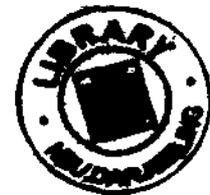


URBAN HISTORY OF DARJEELING THROUGH
PHASES : A STUDY OF SOCIETY, ECONOMY
AND POLITY
OF
“THE QUEEN OF THE HIMALAYAS”

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PREFACE

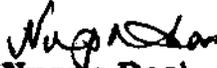
My interest in the study of political history of Urban Darjeeling developed about two decades ago when I used to accompany my father during his official visits to the different corners of the hills of Darjeeling. Indeed, I have learnt from him my first lesson of history, society, economy, politics and administration of the hill town Darjeeling. My rearing in Darjeeling hills (from Kindergarten to College days) helped me to understand the issues with a difference. My parents provided the every possible congenial space to learn and understand the history of Darjeeling and history of the people of Darjeeling. Soon after my post-graduation from this University, located in the foot-hills of the Darjeeling Himalayas, I was encouraged to take up a study on Darjeeling by my teachers. However, for different reasons the interests never got satisfied. I had almost given up the idea when Professor P.K. Sengupta, the then Dean, Faculty of Arts, Commerce and Law suggested me to undertake such research work under Dr. D.K. Sarkar, formerly Reader in Political Science, Presidency College, Kolkata who is, at present, Controller of Examinations, North Bengal University. I am indeed grateful to Dr. D.K. Sarkar for his incessant inspiration. The submission of this work in the form of a thesis would not have been possible without the active support, kind academic care and guidance of my research supervisor Dr. D.K. Sarkar and Professor P.K. Sengupta, Department of Political Science, my Co-supervisor. In fact they have

provided the required enlightenments to understand the principal issues of my research studies both conceptually and operationally.

I owe to the Head of the Department, Political Science and his fellow colleagues, North Bengal University for giving me academic space and administrative support.

I should express my sincere indebtedness to Sri Ajoy Mishra, Prof. Anjan Chakraborty and many more people of merit. I express my sincere thanks to the staff of North Bengal University Library, National Library, National and State Archives, Institute of Tibetology, Darjeeling and Kurseong Municipalities, District Administration Darjeeling, J.L. Nehru Museum Library, New Delhi, Indian Institute of Advance Study, Shimla and Local Libraries of Darjeeling and Kurseong.

I now thank my parents for their care and concern for me. I also express my gratitude to Mousumi Boudi (Wife of my Supervisor) for her ever smiling personal touch and generosity. Our only child Nikkon understands that his mother is doing some serious works, which in his own words "may be a milestone in mom's career". My ever caring husband Debiprasad Dutta (Babua) has always taken personal interest in my work. I owe to him for ungrudgingly facing the hard times with or without me and making this effort successful.


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PROLOGUE

Contemporary research on history of the 'Region' and history of the 'People' of the Region to understand microscopic specificity in a greater macro perspective has attracted the attention of the researchers of history in particular and social-science analysts in general. One of such areas is History of the urban spaces of the South-East Asian Nations, who have experienced the rule or governance of imperialism for over centuries. Admittedly any attempt of writing urban History of any specific urban area/town would tend to concentrate primarily on the nature of changes that hegemonic colonial power brought about in pre-colonial social formation or urban formation, if any.

Contemporary scholars of Indian urban history have informed us about the colonial origins of most of the important Indian cities. It is also known how major cities like Delhi, Madras, Lucknow underwent significant morphological transformations throughout the 19th century. It is also known how the advent of colonial rule had replaced pre-colonial urban centers by the rise of colonial urban centers, based on administrative services, navigation, and railway communication. Thus the colonial administrative towns, port cities, railway towns, hospitable summer urban hill stations had started evolving since the end of 19th century.

The principal concern of this intellectual venture has been to understand the specific details of the society, economy and polity of urban Darjeeling by exploring both the Historiography and Historicity of this important urban hill station. The proposed study has been conceived as 'National Urban History Localized', the implication is that, a student of history can well identify a locality as a smaller canvas to examine the broader trends in National History. Post-modernist historians may have disagreement on this pre-occupied notion of the so-called Nationalist History. In their view an urban locality can be studied on its own terms with a focus on the rise, growth and decay of the communities of the locality based on local conditions. One can well accept the approach to study the urban history of Darjeeling through phases with reference to its' society, economy and polity. While accepting this approach to study local urban history, one must not ignore the mega narratives of Nationalist Urban History to establish the linkages in the areas of fusion stemming out of forces and factors ideas and events affecting local historical conditions. Thus, instead of assuming that the principal subject matter of local history is the inexorable process of urbanization, it may be useful to think of the possibility of a continuous rise and fall of urban communities. An individual urban center might as well go through similar historical experiences, rising at one point, going through a process of decline at another and re-emerging again as a major urban formation. This suggests the

possibility of a new kind of urban history touching on what we may term as a search for identifying both the urban history of the region and urban history of the people of the region. This morphographic politico-economic approach dovetailed with culturo-ethnographic approach to study urban history of Darjeeling has been suggested for.

To adumbrate, almost all hill stations of colonial India received a kind of urban formation for they functioned as sanctuaries for the colonial rulers and enclaves of British culture in the mountains of the sub continent. Dane Kennedy charts the symbolic and sociopolitical functions of the hill stations during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, arguing that to the British in India these centres were much more than mere pleasure spots. Particularly after the revolt of 1857, they became political and military head quarters and cantonments for colonial troops, in addition, they were centers of local and regional development that provided employment for countless Indians who often travelled great distances to work in the hill stations as servants, merchants and clerks.

The British acquired the territorial areas of Darjeeling from Sikkim. In the Anglo-Nepal war of 1817 the East India Company wrested away the territory of Darjeeling from Nepal and restored it to Sikkim⁽¹⁾. By 1835 however the territory of Darjeeling (including hills and Terai plains) had come under the control of the East India Company.⁽²⁾ Municipal institutions in Darjeeling were first developed

with the establishment of Darjeeling Municipality in 1857.⁽³⁾ Thus, Darjeeling underwent a municipal civic formation since the mid 19th century. Prior to the passage of Councils Acts, 1861 Darjeeling remained under non-regulation scheme. The Act. No. XV of 1874 declared Darjeeling as a scheduled District granting a special status along with other four districts of Bengal. The Districts were kept outside the ambit of general laws in operation throughout the rest of India. The Government of India Act of 1891 had replaced the term Scheduled District by a new terminology "Back ward Tract".⁽⁴⁾ By way of these new arrangements the Governor of Bengal was vested with the responsibility of administering Darjeeling and to determine whether any law of provincial legislature would be given effect in the district.

The Government of India Act 1935⁽⁵⁾ brought in its wake significant changes in the administrative system and substituted the 'backward tract' by 'excluded' and partially excluded areas with the intend to provide a special status for certain considerations,

- a) presentation of indigenous system of land tenures;
- b) necessity of entrusting undivided responsibility of the District Officers;

Formulation of simple laws in conformity with native institutions and simplicity of local people.

With the dawn of independence Darjeeling underwent politico-administrative metamorphosis. Shedding off its' status of partially excluded area, Darjeeling became a district of the state of West Bengal and since then Darjeeling District had always been kept under the overall jurisdiction of Bengal since 1912.⁽⁶⁾

Thus, Darjeeling underwent rapid transformation ever since 1835. From a sparsely populated small piece of land inhabited by not more than a few hundred indigenous tribes, Darjeeling became a fast growing urban area at the mountaintop of the Himalayas over the passage of time. With the coming of British people in the Darjeeling Hills, the beginning of the tea plantation industries, the establishment of schools and colleges by the Missionaries, the development of tourism, Sanitariums and resorts of land lords and business magnets coming from the plains and development of trade and commerce, this tiny hinterland started getting an urban formation.⁽⁷⁾ The military cantonments, the roads and railways linkages, development of entrepreneurships and establishment of municipality in Darjeeling had accelerated the space of urban growth. All these changes did have a significant impact on the urban history, polity, society, economy and culture of the "Queen of the Himalayas".

Literature Review

Literature on urban history of Darjeeling has been scarce. Infact, attempts at writing urban history in India have not been even

a well-conceived exercise through ages. Much of what Ali Ashraf wrote about the paucity of social science research in this area during the 1960's applies to the following decades also.⁽⁸⁾ A few bibliographical works on urbanization was done in the decade of the 1970's. For instance, (i) Ashish Bose, *Urbanization in India: An Inventory of Source Materials*, Bombay: Academic Books, 1970; (ii) Stanley D. Brunn, *Urbanization in Developing countries; An International Bibliography*, E. Lansing: Latin American Studies Centre, Michigan University, 1971; (iii) Ashis Bose, *Bibliography of Urbanization in India, 1947-76*, New Delhi; Tata-Mcgraw Hill, 1976; (iv) John Van Willigen, *The Indian City: A bibliographic Guide to the Literature on Urban India*, New Haven: Human Relations Area Files 1978.

The study of urban centers had been discussed since the middle of the 19th century by celebrated scholars like Sir Henry Maine (1885) L.H. Morgan (1877), F. Tonnies (1957) Durkheim (1864) Fustel de Coulanges famous work on ancient cities (1880) Weber's essays on cities (1921) and Henri Pirenne (1946) who focused his studies on the growth of medieval Indian cities.

Even the European Travellers who visited India, as Crane has pointed out, found numerous and vibrant Indian Cities. Travellers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries felt that India's urbanization was unsurpassed by the western world at that time. They recorded

that many of the cities such as Agra, Fatehpur, Calicut, Vijaynagar, Bidar and Surat were much bigger than London at that time.

Three basic features of the Indian cities were identified by Robert I Crane. These are : (a) Many of them were primarily administrative centres. Once it was decided as a capital, it would soon be thronged by bureaucrats and military top-ups, priests and nobles as well as a sizeable consuming community. Such cities usually declined with the fall of the dynasty or shifting of the capital. (b) Many Indian cities were primarily handicraft centres and with disturbance in trade routes or domestic instability, they dwindled; (c) Many of the cities had thriving trade emporiums and ultimately, declined with the coming of the Europeans. Apart from these cities, there had been certain cities which were centres of learning such as Varanasi or Nalanda.⁽⁹⁾

As against those, major modern cities of the colonial period were the creations of European effort or enterprise. Calcutta, Bombay and Madras were created by Europeans. In view of this Crane talked about "two urbanism".⁽¹⁰⁾

Childe's studies of the urban revolution (1947, 1950, and 1954) are important as they deal with the relationship between civilization and urban centers. His study focuses on one important aspect, that primarily the growth of urban centers is dependent on the surplus created out of food production or agriculture. His works contained a strong element of environmental determination, modes of

production, political religious and social institution leading to “urban revolution.”⁽¹¹⁾ (Childe 1950 “The Urban Revolution”)

Childe’s approach was further analyzed by Robert Redfield⁽¹²⁾ where he tried to trace the difference between rural and urban societies. Redfield mentioned that rural societies were isolated, illiterate having a strong sense of family bonding unity, little division of labour, common experiences and rigid ways of solving problems. The cities were opposite. Thus, primary urbanization transformed “little tradition” into “great traditions” expanding thereby the normative zone for territorial integration by way of universalizing cultural consciousness.

In the 1950(s) the notion of the city as the cradle of civilization became the central focus of the Chicago Symposium on the “City Invincible”. Scholars like Lewis Mumford adopted a revolutionary approach towards urbanization where the notion was removed that the form and content of the city must primarily serve its technology and support its expanding economy. This assumption turned the true order upside down. The primary function of the city today was that of bringing technology itself into line with human purpose reducing speed, energy and qualification to amounts that are humanly assailable and humanly valuable.⁽¹³⁾

The early evolutionist view presented by Gordon Childe, was further questioned by latter generation scholars. With archaeological excavations coming into the fore-front, catastrophic climatic changes

being the main catalyst of the Neolithic revolution was rejected and it was argued that food-producing economy was the outcome of increasing differentiation and specialization in human society, and development of food production lead to a straight forward programme from hunting to gathering to sedentariness and agriculture. The earliest disproof of Childe's theory resulted from the excavation of the most ancient of all urban settlements Jericho and Catal Huyuk, dated to a far earlier period than the urban revolution. It appeared that Jericho's inhabitants had hardly begun to domesticate grains, yet they had the civic organization that enabled them to construct massive defense walls.⁽¹⁴⁾ In consequence, alternative theories of primary urbanization began to evolve. According to these theories, urban settlements need not have to develop out of villages. Right from the beginning there can be established cities growing side by side next to rural settlements. Demographic pressure rather than agriculture was thought to be the key factor in the emergence of cities (Prinford - 1968). This pressure, it is claimed, disturbed the balance between population and resources, causing some people to move to marginal areas. Finding them in a region where agricultural conditions were unfavourable, these people either had to devise new techniques of food production and storage or had to establish a new form of economy based on services such as trade religion or defence. This pressure brought to bear by an expanding population and the

resulting in a new type of economy necessitated a concentration of the population and led to the emergence of urban settlements.⁽¹⁵⁾

In the 1970's, a number of studies in the history of urbanization in India have been done. For instance, Barnow and Shodhan⁽¹⁶⁾ have examined incisively the process of urbanization during different periods in Indian history like the Indus Valley Civilization, Ganges Valley, Moghul and British periods in the context of the Marxist theory of historical materialism. Another study has attempted to explore the history of Indian urbanism.⁽¹⁷⁾ It has been argued that urbanization had its roots in the Indian cultural setting from the earliest times. Three major types of cities emerged out as a consequence: (i) Cities in Post-colonial India; (ii) Capital cities; (iii) Non-Capital commercial/industrial centres and fortress cities. Urbanization during the period remained largely concentrated in the riverine zones, facilitating agriculture and agro-based trade.

During British rule, administrative centres took the leading role as towns and cities.⁽¹⁸⁾ It has been observed that during colonial urbanization, there developed a communication gap between the town and the country both of them living apart from each other and urban influence did not filter much beyond its immediate environs into the areas of its administrative jurisdiction.

Most of the works mentioned so far illustrated more or less elaborately the twin process labeled by Redfield and Singer as 'Orthogenesis' and 'heterogenesis'⁽¹⁹⁾. While pre-colonial India

represents 'cities of the moral order', the colonial cities were the result of foreign intervention hence representing city of the technical order. The pre-colonial cities formed a core culture; while the colonial cities reflected secondary urbanization which takes place on account of people coming in contact with peoples of widely different cultures. The growth of cities in pre-colonial and colonial times, their interaction with the then politics, crafts, and techno-economic environment remain nearly a virgin field for social science research. Urbanization during this historical period can be treated both as an independent and a dependent variable and various political concepts developed by other social scientists can be consciously and rigorously applied by political scientists.

Recent theories unlike Childe's did not have a set theory that cities emerged without evolving from villages. New research under Flannery, 1972, 1976, Sanders and Price 1968, Service 1975, White House 1977 indicated that urban centers evolved under the influence of various combinations of social and cultural and diverse types of economic forces and the development of political and religious expansion. In 1938 Withe defined cities as conducive to specific behavioural patterns and moral attitudes, where the city and the country are regarded as two poles, in reference to one or another of which all human settlements tend to arrange them. Many of these analytical themes together with a search for the ideal city, universal or historically specific, can also be found in the works of historians

or philosophers of culture such as Oswald Speagler (1928) Lewis Mumford (1928, 1961) or Arnold Toynbee (1967).⁽²⁰⁾

In those scholar's works the city is the focus of a distinctive moral order and of cultural creativity or decay -- a theme that was latent in the works of sociologists and as anthropologists became prominent, and different types of urban centers were often seen as epitomizing the spirit of whole civilizations, popularly known as urban trait analysis of cities. Criticisms again arose voiced by economists, historians, anthropologists against the ideal type distinction between urban centers and rural centers. It is maintained that the evolutionary approach, when applied to the study of urban centers in the Third World, has concentrated excessively on western influences especially the impact of industrialization and only cursory attention has been paid to indigenous features. To earmark all cities in a single 'Preindustrial' or 'Industrial' category meant regarding urban centers as artifacts rather than an integral larger society with a specific social structure, criteria for the allocation of political power social mobility or division of labour.⁽²¹⁾ The hunt for the trait complex specific to the city and the evolutionary approach have also greatly influenced the study of urban centers Many works such as those of Bacon (1967), Lavedan (1926, 1941) Morvis (1972) Mumford (1961), and Vahle (1977) deal with various aspects of the internal structure of cities. Gutleiat's (1964 - 1972) monumental work on urban development and Boune's

(1982) comprehensive view of the modern city contributes to the field of urban studies. In principle several approaches can be distinguished in the study of the internal structure of cities.

The first approach that of urban ecology has been concerned mainly with the spatial distribution of population in the city and changes occurring in this distribution. The second closely related approach in terms of land distribution and utilization within the city has focused on analysis of the efficient urbanization of urban land. The last approach deals with the functional relation among the elements of urban design.⁽²²⁾

In 1920s and 1930(s) the urban ecological approach emerged, establishing human ecology as the basis for analyzing urban centers. Biological ecology such as competition, invasion, and domination was believed to provide an essential sociological interpretation for urban growth. Various groups of urban population utilized their place of residence as a mean of staying near the people of their own socio-economic status or ethnic origin and of moving as far as possible from the groups with which they did not want to be associated. The entire process of change in the urban ecology thus depended to a large extent on the continuous flow of migrants into the city.⁽²³⁾ This human ecology approach was further developed by Hubert and Johnston 1978; Timms, 1971. With the development of research, it was found that the urban-ecological approach like the previous dichotomous and evolutionary approaches were too narrow

and rigid. In 1971 P. Wheatley in his works on ancient Chinese and Japanese cities analysed urban centres in terms of their religious or cosmological meaning.

