles of the Church of England. Training was also imparted for the various competitive examinations in India, for example, Engineering in Rurkee, Forest Survey, Accounts and also for the English Universities, the I.C.S., also for the Military Academy at Sandhurst and Woolwich.<sup>14</sup>

St. Paul's too had a moderate start. However, from 1878 it started flourishing under the guidance of Mr. R. Carter, the Rector, who stayed till the end of the 19th century, retiring in 1899. The number of students increased to over 200 and the school had three handsome new buildings in addition to the old one, a Chapel, hospital, gymnasium, and fine playing fields.<sup>15</sup> The table below illustrates the increase in the number of students.

**Table No. IV : 1**

**Student Population**

Years	Number of Pupils
1864	30
1883	144
1896	200
1901	68

**SOURCE :** *150 Anniversary Commemorative Volume, St. Paul's School*, pp. 12-14.

The decline in number of students after reaching 200 in 1896 was ascribed by Mr. Carter to the fall in the value of the rupee and to the fact that many Government appointments were beginning to be reserved for candidates appointed from England.<sup>16</sup> St. Joseph's Seminary was another school for boys

to be founded in the eighties of the century under study. The forerunner of this school, however, was the 'Darjeeling Seminary' of Father McGirr, the Chaplain to the Convent. He started his boys school at the end of December 1846, with a few boys, but with a very ambitious prospectus.<sup>17</sup> The next year Father McGirr obtained an assistant for his school, an Italian secular priest, Father Julius Caesar deCalderari, described as most learned and pious' and who was recommended especially for 'knowledge' of the Italian and other modern languages'. Father McGirr, however, was not destined to see his school progress; he had to leave Darjeeling to take the charge of Rector of St. John's College, Calcutta.<sup>18</sup>

His successor was no less a man than Father Ignatious Persice, later Archbishop of Agra, and finally a Cardinal. Under his name a new prospectus was issued in September, 1848, and the school took the name of St. Gregory's Seminary. The curriculum was enriched by the addition of logic and natural philosophy. Father Calderari must have left Darjeeling by this time, for his place was taken by a lay Master, a Mr. W. Carter, who helped Father Ignatious.<sup>19</sup>

In 1849, Father Ignatius was succeeded by Father Felics who did not much care for the little school which could count no more than 5 or 6 boys over seven years of age. On July 13th, 1850 the classes 'have been interrupted on account of accidental circumstances.'<sup>20</sup> 'In 1853 the Committee of Management of the Darjeeling Catholic Schools handed over to the Patna Mission 'the right and title of... the dwelling house formerly occupied as a boys 'school'.<sup>21</sup>

The giving up of the Catholic boys 'school was a great blow and the influential Catholic families of Bengal began to urge the Jesuit fathers of St. Xavier's to do something towards the establishment of College in Darjeeling. In the meantime, the inmates of St. Gregory's Seminary were taken by the nuns of the Convent. The nuns' school for little boys was praised by the correspondent of the Statesman, while criticising St. Paul's. "Unaided by Government and uncountenanced by high patronage... has 50 odd little fellows and could, I have been told, have 100 if they had accommodation, and might have 200 if they raised the restricted age of the boys from 10 to 12."<sup>22</sup> The growing demand for a Catholic school finally led to the opening of a school in Sunny Bank in 1877 with Father Accursio as Rector and Father Lewis as Vice-Rector with two lay teachers. At first there were only twelve pupils. In 1879 when the new building had been put up and the school had taken the name of St. Joseph's Seminary

under the Rectorship of Father Joseph Peacock and five assistant masters. The prospectus announced that a full classical course up to B.A. would be taught. By 1881 the school was further enlarged and there were seven assistant masters. The plan to introduce the B.A. course was dropped in spite of expansion and the prospectus confined itself to a classical course adapted to those who were destined for the learned professions. Boys were prepared for the entrance examination of the Calcutta University and Rurkee.<sup>23</sup>

The real beginning, however, was made by Father Henry Depalchin with the encouragement of Mgr. Goethals, the Archbishop of Calcutta. Under the supervision of Father Depalchin there was rapid progress of work and St. Joseph's College was ready for official opening on February 13th, 1888. The classes began from February 14th with eighteen boarders and seven day scholars. The first year at Sunny Bank was seemingly uneventful yet a subtle undercurrent of admiration for the general management and for the paternal discipline was gradually building up for the new school. By the year end, the number of pupils had more than doubled.<sup>24</sup> By 1892 it was finally shifted to the North Point where it commenced classes on February 18th, 1892, in the new building. They had scarcely settled down to the school routine when His Excellency, Lord Landsdowne, the Viceroy of India, paid an unexpected visit to the school.<sup>25</sup>

The school was divided into four departments viz primary, middle, higher, and special. The latter was opened to prepare youngmen for the different Government examinations, for example, accounts, police, opium, forest as well as for entrance into the Engineering College, Rurkee. Facilities were also afforded for learning modern languages, music, drawing, and a complete apparatus for gymnastics. A museum of physical science instruments and a laboratory for chemistry were attached to the college.<sup>26</sup>

The following table shows the founder Heads of the first three schools according to their chronological order :

**Table No. IV : 2****Heads of the three Principal Schools During 19th Century**

Loreto Convent (1) :	Mother Teresa Mon	1846 to 1848
	Mother Mary Joseph Hogon	1848 to 1884
	Mother Stanislaus Hart	1884 to 1892
	Mother M. Patrick Brophy	1892 to 1898
St. Paul's School(2)	Reverend J.C. Nesfield,	1864 to 1866
	Reverend G.M. Wilson,	1866 to 1877
	Reverend L.F. Philips,	1877 to 1878
	Mr. R. Carter,	1878 to 1899
St. Joseph's College(3)	Reverend Father Henry Depelchin, S.J.,	1888 to 1891
	Reverend father Alfred Nent, S.J.,	1891 to 1895
	Reverend Father John Schaefer, S.J.,	1895-October 1895
	Reverend Father Hippolyte Waelkens, S.J.,	1896-1902

SOURCES : 1. *Archive of the Loreto Convent, Darjeeling; Relevant Accounts Books, 2. 150th Anniversary Commemorative Volume : St. Paul's School, P.50, 3. A Century Observed : St. Joseph's College, North Point, P. 104.*

Another school founded during this time was the Mount Hermon school, an institution of the Methodist Episcopal Church of America, and was the first Co-educational school in Darjeeling. The Board of Governors were missionary representatives of many different missionary societies. The school was founded in 1895 in order to provide a Christian school in a favourable climate where missionaries and other English speaking children might be trained physically, mentally, and spiritually under Christian influence, guidance and education. The school was put on the approved list of Cambridge and it received maintenance and teachers' salary from the Government of Bengal. It was secondary school and followed the courses prescribed by the Education Department for European schools of Bengal with additional courses in music including preparation for Trinity College Music Examination, handwork and domestic science. All pupils took part in organised games and physical training.<sup>27</sup>

Another girls' school namely the Darjeeling Girls' School was founded by Bishop Milman in 1886. In 1895 it was made a Diocesan School with the Metropolitan as its President and was handed over to the Sisters of the Order of St. John Baptist.<sup>28</sup> Yet another girls' school, the Queen's Hill Girls' School,

was opened on March 10th, 1895. The school's curriculum of studies worked up to the Higher Secondary Grade. The success of the school was well vindicated when in December, 1915 out of its ten pupils nine passed the Cambridge Examination Test. Though the educational needs of the European, Christian children as also of the few fortunate affluent Indian children were well taken care of the majority of the Indian children received a step-motherly treatment from the authorities as far as their education was concerned.

The sad state of the education for ordinary Indians was sufficiently reflected in a report from the Commissioner of Cooch-Bihar.<sup>29</sup>

Till the 60's of the 19th century there was only one school i.e., the English Government School and four Vernacular schools within the Municipal limits of the town. The following table illustrates the details of the number of students, average attendance, languages studied, etc.

**Table No. IV : 3**

**English and Vernacular Government Schools**

Sl.	Year	Name of the Institution	No. of pupils on the rolls at the end of	Average attendance daily excluding holiday	No. of pupils studying each language at the close of the Year.	Monthly rate of school fee in Rs.
1.	1865-66	English Govt. School	46(H)13(M)	33	59(E) 59(U) 59(B)	0.75
1.	1866-67	do	31(H)14(M)45(T)	33	45(E) 45(U)45(B)	
2.	1865-66	Chandmari	4(H)2(M)16(T)	14	14(H)	
2.	1866-67	Chandamri	23(H)-(M)23(T)	14	23(H)	
3.	1865-66	Jorebungalow	15(H)3(M)18(T)	17	17(H)	
3.	1866-67	do	15(H)-(M)15(T)	15	15(H)	

Sl Nos. 2&3 were Vernacular schools

H-Hindu, M-Mohan-mmodan, T-Total; E-English, U-Urdu, B-Bengali, H-Hindi

SOURCE : A Report (No. 61) from the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling to the Commissioner for the year ending March 31st, 1867.

The table reveals an interesting fact that it was only in the English Government school that English, Urdu, and Bengali were taught whereas in the vernacular schools only Hindi was taught. It is rather surprising that none of the schools taught Nepali.

Towards the last decade of the century under study the educational institutions for the Indians within the Municipal area, assumed the following shape and size, not very impressive even after the lapse of about 30 years.

Table IV : 4

## Types of School

Class of School	School aided by Municipality including Government School if in receipt of Municipal Grant						Other Schools Number of pupils on the rolls at the close of the year			
	Number		No. of pupils under rolls at the close of the year		Expenditure from the Municipal funds					
	88-89	89-90	88-89	89-90	88-89	89-90	88-89	89-90	88-89	89-90
Middle English School	1	1	134	137	600	600	-	-	-	-
Special Institution Bhotia Boarding School (Higher English School)							1	1	44	54
Upper Primary School							2	2	76	108
Lower Primary School							3	3	74	65
Higher Class English School							2	2	173	175
Gycom Monastic School							1	1	10	11
Zenana Mission School					650	600	-	1	-	28

SOURCE : Annual Report of the Darjeeling Municipality for the year 1889-90 No. 213

The Middle School was established in 1860 and the Special Institution Bhotia school came into being in 1874. the two schools were finally amalgamated in 1892 and the amalgamated school was raised to the status of High School and came to be known as the Government High School. Darjeeling. it had, at first, two departments namely (1) the General Department meant for boys of all races and (2) the Special Department designed for Bhutia, Lepcha and Tibetan boys.<sup>30</sup> The Higher schools included in this report mean St. Paul's school and Darjeling Girls' school. For some unknown reason the Report did not include St. Joseph's College then a Seminary, though it had started functioning in 1888 and by 1890 it had some fifty students on its rolls. Even Loreto Convent did not find a place in this Report, although it was the first school to be started in Darjeeling. The Zenana Mission school was started in May, 1889 and found a place in the report !

The Darjeeling Municipality, however, inspite of its multifarious activities contributed significantly towards the promotion of Primary education. In fact, the Darjeeling Municipality which spent the most in comparison with the other Municipalities of the Rajshahi Division on Primary education. The same had been the case of Technical education also as was evident from the Table Nos. 5 & 6.