In general, according to Wheatley ancient urban centres were an earthly representation of the cosmos. This symbolical approach however has been insufficient to provide a systematic analysis of the variety of material brought to sight by research especially in relation to broader societal settings. Urban centers is basically an interaction between large – scale political and social processes.⁽²⁴⁾ With further abundance of material, historians, sociologists, geographers and anthropologists have combined a strong evolutionary orientation in analyzing urban systems. An urban system consists of a number of towns and cities that are interrelated by common societal economic and cultural links. Each unit of an urban system is characterized by the size of its population, its types and magnitude of economic activities, and its level of political authority and cultural influence. A network of flows of people's money, commodities, regulations and ideas links the settlement within an urban system. The volumes and direction of the flows among the units of an urban system which are strongly related to the size of the political and economic levels of the various settlements making up the system. ⁽²⁵⁾

Another development of urban system was Christaller's 'central place theory' (1966 originally it was published in German in 1933) an extensive theory of functional and spatial organization of urban

structures that is concerned with size, shape and the areas served by these urban centers. According to this theory, a central place system is composed of several hierarchical levels of settlements, each level defined by the size and type of the centers and the variety of goods and services provided by them to their respective zones of service.⁽²⁶⁾ In societies in which the main function of urban settlements are commercial and administrative, central place theory is an useful mechanism of understanding the spatial distribution size and number of urban settlements and of the flow of resources among the central places themselves and between them and the rural areas related to them. In the original theory Christaller mentioned three organizing principles (1) marketing principle, (2) transportation principle and (3) administrative principle ⁽²⁷⁾

The ratio of the numbers of urban settlements between consecutive levels of the urban hierarchy varies in accordance with the organizing principle of the settlement system. The ratio is lowest in regions organized according to the marketing principle and highest in region organized according to the administrative principle. Central place systems based on the marketing principle depend on the effective pattern of location for efficient economic transactions. Urban centers evolving out of this theory usually get into a great deal of internal cohesion, stability and potential for survival. By contrast, central place systems based on administrative principle are established by degree. The central authorities define the

administrative centers, the boundaries of their service areas are clearly demarcated and the entire population living within these boundaries is compelled to receive services from the centre and to be under its control. For this reason, central place systems based on the administrative principle tend to be much better defined but much less stable than those based on the marketing principle and are subject to rapid changes in the wake of political upheavals.⁽²⁸⁾ G.K. Zipt (1949) M. Jefferson (1939) studied urban patterns in Thailand, Uruguay Denmark and Austria. Zipt related urban systems to a highly diversified yet integrated economic system. Jefferson's pattern was especially characteristic of colonial systems.

Gilbert Rozman undertook a more detailed examination. In the early stages of urban development the main force behind the evolution of the urban network was "administrative centralization".⁽²⁹⁾ Commerce played only a secondary role. In later stages of urban development however the major influence was the centralization of commercial activities which took place first through the appearance of markets removed from administrative centers then through the evolution of immediate marketing centers and finally of a complete commercial hierarchy. After researching a great deal of evidence from England, France, China, Japan and Russia, Rozman concluded that urban systems of these countries passed through a course of evolutionary societal development where the basic pattern of social change in premodern countries is directional, cumulative

and imminent within existing conditions. Thus the maturation of urban network marks the in-exorable course of social change. Rozman has related his findings to three basic processes centralization, commercialization and urbanization, which are again dependent on, local administrative centralization, central places and individual commercial participation.⁽³⁰⁾ Thus Rozman's analysis indicates several new dimensions of economic social and political factors which influence the structure and dynamics of urban systems.

In most classical approaches mentioned above the study of cities and the scope of their autonomy has been identified by many components then allowed for by previous approaches. But with the coming of the neo-evolutionary approach with Bisentad (1981) Curelaru (1976, 76) and above all the founding father Marx Amkheim (1964 and Weber (1951, 52) urbanization was not the expression of a process of 'modernization, but the manifestation of the level of sociospatial relations, of the accentuation of the social contradictions inherent in the mode of development determined by a specific dependence within the monopolistic capitalist system.⁽³¹⁾

The most distinctive feature of this study was the use of new conceptual and analytical tools to define the basic needs of any social system. A second spate of research on urbanization and the dynamics of urban systems was developed within a rather broad framework of Marxist approaches by Castells 1977, Castells and

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Godard 1978, Harvey 1973, 1978, 1982 Hanloe 1977 Lefebvre 1972, Peet 1977. Their studies emphasized variables as class struggle, class domination and international dependency as the major forces explaining the process of urbanization and structure of urban systems. Marx and Engel regarded the historic division between town and country as a process of urbanization being a condition necessary to the transition to socialism. The concentration of capital in the city, the polarization among the classes, and the appalling deprivation of the proletariat leading to the emergence and for mutation of class consciousness and revolutionary organization.⁽³²⁾ A different assessment of urbanization was made in the Neo Marxist writings mainly in the works of Castells (1977), Ianon (1965) Frank (1969) Hanvey (1982) and Marcuse (1964) where cities were viewed as an instrument of capitalist and imperial domination. In their function as centers of power of the regional national and international bourgeoisie. The growth of the cities is not to the accumulated samples of the honest toil of their citizens but to the labours of the rural, provincial and colonial masses. The development and wealth of urban centres depend on the effective exploitation of the material and human resources of their peripheries. ⁽³³⁾

An urban study in India within the framework of social science disciplines is just over six decades old. Interest in towns and cities was initially stimulated among Indian social scientists by Partick Geddes in the University of Bombay 1915, and the study of urban

problems was taken up by geographers and sociologists to some extent in the 1920(s). However substantive research on urban problems in India belongs to the Post - Independence period in all the social science disciplines. Significant contributions over the years have been made by town planners since early 1960(s).⁽³⁴⁾

In their study Kenneth Ballhalchhet and John Harrison,⁽³⁵⁾ have drawn our attention to the need for historical studies of the development of urbanism in India. Their books has emphasized the importance of the role of politics in determining the location, growth and decline of Indian cities through history.

A political economic approach as prescribed by Safa⁽³⁶⁾ contemplates that the third world urbanization should focus on (i) the dependent nature of capitalist development in the third world which places far more emphasis on external economic forces in study of towns; (ii) changes which have occurred in the structure of towns as a result of the shift from pre-capitalist modes of production; (iii) the class structure of the towns, particularly the ways in which urban and rural poor subsidize the formal modern sector of the economy; and (iv) the role of the state in shaping the process of urbanization by lending support to the power of the elites and the formal modern sector.

The above mentioned studies mostly concentrate on historical, economic, political, morphological approaches to understand factors and forces, issues and events operating in the canvas of Urban India.

The major works done so far on urban issues for over the last few decades indicate the researchers concern mainly in five major aspects, namely historical, demographic, economic, sociological and political aspects indirectly if not directly. While some studies deal with the urban question at the national level others are comparative studies of a number of cities within India or across nations. Barring few, studies on Urban Hill Stations studies within India are nearly non-existent. Some of the major works are (i) Dane Kennedy – The Magic Mountains, Hill Stations and the British Raj; 1966; (ii) Jahar Sen, Darjeeling A Faroured Retreat – 1989 (iii) Fred Pinn, The Road of Destiny, Darjeeling letters; 1839, 1986 (iv) Buek Edward J, Simla Past and Present, 1904 (v) Weight Gillian, The Hill Station of India, Lincolnwood III: Passport Books, 1991; and such others.

While some of the ideas and concepts have found reflection in the research mentioned above, a study on urban history of Darjeeling through phases based on politico-economic approach will help to understand the society, economy and polity of Darjeeling Hill town. No such study has ever attempted by any scholar of history, economics, sociology or political science. The proposed study shall certainly be interdisciplinary in nature and multidimensional in content. The study proposes to understand some defined research questions, which have still remained unexplored. The positioning of town of Darjeeling with a distinctive British Colonial identity in the midst of an indigenous environment has never properly been

explored by any study of scholarship. Hill towns like Darjeeling used to be treated as continental climate congenial health resorts of the British and the indigenous elite people. Such a treatment belies the unique role of Darjeeling as one of the pivot points for the British strategic endeavor to perpetuate imperial power. Moreover, the social, economic and political role of Darjeeling in the region has been hardly explored.

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CHAPTER – I

PRE-COLONIAL DARJEELING: A BRIEF OUTLINE IN RETROSPECT

The pre-colonial Darjeeling had been in a state of obscurity. To the historians, it was almost a misnomer. To the ancient historiography of India, Darjeeling as a locality never came to the fore. Neither the chronicles of Sikkim nor the history of Nepal furnish any account of the early history of Darjeeling. The unpublished “Manuscript of the history of Sikkim” compiled by Maharaja Thutob Namgyal and Maharani Yeshay Dolma of Sikkim in 1908 is silent regarding the particulars of Darjeeling. It is difficult to accurately fix dates and definitely relate the march of history in the Darjeeling Hills. The local inhabitants of Darjeeling and its surrounding areas have only a few vague legends but no clear idea about exactly what happened so many years ago. Though young in history, the physiography of Darjeeling dates back to millenniums.

Millions of years ago the area now occupied by the Himalayan kingdom was the site of shallow Tethys Sea. During the tertiary period in the earth’s geological history, powerful compressive forces folded and thrust marine deposits which rose out of the waters in gigantic earth waves and under the erosion of water and ice became a land of broken irregular mountain masses. These crystal movements led to the development of a series of longitudinal valleys.

Finally in the post tertiary age also known as the Pleistocene, approximately one million years ago, further upheavals raised the central portion of the Himalayan range together with the foothills into a fast mountain system. In the following millenniums, the forces of nature came together to form the present complex mountains and valleys.⁽¹⁾

Darjeeling lies on the northern border of West Bengal where the main range of the Himalayas spreads southwards and divides into two enormous spurs. These are the Singilela and Chola ranges. These almost impassable mountain barriers enclose three sides of a Gigantic Amphi theatre hall, as it were out of the Himalayas and sloping downwards towards the plains. The tracts of mountainous country consists of a tangled series of interlacing ridges and in one of these ridges stands the Queen of the hills-Darjeeling. The town of Darjeeling resides on a ridge which starts at Ghoom, varying in height from 6,500ft to 7,866ft. and located between 27-13.05" and 26, 27.10" north latitudes and 80. 53.00 and 87. 59.30" east longitude with Nepal in the west, Sikkim in the north, Bhutan and Bangladesh in the east. It is accessible from the Indian side only by the south. Its area is 4.85sq miles. Darjeeling is hedged by natural boundaries. On the north it is bounded by Ramam the great Rangit, part of the Tista the Rangoo and Ni-chu a tributary to the Jaldhaka river, on the east it is bounded by a part of the Jaldhaka river, and the Mahananda delineates its eastern boundary of the southern

extension the district. The southern boundary of the eastern extension of the district from the Tista and the southern extension are not bounded by any natural configuration but by other means. The Mechi River in the southern left, and Singalila Interfluves in the northern half delineate the western boundary. It may be mentioned in this connection that the environment of the Darjeeling Himalaya is encountered with varied peculiarities thereby making it a typical habitat.⁽²⁾

Although it has been generally observed, before the settlement of any population, the growth of the population forces man to create a habitat. The creation of the habitat further force man to make means for his livelihood and creates an environment for living. The creation of Darjeeling is a clear example of such a criterion. It is said Manu lived in Manali and Bhima married Hidimba during his conquest of the area near Manali. Such mythological vistas have been denied to Darjeeling. The Balasun, the Mechi, the Tista claim no proud linkage with the great classical traditions of India. Chamba is mentioned in the works of Panini and Kulu in the accounts of Yuan Chwang. Unfortunately however, Darjeeling had no Panini or Yuan Chwang to its credits.

The history of Darjeeling and its formation can be traced back as early as 1652, when Phuntoshog Namgyal was consecrated as the first king of Sikkim by monks at Yoksom in western Sikkim who conferred on him the title of Dharma raja [Chogyal]. The Dalai Lama

recognized him as the new ruler of Sikkim. Right till the beginning of the 18th century Darjeeling grew up under the dominions of the Raja of Sikkim.⁽³⁾ Sikkim's boundary at that time extended as far as Limbuwan in the west, the Chumbi valley and parts of western Bhutan; westward it extended up to Titaliya and included the whole of Darjeeling district.⁽⁴⁾ Phuntshog Namgyal then proceeded to establish a central administration dividing his area into 12 Dzongs [districts] each under a Lepcha Dzongpan [governor],⁽⁵⁾ the area in and around Darjeeling was converted into a Dzong since Darjeeling was very much a part of the kingdom of Phuntso Namgyal. A body of councilors consisting of monks was also formed. The lamas induced the Dzongpens to symbolically surrender their lands to the ruler. After some initial hesitation and suspicion, this also was done

From the beginning of the 18th century Sikkim had to face a lot of invasions from the neighboring countries like Nepal and Bhutan. About 1752, the Nepalese posed a threat when Raja Prithivinarayan Shah of Nepal undertook to support rebellious elements in Sikkim. A treaty was concluded in 1775 establishing by mutual consent the boundary line at Sango Chu, Sangdi Dzong, Malliayang and Lha Chu. But the treaty was not adhered to and the Nepalese occupied Elam and Topzong in western Sikkim and proceeded to advance into that region. In 1788 Sikkim was again attacked by Nepal from two sides namely Vijaypur and Ilam, Purnale, a Magar commander of the Nepali force crossed Choyabhanjyang

and advanced up to Reling and Karmi, now in Darjeeling, and Chyakhung in Sikkim. Another Nepali force led by the Nepali commander, Kehar Singh Basnet moved from Vijaypur.⁽⁶⁾ Jahar Singh crossed the Khatetchu, an affluent of the great Rangit north of Darjeeling. He made a surprise attack on the palace of Rabdantse the capital of Sikkim and captured it.⁽⁷⁾

Meanwhile greater political upheavals were taking place in the plains of India which had far greater consequences on the small but strategically significant Lepcha village of Dorje-ling., Little did it know that the political scene in India was fast changing and the small growing urban entity would take an important place as the queen in the British pantheon of hill stations. Having mastered India, British power ambitiously sought to penetrate the Himalayas in their urge to establish a trade route to Lasha in Tibet⁽⁸⁾ Sikkim willingly or unwillingly became a party to British stratagems and political maneuvers. The Raja of Sikkim requested the British that the boundary between Sikkim and Nepal be laid at Timer Chorten [the Tamar river] if possible, but the best would be Arun river and the least of all Milighu, Dhankote as middle, down to Kannika Tarai - - all the country east of those was Sikkim territory and the Rajah implored to the British that these may be restored to Sikkim. In other words Sikkim not only claimed the territory east of the Singialia range but also a large part of eastern Nepal. The Sikkimese

are said to have even crossed the Mechi and occupied the abandoned Nepal posts at Illam and Phae.⁽⁹⁾

Bhutan too was responsible for a series of attacks on Sikkim. Chokdar Namgyal was succeeded by Phuntshog Namgyal. He was a youth of fourteen when he succeeded his father as ruler about 1700. Trouble arose between him and his sister, Pende Ongmu, who too claimed the throne. She therefore invited a Bhutanese force to invade Sikkim and evict her brother. Chakdor fled to Lasha where he distinguished himself in the study of Tibetan teachings. In the meantime the Bhutanese forces were successful in their invasion and captured Rabdentse, which was held by them for eight years. In 1707 Chakdar Namgyal returned to Sikkim and forced the Bhutanese forces to withdraw, but the territory west of the Teesta, remained with Bhutan never to go back to Sikkim but eventually to be added to the district of Darjeeling.

The history of Sikkim progresses to the second Chogyal Tensung Namgyal – in 1670. From 1700 to 1717 Kalimpong (within the present district of Darjeeling) might have parted from the history of Sikkim.⁽¹⁰⁾ It is said that the success of Tensung Namgyal was Chokidan Namgyal (born of his second wife of Tensung, a Sikkimese lady) who succeeded his father at a young age. His elder sister, daughter of the Tibetan wife of his father, conspired to ascend the throne. She is said to have hired a Bhutanese force to place her on the throne. Chokdar is said to have been rescued by a loyal councilor

then and escaped to Lhasa. In the mean time the Bhutan army which perhaps came from the direction of the south successfully gained the new capital of Sikkim- Rabdentoe and occupied it for eight years. In about 1707, Chokdar was reinstated as the Chogyal of Sikkim through Tibetan intervention. At the return of Chokdar of Sikkim the Bhutanese withdrew to the east of the Teesta River. At this point of time the area of Kalimpong must have passed irrevocably in to Bhutanese control. The Bhutanese and Nepalis are recorded to have made a number of incursions and raids into Sikkimese territory in the reigns of Chokdar's successor - Gyarmed and Phutong.⁽¹¹⁾

But destiny had something else stored for Darjeeling. The territory lying between Mechi and Teesta was restored to Sikkim by a separate treaty signed at Titalia between Sikkim and the company on February 10th 1817, which marked the beginning of formal relations between the Raja of Sikkim and the East India company. Under this treaty the Raja was bound to refer to the arbitration of the British government in all disputes between his subjects and those of the neighboring states.

Tibet took over the Chumbi Valley in 1826 which was a notable year in the history of Sikkim when Bolek the Prime Minister of Sikkim was murdered. He was a Lepcha .⁽¹²⁾ The murder of the Prime minister was immediately followed by the flight of some of his relatives to Unthoo, on the border of Nepal.⁽¹³⁾ When Bolek was

assassinated on the orders of Maharaja Tsugphud Namgyal, his nephews, Dathup and Jerung Denon and Kazi Corok left Sikkim taking with them 800 houses of Lepcha subjects and went towards Illam and settled down there. Instead of settling down peacefully these refugees started making incursions into Sikkim and made several raids, and they also presumed to claim Darjeeling as their patrimonial land to make a voluntary gift of it to Major Lloyd.⁽¹⁴⁾ All this clearly indicates that much before Major Lloyd and Grant had set foot in Darjeeling there existed a Lepcha village and its wrong to assume that Darjeeling had been accidentally discovered by the British and the error of giving Lloyd the credit is much beyond his due and is also over stated. It is interesting to note that this misconstruction of history is to be understood in its right perspective. The fact remains that Darjeeling existed much before the British had set their eyes on it and it formed an integral part of Sikkim and not Nepal.

There has been no archaeological excavation in Darjeeling district. However E.H.C. Walsh had collected some celts from Kalimpong subdivision of the district.⁽¹⁵⁾ Walsh did not call these finds Neolithic implements. But archeologists after careful considerations class this as neoliths.⁽¹⁶⁾ All these finds were surface finds and were obtained from village homes. They cannot thus be related stratigraphically to any cultural period. However the West Bengal Directorate of Archaeology discovered similar celts between

1962 and 1967. Some megaliths were found at Badamtam near the confluence of river Rangit and Rangdong. These were not burials. The megalith like structures is even now raised by the limbus for burial and by Lepchas for ritualistic purpose. They are called 'medongs'. This surface finds therefore do not clearly add to own knowledge of the pre-history of the area.⁽¹⁷⁾ What was the structure of this urban unit like before the coming of the British? Were there any signs of development of any urban centre? Or does the credit of the growth of this urban entity go solely to the British. Was there any settlement any trace of any polity any formation of societal norms, any livelihood patterns? Was there any existence of Darjeeling before the coming of the East India Company? If so what was its nature? Except for a half a dozen Mechi huts as mentioned by Col. Lloyd and being sparsely populated⁽¹⁸⁾ for most British historians, if one may call them so, gazetteers, travelers and botanists would justify the existence of Darjeeling to British endeavor. However the formation of a settlement before the coming of the colonizers can be ascertained from the very accounts of Major Lloyd, Captain Herbert and from the Consultations of Fort William.⁽¹⁹⁾

There is plenty of evidence to suggest that especially from H. V Baley's *Dorje-ling* that a substantial number of Lepcha populations had existed prior to the coming of the British. Moreover the Lepchas are the original inhabitants of Darjeeling, the Tibetans came latter after their conquest, and the Nepalese came as immigrants in tea

plantations and various other construction schemes The Nepalese were not the original inhabitants of this region. The Nepalese history of Darjeeling and Sikkim is the history of immigration during the past two centuries.⁽²⁰⁾ Undue importance has been given on the theory of numbers- majority ad minority where one has become insensitive to the Lepchas- the original inhabitants of Darjeeling. In relation their tradition culture and history corresponding to the formation of economy politics and society of Darjeeling. The Lepchas are the autochthon, and economically socially and politically a part of their homeland is Darjeeling. It is presumed that since the annexation of Darjeeling by the British they received the final blow from the British themselves⁽²¹⁾ and moreover their tribal nature too became detribalsied.⁽²²⁾ Since early times the Lepchas had already been faced with extinction. It was the Lepechas that the British first came in contact with followed by the Tibetans the Bhotias and finally the Nepalese. Today the obscurity of the Lepchas is so deep that “even in the classificatory schemes as territorial classification linguistic classification and occupational classification the Lepechas do not find mention.” ⁽²³⁾

When the British took possession of the present city of Darjeeling it consisted of a settlement belonging to the Lepchas But today there are very few Lepchas possessing lands and houses at Darjeeling. More than sixty percent of the Lepchas residing in Darjeeling are from nearby villages who have migrated to Darjeeling

for employment. The Lepchas of Lepcha Busty claim to be the original possessor of Darjeeling.⁽²⁴⁾ It is probably the "Grant of Darjeeling" The most widely known document in the History of Darjeeling where a strong bonding of Darjeeling with the Lepchas is documented. The original deed though translated in English was written in Lepcha a language spoken by the majority of the people in Sikkim. R.K. Sprigg mentions that "F. Pinn author of "The Road of Destiny. Darjeeling Letters published in 1986, sent me a version in 1986, of that same text meaning Grant of Darjeeling written in the Lepcha language followed by a version in Hindustan photographed from an original in the India office Library, London..." It is, of course only right that the text of the Darjeeling Grant should be in Lepcha; for Lepcha was the language spoken by the majority of the people of Sikkim at that time..."⁽²⁵⁾ The Darjeeling tract was not, however, entirely uninhabited; while it is true that Col. Lloyd had failed in his efforts to persuade the Lepcha refugees Kazees(Chief) and his follower to return from Nepal to their former homes in the Darjeeling area, Lloyd dispatched to Fort William a list of Lepchas who had remained in the tract: Names of place of residence (4 names) Name of settlers (23 names) Number of persons in the family: males 51, females 37.⁽²⁶⁾

Another aspect which highlights the original homeland of the Lepcha with Darjeeling is the names of places in an around Darjeeling The oldest names are found to be of Lepcha origin. The

Lepchas from their wild forest life are born naturalists, possessing a name for nearly every natural product, animal or vegetable, whether of economic value or not. Hence they gave discriminating names to the chief mountains, rivers and sites in their neighbourhood. A few of these old names still survive in places where the Lepchas no longer are present. The Bhotiyas, on settling in Sikkim, bestowed their own names on many of the already named sites, partly perhaps from the fact that the meaning of the Lepcha name was not evident, and partly to express their contempt for the Lepchas. Darjeeling has had therefore, a Buddhist and Lepcha association since antiquity.

Once it was born Darjeeling appeared to have become autonomous both in the shape that it had assumed prompted convincingly by its topography and in the hybridization of its culture. A peep into the history of the hill region of Darjeeling district few decades prior to the acquisition by the East India Company reveals that the region had unsettled fate.⁽²⁷⁾ The quality of life of the natives here was poor. Frequent subjection to invasions and conquests by the neighboring countries like Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim vying each other to hold possession made life unsettling.

The Lepchas, are therefore associated by birth with Darjeeling "The place of Dorje" ⁽²⁸⁾ or Darjeeling has been translated as "The place of Thunder bolt" ⁽²⁹⁾ In Tibetan ling means a place. Theories and speculations regarding the origin of the word Darjeeling is numerous. O'Malley mentions the name Darjeeling as a corruption of

Dorjee-ling which means “the place of dorje, the mystic thunderbolt” of the Lamasist religion, a designation formally given to the Buddhist monasteries which used to stand on the top of Observatory Hill.⁽³⁰⁾ R.C. Dozey mentions that Darjeeling derived its name from the Buddhist monastery which once stood on Observatory Hill called ‘Donge’ and ‘Ling’ – the place where the precious stone emblematic of the thunderbolt of Indra (the God) rested.⁽³¹⁾ A letter from Lieutenant Colonel Lloyd, dated 18th June 1829, the first official record connected with Darjeeling gives a clear interpretation of the source of the word ‘Dorje-ling’.⁽³²⁾ In the report of Dorje-ling by H.V. Bayley (1838) it is mentioned that the word Dorje is Tibetan derived from Dorje signifying ‘a sceptre’ and Linga the same as in Sanskrit which may be constructed as ‘a pillar’, it is conjectured by some that a pillar raised as a token of conquest gave the name. There is no dispute over the first word ‘Dorje’ who could have been a Sikkimese monk or it could have meant the mystic thunderbolt. But the word ‘lings’ is Sanskrit which is also used by Gorkha Brahmins to denote the phallic symbol of Lord Shiva. It also invokes slokas in Sanskrit.⁽³³⁾ Interestingly what was the identity of this Lama? Prathapratim Mukherjee mentions that this Lama’s name was “Lama Dorje-rinzing. However Sonam B. Wanqyal⁽³⁴⁾ thinks that the monastery was built by another Dorjee named Lama kangchen Ralpa, The Earl of Ronald says in his book “Lands of Thunderbolt”. The Sikkim, Chur and Bhutak” (London 1923) writes that the word Dorje in the first half of

Darjeeling is the name of one Dorje Riazing, who founded the monastery which at one time stood on the Observatory Hill. Rahul Sanskrityan has dismissed the claim of Darjeeling being derived from Durjoy-linga. Majority of the scholars accept that the name Darjeeling has been derived, from Dorje-ling which was the name of the monastery on the Observatory Hill, but subsequently removed to Bhutia basti.⁽³⁵⁾ A few doubtful glimpses though reach us through the thick mist of Lepcha tradition. The Lepchas, or as they called themselves the Rong-pa (ravine folk) claim to be the auto ch- thones of Darjeeling proper.

It is said that the Chogyal divided the country into twelve regions, which were administered through Lepcha-Kazis. The Lepchas who were living in settlements, consisted of a few extended families and were probably not governed by a chief or a king. During the pre-colonial period the Lepcha political organization was limited to a small area of a settlement in which the man or Bumthing (Lepcha priest, who could also be a women priest) was supported by a council of elders - who had authority over Darjeeling and its surrounding areas. In an around Kalimpong there is an often repeated legend about a great warrior Gebu Achuk who had led an expedition against the Bhutanese and the Nepalis. Historically the Nepalis became active against the Sikkimese provinces only after the rise of Pritivinavayan Shah in about 1752.⁽³⁶⁾

The native population of Darjeeling before the coming of the British was therefore the timid, placid Lepchas, the aborigines of these mountains. They lived in the jungles and brought forest produce like yama, cardamoms, orchids wild honey, and gorgeous butterflies to the market. They were numerically few.⁽³⁷⁾

The urban history of Darjeeling is therefore required to be understood in its right perspective. It should be the effort of a researcher to put it in right sequence. The fact remains that the hill areas of Darjeeling constituted by the three hilly subdivisions of Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Kurseong earlier formed part of Sikkim, not Nepal. The Lepchas were the original inhabitants of this hilly tract and the Tibetans came later after their conquest, and the Nepalese came as immigrants to work as labourers in tea garden and various other construction Schemes. The Nepalese were not the original inhabitants of this region. The Nepalese history of Darjeeling and Sikkim is the history of immigration during the past two centuries. As a matter of fact, there had been a gradual invasion by the dominant and virile Nepalese on the culture, language and life style of the Lepchas and other groups living in the region since long. The signing of the treaty of Sugauli (1816) and the treaty of Titalia (1817) gave to the British the territorial gain of small Himalayan region under their protective wing. Separate identity was assured to Sikkim. The pattern of politics and urban formation of Darjeeling was undergoing a complete transformation with the large-scale migration

to the area by Nepali settlers, emergence of new occupations and Urban Institutions.

The fast developing Darjeeling hill areas were the point of attraction for Nepali migration in India. The area was suitable for cultivation of high quality tea, and many tea gardens came up all around. The successes of tea garden owned mostly by the Britishers depended upon the availability of abundant labour. There was an organised attempt to attract labour from the adjoining areas of Nepal which led to a large-scale migration. Since the reign of Sidkeong Namgyal the Nepali settlement in Sikkim began. In 1867, Sidkeong granted a lease in his state for settlement of Nepalese as agriculturists. They were skilled cultivators and introduced the cultivation of cardamom – an important cash crop leading to an increase in revenue. Claude White wrote, “The country was sparsely populated and in order to bring more land under cultivation, it was necessary to encourage migration, this was done by giving land on favourable terms to Nepalese, who as soon as they knew it was to be had, came freely in. Soon the Nepali settlers far outnumbered the combined strength of the Bhotias and Lepchas.”

Meanwhile the early 19th century witnessed a total change in the political scene in India too. Having mastered India, British power ambitiously sought to penetrate the Himalayas in their urge to establish an overland trade route to Lhasa in Tibet and thence towards Peking in China. Sikkim could not help becoming willingly

or unwillingly a party to British stratagems and political manoeuvres. On the other hand Sikkim's traditional role continued to involve also the Tibeto-Chinese activities.

In 1791, the Gurkhas of Nepal were at war with Tibet and sacked Tashilunpo, the seat of the Tashi Lama. In the following year they were defeated near Kathmandu and forced to accept an ignominious treaty. This treaty was far from advantageous to Sikkim since the boundary line with Nepal was diverted to the left bank of the river Teesta. For several years and until 1815 Pemiongchi and all the inhabitants of the south Teesta tract were obliged to pay tribute to Nepal. During this time Tibet also reacquired the estates in central Tibet which had been deeded to Raja Chakdor Namgyal by the sixth Dalai Lama almost a century earlier.

Sikkim was also involved in the Anglo-Nepali war of 1814-15, allied with the British in this dispute. Nagridzong in the west was recaptured by the British about 1814, and in 1815 the Gurkhas were driven out from many parts of south western Sikkim. In the Treaty of Titalia concluded in 1817 the boundary between Sikkim and Nepal was established along the Mahanadi and Michi rivers and the Singilela Himalayas, was then restored to the Sikkim Raja.

The recurring War with Nepal and the insecurity of keeping Rabdentse the capital, too close to the Nepalese frontier, made Raja Tsugphud decide to move the seat of government to Tumlong. Conflicts arose between the Raja Tsugphud and his Chief Minister,

Chandzod Bolek, which ended tragically in the assassination of the Chief who fled from Sikkim and sought refuge in Nepal. Following this agitated episode disputes between Sikkim and Nepal War broke out. Now the British Government in India were well aware of these events and, in 1828, they sent Captain Lloyd, an officer, to make an enquiry and to report on the disputes. During this time the British became interested in Darjeeling as a possible health resort for its officials and negotiations for its cession were started. It was not until 1834-35, however when British assistance was sought to prevent an incursion into the Sikkim Terai by the Kotapas who were supported by the Nepalis, that the deal was finalised. A deed of grant, dated February 1835, was given by Tsugphud Namgyal to the British. Starting with the year 1841 the British offered a yearly payment of Rs. 3,000 (later it was increased to Rs. 6,000) to Raja Tsugphud Namgyal as a gesture of compensation for the cession of Darjeeling.

The cession of Darjeeling was followed by friction between the Superintendent of Darjeeling and Dewan Namgay of Sikkim because it was alleged that British subjects were kidnapped to be sold into slavery and aid was frequently denied in capturing and surrendering criminals. In 1849, Dr. Campbell, the then Superintendent of Darjeeling and Dr. Hooker, a distinguished Botanist with the British Government in India, while travelling in Sikkim were suddenly seized by the Sikkimese authorities and made prisoner. A British ultimatum forced Sikkim to release the two prisoners in December that year,

but later in February 1850, a punitive British force crossed the river Rangit into Sikkim. This expedition exacted various penalties : the stoppage of the grant of Rs. 6,000, a demand for the dismissal of Dewan Namgay and the annexation of the Sikkim Terai and a portion of the Sikkim hills bounded by the river Rummam on the north, the rivers Rangit and Teesta on the east and the Nepalese frontier on the west. Another expedition followed in 1861 and it was then that the Sikkimese were forced to accept the terms presented by the British. This detailed treaty consisting of 23 articles was entered into by the special British envoy, the Hon'ble Ashley Eden, and the Maharaja's son, Sidkeong Namgyal, on 28th March 1861.

Like its weather the history of Darjeeling presents a record of constant changes. On 4 March 1816 it was ceded, according to the provisions of the Treaty of Segauli, to the East India Company by Nepal. On 10 February 1817, Darjeeling was restored to Sikkim by the British. On 1 February 1835, Darjeeling was transferred by a deed of grant to the East India Company. In 1840 it was officially recognized as a district. Thus, Urban history of Darjeeling is intrinsically embedded in the Colonial phase of Darjeeling. The abundant beauty, the physiography and the small but positive people having openness of mind of Buddhist ethos provided the required congenialities for the Colonial Urban formation in Darjeeling.

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CHAPTER – II

COLONIAL URBAN DARJEELING: AN HISTORICAL RE-READINGS IN RETROSPECT

The urbanization process in the Darjeeling Himalayas has been greatly influenced by endogenous as well as exogenous factors. Broadly speaking religious and trade centers, important halting places on caravan routes, capital towns of native kingdoms reflect indigenous urban centers whereas hill stations, cantonment towns', administrative headquarters have emerged out of exogenous factors.¹ Such factors can well be traced in the writings of Brian Hodgson, the British Deputy in Nepal. The treaty of Sagauli (1816) has been marked as the most important milestone of British trade enroute to Tibet. Hodgson had recorded that the British wanted to enter Nepal from 18th Century onwards, by any means. The conquest of Nepal, fuelled the British desire to do business with Tibet & China, along the Himalayan route. Hodgson thought of a British business empire extending throughout the Himalayas from India, through Nepal and Tibet into China. Hodgson emphatically suggested that this business route was in England's interest and not in the interest of the Company. England would be able to source tea, silk etc. from China. The Nepalese and Indian businessmen would earn through portage.²

The story of Darjeeling traces this path of history of the eastern Himalayas. There were other motives too. Hodgson knew that

Darjeeling had in itself the qualities of becoming an European habitation. The climate was suitable for the Europeans more like the climate back home. This hill station could be used to rule the plains, the wealth of the Himalayas could be utilized, the business from Nepal-Sikkim-Tibet and China could be controlled, the poor farmers from Scotland and Ireland could be rehabilitated and the Russians could be resisted from their expeditions to India.³ Hodgson's promise about Darjeeling was taken up by his successors subsequently.