It spent Rs. 110.00 towards the training of two hill girls in midwifery at the Kalimpong Scotch Mission Hospital,<sup>31</sup> Rs. 160.00 were spent for the technical education of two hill boys at the Tindharia Workshop of the Darjeeling Hill Railways and Rs. 265.82 were paid for the training of two hill boys in Veterinary Science at the Belgatchia Institution. One of the boys passed successfully in the first year's examination.<sup>32</sup>

## II

The Darjeeling Municipality spent Rs. 240.00 for the education of two girls in medicine at the Campbell Medical School, at Sealdah. Since the close of the year it had been reported that these girls passed their test examination and would be promoted to second year class.<sup>33</sup> The Darjeeling Municipality also contributed to the upkeep of a Public library at Darjeeling.<sup>34</sup>

Indeed, by the end of the 19th century Darjeeling could boast of being an important centre for education, especially on Public school pattern which attracted students from all over the country and even from abroad particularly from the neighbouring countries like Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim. Needless to say that the beneficiaries of this opportunity belonged to either royal, aristocratic families or very rich section of the society. In other words, Darjeeling became the centre of elitist education, not for general or populist education which could benefit the majority. Yet spread of education did reach the Indians as well and kindled the intellectual hunger among the people, which prompted the publication of some local news papers.

A paper was started in 1871 by Dr. O'Brien. It was printed in English and was mainly concerned with the interest of tea planters with a circulation of 150 copies.<sup>35</sup> Attached to the News paper was a branch press for ordinary printing in English. *The Darjeeling News* changed Editors on the 1st August and since then its editing has much improved. It no longer gave unqualified support to the local officials whom it criticized freely and fairly enough. It supported the Government though only dealt with local questions. It was published every Saturday.<sup>36</sup> The other two publications issued *Mission Ki Masik Samachar Patrika*, a monthly broad sheet in Hindi issued by Scotch Mission and *Life and Work*, an octave sheet in English issued by the same body.<sup>37</sup> *The Darjeeling News* and the *Life and Work* seemed to have discontinued after some years. A new set of publications appeared in the General Administrative Report for the quinquennial period 1895-1900.<sup>38</sup> They were (1) *The Darjeeling Standard*, a

weekly paper in English (2) *The Darjeeling Visitor*, also a weekly in English (3) *Darjeeling Mission Ka Masik Samachar Patrika*, a monthly in Hindi, (4) *Darjeeling-Kalimpong-Sikkim News*, a monthly in English. All these papers continued till the end of the century. A Bengali paper was also started in 1896-97, called *Asha*, of course it could not last long. Towards the end of the century another paper was started, namely, *The Darjeeling Advertiser* by Major Bomwetsch, The first issue of it was taken out in March, 1899.<sup>39</sup> About the same time Mr. John Lord started the original *Darjeeling Times* in which many quaint and original paragraphs appeared about persons and their doings much to the chagrin of the authorities, who were then more than autocratic, with the result that Mr. Lord often found himself before the Deputy Commissioner for Lese-majeste.<sup>40</sup> The first Nepali language paper, inspite of a vast potential readers, was started as late as 1905-06, the name of the paper was *The Gorkha News*, a fortnightly paper.<sup>41</sup>

It is interesting to note that inspite of the fact that the majority of the population being the hillmen, the official language of the town, as well as the district was Hindustani and Bengali. The Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling informed that Hindustani and Bengali Languages were the medium of administration in the district. The people throughout the district were familiar with the Hindustani language. The Lepchas and the Tibetans who were not conversant with the Hindustani language were easily dealt with through the medium of interpreters. The letters from the Kings of Sikkim and Bhutan were translated by the interpreters. No officers had been trained in any of the languages of the hill tribes of the district.<sup>42</sup>

It seemed that nothing was done to develop the Nepali language either by the authorities or by the people who spoke the language. The language was introduced as a vernacular subject in the Darjeeling Government School as late as 1921.<sup>43</sup>

### III

After taking stock of the institutions dealing with education let us now turn to the institutions which took care of health of the people of Darjeeling during the 19th century. The earliest authentic information was provided by Dr. Griffith, who wrote that during 1841-42, the number of cases treated was 298 and that the deaths were 23 in number. This high rate of death arose from the fact that the

patients admitted into this hospital were the natives of the plains, who came up in search of employment or were employed in the station. They displayed the same dislike to entering hospital as they did in the plains and frequently came into it in the last stage of disease. Generally, greatly enfeebled by their characteristic economy in diet, they got admitted in hospitals in search of superior comfort. As no records of this hospital seemed to have been kept before Griffiths' arrival, he was unable to make any comparison with the situation in former years. The hospital was supported by voluntary contributions.<sup>44</sup>

The first hospital to be started was the Darjeeling Charitable Hospital and Dispensary, which came into being in 1864. It was in the category of class III B, managed by a Committee appointed by the local Municipality.<sup>45</sup> The dispensary was chiefly maintained from the Municipal funds but contributions from the Europeans as well as from the Indians also helped it considerably to run the Dispensary.<sup>46</sup> The table below shows the amount contributed to run it.

**Table No. IV : 7**

**Contributions (in Rs.) Made to the Charitable Hospital**

	1893	1894	1895
Municipal contribution	4,053.35	2,587.27	2,731.85
European contribution	975.00	950.00	920.00
Subscription from Natives	120.00	163.00	213.00

*SOURCE : Triennial Report on the Working of Charitable Dispensaries under the Government of Bengal, p. XLI.*

The hospital was placed in charge of second grade Sub-Assistant Surgeon. It was visited almost daily by the Civil Surgeon, once by the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling and once by the Vice-chairman of the Municipality. The Government supplied registers and forms and paid for the diet of the police cases.<sup>47</sup> Although the hospital worked well it was not used by the people as one would expect. The hill people did not freely report to the dispensary and that the patients consisted of those in whose cases charms and incantation had failed to cure, of persons who through illness had become a burden to their relations and of emigrants and stragglers brought in by the police. Natives of Nepal and of the plains reported to it though Bhutias and Lepchas seldom did that the latter believed in incantations and resorted to mineral springs for cure.<sup>48</sup>

The hospital, however, gained popularity with the passage of time, and from 12 beds in 1888, to meet the ever growing demands it had to be enlarged with an additional structure to increase the capacity to 70 beds in 1903. <sup>49</sup> That the number of patients both in-door and out-door kept increasing would be shown by the table below :

**Table No. IV : 8**

**State of Patients**

Year	In-Door Patients				Out-Door Patient	
	Admitted	Cured	Dead	Not cured or Left	Total No	Average daily
1870	81	59	16	6	2,326	13.67%
1871	88	66	14	6	2,433	16.76%
1872	106	79	23	4	2,868	52.90%
1873	95	61	16	16	4,258	31.18%
1895	328	18	38	33	6,015	31.89%
1901	419	57	57	113	6,786	36.46%

SOURCE : The figures of 1872 and 1872 : Statistical Account of Bengal, Volume - X, p.200 . The figures of 1870, 1873, 1895 and 1901 are from *Reports on Charitable Dispensaries under the government of Bengal*, pp.146, 129, cxvii, vii respectively.

The Reports of 1870 and 1873 also threw interesting light on the distribution of patients on the basis of community, both in-door and out-door, which is highlighted in the table No. 9.

**Table No. IV : 9**

**Frequency Distribution of Patients**

Year	Europeans	Eurasians	Hindus	Musliman	Others
1870	-	-	65	12	6 In-door
	21	17	1,433	533	338 Out-door
1873	3	-	67	15	10 In-door
	4	-	2,433	—776	1,073 Out door

SOURCE : *Report on the Charitable Dispensaries under the Government of Bengal, 1870, 1873.* pp. 156, 137 respectively.

It is clear from the various Reports that the most common complaints were those of bowel disorder, chest and respiratory complaints, worm-infections and skin diseases. The hospital also provided facilities of surgical treatment. The number of operations performed are given in table No.10

Table IV : 10

## Number and Class of Operations Performed

Year	Class of Operation	
	Major	Minor
1873	4	124
1893	55	229
1894	39	187
1895	57	217

SOURCE : *Report on the Charitable Dispensaries under the Government of Bengal*, pp. 117, and XLI

The Report of Surgeon-Col. Ross indicated that there were no deaths following the operations except one in 1893.<sup>50</sup> Dr. Griffith reported that there were no cases of incidence of small-pox<sup>51</sup> but a report from the Inspector General of Hospital<sup>52</sup> mentioned incidence of small-pox, among citizens. No wonder that the Darjeeling Municipality would be careful to prevent it and so it maintained a Small-pox hospital. The entire cost was borne by the Commissioners for the maintenance of this institution. Three cases of small-pox were reported as early as 1889-90.<sup>53</sup> The Municipality also arranged for vaccination, and spent Rs. 334.00. in 1889-90, Rs. 392.00 in 1890-91<sup>54</sup> and Rs. 569.00 in 1904-05<sup>55</sup> to activate the inoculation services.

Another hospital, the Lock Hospital,<sup>56</sup> was established in November 1886, which was initially located in the Darjeeling Dispensary compound but finally shifted to Jalpahar in 1876.<sup>57</sup> In a Report on the Darjeeling Lock Hospital for the year 1873 the details of diseases, number of patients treated could be obtained which are detailed in Table No. IV : 11

**Table No. IV : 11****Patients Suffering from V.D. Treated at the Lock Hospital**

Regiment	Period of occupation	Average strength during the period	No. of admission from V. D. during the period of occupation	Remarks
Convalescent Depot 3rd & 4th Brigade Royal Artillery	1873 12 months	171.41	Primary syphilis -9 Gonorrhoea - 14 Secondary Syphilis - 13	out of 36 cases 24 contracted during march to Darjeeling

SOURCE : *Report on the Darjeeling Lock Hospital for 1873, No. 146, January 17th 1874.*

A record of the number of prostitutes was kept in the Register of the Lock Hospital. The Annual Statement No.2 of the Lock Hospital gave the following details :

**Table No. IV : 12****Number of Prostitutes on the Register of the Lock Hospital**

Number of prostitutes remaining on the Register at the end of last year		6
Number added to the Register during 1873	1873	2
Number who removed their names from the register or died or abandoned during the year 1873	1873	3
Number remaining on 31st December, 1873	1873	5
Number added to the Register during 1874	1874	18
Number remaining on 31st December, 1874	1874	23

SOURCE : *The Annual Statement No. 2, 1874 : of the Lock Hospital*

In a Report on the cantonment Lock Hospital 646 soldiers were treated for V.D. in 1871 and 302 in 1872. There were on an average eight women on the Register. The periodical examinations were regularly performed and defaulters were reported; two women were even punished with imprisonment for their indifference. In the five months of the year 1872, during which the Lock Hospital was at work, there were 4 cases of gonorrhoea among the women.

Among the soldiers there were 3 admissions for gonorrhoea and 7 for primary syphilis during the 7 months, January to July, 1872. The remaining months showed a blank list. Average number of soldiers diseased from 1866 to 1871 was only six.

In a letter Dr. H. B. Purves, Civil Surgeon of Darjeeling expressed dissatisfaction on the manner hospital duties were discharged. From his Report it could be easily observed that the hospital staff were overworked being involved in various activities. The Assistant-in-charge of the Charitable Dispensary had to treat the prostitutes in the Lock Hospital in addition to his normal hospital duties. The Compounder had to do compounding for the dispensary, civil station, police, and Lock Hospitals the midwife attached to the Dispensary likewise had to do dressing of prostitutes at the Lock Hospital. Even the Indian Doctor working in the Jail had to attend to the sick in police hospital situated in the Dispensary compound. He also represented the Municipal Vaccinator, there being no paid compounder or dresser however attached to the Jail hospital<sup>58</sup> all those works were performed by the jail doctor.