Captain Herbert as far as British historiography is concerned has made the first reference to Darjeeling as a potential urban settlement in the eastern Himalayas. In 1830 Captain Herbert, the then Deputy Surveyor General and J.W Grant submitted a report to the Court of Directors. Captain Herbert's analysis of Darjeeling of the first half of the nineteenth century is interesting. He mentions Darjeeling as being completely clothed with forest from the top to the bottom lying on the south of a great hollow formed by the River Rangit. To the north Darjeeling presented an open view of "range beyond range". The forest was so thick, according to Captain Herbert, that owing to the consequent sameness of tint and want of break or variety on the surface they formed a rather sober feature in the landscape, especially in cloudy weather.⁴ Captain Herbert speaks of lack of habitation, thick continuous forest areas and an endless monotony.

Lt. Col. G.W.A Lloyd, Government Agent-in-charge of relations with the Rajah of Sikkim, and also in charge of the establishment of the Sanatorium or hill station of Darjeeling mentions that there had been great backwardness on the part of the 'Lepcha' population in the neighborhood to assist the British in any way.⁵ According to Captain Herbert this was because a few years previously a group of Lepchas forming two thirds of the population of Sikkim had been forced by the oppression of the Raja of Sikkim to flee from Darjeeling and its neighborhood and take refuge in Nepal. What little cultivation there had been, had been abandoned and the Raja prohibited his subjects from going to Darjeeling and helping the establishment in the creation of any new settlements. It is interesting to note that the growth of the urban unit of Darjeeling begins from this very time. Had there been no population or settlement at Darjeeling there would have been no question of fleeing to Nepal admitting the fact that the hill of Darjeeling was definitely occupied by local inhabitants, and when Captain Herbert had visited Darjeeling he too mentions about this very oppression of the Raja of Sikkim when 1,200 able bodied Lepchas forming two thirds of the population of Sikkim had to fly from Darjeeling and its neighborhood and take refuge in Nepal.⁶ All these factors point out to two main aspects. Firstly, a settlement had existed in Darjeeling much before the coming of the British and secondly a sizeable Lepcha population had been residing in it.

Colonel G.W.A. Lloyd – the then Government Agent-in-charge in relations with the Rajah of Sikkim, also in charge of the establishment of the Sanatorium of the hill station in Darjeeling enumerates the following “There are no villages in the Sikkim hills that I have ever seen, each man or family lives in the midst of his own cultivation, but there are collection of huts in the similar style within a quarter or half a mile of each other, which scattered groups are sometimes for want of a better name called villages. When the Sikkim Rajah gave the Darjeeling Tract to us in the year 1835 there were no inhabitants on any part of it that I knew of except half a dozen Mechi huts towards the plains.”⁷ An important development in the Himalayan sector specially in Darjeeling was the challenge of Tibet as a potential centre of trans Himalayan trade.⁸

Surrounded by Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet – for many a weary traveler it was on the road to Lhasa. Indeed throughout second half of the nineteenth century, commercial interests and strategic consideration of the British government shaped the destiny of Darjeeling.⁹ Major Garstin an engineer in charge of sappers and miners was the Chief Engineer of the Lower Provinces. As member of the Darjeeling Association Committee he gives us a vivid description regarding pre-colonial Darjeeling. In his observations he mentions that the Darjeeling hills had “long and steep ascents and descends”¹⁰ thick forest covered the hills, the mountains were more or less isolated, there were excellent fruit trees at Darjeeling including cattle

and poultry and the Meechis and Lepchas occupied small huts. Accordingly Hooker mentioned that being part of the independent kingdom of Sikkim, this mountain spur on the slopes of the Himalayas was very sparsely populated. There were not more than hundred inhabitants in the whole stretch of the mountains when the East India Company first came into contact with it. Hooker also comments that a principal feature of this area was that, the original inhabitants had Mongolian features wore their hair in pigtails, below Chinese types of hats, and they assume a bright and peculiar mode of dress.¹¹ They also practiced shifting cultivation indicating that the indigenous population were the Lepchas.

The origin of Darjeeling therefore can be traced to this very effort in the early nineteenth century to establish a sanitarium within the sub-continent where European invalids could recover from the heat and disease of the tropics. Yet the fact remains that Darjeeling soon became a part of the imperial system – that is, a part of the apparatus that allowed the British to rule India – and a far more integral part of the political and military power of the British.¹² The British were drawn to the Himalayas as a result of the Anglo Nepalese war of 1814-16. By the treaty of Saguli of 1816 the British had settled their relations with the frontier kingdom of Nepal and Sikkim. Relations with Sikkim was originated in the Anglo Nepalese war of 1816 and after the termination of the war the territory occupied by Nepal was restored back to Sikkim by the treaty of

Titalya in 1817. Thus emerged the extensive Himalayan frontier of British India soon to be dotted with a series of 'hill stations'

The development leading to the annexation of Darjeeling began after the Treaty of Titalya in 1817, which marked the beginning of formal relations with Sikkim. The Company had many advantages in securing an alliance with Sikkim – (a) future alliance intrigues between Nepal and Bhutan could be checked and (b) trade relations between China and Tibet could be initiated. Sikkim on the other hand joined hands with the British in order to repair back her lost territories. Though the Gorkhas were defeated and a treaty was signed at Sagauli, Sikkim was not made a party to the treaty.¹³ However approximately a year and two months latter on 10th February 1817 the British signed a treaty with Sikkim known as the treaty of Titalya and rewarded Sikkim for her war efforts against the Gorkhas by restoring certain areas eastward of the Mechi river and westward of the Teesta river. ¹⁴

According to Article 1 of the Treaty the East India Company ceded, transferred and made over to the Rajah of Sikkim and his successors all the hilly and mountainous country east of the Mechi River and east of the Teesta River which was formally occupied by the Raja of Nepal but ceded to the East India Company By the Treaty of Sagauli. By Articles 2 and 3 of the Treaty The Raja of Sikkim promised to abide by the clauses of the Treaty and to abstain from any acts of aggression or hostility against Nepal or any other state

and agreed to refer to the arbitration of the British Government in case of any disputes arising between Sikkim and Nepal

Article 4 of the Treaty mentioned that the Raja of Sikkim would provide all military help and aid to the British Troops when employed in the hills. By Article 5 the Raja agreed not to allow any British American or European subjects to reside within his dominions without the prior permission of the British Government. By articles 6, 7 and 8 the Raja promised not to provide any protection to dacoits, notorious offenders, defaulters of revenue or other delinquents and agreed to safeguard the traders and merchants of the British Government within her territory. When war broke out between Nepal and the British East India Company the latter felt it necessary to secure an alliance with Sikkim a policy which they had followed all along during their various annexation policies in the case of British Indian colonial strategies.

The documented account of the beginnings of Darjeeling is based on the official correspondence between the Government in Calcutta. S.W Grant, G.W.A. Lloyd and the first superintendent of Darjeeling, W.A Campbell. Two facts clearly stand out in this correspondence: the innocence of the fair-minded but ill-informed and misled Government in Calcutta during the period, when the small Lepcha settlement was acquired, and the enormous contribution of the Indian workforce of thousands of coolies and artisans toward the establishment of the urban unit of Darjeeling.

The process for acquiring Darjeeling began twelve years after the Treaty of Titalya, when a border disputes in 1827 between Sikkim and Nepal forced Sikkim to seek help from the British government. As per Articles 2 and 3 of the Treaty of Titalya the Governor General in Calcutta deputed in 1828 A.W.A Lloyd to follow up the recommendation of J.W. Grant, the commercial Resident at Malda, and an enthusiastic explorer of the Himalayan foothills. Both the men penetrated deep into the hills as far as north Rinchinpong in the Kulhait valley of Sikkim.¹⁵ They spent six days in February 1829 and were attracted by what they saw-that is a station for its citizens and troops in the mountains, and a centre to carry trade activities. The place Lloyd and Grant inspected in 1829 was an old and deserted Gorkha military station – Dorje – ling. Though Lloyd claimed to have been the only European to first glimpse Darjeeling – it was J.W. Grant who was the originator of the idea of Darjeeling's suitability.¹⁶ as a Sanatorium, since Lord William Bentick has put it on record that to the extreme earnestness of the latter (Grant) in recommending Darjeeling, that place would be mainly indebted for any importance into which it may here after a rise.¹⁷

Besides the suitability of the climate both men stressed the importance as a commercial and military centre. Darjeeling was also pointed out to be advantageous from the strategic point of view as commanding a gateway to Nepal, Bhutan and Tibet.¹⁸ It was also

equally important to spread Christianity by converting the local Lamas.

The British government was literally aware about the advantages that Lloyd and Grant had mentioned. In the year 1830 Captain Herbert, the Deputy Surveyor – General and J.W. Grant was deputed to examine the hilly tract. Capt. Herbert's account was equally enthusiastic and it was resolved that the British Government should utilize the earliest opportunity and open negotiations with the Raja of Sikkim for the cession of Darjeeling to the British Government in return for an equivalent in land or money. Their reports also strongly recommended Darjeeling for a sanatorium, but it was more as a cantonment for the European regiment that Darjeeling became a valuable centre to the British.¹⁹ In June 1830 Lord William Bentick proposed to start negotiation with the Chogyal of Sikkim for the transfer of the tract. His minute of 17th June 1830 noted. "Mr. Smith, the Magistrate of Rungpore, may be directed to communicate to the Rajah of Sikkim the desire of the British Government to establish a Sanatorium at Darjeeling, and if the Rajah is willing to give his consent, to ascertain the terms upon which the arrangement would be most satisfactory."²⁰ However the Governor – General's proposal was opposed by Sir C. Metcalfe. His major objections were that it would arouse the jealousy of the Nepalese and also lead to conflicts with the Raja of Sikkim. The opinions must have prevailed for the subject was not resumed till 1833 when Lord

William Bentick brought it forward once again, and it was once again, was opposed by Sir C. Metcalfe on the previous grounds.

Opportunity came in 1834 when some Lepchas were forced to take refuge in Nepal due to some atrocities meted out to them by the Raja of Sikkim and Capt Lloyd was asked to look into the aspect. But it was not till 1835 that any concrete steps were taken to occupy Darjeeling and Major G.W. Lloyd who was at that time employed on special duty on the North-East frontier was ordered to negotiate the matter with the Raja of Sikkim. But the orders of the Governor – General in Council reached Major Lloyd two days later by then the Major had already met the Raja of Sikkim and had quitted the NorthEast Frontier.²¹ On 8th February 1835 the Major advanced towards Sikkim to settle a dispute of a Zamindar named Kummo Pradhan of Moroung who had embezzled the Rajah's revenue and was planning to hand over Morung to the Nepalese.

From Major Lloyd's letter dated 9th March 1835 we know that on 12th February 1835 Lloyd met the Rajah on the banks of the river Teesta and on 19th February 1835 Lloyd handed over in writing a formal request for Darjeeling. The request of the Governor General in council was met with counter requests by the Rajah of Sikkim. He asked for the (a) extension of the boundary of Sikkim (b) he demanded that Kummo Pradhan, his tax collector, who had absconded with two years revenue and some Lepcha chiefs who had been seized by the British Government be handed over to the Rajah's

mercy. And (c) Dabgong in the Terai is handed over to the Rajah. The third request of the Rajah was met diplomatically by the Major. He countered the Rajah's request with one of his own, the cession of Darjeeling.

By November 1836 the British was in possession of the Darjeeling Tract. Major Lloyd and Dr. Chapman, surgeon to the Governor General's bodyguard was ordered to spend nine months as "guinea pigs" at Darjeeling.²² They moved to Darjeeling in November 1836 and in 1837 the suitability of Darjeeling as a hill station was recommended. At the end of the year the Government finally decided to go ahead with the establishment of Darjeeling. An official report 'Dorje-ling' was published in March 1838 to stimulate and gauge public interest and support the government efforts. Though Major Lloyd was originally entrusted with the administration of Darjeeling the reigns of administration were later handed over to Dr. Campbell who was appointed superintendent of the district.²³

When the British took over Darjeeling there was no administration worth the name. The credit for initiating the ground work 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 meager, in the name of office establishment he had a Munishi 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 b 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. ²⁴ 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 infrastructure, 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 within the ceded tract.²⁵ 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.²⁶

The Officer-in-civil charge was vested with powers usually granted to Collectors as regards attachment and sale of property for arrears of rent.²⁷ 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 District Judge.²⁸ Thus, the Superintendent, later Deputy Commissioner, 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. ²⁹

The Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling had, no doubt, a superhuman task before him, even though he was provided with considerably enlarged establishment compared to the establishment of his predecessors. The district being non-regulated district, the land laws of Bengal were not applicable here. The tenancy system was governed by the waste land Rules 1859. Most of gardens held the land for tea under two tenures (1) Hold in grant under Old Rules (2) Hold in Fee-Simple under New Rules Land given for tea in the former case was about 18, 89, 88 acres and about 12308 acres in the latter case (in between 1866 and 1874). ³⁰

Dr. Campbell reserved the right to use discretion under the old rule. Dr. Campbell himself asserted that the Europeans for conversion of tea gardens purchased lands given to Nepali farmers. There was a heavy demand for land to start tea gardens in

Darjeeling. Even the lands given for exclusive purpose of agriculture was converted to tea. The Act passed in 1859 replaced the discretionary grant by Campbell. The most important provisions were, the grants of waste land should be put upto auction at an upset price of Rs. 10 (1) per acre, that the sale at such auction should convey a free hold title, that existing lease hold grants might be commuted to freehold under the rules at the option of the grantee and that building locations might be commuted at the rate of twenty years purchase of the annual rent. About 9172 acres of land were sold by public auction at an average rate of Rs. 12. These lands were mainly for tea cultivation in the area.

The provisions under which the lands were put up to auction created much resentment and attempts were constantly made to evade them. Many European speculators took land and sold it to the planters, Later on amendments were made to the original waste land Rule of 1859 in order to stop the anomalies. There was a Fee Simple Rule of 1862, which allowed commutation of all farming leases given previous to the introduction of the Free Simple Rules in August 1862. The area of the lands commuted under the orders of 1862 makes a total of 21,287 acres in the old hill territory commuted to freehold without being put up to auction. These rules were changed in 1864. The demand for land was confined only to the west of Teesta of Darjeeling and Kurseong area. Kalimpong area came under the British very late and was inhabited by Bhutias and Lepchas, who

were mostly farmers. The British Policy regarding the administration of territories of India did not provide a uniform system of administration. The district was made a scheduled District by the Act of 1874(10). The scheduled Districts were not placed within the ambit of the general laws and were applied only with modification or in part. The Indian Council Act 1909 also did not bring about any change in the district.

1836 was an important landmark in the urban history of Darjeeling. It was under the guidance of Lloyd and Dr. Chapman Surgeon to the Governor-Generals bodyguard that the station embarked on a policy of development, and the suitability of Darjeeling as a future hill station was recommended. By the end of 1837 the Government in Calcutta finally decided to go ahead with the establishment at Darjeeling. An official report 'Darjeeling' was published in March 1838 to stimulate and gauge public interests and supports the Government efforts. Through Major Lloyd was originally entrusted with the administration of Darjeeling the reigns of the administration was later handed over to Campbell who was appointed superintendent of the district. By 1840 for the first time a road was constructed from Pankhabari to Darjeeling and hotels for early visitors were also started in Kurseong. Soon private houses were built at Darjeeling.

Darjeeling presented a remarkable example of the growth of population, which was mainly due to immigration from outside. The

early settlers were mainly agriculturists. Under Dr. Campbell's superintendentship reclaimed forestland were utilised for housing purposes. By 1840 forty-five locations mapped out of which 43 were taken representing 32 grantees. The clamorous newspaper campaigns earlier in the year gave the impression that large masses of people were impatiently waiting to rush up to Darjeeling, to build bungalows and houses.³¹ In fact, applications for pottahs, or building plots, started coming in. and a sketch plan of Darjeeling in 1840 shows 45 locations of which 43 were taken representing 32 grantees; of these Messrs. Lloyd, Garstin, Martin and Sam Smith owned two plots each, Dr. Pearson three and Mr. Hepper four. 28 plots of Lebong (an extension of Darjeeling) were added (giving Hepper & Martin another three sites)" which brought the total to 56 'settler'.³² Two of the first applications for grants of land to reach the newly appointed officer in civil charge came from H. M. Low and Col. Lloyd."The second application was rather more than a simple formality: it turned into an emotionally charged duel between 'the discoverer and founder of Darjeeling' and his much younger rival and successor.³³ It appears that Col. Lloyd had applied for a large plot of land on 1 June, just before the fatal Resolution, but the reply to the application had been returned to Dr. Campbell after his takeover and had put him into the embarrassing situation of having to inform the Colonel of the Government's refusal: "I have received and recorded your application of this date for a grant of 640 acres, or

one square mile, of land at Kurseonggurry on the terms proposed in a letter addressed by you to Government as my predecessor in this office on the 1st ultimo.”³⁴ Twenty eight more plots were extended at Leybong (an extension of Darjeeling) and in total fifty six settlers looked upon Darjeeling as their as a superior cite for residential purposes. A firm of building contractors was soon engaged and the first buildings soon dotted the landscape of the hill station. By 1st August 1839 Dr. Campbell set down certain rules for regulating the assignment of building locations and grants of lands in the “hill tract attached to the station of Darjeeling for the consideration of Government’. He prefaced his code by saying that he had endeavoured to embrace all essential points likely to become subjects of reference to himself and to furnish a rule of action which would be satisfactory assurance to settlers that their interest would not be liable to be tampered with at the discretion of the Officer in charge there.³⁵

The ‘set of rules’ was immediately passed on to the Committee of the Darjeeling Association with a request for their observations. They accepted the bulk of the proposed rules and their suggested changes were so minimal as to be of no interest here.

Notification³⁶

Political Department

Fort William

Bengal

Rule 14:

A space of 200 yards broad on either side of the principal line of the Kurseong to Darjeeling road reserved for building locations, grants of land for farm or other cultures cannot be made in that space. ³⁷

Rule 15:

Building locations of an extent not exceeding 100 yards square will be allotted to applicants subject to the payment of a quit rent of 5 Rupees per annum for each allotment. ³⁸

Rule 18:

Lands for agricultural purposes will be assigned to applicants in lots of not less than ten acres, and leases will be granted for the same for a term of not less than 30 years, an exemption of five years payment of rent on uncleared spots will be allowed after which rent will be leviable at the rate of 2 Rupees per acre per annum. If there be no clearance made or actual occupation with implements of agriculture at the end of five years, the lessee to forfeit his tenure. ³⁹

Rule 19:

At Darjeeling, Mahalderam, Kurseong and Punkabarree cleared spaces shall be allotted for shops and the dwellings of trades. People within which locations a frontage of ten yards will be let in annual lease, at a rent of not less than 10 Rupees; any increase

on this sum to be left to the discretion of the Officer (in Civil) Charge who shall regulate the amount of rent by the offices received. ⁴⁰

Rule 20:

Government reserves to itself the right of making and constructing such roads and bridges as may be necessary for public purposes in all the lands connected with Darjeeling, and also the right to such indigenous timber, stone and other materials, the produce of the land, as may be required for making and keeping the said roads and bridges etc. in repair, and for any other public works. Government also reserves to itself all mines as well as elephants' ivory and other natural productions of the tract at the bases of the Hills, also free access for all persons to all the known springs of water within the tract allotted for building locations. ⁴¹

By 1913 the urban landscape of Darjeeling had changed considerably.⁴² Reference be made of P. Robertson while he described the urban landscape of Darjeeling, that "Darjeeling is such a maze of roads and lanes that strangers easily lose themselves, and as they usually feel the steep roads and rare atmosphere very trying, it is hoped that this Guide will help them to see everything worth seeing without unnecessary wanderings." ⁴³

Robertson further describes, "From the north of the station and immediately across the railway line was the Banstead Road. Proceeding up this road one came across Turnbull Memorial School

on the right and the entrance to Malepartus, Philosopher's Cottages and Forstmann's Rink on the left. Further one found the Scotch Mission and Zenana Mission School on the right, Avalion on the left, and arriving on Auckland Road at a point opposite Ulick Villas and a little south the Union Church. As one proceeded along Auckland Road for about 280 yards, one passed the White House, The Kopje, and Rheinstein on the left and Auckland Villa on the right. To the left was the entrance to Sligo Hall, which proceeded up to Rockville Road passing on the right the north entrance to Oak Lodge, which was occupied by the Maharani School. This Woodland Hotel was on the ridge of Darjeeling spur, and fine views are obtained from it of both valleys as well as of the snows. It was fitted with electric lights throughout. ⁴⁴

As one leaves the station from the north and continues along the railway line for about 100 yards, one turns up Mackenzie Road on the right, and proceeds along it passing Sadi Villas and some of the Mackenzie Road houses. On the right, there were some shops. On the left, more Mackenzie Road houses, Forstmann's Rink and Beechwood House on the right and then ruby Hall and Hingun & Sons, Tailor's shops on the left to where several roads join. Keeping straight by the road, one entered Auckland Road, opposite an entrance to the Darjeeling Club. Continuing in the same direction, one passed a row of European shops on the left, to the Chowrasta, which was an open space where six roads joined in. On the right

there was a fountain and on the left the Dandy-wallas' shelter. As one proceeds up to Jalapahar Road one passes Mr. Morgenstern's flower shop and the entrance to Lodge Mount Everest on the left and then the entrance to Alma Cottage and Campbell Cottage on the right.. Fifty yards from Chowrasta lay the entrance to Ottewill's Music Shop, which was the only shop on this side of this road. Further across this road was the famous Woodlands Hotel, which exists in the same, positioned even today, and Rockville Grand. The rates were the same and they were exceptionally large. "It has an exceptionally large drawing-room from the windows of which fine views of the snows, the western valley and parts of the town are to be had, and it is fitted throughout with electric light." Moreover it was very central practically on the Chowrasta. ⁴⁵

From the station another road led to Banstead Road. Proceeding up this road one passes to Turnbull Memorial School. On the right, was the entrance to Malepartus, Philosopher's Cottages and Forstmann's Rink. Next one came across the Scotch Mission and Zenana Mission School on the right, Avalion on the left, and arriving on Auckland Road at a point opposite was Ulick Villas and a little south the Union Church. As one turned to the left one found Auckland Road for about 280 yards, passing White House, The Kopje, and Rheinstein on the left and Auckland Villa No. 4 on the right. The path leading up to Altamont Villas were on the right. As one turned to the right one came across Harman's Road passing the

entrance to Auckland Villa No. 3 on the right and Sligo Hill on the left. Turning to the left immediately beyond the entrance to Sligo Hall and proceeding up to Rockville Road was the north entrance to Oak Lodge, which was occupied by the Maharani School. ⁴⁶

Darjeeling's urban landscape therefore represented a miniature English village emanated from the St. Andrew's Church, it was built by Captain Bishop in 1843, the Government buildings. The post and Telegraph Office, the Collector's Office. Another interesting aspect that was suggestive of environments back in England was the presence of the 'Mall' at Darjeeling. The Mall was a terrain which restrained vehicular traffic and where the Britishers met in comfort and proximity. Apart from the Mall the next most familiar landmark was the number of cottages that dotted the landscape of Darjeeling. Most of these dwellings had typical British names. Thorn Cottage, Alice Villa, Avondale, Hillarrey Lodge, Haleyon House, Richmond Villa, Step 'Aside, Snow View'. Where as 'bungalows' a bybrid term of Bengali origin house virtually every Britisher in India, it was the 'Cottage' that was predominant in the hills – suggesting 'quaint atrodes of rural England'. The 'Calcutta Review' praised the "Swiss Cottage- like houses ... with their well trimmed gardens" gracing the ridges of Darjeeling. Swiss gothic remained the dominant architectural style of Darjeeling. ⁴⁷

So by the late 19th century Darjeeling received an urban form. The health, social military and political importance was underscored

by the inauguration of large and costly public building projects. Darjeeling's physical appearance was transformed by an array of Government buildings, like the post office, Government house, the grandiose Durbar Hall, Bengal Secretariat, Cutchery, Municipal Office, Fire Station and the District Jail.

The formal transfer of provincial authority to the hill station lead not only to the establishment of Government buildings but also stately homes for heads of state. The Coochbehar Maharaja, whose residence latter became the Residence of the Governor of Bengal, the Burdwan Maharaja had their stately homes in Darjeeling. What sustained this British endeavour was the image of aloofness, which they sought to create in Darjeeling. But one of the major paradoxes is that Darjeeling or for that matters any hill station were places "where the British imagined it possible to get away from Indians depended on the contribution of the very Indians".

The revolt of 1857 lead to disorder which swept throughout northern India lead to a dramatic settlement of Britishers in the hill stations, and with the extension of the Railway along with the development of the tea industry British planters began to congregate in substantial numbers on the slopes of Darjeeling. But more significant than all this was the role of Darjeeling as a political capital. Darjeeling had become the principal residence of the Governor of Bengal and other government dignitaries. It became a political capital with an imposing array of public buildings. The

'Government Home' or the present Raj Bhawan was purchased by the British from the Maharaja of Coochbehar in 1877.⁴⁸ Addition and alterations were made to the existing house to adapt it for the residence for the Governor of Bengal.

Next to the Governor's Residence lay the Gymkhana Club. Official buildings like the Kutchery, the Bar Library headquarters for the police and the Forest Commissioner was also constructed. The office of the Inspector General of Civil Hospital and the Inspector General of Registration was built alongside Mount Pleasant Road. Offices of the Engineer of the Municipality, the Town Hall and the Post and Telegraph Offices on the Macherzie Road and the Jail, which was erected in 1865, became a hub of imperial power.⁴⁹ The Governor of Bengal at times conducted the affairs of the state from Darjeeling. It was actually Lord Canning who endorsed the idea of official visits to the hill stations. With the enlargement of the bureaucratic presence in Darjeeling the urban appearance in Darjeeling also underwent changes. What had been an overgrown Lepcha village soon started accommodating the Director General of Post Office, the Inspector General of Bengal, the Survey General of Bengal, the Director General of Telegraph and the Director General of Ordinance. By 1860 numerous governmental buildings and its boundaries stretched to all directions in Darjeeling supplemented by a rapid increase in population.

The establishment of a sanatorium led to further urban development and the corresponding growth of employment opportunities led to an increase in population. By 1852 there were seventy European houses in Darjeeling town. A hill corps was stationed there to maintain law and order and the revenue raised from the settlement amounted to Rs. 50,000. Another major factor contributing to the growth of population was the tea industry. The historical evolution of Darjeeling town was a result of therefore many factors like military defence and health. Darjeeling also developed as a sanatorium for British troops as well as civilians. In 1863 the Royal Sanitary Commission Report made a detailed study of the hill station and British Medical opinion regarded the hill stations more congenial for the health of the British troops and civilians. Places like Simla, Darjeeling, Ootacaamund soon developed as convalescent depots. ⁵⁰ The founders of Darjeeling was to a great extent preoccupied with climate and health. The then Governor General Lord William Bentick was in favour of recommending Darjeeling as a site for a sanatorium and noted in his minutes "The great saving of European life and the consequent saving of expenses that will accrue both to the individuals and to the state". ⁵¹

The attention that the Calcutta press gave to the government's efforts to establish a sanatorium in Darjeeling demonstrates how the Europeans in Bengal did indeed supported the development of Darjeeling as a health resort. And with the appointment of Dr. Arthur

Campbell of the Bengal Medical Service as Superintendent of the station in 1839 Darjeeling soon became the place for the most popular mountain sanatorium in the Eastern Himalayas.⁵²

In Darjeeling too, by April 1883 the Eden sanitarium designed by Mr. Martin, C E the Architect to the Government of Bengal came into being.⁵³ Medical data were collected by Government physicians and most civil and military authorities in Bengal was convinced of the therapeutic value of Darjeeling. The disaster of the Afghan was of 1844 and the victory against the Sikhs in 1849 - lead to a search for places to rest and recuperate from the arduous life on the plains and Darjeeling was regarded as being extremely suitable. By 1907 there was accommodation for to sick and convalescent patients in the main building and for 18 persons in the contagious wards. 1864 started the first charitable hospital and dispensary. By 1888 it was the Victoria Hospital in Darjeeling contained 12 beds. By 1903 the population had expanded so much in Darjeeling that the accommodation of the hospital was extended considerably. By the end of the 1915 war, there was further demand for an extension of the Victoria Hospital, funds were raised and in the memory of the late Cooch Behar Maharaja - the "Cooch Behar Ward" came into existence.

The Revolt of 1857 was another great turning point of all hill stations in India and like its counterparts in other parts of the country Darjeeling was no exception to the rule. What evolved was a

heightened appreciation for the safety of the hill compound to the anxiety of the plains.⁵⁴ By 1864 Simla obtained official recognition as the summer capital of the Raj. By 1870(s) most of the provincial government had obtained permission to establish seasonal headquarters and summer capitals in hill stations.

The army too saw the hill stations with new eyes in the aftermath of the 1857 revolt. It had already appreciated the health benefits, it also began to appreciate their strategic value. When violence erupted in the plains below, the hill stations provided sanctuaries for many British women and children.⁵⁵ The military department of the government of India made an extensive survey in 1859-60 for highland locations suitable for quartering British soldiers, its intention was two fold to find out prospects for expanding existing sanatoria and also cantonments.⁵⁶ The 1863 Parliamentary Commission Report of the Indian Army recommended that a part of the British forces be placed in hill quarters on a rotating basis. The strategic potential of Darjeeling too was given a great deal of attention and with the development of the Himalayan Railway Darjeeling was secure from surprise attacks. Strategic conditions weighed heavily on Darjeeling. This urban unit was extremely strategically located. Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim hemmed Darjeeling on three sides. There was constant fear of intrusion. The British were extremely wary about the possibility of Nepal-Bhutan intrigues against the East India Company. In 1808 Lloyd the officer

on special duty North-East Frontier informed Fort William about a Nepali Mission to Bhutan.⁵⁷ Lloyd was totally without troops at Darjeeling. It was resolved that a local corps sappers and miners would be formed for Darjeeling. In February 1839, The Asiatic Intelligence wrote. "We hear sad accounts of the state of affairs at Darjeeling, arising from the neglect of government of furnish the inhabitants with the security expected. The people have got into their heads that the Goorkhas are arming and collecting in great force in the neighbourhood of intended sanatorium: a sort of panic is the result".⁵⁸

Like wise military and strategic functions were extremely significant. The hill station was located in a frontier zone, adjacent to Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim. There was a constant fear of intrusion. The main object of British assistance to Sikkim in 1817 was to frustrate the possibility of Nepal-Bhutan intrigues against the East India Company. In 1838, Lloyd, then officer on special duty, North East Frontier, informed Fort William about a Nepali mission to Bhutan. Other reports in 1838 mentioned the danger of a Nepali threat. Lloyd was completely without troops at Darjeeling. It was resolved that a local corps of sappers and miners would be formed for Darjeeling.

It is true that no Anglo-Nepalese War or skirmish actually took place on the Darjeeling frontier after the acquisition of Darjeeling, but uneasiness prevailed. In 1854, Nepalese attacks were feared and

in 1858, Campbell reported to Captain Byers, Secretary to the Governor-General-in-Council, that Jung Bahadur of Nepal was planning an invasion of Darjeeling. In 1878, the Darjeeling administration received the news that the Nepal Darbar had strengthened garrisons all along the Darjeeling frontier. They had posted 500 men at Ilam near the frontier and sent four guns there. They has 500 men at Dunlottah and 250 at Olangorn on the Sikkim border besides a cordon of officials to prevent all exports of products, oil and grains. The Darbar had a standing army of 18,000 regulars and ample artillery of local manufacture. Their treasury was full. Through the Government of India believed that news regarding an invasion was exaggerated, they felt that a frontier force was necessary for the security of the terai part of the Darjeeling district in the 1880s. One head constable and nine men were sanctioned to improve and strengthen the police on the Nepal frontier from 1 September 1883 to 1 September 1886. There were several robberies on tea gardens in the hills as well as dacoities along the northern frontier. There was a need for a proper chowkidari system 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 co-operated with the administration to make the district more secure by appointing police-chowkidars in these gardens. 'A backbone' was therefore created at no cost to the state or the district

administration. Colonel R.M. Skinnerm, 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. He also suggested that police outposts be established at gates to maintain the main arteries leading from Nepal to Darjeeling and that a chain of patrols be established between these gates to intercept smugglers and thieves who might evade the main thoroughfare. The gates leading to the hills were Toribari (at the foot of the hills), Mirik and Simana Basti. He also proposed that a strong frontier post be placed at Jorpokri, the main gate to Darjeeling from Elam in Nepal, consisting of one head constable and eight men, of whom two would be permanently stationed at Tongloo to cover a flank route to Elam, and that the Pulbazar outpost force be increased.⁵⁹

A.W. Paul, Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling, was of the opinion that very little had been done to keep pace with the increasing population and importance of the district. In 1872, there were no tea gardens in the hills or terai west of the Balasan. Mini, Singhia and Tumsong had not been conceived and tea gardens such as Chungtong, Soom and Takvar were unable to pay dividends. According to him, trouble had frequently broken out along this line of the district owing to their unprotected state. Tonglu and Sandakphu had not been discovered. The Singalila range forests were of no value. However, the situation was quite different in 1887. The

government for the Forest Department purchased the forests. They conserved the forests and put officers in charge. Due to the nature of their work, the officers could provide prompt protection. The increase in the number of traders also meant that police protection was necessary. The Bengal Government accepted these proposals and directed that necessary provisions should be made in the police budget for 1888 to 1889.⁶⁰