Besides those hospitals there were two Sanatoria also in Darjeeling viz. (1) The Eden Sanatorium for the Europeans and (2) The Lewis Jubilee Sanatorium for the Indians. The Eden sanatorium owed its origin to the humane heart of the Lt. Governor Sir Ashley Eden whose name it bore. The incidence which stirred the Lt. Governor occurred one morning when Sir Eden was on his accustomed walk. He came across a European on the platform of the Darjeeling Station in the grip of death. He spoke to the invalid to learn that he was about to return to the plains as he was unable to get accommodation anywhere within his means. Throughout the remainder of that walk Sir Eden thought over the issue and on getting back to the Shrubbery immediately despatched an A.D.C. to have the invalid admitted anywhere at his own expense. But it was too late, for the invalid had already left for the plains. Subsequent enquiries brought back the bad news that the invalid had died at Siliguri. He was a victim of pneumonia which he contracted while at Darjeeling. Sir Eden's eyes were said to have moistened at the news. He immediately decided to set up a house for the reception and treatment of European patients. This was stated to be the circumstances which brought into existence the Eden Sanatorium erected by the Government at the cost of Rs. 0.2 million and designed by Mr. Martin, C.E. the architect to the Government of Bengal. It was completed in 1883.<sup>59</sup>

The Eden Sanatorium started with 64 beds under different categories i.e., (1) First class - 8 beds, (2) Second class - 24 beds; (3) Third class - 24 beds and (4) Intermediate class - 8 beds. The third class was accommodated in a dormitory. A Tennis Court faced the building, while a billiard table afforded recreation to the inmates if the weather did not permit out door exercises. The sitting room had an excellent piano purchased from funds raised by its late Steward Mr. C.H. Richardson. Free quarters were provided for the servants of the residents. It was maintained at an annual expenditure of Rs. 50,000.00 and was in-charge of the Civil Surgeon of the station assisted by an Assistant Surgeon of Sub-Medical Service and a European Steward and a number of Sisters.<sup>60</sup>

With the passage of time the Eden Sanatorium gained in popularity and further improvements were made in its ambience. By 1901 the total number of admissions rose to 548, which was greater than the number recorded in any of the previous six years. The increase being noticeable in all classes except the intermediate class, which showed a decrease of 7 patients.<sup>61</sup> Admission did not mean only patients; usually friends and / or relatives also used to stay along. The total admission in the year 1901 were 548 which included 146 relatives and friends. In 1900 the numbers of patients and relatives were 280 and 104 respectively. The daily average number of patients also increased from 21.17% in 1900 to 32.75% in 1901. There were 11 deaths, while 316 were cured and 75 relieved during 1901. There were 63 operations performed of which 58 were entirely successful, while 4 were partially successful. The confinement cases recorded were eight<sup>62</sup>. At beginning of the 20th century a new hospital block was added to the Sanatorium and it was constructed at a cost of Rs. 20,000.00 provided by the Government. It was formally opened by the Lt. Governor on May 8th 1901. It was equipped at an expenditure of Rs. 5,000.00 met from the accumulated savings of the institution. An installation of hot and cold water was supplied to the hospital at a cost of Rs. 4,000.00. Other improvements included a separate infectious ward, new bathrooms for the Second class were constructed in 1901. The income of the institution rose from Rs. 27,799.00 in 1900 to Rs. 37,466.00, the increase resulted from the larger admissions.

However, the number of admissions had noticeably fallen and so, the

income started showing a decrease. The total admissions were 499 as compared to 548 in 1901, particularly in the first class. The income from subscriptions had dwindled from Rs. 2,485.00 in 1886 to Rs. 350.00 in 1904. The trend continued for several years, which might be the result of competition of other hill-stations now made accessible by railways.<sup>64</sup> After the completion and success of the Eden sanatorium a similar Sanatorium for the use of Indians was contemplated by Sir Franklin Prestage.<sup>65</sup> But his efforts to raise funds for the project had failed. The idea was taken up by Mr. Edmund Elliot Lewis - the then Commissioner of Jalpaiguri Division again when in 1886 by the liberality of Maharaja Govindlal Roy a sum of Rs. 90,000.00 was placed at his disposal to be spent on any work of public utility. Mr. Lewis, then, obtained sanction of Sir S.C. Bailey, the Lt. Governor for the construction of the Sanatorium. The site for the Sanatorium comprising 7.5 acres of land was made over as a deed of gift for the purpose by the Maharaja of Cooch-Bihar. With these two donations as the nucleus it did not take the management long to raise the necessary amount and the Lewis Jubilee Sanatorium was completed in 1887.<sup>66</sup>

An annexe was added in 1912, called the Edward VII House, the foundation stone of which was laid by His Excellency Lord Carmichael, the Governor of Bengal. With this annexe the accommodation of the Sanatorium became 118 beds. An amount of Rs. 25,000.00 was spent annually on its maintenance.<sup>67</sup>

#### IV

Darjeeling did not fail to provide for the religious needs of its people and the efforts of leaders of different religious denominations resulted in the establishment of different religious and welfare institutions. These institutions, particularly those of the plains people, did not only serve as the places of worship but also provided platforms for sustaining their respective socio-cultural practices. For, they kept their contact with their places of origin which was invariably rural and therefore they could not stop the temptation of reproducing their traditional social activities. These acts however did not mean that they lived in their own respective islands of socio-cultural groups. They could not escape the inevitable criss-crossing currents of divergent religious, cultural groups who had flocked to the town. The interaction gradually diluted the tradition-dominated minds and freed individuals for new associations. Relationships resulting from this intermixture led to the growth of liberal spirit which is characteristic of an urban culture.

The oldest ecclesiastical institution was the St. Andrew's Church. Its foundation stone was laid on St. Andrew's day on November 30, 1843. The Church was then built under the care of Capt. Bishop who commanded the troops of the station.<sup>68</sup> The cost of the building came to Rs. 9,000.00 The Church had capacity of 150 congregation. The first divine service was held in October, 1844. The Altar was presented by the Late John White of his Magesties 6th Foot, who had spent 52 X-masses in Darjeeling. The Chaplain of Berhampore used to come to Darjeeling for two periods of six weeks to minister to the residents. The spire of the church collapsed in September 1867 as it was struck by lightning rendering the building unsafe. It was rebuilt in 1870 and was consecrated by Bishop Milman in 1873. A clock was added to the tower at the time of rebuilding; various subsequent additions were made including the North-south transepts with porches, completed in 1897. On account of this expansion the Church could accommodate 450 persons. The walls of the Church had a number of inlaid tablets to the memory of some of the early residents and settlers, chief among them being that of Capt. Lloyd, the discoveror of Darjeeling.<sup>69</sup>

The Union Chapel of the Protestants who were not communicants of either St. Andrew's or St. Columbus Church was established in 1869 at Auckland Road.<sup>70</sup> St. Columbus Church came into existence in 1894. It was built by the Church of Scotland mission.

As for the Catholics their early missionary efforts were intimately connected with the establishment of European Schools, although the first attempts were made by Reverend W. Start, a Baptist, who brought to follow him a band of Moravian Missionaries from Germany and had set up the head-quarter at Tukvar. Their Churches were built near the Schools. The Church of Immaculate Conception came to be established near Loreto Convent, in fact on the old site of the Loreto Cahpel. It was built in 1893 by Rev. Brother Rotsaert, S.J. who also designed St. Joseph's College. It could accommodate a congregation of 300 and possessed some beautiful Bavirian statuary presented by the Parish.<sup>71</sup> Another Catholic Chapel came to be built next to St. Joseph's College.

As the Christian religious associations and worship were closely linked with cultural and educational activities, so was the case with the Muslims, who were few and as usual their cultural activities as well as religious functions

Plate No. XVI



*St. Andrew's Church*

were centred round the Mosque. The first mosque originally a small building erected on the edge of Laldigi was claimed to have been built in 1786 and as a proof of the claim they refer to the invasion of China by their co-religionists about that period. It appeared that on their return journey to India a Muslim priest worked his way back through Tibet and Sikkim and took up his abode at Laldigi in Darjeeling. This view could not be validated by any authentic evidence. The Mosque was in deed erected by Naser Ali Khan, Daroga Salamat Ali, Munshee Tarikulla and others most of whom were Government servants. The Mosque building came into being between 1851 and 1862, as it did not appear in Col. Sherwill's map. It found a place in the official map published in 1862.<sup>72</sup>

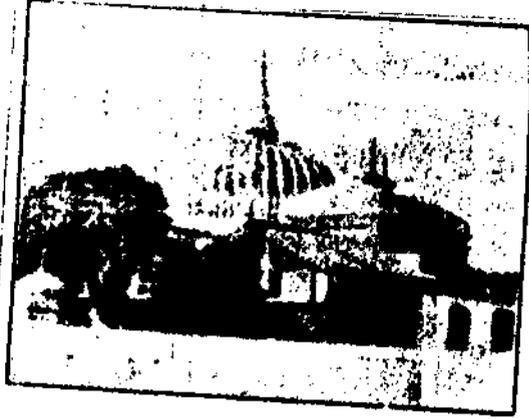
The *Chhota Masjid* in Butcher Busty below the Cart Road was erected some years later. The Anjuman Islamia, the governing body of the Mosques was established in 1909. It rebuilt the *Jama Masjid* at a cost of Rs. 13,000.00 and established schools for boys and girls. A Musafir-Khana was also built for the reception of travellers of any cast or creed which gave shelter for three days free of charge. The Anjuman Islamia also arbitrated both civil and criminal cases among the followers of their own religion.<sup>73</sup>

Among all the religious institutions of Darjeeling the Hindu Mandir, in the market place seemed to be the oldest one. 'It existed before 1830', when the first Marwari firm, Samboo Ram & Chunulall, was established in the market place.<sup>74</sup> It was erected by Rangit Singh, an Ex-Army Subbedar, employed in the local police force and being endowed with a sum of Rs. 3,400.00 in the 6 percent. There were five separate little buildings containing the following deities (1) Radha-Krishna, (2) Mahadev - Parvati, (3) Ganesh, (4) Mahavir, (5) Tulsi.<sup>75</sup> The priesthood belonged to one Mishra family of Bihar, which continues till today.

The Brahma Mandir affiliated to the Sadharan Samaj, Calcutta, was constructed on April 15, 1880. It could accommodate 100 persons in congregation. The building was erected through the efforts of Messrs Troylokinath Chakravarty, the then Head-master of Government Bhutia School and Motilal Haldar. The services were conducted by the member of the Sadharan Samaj, and the Adi Samaj even by the members of the Unitarian Churches.<sup>76</sup>

The Darjeeling Monastery<sup>77</sup> was built in 1765 as a branch of the Phodang Monastery of Sikkim, and once it stood on the observatory Hill. It served as the

Plate No.XVII



Hindu Mandir (Temple) at Chowk Bazar



DARJEELING, TEMPLE  
Mahakal (Temple) at Observatory Hill

'Chapel of Ease' to the Phodang Monastery. It was looted and sacked by the Nepalese forces in 1815, leaving only a small shrine called Mahakai on the site which once marked its location. What remained of it was transferred to the north-east of St. Andrew's Church and finally to Butia Busty in 1878-79.<sup>78</sup>

There were two other Buddhist Monasteries namely the Ging and Ghoom Monasteries. Though they were not in the town proper yet they were within the Municipality limit and therefore their short description would not be entirely out of place. The Ging Monastery three miles from the town and reached by Rungeet Road to the east of the Mall, was originally situated below the village of Ging. it was demolished by the British on account of political differences with Sikkim. However, after the differences were sorted out by Sir Ashley Eden a thatched structure was erected on the present site, which in 1896-98 was rebuilt in stone through the exertions of the Highpriest Lodio Lama. This Monastery belonged to the Red sect.<sup>79</sup>

The Ghoom Monastery was founded in 1875 by Lama Sherab Gyamtso, one of the Yellow-sect Geylugpa, and was primarily meant for political meetings. It received a grant of Rs. 60.00 per month from the Government and was managed by a Secretary and a Committee and had 50 monks in residence.<sup>80</sup>

Besides these religious institutions a number of secular institutions as well had been setup. The Darjeeling Club was one such institution. It was also known as Planters' Club and was founded in 1868. It was first located in Thorn Cottage and then in Alice Villa. Officers attached to several services and Planters were ipso facto entitled to its membership, while others if properly vouched for were readily admitted. The membership fee etc. are given in the table Below :

**Table No. IV : 13**

Details of Membership Fee of Planters' Club		
Entrance Fee	Rs.	70.00
Annual Subscription	Rs.	12.00
Fee for Temporary members	Rs.	16.00 per month
Army and Navy Officers of & above the rank of 1st. Lt.	Rs.	10.00 per month
Below First Lieutenant	Rs.	05.00 per month

About 1890 the late Mr. M.N. Banerjee, Quondam Government Pleader, and subsequent Secretary of the Hall, convened meetings with a view to obtain funds where with to erect a public building for the exclusive use of Indians. With this project he approached many leading Rulers and influential Indians. The first to respond to such a call and donate a sum of Rs. 1,000.00, as a nucleus, was the Maharaja of Cooch-Bihar; the hall had been named as 'The Nirpendra Narayan Hall' after him. With this sum a small building was constructed in 1891 for religious purposes. Subsequent efforts produced a total donation of Rs. 40,000.00 with which a suitable structure was erected on the site on which the first building stood. Unfortunately this Hall was burnt down on April 29th 1906. It was again mainly through the untiring efforts of Mr. Banerjee that funds were once more collected as also building materials, with which the present structure was erected. The foundation stone was laid by Sir Andrew Fraser, Lt. Governor of Bengal, on October 16th, 1907. It had a large and well-equipped stage, a library and a reading-room.<sup>81</sup>

Places for eternal rest for different communities were also provided and maintained. The Old Cemetery, a mile from the Chowrasta and through which the Lebong Cart Road was cut, was consecrated and opened formally in 1865. The names of some important persons who were laid to peace here are Capt. Lloyd, the discoverer of Darjeeling and the first Superintendent of Darjeeling, Mr. William Napier Campbell, son of Dr. A. Campbell the much eulogised Superintendent of Darjeeling, Gustavus Septimus Judge, a road on his name still exists. Later a new Cemetery, two miles out of the town, came into existence.<sup>82</sup>

The Convent Cemetery which had remains of the Nuns, attached to the Convent, belonging to the Order of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and a few of the pupils, and located at the foot of the grounds attached to the Convent, was started in the year 1868 as soon as it received the remains of Sister Mary Gouzaga. The Cemetery contained the remains of Rev. Mother Mary Gouzaga. The Cemetery contained the remains of Rev. Mother Mary Joseph Hogan, I.B.V.M., Provincial Superior.<sup>83</sup>

Perhaps Darjeeling is the only place where a Parsee Cemetery would be found, for they lay their dead in the Towers of Silence. This Cemetery was made just below the Lebong Road and one and a half miles from the market square. There are only three graves in this Cemetery.<sup>84</sup>

Plate No. XVIII.



*Mall*



*Victoria Park*

The Indian Christian Cemetery was made alongside the Parsee Cemetery. There is a Chinese Cemetery also about a mile and a half to the south of the Railway station.<sup>85</sup> The Hindus were assigned plots for burning their dead immediately below Butcher Busty.<sup>86</sup> The Mohamadans' Cemetery occupied the plot a little to the right and above the Hindu Burning Ground.<sup>87</sup> The first burning ground of the Buddhists was apportioned immediately below St. Paul's school on the Calcutta Road. This ground was used by a sect called Kagatis. The other grounds were laid alongside the Ghoom and Ging Monasteries.<sup>88</sup>

## V

With the growth of the different institutions as stated above and addressed to different purposes Darjeeling was transformed from a Sanatorium into a vibrant Urban centre. The Queen amongst the Indian hill stations, as it was eulogised, Darjeeling gradually stepped out of some uninhabited hill tops into the world of urban culture with a distinct flavour in its cultural ambience. It was indeed true that unnecessary over-crowding of the town could not be prevented because of the plantation industry and trans-frontier trade but it was on the whole kept in a state of its natural freshness with as little human intervention as possible.

The town introduced through its architecture a new dimension in the architectural specificity of a hill station. It was not only a new urban concept that was introduced in India by the British by their constructing Simla, Mussoorie, Nainital and Ooty and Darjeeling, but while constructing them they have been made to be easily distinguished as urban conglomerate from those which the British had set up in the plains. The entire construction policy was suggested by the ecological underpinning of a hill, the urban skyline was done in consonance with the contours of the hill tops and the hill-view being always left without any obstruction, to provide the appropriate visual perspective of a hill station.

However, the settlement pattern underlines a distinct element of racism. The British settlement has been scrupulously differentiated bordering on the extent of cultural isolation. It is true that the British policy to remain exclusive was suggested by their being the ruling authority. But it appears now with a hind sight and particularly when the tempers of anti-colonialism has subsided amongst the Indians that the British intended to avoid an encounter with a culture much of which was alien and defied their comprehension. The British

and the Indians belonged to two different cultural spaces and none of them had overlapped to be amenable to comprehension and later acceptance. So, this aspect of settlement at Darjeeling is difficult to ignore.

For the development of the style of architecture in the hills the British had fallen back on 'Swiss-Gothic' style than either on the Victorian architecture or on the bungalow style which they had adopted in the plains. They also avoided scrupulously the Indo-saracenic style which sometimes was used by the British in the plains to construct public buildings. So, it was basically Euro-centricism than any sense of eclecticism that had induced them to develop their architectural policy. However, their judicious use of the local material, use of Sand-stone bricks in the construction work, timber panneling and the application of a distinct policy to use the side of the building facing the hills as view point helped to draw the basic outline of what a hill resort should be like.<sup>69</sup>

### Notes and References

1. Dash, A.J. *Bengal District Gazetteers : Darjeeling*, Alipur, 1947, p.42
2. *Ibid*, p. 271.
3. Colmcille, Mothe Mary, *First the Blade-History of the I.B.V.M., Loreto in India, 1841-1962*, Calcuta, 1968, p.57. For the General History of Education in the Darjeeling Hills we relied on Dewan, Dick B., *Education in the Darjeeling Hills : An Historial Survey, 1835-1985*, New Delhi, 1991. Lawrence, P.J. *Report on the Existing Schools for Europeans and Eurasians throughout India*, Calcutta, 1873. *Committee upon the Financial Conditions of Hill Schools for Europeans in Northern India, Vol. 1 : Report*, Simla, 1904.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 58
5. *Ibid.*, p. 59
6. *Ibid.* p. 67
7. *Ibid.* p. 69
8. *Ibid.*, p.69
9. *Ibid.* pp. 69-70
10. *Ibid.* p. 93
11. *Ibid.* p. 96
12. Dash, A.J., *op.cit.* p. 272
13. Dozey, E.C, *A Concise History of the Darjeeling District since 1835*, Calcutta, 1989, p. 106
14. O'Malley, L.S.S., *Bengal District Gazetteers : Darjeeling*, Calcutta, 1907, p. 178
15. Mitra, Shanker (Hony. Editor ), *150th Anniversary Commemorative Volume : St. Paul's School*, Calcutta, 1974, p. 14

16. *Ibid.* p. 14

17. *History of St. Joseph's college, North Point, Calcutta, 1936, pp. 8-9 The Prospectus of Father McGirr ran like this : "Darjeeling Seminary for Young Gentlemen" under the direction of Rev. Father Mc Girr, Chaplain to the Darjeeling convent. The course of education comprises the Greek and Latin classics, Reading, Writing Arithmetic, English Grammar, Geography, the use of the globes, Algebra, Geometry, together with the elements of French language. boarders Rs.30.00 a month, Day-scholars Rs. 21.00 Day pupils Rs. 14.00 In all other respects the charges and conditions are the same as those fixed for the Darjeeling Convent School.*

18. *Ibid.* p. 9

19. *Ibid.* p. 9

20. *The Herald, July 13th, 1850*

21. *A Century Observed : Souvenir of St. Joseph's College, North Point, Calcutta, 1988, p.10*

22. *The Statesman, June 13th, 1876.*

23. *A Century Observed : Souvenir of St. Joseph's College, North Point, Calcutta 1988, p.11*

24. *Ibid.*, p. 24

25. *Ibid.* p. 27

26. O'Malley, L.S.S., *op.cit.* 179

27. Dash, A.J. *op.cit.* p. 274

28. *Ibid.* p. 273

29. Letter No. 2062, July 13th, 1869, From the commissioner of Cooch-Bihar to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal. The extract is as follows: "There is one Government School at Darjeeling. Instruction is given in English, Bengali, and Urdu. Average attendance was 29% in 1868, and 23% in 1869. The Deputy Commissioner attributes the falling off to the opening of a school by religious community which afford instruction gratuitously, the fee in the Government school being 0-6-12 (Re, Anna, Paisa, approx. Re. 0.45) as per mensum. No indigeneous schools are known to exist though it is believed that few of the Lepcha and Bhutia children get some instruction in their own homes from itinerant Buddhist monks. Thus it appears that after 30 years of occupation of Darjeeling into which a population estimated at 80,000 had flowed, there are little more than 58 boys on the average, receiving civilizing education; of these not a

single one is an indigeneous inhabitant of the country, of these on the books of the school, 23 are Mohammadans, 13 Hindus, 38 Nipelese; all foreigners. This is clear to me that the education Committee has not done its duty and I expect very little from it till it has a more popular constitution. The present composition well shows that these members could hardly spare much time."

**Composition :** Chaplain, the Deputy Commissioner, Civil Surgeon, Extra Assistant Commissioner, Capt. Indon, Capt. Combs. One cause of the paucity of attendance at the school doubtless is the facility with which children obtain employment at a very early age. The Commissioner recommended the appointment of a local Inspector of Vernacular Schools who in close communication with the Deputy Commissioner would set up schools on the Grants-in-aid principle and then to inspect.