By 1857, the prospect of Darjeeling as a centre for the recruitment of Gurkha soldiers attracted the attention of the government. In a letter dated 10 September 1857, E. Drummond, Officiating Magistrate, Dinajpur, suggested to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal that the Sebundee Corps at Darjeeling should be raised to the strength of ten full companies with British officers, completely similar to the Kumaun and Nepalese battalion. He pointed out that this body could be raised with ease from the hill men and might be called the Darjeeling battalion. According to Durmmond, "They would in every way be more efficient, courageous, and trustworthy body of men than any to be had in the plains".⁶¹ On 24 October 1857, Campbell was informed that he had been authorised in his capacity of Justice of the Peace to enlist soldiers in Darjeeling into the service of the East India Company.⁶² The significance of Darjeeling as the headquarters of the eastern zone for the recruitment of Gurkha soldiers was considerable. Between 1886 and 1904, 27, 428 Gurkha soldiers were recruited by the Darjeeling

Recruiting Centre, The Recruiting Officer for the Gurkhas established an office in Darjeeling around 1890. The annual reports of the Deputy Commissioner, Darjeeling contained interesting information about the purpose of recruitment. During 1891 to 1892, 1,000 hill people from Darjeeling were recruited for military transport in Burma and 350 for Chittagong. The Deputy Commissioner wrote in the Annual General Administration Report of Darjeeling for 1892 to 1893 that 500 Nepalese were recruited for the Commissariat Department in Burma and 700 for Chittagong. Some Nepalese were recruited for building work in Assam for the Gurkha Regiment and also for Lakhimpur Battalion, the Rajshahi Division for 1897 to 1898 stated that 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. 200 coolies were supplied to the Lushai Survey party in Silchar for transport activity. The Deputy Commissioner, Darjeeling reported that 292 coolies were recruited during 1898 to 1899 for military service as follows:

For 10 th Burma Rifles	46
For Myitkyina Battalion	109
For Ruby Mines Battalion	38
For Lakhimpur Battalion	29
For Naga Hills Battalion	20
For North Lusha Hills Battalion	50

Total	292

These were recruits from east Nepal. Apart from them, 399 coolies from the Darjeeling recruiting office were supplied to the survey party, Lushai for transport service. The Gurkha recruitment therefore provided a durable basis for Anglo-Nepalese and Indo-Nepalese relations. The heroic record of the Gurkha soldiers is a bond between London and Kathmandu and between New Delhi and Kathmandu. Many Nepalese families of Darjeeling district still claim to be part of this military heritage. ⁶³

Anglo-Bhutan relations were not amicable in the nineteenth century. The Superintendent of Police, Lower Provinces, wrote to Campbell in 1841 and stated that he had received orders from the Government of Bengal regarding the establishment of an adequate police force on the Rungpore frontier to protect the people from Bhutanese aggression.⁶⁴ The Government of India also thought it wiser not to sell arms in the vicinity of the Bhutan frontier. The communications system was developed in the Darjeeling area to allow patrols access to the Bhutan frontier.

Hyde Clarke wrote in 1859 that the hill areas should be developed and cantonments should be established as at Darjeeling. He emphasized the strategic value of this cantonments.⁶⁵ In his book (1881), he highlighted the development and importance of the hill stations not only as health resorts but also for transfrontier commerce and defence of the northern frontier of India. The strategic importance of Darjeeling was discussed by A. Eden, Secretary to the

Government of Bengal in a Communication (No. 1458T dated 11 July 1864) to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department:

Darjeeling needed a kind of strategic protection. It was in an exposed position. Darjeeling had in fact come to be regarded by the inhabitants of the hills of Nepal or of Sikkim, of Bootan, and of Tibet (Lhasa) not only as a centre of British wealth and civilisation, but as a point of which the British Government was most easily assailable unless protected by an adequate Military Force. There are now on Native Troops at Darjeeling. The sappers are no longer maintained as a Military Body or subject to articles of war. The convalescent Depot used to be is empty in the cold weather, and was not at any time (to) be relied on for other duty. And there could be no doubt that, while the cantonment at Senchal afforded an admirable Sanitarium for European troops, the presence of the men there gave a feeling of security to the whole of the scattered European inhabitants of the District⁶⁶

In 1865 there was a proposal to construct a cantonment and barracks for European troops in Darjeeling. The committee appointed to select the site for this purpose recommended "Brianstone" in order to combine the whole complex in one ring fence with the Convalescent Depot at Jalapahar. However, Cecil Beadon, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, argued in a Minute of 28 December 1865 that the mere civil station of Darjeeling formed only a small part of the

British interest to be protected on the Sikkim hills. Numerous tea factories and other private settlements where Englishmen stayed with their families were scattered throughout the district. These were more vulnerable as far as hostile attacks were concerned than the hill station itself. The headquarters of the Darjeeling sappers was located in the hill station and the police Reserve was nearby. The Convalescent Depot occupied a commanding position in Jalapahar.

Taking all these facts into account, the hill station of Darjeeling was the very last place to be attacked. Although there was no danger of attacks by the Lepchas, Sikkimese and Nepalis and Bhutan was too far for danger, Beadon suggested that any patrol in Darjeeling would have to be nearer the frontier than Jalapahar. Sanchal was considered advantageous as a military position. There were road linkages, accesses to the defence of all points likely to be attacked and good communications with the plains. The land belonged to the government, the climate was healthy and there was abundant space for building, exercise and recreation. Beadon felt that: as a military position, it is on the whole as good as any other, 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 Tukdar spur, to Kurseong, to Hope Town, to the Cinchona Establishment in the valley of Rungbe and to the tea plantation throughout the Province. The barracks of Sanchal 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 well-known mark 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.⁶⁷

The Commander-in-Chief recommended the proposal, the Governor General-in-Council considered the matter and directed the adoption of 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 suggested that the Senchal barracks should be arranged so as to be defensible in the event of a crisis so that a portion of the troops could move out for offensive operation. Newall wrote in 1873 that his Report of 1872 had pointed merely to a defence of the Town and Station of Darjeeling but as much valuable property was included within the district, he had thought it expedient to acquire a knowledge of the frontiers where it was possible that an enemy might be met with advantage, so as, if possible, to keep the enemy at arm's length and out of the district.

There was a belt of dense bamboo forest clothing the crest of the hills bounding the western or Nepal frontier which formed an effectual barrier to any possible invasion from that quarter but there was one weak point: behind the ridge forming the British Indian boundary called Tongloo existed the Fort of Elam in Nepal about

eight miles from the frontier, dominating a fertile valley, where the Nepalese government possessed a considerable garrison, with granaries, store-houses and several field guns. The fortress was about eight hours or less from the British Indian frontier pillar or post no. 17, which was situated at the point about equidistant from the British Indian boundary line of road turns north along the Nepal frontier and was converged on Pillar 17 from the Fort of Elam and the Nepalese Government could send troops along these roads and in the course of one long night throw a force of 5,000 or 6,000 men, with occupying the ridge from "Lepchajuggut" to "Senchal", the key of Darjeeling, by an army twenty or thirty times the strength of the garrison. He recommended that a block-house which could hold 50 to 100 native levies or police in an emergency should be constructed there. Post no. 17 could be held by police or volunteers placed in telegraphic communication with the main position of Jalapahar and would form a valuable outpost on the line of least resistance into Indian territory.⁶⁸

Newall (1887) discussed the strategic importance of Darjeeling and strongly advocated the military colonisation of the hills. He referred to the views of Clive, Warren Hastings, Wellington, Munro, Bentinck, Metcalfe, Ellenborough, Dalhousie, Malcolm, Canning, Lawrence and others, all of which had favoured hill colonisation. According to him, "The occupation of a ridge of mountain forming water parting whence issue the rivers which fertilise domination of

the plain country embraced with in those rivers".⁶⁹ He therefore argued that the troops in the mountain ranges of Garhwal and Kumaon should command the Doab, through Dehra Dun, as far as Allahabad. The group of hill stations as far as the Ganges. Troops at Darjeeling should command southeast Tirhut and Bengal as far as the Brahmapurta. Moreover, in the event of war with Nepal, Newall believed that Darjeeling would constitute the refuge of the whole district and might find it difficult to maintain itself. There were several splendid plateaus in Darjeeling and across the Tista suitably adopted for this purpose. Newall suggested that an arrangement could be made with the Raja of Sikkim according to which the country up to the frontier might be acquired in return for a pension or money gratuity. Newall hoped that "The country up to the granite walls of Thibet 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".⁷⁰ It is evident that Darjeeling occupied a very important strategic location in the British Indian defence perimeter. The cantonments at Jalapahar and Katapahar developed as a spatial response to the need for defending the British Indian Empire.

It is therefore hardly surprising that Darjeeling also established itself as a place of political importance. By 1850 Government statutes permitted hill stations form Municipal Governments with the authority to tax and regulate their respective urban units. Corroborating the statutes, Darjeeling Municipality was established on 1st of July 1850. However popular participation and civic administration began from the year 1847. Ever since its inception, the Municipality was placed in the 1st schedule along with Khulna, Hazaribagh, Muzzaferpur, Darbhanga, Bhagalpur in which the commissioners were appointed by the local government. Each of the chairmen was to be appointed by the local government. It was only in the year 1916 a nomination cum election of the commissioners was held on trial basis. Before 1916 the Darjeeling Municipality was controlled by nominated Commissioner under the Bengal Municipal Act (III of 1884) and a special Acts (I of 1900).⁷¹ When the Darjeeling Municipality was first set up in 1850 the town had a population of 20,000.⁷²

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.⁷³ Originally the limits of the Municipality were co extensive with those of the tract ceded from 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 Chowrasata 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 Bazaar through the Happy Valley Tea Estate squaring up with the boundary below St. Joseph's College.⁷⁴

The Municipality comprised of 25 members/Commissioners including the Deputy Commissioner who was the ex-officials Chairman. There was no democratic election system. The members were either officials or nominated non-officials in which the domination of the white members was pronounced. Even non-officials 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 neither aspirations. There were other constraints, which made it difficult for the indigenous members to be effective. The formality and

protocol observed at meetings was as alien to the as it was awesome. The presence of senior bureaucrats and the uses of English added to the reluctance or inability of the local 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.⁷⁵ The following table amply brings out the limitation 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	-	7	19	22	3

Source : Annual Reports of the Darjeeling Municipality ⁷⁶

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 that care had to be taken by the city fathers."⁷⁷ 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 begin brought before the Commissioners at a meeting. All questions regarding quarrying and excavations referred by the Executive to Ward Committee concerned before each applications were disposed of.⁷⁸ Beside the Ward Committees there were a number of Consultative committees formed for the various department of the administration. They consisted of Assessment, Audit & Finance, legislative, Executive, & works, Sanitation & conservancy, Hospital & Dispensary. These sub-committees considered questions of importance in their respective departments before submission fro the decision of the commissioners in meeting.

By 1900 the Municipal area of Darjeeling was divided into 10 wards. Excluding the cantonments of Jalapahar and Lebong the Darjeeling Municipality measured an area of 4.08 square miles. The activities of the Municipality were numerous; the most important activity being the generation of electric energy and its supply to the town and to neighbouring tea gardens. The water supply was obtained from springs on Senchal, the water of which was collected in two lakes and filtered mechanically. Conservation of Darjeeling town in the form of health activities like bazaars, slaughterhouses, vaccination, registration of births and deaths and creation of dispensaries was prevalent. Roads both metalled and unmetalled

existed in the Municipal area. An interesting development was the introduction of special building regulation due to loss of life from landslide in 1899. By 1900 a special Act was passed legalizing building regulations, drainage provision and protection of slopes became essential. Where hill sides had to be protected owners of private land were compelled to direct or close roads to repair or remove buildings so as to protect sites against risk of erosion and to maintain or close drains. New buildings, drains, roads were similarly controlled.

Darjeeling Municipality itself had a number of buildings, which were rented out. The collection of rents as well as the general administration of rent collection from land and from locations was controlled by the secretary of the Municipality while the Municipal Engineer was responsible for the maintenance and repair of all Municipal buildings, roads, water supply and drainage.

The present day three sub-division of Darjeeling district namely Darjeeling, Kurseong, Siliguri became a part of the British government by 1840. By 1865 through conquest the British Government occupied Kalimpong and the Dooars and eventually the four sub-divisions made up the district which remains till date. By the Act of 1874 Darjeeling was declared as a scheduled district. A special status was given to the district along with four other districts of Bengal – that is Acts and Regulations did not come into force unless they were specially extended to the District.⁷⁹ By the

Government of India Act of 1919 the term scheduled District had been replaced by a new term "Backward Tract".⁸⁰ The administration of the district was then vested in the Governor in Council,⁸¹ who had the authority to bring about changes in the administration of the district as they thought appropriate. By the Government of India Act 1935 the administrative system in Darjeeling again underwent changes and "Backward Tract" was substituted by "Excluded" and "Partially Excluded" areas, and remained so till India gained independence in 1947.

The administrative changes of Darjeeling from "Non Regulated" to "Scheduled" to "Backward Tract" to "Excluded" to "Partially Excluded" points to one aspect, Darjeeling remained throughout the greater part of the British rule in India, exclusively designed to protect British imperial designs in the region.⁸²

Darjeeling district was primarily designated as a Non-Regulation district. That is the Acts and Regulations did not come into force unless they were specifically extended to Darjeeling. The entire Darjeeling Hills belonged to the Non-Regulation Scheme before 1861. It was kept under the general regulation system for a short period of 1861-1870 but the necessity of taking it out of the regulation system was insisted on. Three important considerations mattered much in favour of bringing Darjeeling under Non-Regulation system : (1) preservation of indigenous system of land tenures (2) necessity of entrusting undivided responsibilities to the

District Officer (3) formulation of simple laws in conformity with native institutions and simplicity of local people.⁸³ Being inhabited by a comparatively backward and mostly ignorant tribal people, Darjeeling remained under Non-Regulation Areas and had from time immemorial enjoyed an indigenous system of land tenure which they could understand and which they did not like to part with. The appointment of the district officer in a Non-Regulation area with enough freedom to act in a given situation, as one visible authority, was guided by this consideration alone. Although such a policy was advocated for protection of simple tribal people, from the viewpoint of progress and advancement it was exclusive and detrimental. In terms of advancement Darjeeling was far ahead of districts under Regulation Laws with regard to basic civic amenities such as road improvements and maintenance, supply of drinking water, markets, health facilities and educational opportunities. Nonetheless, it was kept segregated from districts under Regulations in respect of its administration.⁸⁴

The future prospective administrative arrangement for the district of Darjeeling, considered as less advanced district, was placed under the Governor-General from 1870 to 1874. After this it was brought within the purview of the Laws Local Extent Act 1874 (also known as the Scheduled Districts Act). The Act provided that in the listed districts "the normal legislation and jurisdiction were in force only in part or with modifications if necessary of any enactment

in force at the time in any part of British India". Therefore, the district was not placed within the ambit of the general laws in application over the rest of India: such laws were, as mentioned before, applied only in part or with modifications. Darjeeling district was Scheduled Area and hence outside the purview of laws applicable to the areas not coming under the Act. The administrative arrangement provided for remained unaltered for quite a long period.⁸⁵

By retaining almost all the provisions for scheduled districts and their corresponding administration. The Government of India Act, 1919 brought all the scheduled districts under a new terminology, "the Backward Tract". The backward tract was subject to special laws usually reflecting simple and elastic forms of judicial and administrative procedure. The district of Darjeeling was a 'Backward Tract' and remained so till the passing of the Government of India Act 1935 which declared the district as a Partially Excluded Area. Thus an Act either of the federal legislature or the provincial legislature was not extended to the partially excluded area, unless the Governor of the province would give his assent to the application of the Act in its totality or with such modifications or exceptions as he deemed necessary. The Governor could also make regulations for such area for peace and good government.⁸⁶ In the case of a partially excluded area the Governor had to consult the Council of ministers so Darjeeling became a partially excluded area within the province of

Bengal.⁸⁷ But there was a time when the British took Darjeeling out of Bengal (Rajshahi sub-division) between 1907 and 1912, when they tagged Darjeeling to the Bhagalpur sub-division of Bihar. The reason given was the common use of Devnagari script by the Nepalis and Hindi-speaking people which made administration simpler at least in theory. But later in 1912 Darjeeling was re-transferred to Bengal.⁸⁸

The district of Darjeeling thus fell apart from the general administrative system of the British territories of India though the description for this district's pattern differed from time to time. As a result, the nature of growth and corresponding urban formation had become almost a different type of historical experience. It was a part of the non-regulation areas since the acquisition of its territories till 1861. It was under the direct responsibility of the Governor-General in regard to legislation from 1870 to 1874. It was a scheduled district from 1874 to 1919. It was a backward tract from 1919 to 1935. It was a partially excluded area from 1935 to the end of the British rule.⁸⁹ The British Raj sought to sustain Darjeeling at any cost. The Act of 1919 mentioned that

- (a) Darjeeling would be treated as "backward tract"
- (b) The provision of the Act would apply subject to specified exceptions and modifications
- (c) The Governor was entrusted with the responsibility of determining the extent of applicability or otherwise of the Act.