30. Dash, A.J., *op.cit.* p.270
31. *Commissioner's Report, No. 677 Mct., August 3rd, 1905, p. 10*
32. *Chairman's Report No. 325, p. 10*
33. *Commissioner's Report No. 247M, August 13th, 1896, p. 14*
34. *Chairman's Report No. 721, Appendix-E, 1905.*
35. Dozey, E.C., *op.cit.*, p.141
36. *Commissioner's Report No. 247M, p.22.*
37. *Ibid. p.22*
38. *General Administration Report for the quinquennial period from 1895-96 to 1899-1900, File No 25, Collection-XXX, Sl. No. 11. Darjeeling District Record Room.*
39. Dozey, E.C., *op.cit.* p.141
40. *Ibid., p.141*
41. *File No. 24, Section XXVI, Sl. No. 6, 1891-92, p.57*
42. *Darjeeling District Record Room, Correspondance, Volume 58/63, Memo No. 311 February 22nd, 1873.*

43. Sen, Jahar, *Darjeeling: A Favoured Retreat*, New Delhi, 1989, p.88
44. *Copy of Annual Report for 1842*, Darjeeling, January 1st, 1843, by Dr. Griffith forwarded to T.R. Davidson, Officiating Secretary, Political Department, Fort William, by Dr. Campbell, No. 59, March 20th, 1843.
45. *Triennial Report on the working of Charitable Dispensaries under the Government of Bengal for the years 1893-94-95*, by Surgeon Col. G.C. Ross, Inspector General of Civil Hospitals, p.XLI
46. *Ibid.* p.XLI
47. *Ibid.* p.XLI
48. *Report on the Charitable Dispensaries under the Government of Bengal for the year 1870*, No. 692, From the Inspector General of Hospitals Indian Medical Department to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal Fort William, October 10th 1871, p.126.
49. Dozey, E.C., *op.cit.* pp.132-33
50. *Triennial Report on the working of the Charitable Dispensaries for the years 1893-94-95*, p.XLI
51. *Copy of Annual Report for 1842*, No. 59, By Dr. Griffith.
52. *Report on the Charitable Dispensaries under the Government of Bengal*, No. 692, for 1870.
53. Dozey, E.C., *op.cit.* pp. 132-33
54. *Commissioner's Report*, No. 383M, August 12th 1891.
55. *Ibid.*, No. 677Mct, August 3rd, 1905
56. Lock Hospital; its origin is attributed by the Oxford English Dictionary to 'Lock-lazer house' in Southwark, which is mentioned as having received a bequest in 1452, was afterwards employed as a hospital for venereal diseases, and its name came to be used as a general designation for institution of that kind. The origin of the name is uncertain, it has been conjectured that the 'Lock-lazer house' was so called as being specially isolated or quarantined.
57. The Lock Hospital was shifted to Jalapahar in accordance with an *Order No. 1468, Government of India, Military Department*, Simla, July 6th 1876

58. *Letter No. 42, from Dr. H.B. Purves, Civil Surgeon, Darjeeling to the Deputy Surgeon-General, Dinapore Circle, Darjeeling, February 5th, 1875.*
59. Dozey, E.C., *op.cit.* pp.129-31
60. *Ibid.* pp.129-31
61. *Report on the Administration of Bengal, 1901-02, part II, pp. 198-99*
62. *Ibid.* pp.198-99
63. *Ibid.* pp. 198-99
64. *Ibid.* for 1904-05, p. 131
65. Franklin Prestige was the first Manager of the Darjeeling Himalyan Railway.
66. Dozey, E.C., *op.cit.* p.132
67. *Ibid.* p.132
68. *Ibid.* p.74
69. *Ibid.*, p. 75
70. *Ibid.* p. 76
71. *Ibid.*, p.75
72. *Ibid.*, pp. 82-83
73. *Ibid.* p.83
74. *Ibid.* p.82
75. *Ibid.* p. 82
76. *Ibid.* p.82
77. The Tibetan name of the Darjeeling Monastery is Do-Chuk Gompa.
78. Dozey, E.C., *op.cit.* p. 79
79. *Ibid.* p. 80
80. *Ibid.* p. 80
81. *Ibid.*, p. 89
82. *Ibid.* p. 147
83. *Ibid.* pp. 148-49
84. *Ibid.* p. 149
85. *Ibid.* p. 150
86. *Ibid.* p. 150

89. For details see the admirable study of Dane Kennedy's *Hill Stations and the Raj*, George H. Ford's *Felicitous Space : The Cottage Controversy, Nature and the Victorian Imagination*, ed. U.L. Knoepfelmacher and G.B. Tennyson, Burkley, 1977, Anthony D. King, *The Bungalow. The Production of a Global Culture*, London, 1984 and Anthony D. King *Colonial Urban Development*, 132-48. Our observations depended substantially on the above mentioned studies.

## CHAPTER - IV - D

## SOCIETY

Demographic study of the 19th Century Darjeeling reveals its urbanization as well as level of social development which urbanization as a historical process represents. That is to say that Urban social system comes to be based on residence rather than Kinship. The residents belong to various diverse groups. The social interaction among such a variety of personality types in the Urban milieu naturally tends to break down the rigidity of caste line and induces a more ramified and differentiated framework of social stratification in terms of classes than in more integrated societies.

But before we go into the complexion of the evolved society which emerged by the end of the century under study let us first turn to the demographic changes which provided stimulus to both urbanization and the resultant Urban Society of Darjeeling.

## I

When Darjeeling territory was taken by the British in 1835, "there were not a hundred inhabitants under British protection." <sup>1</sup> But during the two years, in which Dr. Hooker witnessed its development, "Its progress resembled that of an Australian colony not only in the amount of building, but also in the accession of native families from the surrounding countries." <sup>2</sup> There was a phenomenal increase in the population of the place once it was taken over by the British. Darjeeling became the most populous Hill Station, next only to Simla, as is shown in table No. V : 1

Table : V : 1

## Distribution of Population

Year 1901	Hill Stations	Population
	Darjeeling	16,924
	Kodaikanal	1,912
	Mussoorie	8,181
	Mahabaleshwar	5,737
	Mount Abu	3,488
	Nainital	7,609
	Ranikhet	3,153
	Shilong	8,384
	Simla	19,000

SOURCE : Westlake, G. D. *An Introduction to the Hill Stations of India*, pp. 145-46

It is worthwhile to remember that the all-India census was taken in March, 1901. The month was carefully chosen to reflect the permanent population of every town as accurately as possible; had it been arranged for the following month the annual flow to the hills from the plains would have considerably distorted the figures for both mountain resorts and the cities in the plains.

Even in 1872 when the only approach to Darjeeling was by a long tedious march, the population numbered 3,157, but during the next nine years it increased by more than hundred percent. It again doubled itself between 1881-1891 after the construction of the Darjeeling-Himalayan-Railway which had brought the station within a day's journey from Calcutta. The census of 1901 calculated an increase of twenty percent, the total population numbering 16,924, but its progress during the subsequent ten years had been less rapid owing partly to the fact that there was not much room for further expansion, and partly because its expensiveness deterred people from taking up a permanent residence in it. In spite of this the population rose to 19,005, the actual increase according to the census taken in March 1911, being 2,081, or 12%. Altogether 1,576 of the inhabitants were Europeans. However, it may be mentioned that the figures include not only the town proper, that is, the area within the Municipal limits, but also the Cantonment at Lebong and Jalapahar including Katapahar. If the two Cantonments are excluded and the figure of the town alone is taken

then only 1,360, or 9% people were added to the population during the decade.<sup>3</sup>

A census taken at this time of the year only recorded the population of the town at the end of the winter. It was far greater during the hot weather and rainy months when it attracted a number of visitors who came to escape the heat of the plains or to recuperate in its cool climate. A second census was, therefore, held in September, 1911 in order to ascertain its population at this time of the year. The results of the two censuses are given in the table below :

**Table No. V : 2**

**Population Fluctuation in 1911**

	<b>Population in March 1911,</b>	<b>Population in September 1911</b>
Darjeeling Town	17,053	21,553
Lebong	1,037	1,569
Jatapahar	915	1,574
<b>Total</b>	<b>19,005</b>	<b>24,696</b>

**SOURCE :** *Census of India 1911*, p. 37

It is interesting to note that the population of the whole town was only 3% more than that recorded at a similar hot weather census held in September, 1900, a fact which seems to indicate that the place now attracted very few people than it did ten years ago.<sup>4</sup>

Thus within four decades from the time the official census was taken the population of Darjeeling had increased by almost four times. The density of the town population also consequently greatly increased. The population and density variations are shown in table No. V : 3 and V : 4.

Table No. V : 3

## Population Variation of Darjeeling from 1872 to 1891

Year	Total Population	Variation
1872	3,157	-
1881	7,018	3,861
1891	14,145	7,127

SOURCE : Census of India, 1911, p. 107

Table No. : V : 4

## Density Variation of Darjeeling from 1872 to 1891

1872	Density per square mile
1872	651 approximately
1881	1,447
1891	2,916

SOURCE : O' Malley, L S S. *Bengal District Gazetteers Darjeeling*, p. 38

Both the increases in terms of number and the density of population were sure signs of the great pace at which urbanization was being achieved in Darjeeling.

## II

The phenomenal growth of population of Darjeeling was primarily attributed to migration, an important aspect of urbanization, from the neighbouring countries like Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan migration was occasioned by two factors viz. 'pull' and 'push', both accountable to the process of urbanization. In case of Darjeeling both these factors worked, though Hunter gave precedence to the 'pull' factors when he said, "no statistics exist showing the extent to which immigration is carried on. Therefore, no definite pattern of migration can be formulated except that considerable immigration took place mainly because of the 'pull' factor operating at Darjeeling....."<sup>5</sup>

Hunter might be right in giving preference to the 'pull' factor attracting immigration from the plains whose stay at Darjeeling usually was temporary

and who maintained a close link with their places of origin. <sup>6</sup> The plains people were attracted to Darjeeling mainly for service or business prospects. "...The Bengali immigrant consists primarily of clerks, munshis, domestic servants etc. But they do not settle down permanently and live apart from the general population."<sup>7</sup>

But in the case of Hillmen it was 'pull' as well as 'push' factor which prompted them to leave their places of origin and settle down permanently at Darjeeling. One common 'push' factor in Nepal, Sikkim, and Bhutan was the presence of the institution of slavery.<sup>8</sup> From these countries people were attracted to Darjeeling to enjoy free institutions and to sell their labour and skill in a free market.<sup>9</sup> There was but little immigration from Bhutan, a country with underdeveloped resources which, so far from having any surplus population, called for immigrants. Persons who were in the grip of money-lenders and pressed beyond endurance could have migrated to Bhutan, which, of course, was not a land to promote personal freedom and human rights at that time.<sup>10</sup>

Immigration from Tibet was even smaller in volume, the aggregate of immigrants from Tibet being only a little over 1,500 were enumerated in Darjeeling in its entirety. Small as the number was, it was considerably larger than the number of Tibetans who migrated in 1901. Partly in consequence of the freer intercourse with Tibet which followed the Tibet Mission and partly because the Dalai Lama was staying in Darjeeling at the time of the census"<sup>11</sup>

By far the largest number of immigrants came from Nepal. Besides the presence of slavery the other 'push' factor was the prevalence of the system of conscription. Many Limbus of Pallo Kirat were enlisted at Darjeeling which the Lepchas never did and the Rajah of Nepal employed them in his army. However, they seldom obtained promotion. Promotional posts were reserved for soldiers of Hindoo tribes. Later Jang Bahadur conscripted a force of 6,000 from them who were cantoned at Kathmandoo, where cholera broke out killing many of them. Many families who dreaded conscription flocked in Darjeeling.<sup>12</sup>

Forced labour under inhuman conditions was another cause for emigration. Many families of Lepchas and Limboos had come from Nepal into the British territory attached to Darjeeling and that a further influx was expected. People being insisted on carrying goods and stores to the passes under exposure and without remuneration was another cause of this migration. Dr Campbell did not make any show of encouragement to the emigrants and he decided to

continue this course unless it was opposed to the wishes of Government. <sup>13</sup> It is clear from this remark of Dr. Campbell that he, as the Head of the District Administration, did not follow a policy of encouraging migration, yet it was welcome and the migrants too knew it. They also knew that a better prospect awaited them at Darjeeling.

Regmi, a Nepali historian, of course, tries to explain the migration on the basis of 'pull' factors, when he says, "Progressive decline in revenue and depopulation in the eastern terai districts after 1793 can not be attributed solely to the 'push' factors of overtaxation and oppression in other forms, there were also a number of 'pull' factors operating from the Indian side."<sup>14</sup>

There was yet another very important reason for the Nepali emigration. The Gorkha rule was not accepted with equanimity in every part of Nepal that was brought under its rule. The Kirats, for instance, could not reconcile themselves with the Gorkha conquest on their land. Many Kirats at the incitement of the Chinese in 1792 rose up in arms. The Government tried to repress the rebellion with severity, but finally they realized the need to placate the Kirats by confirming their rights and privileges. Fugitive Kirats were given amnesty. The privilege of the 'Drum beating' originally conferred by Makawani King in the names of Sekhjit and Srimujhanga Subba and falsely taken by one Adalsing as his own was restored in 1838 to the original owners who fought against the British in 1814 at Madhubani.<sup>15</sup>

In spite of these reconciliatory steps, emigration from Nepal continued at a large scale particularly from the Eastern Nepal for several reasons. An order issued by the Nepal Government in October, 1868, to the Kirat Rais and Subbas of the area between the river Arun in the west and the Mechi in the east indicated it. In the context of our study relevant part of the order is quoted: "After the separation of lands from the control of Kirats in Khambuan and Limbuan, taxes are being paid by you as the Khasa Brahamanas (Brahmanas and Chhetris pay on the basis of plough and homestead in their raikar land instead of the flat Rs. 6.00 and Re .50 (per kipat homestead) ...As the laws and customs have not been well put together there, the nants of different villages leave with their families for Darjeeling (in Muglan India), and if you Subbas and Rais come to know about this, make arrangements or the settlements of those cultivated plots left by them with other tenants and pay revenue. Do not leave the lands vacant and do not ask for remission on the plea that tenants have fled, if it is proved that any of you Subbas and Rais have helped the tenants to escape to Darjeeling Muglan, you will be fined as per rules and laws"<sup>16</sup>

The situation became so alarming that the Nepal Government had to contemplate a few measures to attract settlers from India. The very composition of the terai population shows that the incidence of subsequent migration from Northern India into Nepal terai was pretty high. Nepal Government's inability to control enterprising people looking for fresh opportunities to build up fortune is held to be the cause of migration into the terai by economic expansion represented by the railroads, by new trading communities and adventurous business men, which the Nepalese Government could not be expected to control to any significant degree.<sup>17</sup>

In a way one can situate the migratory tendency in agrarian indebtedness, growing population and the consequent pressure on the available agricultural land and slavery. On the contrary, the development of the coal mining industries in the adjoining provinces of Bengal and Bihar, and the tea industry in Bengal and Assam opened up a vista of gainful employment and an escape from the social ostracism of the native society.<sup>18</sup> Though there was considerable reduction in the flood of migrants in the nineties of the last century. It still accounted for two-fifths of the total population of Dajeeling. The initial foreign-born immigrants were dying out and their places were being taken by their children born in Darjeeling.<sup>19</sup>

While the components of population in Darjeeling came from people who had migrated permanently, as in the case of the hillmen, and those who were semi-permanent migrants as in the case of people from the plains there was a third component which was also important in a way considering the limited capacity of Darjeeling to absorb them, it was 'seasonal migration' which used to take place during the hot weather and rains. When Darjeeling became the temporary Head quarter of the Bengal Government and was invaded by a large number of Europeans who permanently lived in the plains.<sup>20</sup> The most important 'pull' factor to have worked to enhance the population of Darjeeling by migrant Hillsmen was the requirement of labour. It was for the maintenance of the English population in their idyllic state in the hill stations for porturage, for road construction and finally for labour in Tea gardens when the tea industry was set up in Darjeeling. Public work projects of various sorts too required the services of workers from the hills both within the municipal area and outside it. It has been held that each European settled in the hills required ten to fifteen porters

everytime there was a movement to carry his goods. And during seasonal migration of the British officials a huge number of porters were required. Though we do not have any figure to suggest the requirement of the Lt.-Governor of Bengal and his officials for porters when they moved into Darjeeling in the summer. But it could be summarised by taking the figures from Simla required by the Governor-General. Lord Amherst required the services of one thousand porters in 1827 to carry his entourage, Lord Auckland needed some fifteen hundred porters in 1838, and Lord Dalhousie needed at least nine thousand porters a decade later.

The other important 'pull' factor was labour requirement in road construction which was labour intensive. In Darjeeling Capt. G.S. Lloyd had set some twelve hundred persons in road construction in 1839. To this growing volume of labour market was added the requirement for plantation. All these activities mentioned above provided a quick employment to immigrants from the neighbouring hills. Though the labour population working in the 110 Tea Estates of the Darjeeling hills was not the residents of Darjeeling proper but their impact on the demographic pattern of Darjeeling could be hardly ignored. Even on a very modest calculation the total labour population in Tea Estates could be held to be 19,424, in 1874 and 64,000 by the end of the century, all of them being hillmen and a part of them would be visiting Darjeeling occassionally for various purposes. It is true that the work force flocked to Darjeeling just as they did in other hill stations to earn wages, but there were exceptions too. Capt. Lloyd could not induce the Lepchas of Darjeeling to work for hire.<sup>21</sup>

### III

Darjeeling population was presumably heterogeneous in its ethnic, religious and linguistic composition. For all practical purposes it is an important aspect of urbanism or in other words 'the prime criterion of a city'. Even among the Nepali migrants there were various castes. Besides a large number of Lepchas, Bhotias and Tibetans too had contributed to the mosaic of Darjeeling population. Together with these Hillmen were found the denizens of the plains who normally belonged to various communities namely, the Bengalis, the upites, the Biharis, the Punjabis, the Marwaris, the Jews. A few chinese too had settled there.<sup>22</sup>

The Nepalese were differentiated on the basis of physognomy and they had been classified in the following manner :

- i) Those with long nose, big eyes and tall stature, and include the Brahamans, Chhetry, Newar, Kami and Damai.
- ii) Intermediate between (i) and (iii), and includes Mangar, Gurung and Tamang.
- iii) Those with flat nose, small, oblique eyes, short stature, include Limbus, Jimdar and Yaksha.

Dozey has further divided three types according to social scale into Khambus, Mudwins, Limboos, Yaksha, Jimdar, Damai, Sarki and Jhatri. The next in social scale are barbers, dhobi and mochi who are so low in the scale that they could not enter the courtyard of a temple and were required to step off the road on the approach of a member of higher caste especially the Brahamans. In case their shadow should fall on a Brahmin it would necessitate many ablutions and penance.<sup>23</sup>

Various castes/groups of Nepalese at Darjeeling were well represented but the most numerous among them were the (a) Khambus (b) Murmis followed by the (c) Magars, the (d) Grurngs and the (e) Khasas. A study of the population of Darjeeling and the society originated from it would suggest a study of individual elements (a) It seems probable that the term was originally geographical and was applied to a race of aborigine which according to Newar tradition, came into Nepal from the east, that is from Tibet. Another name applied to them was Kiranti, also a geographical term applied to all the races i.e. Limbus, Yakshas as well as Khambus, living in Kirant, a tract in the east of Nepal of which the limits are uncertain. It was bounded on the west by the Dud Kosi, but its eastern boundary is said to be either the Singalila range or the Arun or the Tamber river. The Khambu country proper is said to lay to the east of this tract, either between the Arun or Tamber or to the east of the Tamber. Legend relates that formerly the Kirantis killed and ate every kind of animal including cows. However after the Gorkha conquest of the Khambus beef eating was prohibited. Presently they are distinguished from the Jimdars who do not eat beef. The Khambus also have different house-hold deities and are reported by the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling to offer cow's flesh to them, they certainly offer pigs and fowls, through their own priests who are called 'Home'. When a Khambu dies, a pig is brained with a pestle which is used to grind corn and its tail and

ears are cut off and placed under the dead man's armpits before he is buried. Only the wealthier Khambus are cremated. The Khambus and Jimdars appear to be of the same stock, the Jimdars being a more completely Hinduised section. They still, however, eat and drink together and also intermarry, and many of their sub-castes are the same, for example Kulung, Chaurasia, and Lhorong. They both call themselves Rais and a Jimdar when asked if he is a Khambu will generally admit that he is.<sup>24</sup>

b) The next important tribe is the Murmis. They are of Mongolian or semi-Mongolian caste and claim to be the earliest settlers of Nepal. They have probably descended from a Tibetan stock and modified by their inter mixture with Nepalese races. They are also known as Tamang-Bhotias and bear the title of Lama, and they are gradually adopting the Nepalese form of Hinduism. but according to Col. Dalton the Murmis are a nomadic and pastoral branch of the Bhotias, who always seemed to him to be more allied to the Nepalese. Dalton referred to Major Morton, the then Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling, who was found to have held the same view.<sup>25</sup>

The next numerous caste is Limbu. The Limbus bear the title of Subba. Originally from the east of Nepal, they are descendents of the early Tibetan settlers in Nepal, now they intermarry largely with Lepchas.<sup>26</sup>

c) Magars originated from the western Hills of Nepal and were the descendants of some Mongloid stock, who, according to one opinion came to Nepal with the army of Tibetan King Srong-bTsanGampo and that the tribal names of the Magars and Tamangs are derived from the Tibetan *Mag*-meaning war or battle and that these tribes were Tibetan warriors.<sup>27</sup> Hooker, however, took them as the aborigines of Sikkim from where they were driven by the Lephas westward into the country of the Limboos and later into still further west.<sup>28</sup> Sarat Chandra Das relates a legend about a fight between the Kangpachan people and the Magars whose ruined forts and towns we see in the Kangpachan valley west of the Kinchinjunga.<sup>29</sup> According to the legend the upper valley of Kangpachan was inhabited by the Sherpas and the lower valley by the Magars. The Magars were later expelled by the Tibetans from there and the Tamar valley.<sup>30</sup>

d) Gurungs occupy the stretch along the Zone immediately to the north of the Magar Zone extending right up to the snows. They are more Tibetanized,

and tradition has it that they were descendants of Gurupa, the younger of the two sons of munainua. One Tibetan account mentions that a group of the *Mon* people of this country were known by the name of *Gyurin* (Gurung), and were to their greatest part adherents of *Bon*.<sup>31</sup> The name Gurung could have originated from a group of *Bon* priests who were story-tellers Grung. According to one Gurung tradition the Gurung Ghales came from the north side of the Himalayas and established themselves at Ghandrung (Kot and Lamjung and Gorjha) and ruled the country until the arrival of princes from India. Risely explains that Ghale is but a variant of the Tibetan word *Gyal* for King.<sup>32</sup> Other Gurung clan names are also explicable by Tibetan words.