(d) The Act passed by the legislature of Bengal would apply to the district subject to such exceptions and modifications as the Governor might fit.⁹⁰

The separation of Darjeeling was maintained primarily on the grounds of strategic location, Military importance, race, language and interest of the inhabiting Europeans and local tribes. The striking dissimilarities with the plains-men in all the above aspects were considered factors not permitting uniform administration for the entire country. The persistent policy of the British rulers in this century to keep the district of Darjeeling segregated from the rest of British territories was not formulated and pursued always for the benefit of the people. Rather the British imperial interest was the more compelling justification for this policy. It is British imperial interest, which needed that the border areas on the north were placed under the direct management of the rulers of the empire. It is the same interest, which needed that these areas were kept out of the Constitutional reforms⁹¹ (intent of which were ushering in the process of Self-Government). Thus throughout the history of British rule, the rulers never allowed the district to come within the national mainstream, and within the purview of the general administration.⁹² This shows that there was necessity of keeping the vast frontier tract under constant vigil. There were lurking suspicions that the frontier areas under self-governing status would try to develop relationship with foreign countries inimical to British interest in India. (Among the people of Darjeeling and the neighboring countries like Nepal,

Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet there was ethnic proximity, as they were of Mongolian origin that posed a threat to British hegemony.) Above all, the fear that mismanagement of affairs in the frontier areas would lead to wider conflagration affecting the Commonwealth of Nations and the world at large.⁹³

Between 1835 and 1947 Darjeeling area was under the British Rule. History shows that the importance of Darjeeling lay in its advantages as a sanatorium (due to the cool climate it served as convalescent homes for the sick), its position as the sole hill station of Calcutta, its occupation for military purposes, its position of strategic importance as watch tower commanding the entrance into Nepal and Bhutan and keeping vigil, its safest and shortest route to Tibet to expand trade and thwart the possible penetration of Russia. Due to its climate and geographic location Darjeeling had many advantages to offer to the British Masters as a result of which they saw it in their Imperial interest to keep the area (which was a border/frontier area) under direct management and under constant vigil and keep the administration of the area segregated from the rest of British India.

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CHAPTER III

POST COLONIAL URBAN SOCIAL HISTORY OF DARJEELING

Urbanization as a process has significant physical and social effects on the urban landscape. The town of Darjeeling as a hill station evolved due to the British cultural imprint on the Hill Landscape.¹ The post colonial Darjeeling witnessed further urbanization resulting problems and issues of different kind. From the sociological point of view, urbanisation means the spread of urbanism. Urbanism is seen as a phenomenon that brings about substantial transformation in a person's way of life such as changes in attitudes, values or behavioural patterns. People living in city or towns do have a state of mind.²

The urbanization of Darjeeling started with the establishment of a health resort by the British army personnel. However, the real catalyst was the establishment of the tea gardens in the region. Apart from Darjeeling town, Kurseong and Kalimpong owe their birth and growth due to the same cause. Moreover, urbanisation process in the Queen of Himalayas cannot be understood within the confines of its territory, and without taking into account urbanization that is taking place in the plains close to the Darjeeling foot-hills. Thus urbanization in Darjeeling hill area cannot be adequately understood

without reference to Siliguri – a rapidly growing urban settlement at the doorstep of the entire Eastern Himalayas including Darjeeling.³

With the societal process of urbanization lies one important aspect that is the growth of urban population. The statistics may well provide a picture of the level of urbanization in Darjeeling Hills in the last four decades. While for Darjeeling hills, the level of urbanization in 1971 was 17.24 percent, it went higher in 1981 to 21.59 percent. During 1991, the level of urbanization came down to 18 percent due to socio-political disturbances but again it went to higher side that is 20.01 percent. Not a single urban settlements in the Eastern Himalayas do have such a steady growth in the level of urbanization. Darjeeling hill area has, thus, become most urbanized (47 percent) of all the hill urban areas of this part of Himalayas. The census of 2001 amply suggests that Darjeeling town holds 107530 population which is the highest amongst all the towns of the Eastern Himalayas. The decadal population share of the district of Darjeeling and the Darjeeling hills respectively with percentage share may be shown in the following table.

**Decadal Population and Population share of Darjeeling Hills
(1901-2001)**

Year	Darjeeling District Population	Darjeeling Hill Population	Percentage Share
1901	265780	178651	67.22
1911	279899	193304	69.06
1921	294237	206961	70.34
1931	332061	239377	72.09
1941	390899	286355	73.26
1951	459617	328785	71.53
1961	624640	404792	64.80
1971	781777	479978	61.40
1981	1024269	551374	53.83
1991	1299919	684818	52.68
2001	1605900	* 850558	* 52.96

*Source: Computed from District Census Handbook, Darjeeling, 1961-1991 and Provisional Population Totals, West Bengal, Census of India, 2001. *As projected using exponential growth.*

It has already been mentioned in the Prologue of the thesis that social scientists usually refer to a three-part model of urbanisation. The first part of the model deals with demographic changes involving an increase in the proportion of the population in the concerned urban unit wherein migration is a major contributor of urban growth. The second part is the structural change in which an urban society at large is a production centre. Here urbanisation is a necessary component of industrialization. The third part of the model deals with behavioural urbanisation tracing social changes mainly

change in values attitudes and behavioural pattern.⁴ The study of urbanisation process in Darjeeling therefore takes into account all these factors making Darjeeling one of the most urbanized hill stations in India.

A Government of West Bengal publication while writing on Darjeeling mentioned that "the area has always been a bridge-buffer between North Bihar and Assam with its present road and rail transport functioning around a newly enlarged old rail road facing the Himalayas of Siliguri. This staging point between Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling after 1947 Bengal partition, became a case of urban capture. Its broad gauge rail terminal named New Jalpaiguri is deference to the much older town close by to the south was aligned to take the sweep of the North Behar-Assam rail link built in the late 1940's: Its proximity to the roads up the Teesta to Kalimpong and Tibet and to Sikkim, as well as to the Duars and Terai (and thence to the Morang tract of Nepal) led to the alignment of the National Highway from Behar to Assam and improvement of roads in Darjeeling hills. At present Siliguri is the major urban centre of the region and the centre of the Terai, Duars tea industry with satellite military encampments across the neck from Nepal to Bhutan border to the North".

Darjeeling is a multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and multi-lingual society. The society in the area is made up of various elements drawn from diverse origins. The social diversity is perhaps the most

powerful manifestation of the area. The social groups with diverse ethnic and linguistic origins, representing various racial stocks and social status have found a place for themselves at different points of time adapting themselves to the different ecological niches offered by the physiographic and climatic setting of the area. The waves of immigration have drawn the ancestors of the majority of the present population of the area from the surrounding territories across the Himalayas. Their dispersal has resulted in the creation of a social mosaic with ethnic distinctiveness.

Approximate ethnic group-wise composition of the population of Darjeeling may be mentioned as follows:⁵

1. **Nepali:** This is a generic term and subsumes more than 15 ethnic groups under it. Various castes and tribes (like Sherpa, Subbas and Tamangs) that immigrated to the area during the 18th, 19th and early 20th centuries from Nepal and subsumed under this group. Today they are the permanent settlers and bonafide citizens of India.
2. **Lepcha:** They are the earliest settlers and are regarded as the autochthonous tribe of the region.
3. **Bhutia:** They are the tribe that migrated to the area from Bhutan, Sikkim and Tibet during both the colonial and post-colonial era.

4. **Tibetan:** They include refugees that fled Tibet and came to the area after the Sino-Indian war of 1961.
5. **Bengali:** They comprise both permanent settlers and migrant Bengalis of South Bengal and the refugees from Bangladesh.

To comprehend the process of social change in Darjeeling therefore is to put together different factors, cultural, social, economic and political into a manageable configuration. The years that followed after independence saw the rapid growth in the population in the region. Over the years, people belonging to different castes, tribes, religions and speaking various languages have found places across the geographical and temporal spaces in the 'queen of the hills'. It can be said that Darjeeling today is an ethnographic museum and a cultural melting pot. Darjeeling Himalaya offers the most remarkable example of growth of population stemming mainly from immigration from outside. The most potent factor contribution to the growth of population in the area has been the tea industry. Another important factor which also encouraged immigration in the district has been the general trade and services. Besides, immigrations due to political reasons (mainly from Bangladesh, Tibet and Bhutan) have played a significant role in the growth of population in Darjeeling.⁶

The contemporary society of Darjeeling has been made complex as the ideologies or the paradigms defining the normatives

are contradictory in nature. Moreover the skewed patterns of social mobility, the narrow cultural self consciousness among tribes, castes, religious minorities and interest groups and political culture increasingly loosing legitimacy have introduced elements that render outcome of social change unpredictable.⁷ Nevertheless the process of social change in post colonial Darjeeling is an evolution of a society into a democratic setup harboring on principles that provide social, economic and peaceful relationship among diverse religious and ethnic groups. Compared to the situation obtained just after independence Darjeeling has undergone substantial social metamorphosis without however bringing about structural changes in society. This has resulted in tensions and often led to a lot of social crises during its different stages of evolution as an urban unit. Moreover there has taken place a sea change in the subjective domain or the consciousness of the people in respect of social change.⁸

Thus, any discourse of social mobility and social stratification in Darjeeling is more or less based on its vivid cultural heritage. It needs extensive thorough insight to comprehend the heritage of Darjeeling in its entirety given its varied cultural depth, multiple cultural and social overlaps and a great variety of "Little Nations" which its "Great Nation" encompasses. It is rightly argued that Darjeeling does not have one great nation, but many great nations. Although Buddhism held a position of overwhelming significance,

latter Hinduism, Christianity, Islam and several tribal cults enriched the culture of Darjeeling. On these polyarchic cultures of Darjeeling the colonial influence had an overwhelming effect on the cultural institutions of Darjeeling historically superimposing itself on this indigenous area.

Argumentatively, to understand the historicity of the Urban Social structure of Darjeeling is to dwell on the complexity in the change and continuity of its urban society. Like most of the towns in Indian today, Darjeeling has become unlivable both on account of the degradation of the environment and the disorder in the social, cultural order despite attempts of planned sustainable urban development. Attempts have been there of both the state and the Government of India to introduce a balance regional growth through planned industrial and urban development, since 1970s. However, those have not yielded good result.⁹ There is a general overview that urbanization in Darjeeling like the rest of India is a socio-economic process connected with a scientific technological evolution which has influenced society, economy as well as the demographic, ethnic and other social processes. According to Kavtsebovskaia – “urbanization implies changes in the nature of peoples activities, in the notion between population engaged in agricultural activities and in the population distribution according to the types of settlement; in population concentration of mains activities in shaping of urban way

of life and its growing influence on the other sections of population.”¹⁰

The most striking feature of Darjeeling's society is its long tradition. The emergence of early social life is associated with the evolution of the first Lepcha village followed by the medieval and modern periods of history. For that reason Darjeeling's social life pattern is a mosaic of segments belonging to the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods. Today urbanization has become a worldwide phenomenon. On the basis of Western experience urbanization means a break down of traditional social institutions and values. In Darjeeling context this means among other things that the society in Darjeeling today is made more complex as the ideologies or paradigms defining it have changed. History suggests that the urbanism in Darjeeling has been a European legacy devoid of continuum of rural-urban flux. The town of Darjeeling got urbanized to satisfy imperial and elitist interest and the neighbouring hinterlands gradually started depending on Darjeeling as the centre of secondary source of economy.

Migration is a key process underlying the growth of urbanization. Far from being a mechanical process, it is governed by economic, social and cultural factors. Generally, the immigrant communities are referred to as ethnic groups in different urban studies in India and elsewhere. Migration is basically a social process following the lines of caste, kinship, friendship, village, linguistic and

regional ties. It is seen that the immigrants tend to cluster around people with whom they have linguistic, local, regional, caste and kinship ties. ¹¹ In western cities usually concentration of immigrants is locally referred to as Ghettos. Here the immigrants have little relation with communities of their origin. In the Indian context the immigrants usually maintain contacts with their native villages and are not isolated from them. The study of Darjeeling as an urban unit from the sociological point of view is interesting. The Nepalese who came to Darjeeling from Nepal maintain relations with their counterparts with their respective native places. In the urban context the culture of Darjeeling is a creation of the local cultural and social environment of Nepal mixed with the Lepcha Tibetan tradition. Thus in Darjeeling there is a situation of cultural pluralism with different linguistic and regional immigrant communities living in their own respective cultural worlds.

Darjeeling social urban history is a study of migration specially among the Nepalese who have shown that many urban Nepali residents in Darjeeling have settled in the town since they first came as coolies to work in the tea factories. Mitchell points out that the word "urbanized" is used in two ways and that the two meanings are frequently confused. The word is first used in a demographic sense to refer to being settled in a town, and second in a more sociological sense to refer to changes in social behaviour such that "migrants become committed to the town". ¹² The social concept of urbanization

is key to understanding how people conceive their society. Human society tries to change geographical areas, such as land, locations, mountains, rivers into cultural objects, possessions and assets. The making and remaking of Darjeeling urban structure consists of a process of status formation and the appropriation of physical and cultural endowments. Social urbanization influences individuals, families, groups and neighbourhoods. Thus there is an omnipresent and ubiquitous process of urban formation that is consequent upon social practices which may have super local, consequences.¹³

The town of Darjeeling is an early colonial hill station – famous for its scenic beauty and the tea industry. Today it is well known as a tea manufacturing centre not only in India but also abroad. All of these factors are relevant for understanding the relationship between urbanization and society in operational terms. Darjeeling has clearly demarcated spatial segments commensurate with the grade, social division among its inhabitants. The administrative formal divisions namely wards do not reflect social division as clearly as to the various streets and areas of the town. Interestingly unlike urbanization in the plains Darjeeling lack Mohallas (neighbour) Galis (lanes) or Paras (neighbourhood). Instead it has its “Birch Hill” “Jalaphar” “Lebong Race Course, Chowk Bazaar, Bhutia Basti, Singamari, Dhobi Talao, Kak jhora, Chota Kak Jhora, or Police line. People simply as territorial units in the town does not view these spatial divisions: they are accepted more as cultural sites

and living marks of abodes and identities. Geographical demarcations thus amount to socio-cultural markers as well as insulation and inclusions, though in varying degrees.

It is interesting to note that those who have their houses located on the margins of major roads and important areas have also become 'marginal' socially and culturally. On the other hand, such people have the advantage of serving as social links between both sides of the socially uplifted areas. This is particularly true of the original colonial part of the town and the outer town. Retaining tradition in the outer part of the town is an important concern as status and honour are associated with and derived from the original colonial part of the town. The allocation of space to different communities and segments is a well-recognized aspect of status determination. This form of space - segregation with its explicit unevenness is taken for granted because it is transmitted from generation to generation. The perception of space - segregation is formed largely because of underlying structural constraints most notably in the case of Darjeeling community and class based, distinctions. The taken for granted social world is thus seen through mental structures, and these are in turn the product of an internalization of structures of the social world. ¹⁴

Simultaneously Darjeeling has also been absorbing modernity during the past too years. Modernity has created new urban structures and thereby new patterns of status and honour; it has

also weakened traditional experience of these themes. Since colonialism and modernity are not absolute phenomena and the two could co-exist, one could think of a paradigm of space and status in the form of a synthesis of colonialism and modernity.¹⁵ Darjeeling looks old and new as well as traditional and modern. It represents tradition new offices shops, markets institution, residences schools etc. symbolize modernity. As these exhibits of modernity have not wiped out colonial spatial and residential patterns, there is a co-existence of the two. ¹⁶

Darjeeling is therefore both a physical identity as well as a cultural social phenomenon. The people of Darjeeling know the separation from one neighbourhood to another. Yet what is more significant for them is the name of the neighbourhood and the meaning and the message it gives to its members and to other inhabitants. Thus urbanization has become a cultural construct and a determination of status. People are well aware of the "official classification" of words and their actual delineation. In social life however it is the classification of "Bastis and Daras" that is more effective marker of identity and social ties. Darjeeling is both an extraordinary and an ordinary town. Population wise it is like any town but its cultural heritage, colonial landmarks and beautiful natural settings make Darjeeling unique. It is an ordinary town in some respects because it has all the features of a modern urban centre - banks, colleges, schools, multiplex, roads, means of

transport and communication government offices, a police station etc. But the effects of its long history are also discernible.

Darjeeling is not only the headquarters of a district but also a substantially large town and cultural centre located at a strategic point on the trade route between north and south. The urbanity of Darjeeling was a matter of great pride during colonial times and also during post-independence period. It was regarded as the crown of West Bengal. Darjeeling was always 'urban' and it was never a village in the garb of a town. Classifications like 'regional entry point', European town or even Mufaisal towns do not fit Darjeeling. This is because Darjeeling is not a town that lies between a village and a city. Darjeeling is not a residual entity, for village idioms and practices. A distinctive urbanity is to be found intermixed here in varying degrees for its unique historical experiences.

What Akos Ostor¹⁷ says about a Bengal town applies to Darjeeling as well. Local legends, rituals, bazaars act as effective conceptual tools for probing into cultural spaces within Darjeeling. The notions of itihās (history) bazaar (market) Sarkar (government) and andolan (rebellion) as used by Ostor provide a convincing description of the dialectics of Darjeeling's social formation. The description of Darjeeling in Hooker's Journal the vivacity of Lower market or Chowk Bazar (Nepali equivalent) with its numerous shops and traders, the coming of the British and their subsequent colonization of the town and its post-independence ethno-centric

regional assertions and regional autonomy movements have all left their traces over the entire gamut of Darjeeling society.