(e) A large number of people in Garhwal, Kumaon and Nepal were known by this name Khasa. As the Nepali language of today was once called the Khaskura the principal dialect of Kumaon was known as Khas-parijiya (the speech of the Khas ryots). The Khasa, variously called as Khasa, Khasa and Khasira, were regarded as an Indo-Aryan tribe, and it finds mention in many ancient Sanskrit texts along with other frontier tribes living in the North-western periphery of the Indian sub-continent. There is a view that because they formed a tribe of Non-vedic Aryans they were referred to as degraded Ksatriyas in *Manusmriti*.<sup>33</sup> The occurrence of Khas or Kas in the names of many central and west Asian places has led some scholars to point out that their original homeland was in the region from where they had dispersed over a large area.<sup>34</sup> Asoka had defeated a frontier tribe called *Saa* in the North-west and the name is considered to be a misreading of Khasa.<sup>34</sup> Their North-west connection is borne out by Grierson, R.L. Turner and Suniti Kumar Chatterjee also, who have shown that the various Indo - Aryan dialects spoken by people along southern glacis of the Himalayas have so many features because they were all influenced by the language brought there by Khasa migrants from the North-west.<sup>35</sup> Linguistic data has prompted scholars to believe in the pre-existence of a hypothetical Khasa-Prakrit from which languages classified as Eastern Pahari namely, Kumaoni, Garhwal and Nepali have emerged. Sylvain Levi believed that Kharosthi was the script of the Khasa.<sup>36</sup>

(f) The Khasas entered Humla ( in the North-west Nepal) centuries ago and carved out a big dominion for themselves. However, they soon mingled with the original Mongloid inhabitants and later with the high caste Indo-Aryans migrants from the plains of India. The majority of later Khasa of Western Nepal

were actually descendents of such miscegenation. However, the ethnographic traits of pure Khasa descent in them is not doubted.<sup>38</sup>

Chhetris are often taken to be the same as the Khasa, claim to be superior to the Khasas and call the latter 'Khasa' : to fall -from Nepali verb root Khasa, implying that they were fallen Kshatriyas. The purest group, particularly, Ektharia Chhetris, claim descent from the Rajputs and other 'pure' Kshatriyas from the plains of India. However, the tide of events around them confounded the Khasa and the Kshatriyas in all essentials. Their offsprings were entitled to every prerogative which the Kshatriyas birth confers in Hinduism.<sup>39</sup>

(g) Newars were also fairly numerous during the period under study. They usually bear the title of Pradhan. No definite knowledge about the earliest autoethons and their relationship with the present day Newar can be gathered. Lichhavi epigraphs mention Mundri<sup>40</sup> and Koli<sup>41</sup> in connection with the royal lineage. The similarity that these names have with Munda and Koli the Austric tribes is obvious and their languages are said to be 'closely' related to the *Mon-khmer* languages.<sup>42</sup> Although Suniti Kumar Chatterjee claims that the derivation of Newar is from Nepal itself.<sup>43</sup> Baburam Acharya believes that 'Nepar' is derived from 'Newar; a people whom he holds to be early settlers of Austric origin.<sup>44</sup> The Newari language, like other Tibeto-Burman dialects in the Himalayas, contain Austric vestiges. Other evidences, besides the linguistic one suggest that some sections of the Newars like Duneeya and Balami are descendents of such settlers. They occupy the lowest rung of the social hierarchy and speak a dialect somewhat different from Newari. The Newars having emerged as a result of co-mingling of different ethnic groups acquired certain common social traditions and a linguistic homogeneity and are, therefore, called by Baines and Risely a 'national tribe.'<sup>45</sup> They came from Nepal valley.

Among other castes of Nepalese found in Darjeeling were the Yaksh as (Diwan) and Sunwars. The most numerous lower castes were the Kamis (Blacksmiths), Damais (Tailors), Sarkis (Leather workers) and Ghatris. The last mentioned four castes are so low that in Nepal they were not allowed to enter the courtyards of temples, and had to leave the roads on the approach of a member of the higher caste and to call out to give warning of their approach.<sup>46</sup>

The caste system was, by no means, rigidly pursued by the Nepalese who had settled in Darjeeling, where a Brahmin might be found working as a

cultivator, a labourer or even as a sais. There was an extra ordinary laxity in ceremonial observances. They ate and drank food which were prohibited to the orthodox Hindus back home and many of them even became meat eaters relishing even beef and pork.<sup>47</sup>

On the contrary, the plains people who came to Darjeeling could not or did not shake off their orthodox ways. This contrast between the Nepali migrants and the plains' migrants had been most forcibly brought out by Hodgson. He wrote, "these highland soldiers, who despatch their meal in half hour and satisfy the ceremonial law by merely washing their hands and face and taking off their turbans before cooking, laugh at the pharisaical rigour of the sepoy, who must bathe from head to foot, and make puja before they can begin to dress their dinner, must eat nearly naked in the coldest weather, and can not be in marching trim again in less than three hours."<sup>48</sup>

Besides the various Nepali castes there was a large number of Lepchas in Darjeeling. According to a Lepcha tradition their original homeland was a place called *Mayel'*, this place was situated in an inaccessible valley of the mountain which in Lepcha was called 'King-tzum-song-bu'-the mountain that is highest over our head. This mountain is normally known by its Tibetanized name as Kanchenjunga. Yet another tradition, perhaps born later under the influence of Lamaist Buddhism, points out that the place of the origin was holy mountain Kailash (Ti-se) The Lepcha folk mythology contains its own version of the great deluge and that of the Tower of babel. But almost all the places mentioned are local, situated in the land covered by Limbuan and Sikkim. Dr. Hooker also took them to be the aborigines of Sikkim. "The Lepcha is the aboriginal inhabitant of Sikkim and the prominent character in Darjeeling, where he undertakes all sorts of outdoor employment....."<sup>49</sup> The Lepchas and Bhotias are said to be engaged in Darjeeling as rickshaw-pullers and dandy and their womenfolk were believed to make good ayahs. O'Brien in his *Darjeeling : The Sanatorium of Bengal and its surrounding*, stated that the Lepchas if they were caught young would make excellent cooks and 'Khitmutgars' without any caste prejudice, as found amongst the Nepalese.<sup>50</sup>

The Bhotias settled in Darjeeling also belonged to three distinct races, each with a local distribution. The Bhotias who hail from Bhotan were found mainly in Jalpaiguri. The Sherpa, who were immigrants from Eastern Nepal were nearly all inhabitants of Darjeeling, where they aggregated over 5,000.

There was a minor sub-division among them called Kagate, they were engaged in paper-making when they first came from Tibet and settled in the east of Nepal. They were also called Kagate-sherpa. They intermarry, eat with each other and are, in fact, indistinguishable from other sherpas. There is also a fourth class consisting of Tibetan Bhotia who describe themselves as such without further specification. The members of this class were nearly all found in Darjeeling where the total number had risen by two-fifths in the first decade of the 20th century.<sup>51</sup>

Thus, even the so called hillmen settled in Darjeeling were an agglomeration of diverse groups. In spite of this diversity they lacked in functional groups, such as sweepers, washermen etc. Although in Nepal the Ghatri slave caste performed such functions but as soon as they migrated to Darjeeling they refused to follow such degrading occupations. The result was that all sweepers and washermen came from the plains. There were several other occupations which the hillmen failed to take up for example, those of barbers, carpenters. Interestingly certain professions were confined to specified functional castes who continued to follow their trade, for example the Sarkis, who made the native shoes and sheaths of khukri, Kumal Newar (Potter) Kamis and Bhama Newars who manufactured metal ware and performed the functions of a Black-smith.<sup>52</sup>

The diversity of caste/group was no less prominent among the plains people who came to Darjeeling to reap the benefits of the fast growing urban opportunities. It is interesting to note from the list of Major Morton how many varieties of people had settled at Darjeeling then.<sup>53</sup> The list is given in Table No. V : 5.

Tabel No. V : 5

## Various Castes

Among Nepali - Hindu	Among Up-countrymen	Others	Mohammadans
Brahmins	Brahmins	Bhotia	Sheikh
Cjutri (Chhetri)	Chattri	Lepcha	Sayed
Khamboo	Khatri		Mogul
Limboo	Bania		Pathan
Mungur	Kalwar		
Gooroong	Chamar		
Moormi	Teli		
Ghurti	Koormi		
Ghale	Dhobi		
Thami	Hajam or Nao		
Paheri	Dosad		
Kami	Gowalla		
Sarki	Mehter		
Soonoo war	Lohar		
Sonar	Baroi		
Damai	Koree		
Thacoori	Sonar		
Thapa	Kahar		
Durgee	Bhooihar		
Chipang	Ekseria/Jimdar Brahmin		
Haen	Lalla		
Newar	Gurreri(shepherd)		
Serpa	Manjesuri		
Pereh	Osowal		

SOURCE : Memo No. 185, June, 5th. 1872.

This list though useful for providing the castes among different communities living in Darjeeling in the 70's of the nineteenth century, did not give any idea of their respective ranks in the social hierarchy, nor their respective equivalence in the communities. A more thorough list of various castes was given by Hunter which enumerated the main castes in accordance with their rank. It assumed more importance for it also gave their number as well as their professions wherever possible. The total number of people listed was 6,280, which was subtracted from the number of other residents referred to in the 19th century population. The list is as follows :

Table No. V : 6

## Classification of Population

Caste	Total	Profession / Occupation
1. Brahmanas	904	Priests, Govt. employees, private service
2. Babhan (Behar caste)	6	
3. Kshatriya	117	
4. Rajpur	1754	Door-keepers, Policemen, Guards, Military service
5. Baidya	4	Physicians
6. Kayasthas	36	Writers, Clerks, in Govt., Private service.
7. Marwari	10	Traders.
8. Agarwals	9	Traders
9. Oswals	13	Traders
10. Napit	30	Hair dresser
11. Kamar	393	Iron smith
12. Kumar	78	Potter
13. Baniya	67	Traders
14. Ghandher Baniya	15	Trader of perfumes Grocers, spice dealer
15. Paliwal	7	
16. Rabi	6	Traders
17. Tambuli	3	Trade/Money lending ( originally ,, pangrowers )
18. Barui	285	Pan growers and sellers
19. Til (Teli ? )	111	Traders and grain dealers
20. Mali	20	Gardner
21. Goala	74	Milkman
22. Halwai	47	Confectioners
23. Kandu	26	Sellers of parched or cooked vegetabel food, chira etc.
24. Sanyasi	267	Mendicant
25. keeri	27	Cultivators
26. Kurmi	245	Cultivators
27. Tanti	12	Weavers
28. Sonar	393	Gold smith
29. Subarna Baniya	47	Merchants, Bankers. Dealers in gold.
30. Darji	512	Tailor
31. Dhobi	63	Washerman
32. Surt/Sumri	110	Grain dealers, general traders (originally wine dealer)
33. Rajbanshi Koch	109	
34. Dhanuk	14	Domestic servants, Labourers, palanquin bearer
35. Kahar	43	Planquin bearers, servants
36. Behara	2	Palanquin bearers, servants
37. Nuniya	15	Salt worker

Caste	Total	Profession / Occupation
38. Dhuniya	6	Cotton Carder
39. Juhi	19	Weavers
40. Baiti	14	Mat makers/musicians
41. Chamar	221	Cobbler
42. Dom	10	Scavenger
43. Dosadh	7	
44. Mihtar	173	Sweeper
45. Hari	2	Swineherd/sweeper
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>6,280</b>	

SOURCE : A Statistical Account of Bengal, Volume -X, p. 81-83.

Nevertheless, Hunter's list was not very comprehensive, for it included only the plains people, in contrast to Major Morton's list which included people from the hills and plains. It gave a complete picture of the different communities settled in Darjeeling as well as the sub-divisions of the various castes of different communities.

Thus the population of Darjeeling during the 19th century had acquired considerable heterogeneity, an important characteristic of urban settlement. This demographic heterogeneity was further accentuated by the languages spoken in the town. The table below shows the percentage of people speaking a particular language to total population.

Table No. : V : 7

Linguistic Distribution of the Population

Languages	% to Total Population
Nepali(Khaskura)	21.00
Bengali	17.00
Jimdar	14.50
Murmi	10.00
Hindi	6.50
Limbhu	5.00
Mangar	4.00
Other Nepali Language	5.00
Lepcha	4.00
Bhotia	4.00
English	1.50

SOURCE : Census of India, 1911, p. 384

In the early days of the British rule the Lepcha language and script must have been very much in use in Darjeeling. Sprig informs us that he has in his possession a xerox copy of a Lepcha document found among Hooker's papers at Kew gardens. This document was a statement of accounts for the expenses of his journey to Sikkim stage by stage in 1848-49. Sprig believes that this document was probably the oldest non-religious Lepcha text in existence.<sup>54</sup> Dr. Kumar Pradhan claims that a document collected by him from Eastern Nepal proves that the script was in vogue in Darjeeling in the fifties of the last century.<sup>55</sup> The documents contain two loan deeds between a Limbu, Dhan Bahadur and a Lepcha, Ata Sardar, registered at Darjeeling court in 1855 on Rs. 0.75 two non-judicial stamp of the East India Company. The texts were in Nepali and the Lepcha texts in the Lepcha script was written in the back of the deed.<sup>56</sup>

Among the Nepalese of Darjeeling Jimdar (Khamba), Murmi and Mangar were the most common tribal dialects. Newari Gurung, Sunwar were also spoken besides the Khasa. Khasa was Nepali-Hindi, or as it was sometimes generically called 'Paharia' or 'Parbatia'. This was a form of Hindi spoken by the Khas tribe of Nepal, who obtained it from the Brahman and Rajpuf refugees that took refuge in the hills when the ancient Hindu Kingdoms were overthrown by the Mohammadans. There they intermarried and gradually became fused with the original Mongloid inhabitants upon whom they imposed their religion and language. Since the overthrow of the Newar Dynasty in Nepal in the mid 18th century, Khas or Khaskura had gradually spread throughout Nepal and in the polyglot district of Darjeeling.<sup>57</sup>

It was but natural that such a diverse population would follow different religions also. The table below gives the religious status of the population of Darjeeling in 1891, which shows that all the major religions prevalent were represented here.

**Table No. V : 8**

**Religious Distribution of the Population**

Hindus	Christians	Muslims	Buddhists	Jains	Others
5,535-M	363-M	1,030-M	1,937-M	28-M	30
3,073-F	161-F	268-F	1,720-F	-	i) Sikhs-27 ii) Parsis-3

source : *Census of India, 1891, Volume - IV, p. 28.*

Though the followers of Hinduism outnumbered the others, Buddhism was gaining ground; the adherents of Buddhism had increased. The greatest numerical change in the Buddhist community of Darjeeling was caused by the influx of Bhutia immigrants. Along with Buddhists Christians also were found to have swelled in number.<sup>58</sup>

Thus by the last decade of the 19th century Darjeeling's society had become more complex more universalistic in its setting than it could have been so in the early decades of colonisation. It was an open society, distinct from the closed and immobile rural society. In that newly emerged urban society, the traditional caste rigidity and its predominance in determining one's social status was found to have slackened and a new orientation within the urban social scale appeared to have influenced all. Profession and expertise, thus, assumed more meaningful dimension and became instrumental in one's placement in social hierarchy. On account of this opportunity at professional mobility became possible. It was further facilitated by the fact that the sense of kinship was weakening; individuals and groups were competing with each other to find their desired position in the society. This situation kept them in a state of permanent unstable equilibrium and to maintain this equilibrium continuous readjustment was needed which left ample scope for further social mobility. It did not, however, mean that caste/group/tribe ethos in social stratification of Darjeeling became redundant, it had only become a secondary factor in the social stratification process giving way to the primacy of profession. Thus, speaking in terms of social hierarchy of the 19th century Darjeeling, one can broadly categorise them in the following descending order.

(1) The ruling elite : This class in the society was clearly at the top of the ladder and consisted of Europeans, mainly English, and occupied the most privileged position by virtue of being the rulers and administrators of the place.

(2) Lower administrative and other official class : This class constituted a sizeable section of the society and was not exclusive, racially speaking, as was the first class.

(3) Professionals : This class included doctors, engineers, lawyers, teachers, etc. and though some of them were Indians they did not enjoy the same social position as was enjoyed by the individuals belonging to the white community.

(4) Mercantile class : Since trade was one of the important factors in the process of urbanization, this class, needless to say, formed an essential component of the society. The very wealthy and socially utilitarian businessmen occupied prominent positions in the then society.

(5) Artisans and Craftsmen : Though they were the primary producers in the urban setting they were accorded a low place in the society. Social status differed even in the same craft-group and difference was made among various crafts; for example a blacksmith was not given the same status as was given to a goldsmith; the rich and the poor within the same craft group were treated differently. This attitude brings out a contradictory aspect of urban life; for urbanism is supposed to inculcate rationalism, unorthodoxy, but the persistence of the orthodox pattern of social stratification suggested that the Indian situation being culture specific its urbanism too had a distinct compositional character.

(6) Tertiary group : This group is usually non-productive except for a certain group, for example, barber, washerman, etc. They are a group of people essentially unrelated to the production organisation; however, they are necessary in the expanding urban economy as a service sector. The social role of the tertiary group emphasises on the social role of different urban classes. According to this urban class division various professional groups can be classified into two categories :

(1) The upper class urbanite; chiefly consisting of the ruling elite, rich merchants, prosperous professionals, etc.

(2) The lower class urbanite : consisting of petty shopkeepers, lower administrative personnels, despised professionals, etc.

Likewise the tertiary group could be divided into two groups :

(1) Socially relevant group; for example barbers, washermen, etc.

(2) Others : for example, menials, etc. working on payment for rich clients. Though social position of an individual came to depend on the nature of his work and how one was free from the normative compulsion of following one's hereditary occupation and could choose one's own profession according to qualification and skill. Likewise there was no contractual compulsion on any one here. Thus, one could better one's position in the social hierarchy which was not possible in a static rural society.

But inspite of typically urban free and open society prevailing at Darjeeling certain restrictions and limitations in terms of interaction between the different segments of the society appeared to have been operative. The ruling elite, for instance, was an exclusive class having no social intercourse except with a very few royal and wealthy people; their exclusiveness was evident from the fact that even the town had an earmarked portion for them. The European portion of the town was chiefly situated on the ridge and slopes above the market extending from north to south. The native portion including the market lies below to the west.<sup>59</sup>

Setting apart a portion of the town exclusively for the Europeans suggested discrimination against the natives. This policy had manifested even in the augmentation of civic amenities addressed to the Europeans and Indians. Even washing tanks were different for them. 'Notice is hereby given that the Municipality commissioners of Darjeeling have constructed and set apart two separate tanks, situated below the Ferndale Road, just beyond the Bhutea School, one for washing the clothes of the European inhabitants, and the other for washing the clothes of the Native inhabitants of the town.'<sup>60</sup>

An interesting observation has been made by Veena Talwar as regards the relationship between the ruling class British and the ruled. "The liason between the Indian prostitutes and the Europeans was the illegimate extension of the non-official intercourse between the two races fostered by the colonial situation. The only direct personal contact the ruled had with the rulers was in the house of the colonial elite where they functioned as house-hold servants. The servant-master relationship was a paradox : it was both intimate and remote at the same time. The bearer (valet) helped to clothe, feed, and supply the personal needs of his master, but there was very little communication between them beyond the giving of commands. The prostitutes supplied even more intimate needs, with an even sparser exchange of words, in contrast to their rather more elaborate function in local society."<sup>61</sup>

Prostitution was not only present in Darjeeling during the nineteenth century it was even regularised by the authorities. In the letter of Lt. Col. Haughton which was obviously held to be a piece of evidence "... I beg to report that the average monthly fees realized from prostitutes at Singchal since January 1867 has been one rupee and nine annas. No expenses have been incurred by Dr. Ambrode, the diseased having been forwarded to the dispensary at Darjeeling."<sup>62</sup>

In the same report Haughton objected to a proposal of constructing another Lock-Hospital at Saddle, and suggested that, "The estimated expense of building a Lock-Hospital at the Saddle is Rs. 6000/-. As the number of prostitutes in Darjeeling, Jullapahar, Sinchal and at the Saddle, does not exceed twenty I cannot recommend that this expenditure be incurred, but propose continuance of the present arrangement. If anything is needed, I think it would be preferable to add a room to the Darjeeling dispensary. At the Saddle it would be necessary to place a Medical Officer there to have charge of the Hospital if built for, in wet weather the Medical Officer at Sinchal could not be expected to proceed such a distance daily. "In reply to the letter of Haughton, the Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal, informed that the Lt. Governor concurs with the Commissioner and ..." the present arrangement under which the women are examined at their own houses and sent in to the Hospital at Darjeeling when found to be infected, appears to be the best that can be done. If necessary you will submit an estimate of the cost of adding a room to the Darjeling Hospital or of erecting a separate hut near it....."<sup>63</sup>

The presence of prostitutes at Sinchal suggests that they were mainly meant to fulfill the needs of the military personnels stationed there and even later when the cantonment was taken to Jalapahar. It is clear from the correspondences that the authorities were alive to the medical care required for the prostitutes.

The social discrimination not only existed between the Europeans and the natives, it had existed among the Indians themselves and difference was allowed to continue among the Indian residents on caste basis; perhaps the British intended to preserve the ritual status of the upper caste, or they might have intended to accentuate the fragmentation of the society. Hydrant between Barracks nos. 6 and 7 were set apart exclusively for the sweeper caste. All other bathing places and Hydrants were set apart for the general public other than the sweeper caste.<sup>64</sup>

At social level there was almost no interaction even between the hillmen and the people from the plains. .... the Bengali immigrants... do not settle down permanently and live apart from the general population.<sup>65</sup> In other words, despite social mobility each community retained its individuality in a way of preserving its own social customs and traditions which was evident from the different

institutions, particularly religious ones which also served as platforms for social gatherings on festive occasions and where they tried to rehearse and keep up their ties. This inability to shake off their ties and kinship was occasioned by the fact that they always maintained contact with the place of their origin by paying regular visits. Though there was no complete breakdown of normative values which resulted in the slow pace of change that came there it could hardly be denied that the society was static. The process of mobility had been operational and so the society was more open, less rigid and cosmopolitan.

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64. ✓ Darjeeling Municipality, Publication under Section 199, Act. III (B.C.) the following places are set apart for bathing the human body only.

No. of Bathing Places	Position
1	at Bazar for Hindoos
2	at Bazar " Mohemadans
3	at Bazar " Sweepers
4	at Bazar on Kutchery Road
5	at Butchers' Busti
6	at Chandmari
7	at Khudside
8	at Toongsoong Busti
9	at Bhutea Busti

The above Municipal Bathing places have Notice Boards attached showing those compartments for males as also those compartments for females. Any person found bathing in a compartment other than for that particular sex and caste named on the Notice boards will be prosecuted. Municipal Office, Darjeeling, September 1st., 1888.

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