The cultural, heritage of Darjeeling, which is evident in its natural endowments colonial architecture and objects and in the tea and tourism industry, has generated a sense of belonging and attachment to the town. The symbolic strength the people derive from Darjeeling's cultural panorama is quite remarkable. Literary production and the cultural orientation of the people of Darjeeling are dependent to a great extent upon what exists in Darjeeling as a historical reality. The members of Darjeeling's literati are aware of Darjeeling's history and make positive references to it. Booklets, articles, reports document etc. on Darjeeling are well known to a large cross-section of people. Darjeeling has clearly an identity of its own and its people have a creative imagination rooted in memories, both mystic and historical.

Urbanization, de-urbanization and lately re-urbanization characterize Darjeeling's ups and downs Hookers's journals, Fred Pinn's book and Dozey's historical account give us an account of its part grandeur as the summer capital of Bengal. The decline of Darjeeling's administrative status from being a district to that of an ordinary district headquarter after 1947 indicated its downfall, but development during the past two decades have given evidence of Darjeeling's re-urbanization. Darjeeling administrative status has been elevated to that of an autonomous Hill Council namely the

Gorkha Hill council. This is in recognition of the fact that it has as many as forty to fifty offices, six colleges including a post-graduate college (Darjeeling Government College) and a network of roads and small vehicle routes within its confines. The expansion of tourism, the establishment of Tele-communication and tourist links with major cities and towns, the emergence of 'local service' gentry and finally the commercialization of tea and tourism are positive forces of urban development.

After Darjeeling's rise to the status of an autonomous council headquarters, its population grew. As the headquarters of the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council, Darjeeling has gained tremendous pressure on its administration. The offices relating to the administration, education, irrigation, public health engineering, tourism, and so on and so forth which have given an impetus to Darjeeling's population growth. An appreciable expansion in the tourism industry widened trade links and also encourages outsiders to visit Darjeeling.

Since late eighties, Darjeeling Hill was not only granted a special administrative status it also had the privilege of being chosen for development by the way of special assistance been given by the Central and State Government. The birth of the Gorkha Hill Council resulted in the re-urbanization of the town by way of new programmes and activities. Urban life, as a social phenomenon is visible in Darjeeling in a variety of ways. Darjeeling has many

bazaars or markets – the lower market, or the Chowk Bazar, the Super Market, the Mahakal Market, and the markets which have mushroomed adjacent to the Mal and Chowrasta and a fairly diversified occupational structure, as well as with several educational institutions, health care facilities, and other civic amenities. Even the life style of the people of Darjeeling are infected with consumer oriented aspiration. But this apparent urbanity has a cultural ethos hidden within in social relations, inter caste / community ties, spatial segregation behavioural patterns and other forms of primary activities make Darjeeling a typical urban entity. However, urbanism as a way of life has not made major inroads in the interrelations amongst Darjeeling's residents. The root of the family structure, and the adherence to certain socio-cultural values in inter-personal relations remain traditional in many respects even today for example in Darjeeling the traditional value have remained largely intact. More than these common areas of social inter-action, community specific festivals like Dasai, Tewar, Loshar help bringing a sense of homogenous culture.

The social space of Darjeeling is clearly observable to the citizens of Darjeeling at two level (i) through popular literature and music and (ii) through observations of the interrelations between cultural ambience and social status. An examination of various popular writings, pamphlets, guides reveal the importance of Darjeeling town. Since Darjeeling was situated on the trade route

between Tibet/China/Sikkim and India its importance was considerable. The magnificent Kanchenjunga at the backdrop of the town speaks of its natural beauty, and the beautiful colonial architecture speaks of the importance status that Darjeeling enjoys as a cultural and political entity.

The appreciation of Darjeeling as a celebrated palace for tourism has contributed to a romanticised image of the town. The formation of the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council has led to the process of re-urbanisation and employment generation. Even the decline of the town as a tea manufacturing area have still managed to retain its multicultural character. The economic revival of the town came by way of its tourist industry trades and services. Today despite numerous government offices and civic amenities and the level of social relations, Darjeeling still retains many colonial characteristics. These are early visible in the manner in which communities interact and also in the way spatial segregation is linked to status hierarchy.

A curious correspondence between community structure and space organization (that is various areas) has upheld the diverse characteristic of Darjeeling. The four main religious communities of Darjeeling namely the Hindus, Buddhists, Christians and Muslims together they form eighty percent of the population of Darjeeling. The Nepalese are at the top of the ritual hierarchy and ahead of other groups with regard to education and white colour jobs. The Lepcha,

Bhutia, Tibetan and Marwari communities who together form 50 percent of Darjeeling's trade commerce and in effect the town's economy. Urbanization as a socio-culture phenomenon is evident from the numerous wards of the Municipality. A single community exclusively inhabits some of the wards or areas eg. Bhutia Busty where one finds an exclusive concentration of Lepchas or Sherpas or the Zakir Hussain Busty where concentration of Muslims is evident. But when areas have more than one community or more less the same social status, they are generally engaged in similar economic activities. In some single community areas for example Beechwood, H.D Lama Road, Jalaphar, Meadowbank Birchill people are engaged in different economic pursuits because of intra-caste social differentiation. Traditional activities such as carpet weaving, hair cutting, priesthood, trade and commerce are pursued on a commercial basis by the Marwaris, Tibetians, Nepalese and Lepachas. However there are few neighbourhoods with a plurality of groups corresponding to diversity of occupations undoubtedly in general, or a close empirical connection can be seen between space and community affiliation in Darjeeling. This correspondence has effectively kept community tradition intact. The location of temples, mosques and churches in different localities also speaks of the spatio-socio-cultural character of the town.

Today Darjeeling can be viewed, as a social universe constituted by communities defined by their relative status. The

basic principles of differentiation and stratification demarcate boundaries within the universe. Despite socio-cultural homogeneity among the members of a denigrated social, space, differences in economic and power relations are still discernible. Thus the position of a given family in the social space is dependent also upon the position it occupies in different domains. The area provides a sense of social security and social recognition.

Like many other towns Darjeeling has witnessed 'dependent urbanization': Dependence of state support and the wider economic order has largely determined the re-urbanization of Darjeeling. Small towns also suffer in competition with bigger towns and cities, receive the lion's share of the available infrastructure and resources. If Darjeeling has survived as a town, it is more because of the District Planning Act 1994 and the Municipal (Amendment Act 1997), and the Darjeeling Hill Areas Development Council, the local bodies have a framework for development planning of the area under their control and an obligation to prepare a Draft Development Plan once in five years and an Annual Development Plan each year. Moreover with the creation of the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council in 1988, new infrastructures have been created to address the neo-economic market order.

Though many areas in Darjeeling is community based, the Municipal Wards have a different character. Out of the total wards, one can read in the naming of different wards, a conscious effort to

synthesize tradition in modernity and modernity in tradition thus denote "Urbanization", separately as well as by way of a synthesis. Shops and residences are often found together, the former on the ground floor and the latter on the first floor. Such an arrangement is not only convenient, but it also eliminates contradiction between people's social and economic life.

A population of about 107530 (Census 2001) engages in as many as ninety-five different occupations and economic pursuits.¹⁸ This indicates the diversified nature of urban occupational structure and the making of traditional and modern occupations hair cutting, shop keeping, teaching, etc. are performed as non-traditional activities in a 'market situation'. Some new occupations have being almost monopolized by some caste and communities. For example the tribal castes control modern trade commerce, teaching and government jobs. The social aspect of space is evident in the commercial zones of the town. New markets do not have a single saree shop rather one notices outlets for more westernized wear like jeans, skirts, trousers or T-shirts with western logos on it.

A paradigm shift in our conceptualization becomes necessary when people become conscious of their social space and status more than their material and existential conditions. "Material objects and events alone do not create the social world in which people live in the natural and material worlds are transformed into the social world by way of social space and status".¹⁹ The emphasis is on the recognition

of the space status nexus in a town like Darjeeling. Here is a town in which urbanization is constructed on the basis of differentiation and ordered ranks of people in the form of social hierarchy. Though Darjeeling is a multifaceted town with diverse fields of activities, the urban dimension appears in different forms of its social fabric.

In Darjeeling geographical space clearly indicates space of social relation. The geographical distances are social spaces. In the given situation of Darjeeling's new social spaces or divisions may not easily come into being. Hence a sort of stability characteristics is found in Darjeeling. So entrenched is this space status demarcation that even peoples disquiet and anxiety do not stir the established cultural notion and their practices. The making and re-making of social space indicates a need for the reconceptualisation of social relations and space allocation. Darjeeling demonstrates a double contingency, a double game in real life situation by way of a synthesis of colonialism and modernity. Without dismantling boundary maintenance it has accepted new classifications and social division. A new system of social recognition and urbanization, without severely attacking the existing characteristics, Darjeeling's multiculturalism shows in the past and hope in the future speak of the co-existence of the old and new, the colonial and the post-colonial in Darjeeling.

Darjeeling characterises a unique combination of the ideal and actual social worlds in the enactment of socio-cultural activities.

Caste or community no doubt remains a recognizable entity in festivals and social gatherings the ideology and moorings of the people in general reflect space-segregation and social distance never remains hidden. At times competition for access to cherished social space is also observed. It indicates that no status is indisputable forever. Darjeeling has very recently witnessed an effective struggle for creating new classifications of social classes, divisions and institutions. Hence urbanization remains commensurate with social space to a recognizable extent. It is important to remember that though Darjeeling as an urban centre is primarily connected to a colonial beginning it is just as Indian as a British town is British. ²⁰

But what therefore prevented the growth of a dynamic urban situation in Darjeeling. What are the factors behind the twisted and rhythmless urbanization of Darjeeling. In the first place the Tea Industry in Darjeeling came about as a result of a big capital investments during the colonial period. When India gained independence the Calcutta based Indian capital took over. Neither the entrepreneurs, nor their highly paid officials lived in an around Darjeeling, nor was the Darjeeling tea auctioned at Darjeeling. So the major portion of the value of the tea flew out of Darjeeling. Only that portion of the value given as wages to the tea garden workers used to be spent in Darjeeling. So Darjeeling being one of the top most producers of Indian Tea became at the same a non-entity so far as decision-making, financing and marketing was concerned. Till the

late 1980(s) the management of the Tea Industry never felt it wise to invest in anything apart from providing the workers with rudimentary social and civic amenities.

Secondly the development of Tourism in Darjeeling conferred benefits on the landed gentry of the town by entrancing urban ground rents, yet they were never a party to the development of Darjeeling town. The hotel owners do not have much communication with the sections of the people in the town mainly the working class. Due to property and educational qualifications this group enjoyed leadership position in the Municipal affairs. Town leaders at the helm of the Municipal affairs naturally utilized the greater part of the Municipal funds in providing civic amenities like sanitation drainage water supply road services to their parts of the town. All these bottle necks and the non-existence of channels of communication tended to make Darjeeling a segmented town “with ethnically organized classes and status groups occupying different positions on a horizontal plane, instead of being a vertical structure with differentiation strata”.²¹

By the mid 1980(s) the state of mind again started blowing. This time the change was from within the Gorkhaland Agitation, followed by a significant decrease in economic growth brought about important changes in the process of urbanization. Non Nepalese who did not mentally belong to the city, with their root in distant Kolkata, and having no power interest sold off their properties. According to

George Simmel, mentality of belonging to any urban centre is an important qualification for the members of an urban community. ²² More important changes were taking place in the attitude and social situation of the people during post Gorkhaland Agitation as regards to the urban community in Darjeeling. By dint of their political interests and leadership roles in civic life, a new urban elite in Darjeeling has started taking place .

Apart from political personnel, many in Darjeeling were going in for higher education and joining various professions. By the beginning of the seventies a large number of educated people were taking up white-collar jobs in Darjeeling, they were also taking them up in the adjoining districts of Darjeeling and Siliguri. But these people did not have any culturally generative role in the town even though they feel as belonging to the town. They largely sustain the satellite character of the town in a continuous and contiguous urban region. The daily traffic of passengers increased between Darjeeling and Siliguri can be gauged from the fact that in 1961 there was just one to two buses plying from Darjeeling to Siliguri by 1991 there are twenty two buses plying in the very same route. This new millennium has witnessed at least 40 Buses and 1400 shared taxi's and jeeps ply in the route.

The growth of an educated white-collar class in Darjeeling has created an interesting situation. The class can be broadly divided into two groups. The first group who have originated from the

colonial period itself, is composed of lawyers, office workers, teachers and small businessmen who reside in the town and go to work in the town. Most of them are from old established families of the town and hold landed properties. Second, after the Gorkhaland agitation, there has been the rise of a new class, many of whom have established communication with the working class, and the plantation workers and have individually achieved important roles in social, economic and political fields. Organized political movements were throwing up leaders from unexpected caste, occupation and status group. These people were rising to leadership positions on the basis of their party support aspiring for a separate state. At the same time numerically superior and economically viable but not traditional power groups were also competing for leadership in community. This resulted a kind of internal power struggle and rivalry.

The more Darjeeling changes, the more it remains the same, concrete structures dot the whole town but some pockets of the city remain unchanged the Mall still continues to do business with its pony rides and ice cream stalls. The town has been fast changing during the last decade. Visitors coming to early Darjeeling during the 60(s) and 70(s) probably wouldn't even recognize the town now with the numerous concrete buildings and hotels the hoarding, the neo-urban culture. While the racial distinctions between the upper white town and the lower black town do not exist in contemporary Darjeeling, a class or socio-economic distinction has replaced them.

It is still considered prestigious and a status symbol to own a house in the former European area. The impact of Anglicisation has also been great, and several respondents interviewed in 1998 and 2000 agreed that there had been an increase in the number of English-speaking people. Americanisation is apparent in the growing number of fast-food restaurants, video parlours, cyber cafes and penchant for soft drinks such as Coca Cola and Pepsi as well as in the adoption of Western attire such as denim jeans and other customs. A bilingual or multi-lingual culture has evolved, of people speaking English, Nepali and Hindi or Bengali as well as Tibetan, Lepcha and other languages. There is still a marked and rapidly growing distinction between Darjeeling town and the rural areas of Darjeeling hills.

Thus the urban-rural distinction is progressively sharpened in some respects but blurred in others. There has been an increase in drug taking and crime. The tea-planting community still adheres to British traditions.²³ The open hill spaces – the lungs of Darjeeling, that nobody cares for, filled with hundreds and hundreds of residential structures, hotels and shops with new ideas and attitudes. Darjeeling today is crumbling, any one walking down to Singamai or the Chowrastra or to Lal Kuthi (the present DGHC headquarters) or Dali will realize the unplanned growth continues to ruin the town. Real estate market continues to boom and yet there is no place for people on the margins. Interestingly one also finds that more people are now aware of their rights. There have been the

development of civil society organizations. The average citizens' personal involvement with the city has increased, which is a change for the better.

The phrase that best describes Darjeeling is "a department store", it keeps changing every now and then. The often-used phrase "cosmopolitan" is no more apt for Darjeeling. The city is not only vertically but horizontally divided, making classification impossible to understand the diversity of Darjeeling in its fullest form. One has to stand at Mall and watch the four roads go into different directions, symbolizing the various sections of the society. While one road leads to the wealthy section another goes down to business hub of Chowk Bazar and yet another to the traditional middle-class Darjeeling and another to the administrative headquarters. The fabric of the society of Darjeeling is continuously changing, but what is disturbing is that this change is a mix of both evolution and degradation. Darjeeling is earning the reputation of becoming the drug and girls-trafficking centre. Over population and too much vehicles have been crippling the infrastructure posing threat to road, water-supply, electricity and general health. But what is still heartening is that despite the wide spread of urbanisation, pockets of city still retain their Old World charm and culture, like Birch Hill, North Point. Jalapahar, shops like Glenary's or Keventer's the Ghymkhana or the Planter's Club. Though in many areas small shops and stores have been transformed into shopping arcades, and old cinema halls have paved

the way for multiplexes and shopping malls. The urban centre has burgeoned beyond the capacity of the corruption ridden civic bodies and the political hoodlums.

It is apparent that the 'Queen of the Himalayas' has a long way to go the change is too little and has taken far too long. There is greater realisation, but the momentum for any great social change hasn't gained ground yet.

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CHAPTER – IV

POST COLONIAL URBAN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF DARJEELING

A classical view of urbanisation characterized an urban area as an economic parasite thriving on the agricultural surplus produced in the hinterland. Today the view is no longer relevant and the city now is the focal point of productive activities. The city today grows and exists on the strength of the economic activities existing within it.¹ Today instead, the hinterland is economically dependent on the city for services and goods. The city has important economic relations with the hinterland and other national and international cities. A city generates growth by the nature and level of economic activity and thereby furthering urbanisation. Modern urbanisation is an economic process and urbanisation depends on the nature of economic production prevalent in the city.

There is a great demand of economic models of urban growth and a valid rationale for this is that most of what has been termed as “urban economics”. One has not yet mastered how to adapt to growth theory to the urban level of desegregation or also faced up to the question of whether such an adoption is possible ². The complexity of urban growth process, the diversity of urbanization experiences, particularly in towns and cities at different levels of development and the mindset, that the city is not only a cultural,

social but also an economic phenomenon is obvious on which urban politics depends.

Problems relating to urban economics lies in the lack of a satisfactory measure of urban growth. As a nation India has never followed the path. Growth in the national economy is invariably measured in output or income terms. However data of the kind is impossible to achieve because most cities and towns in India lack economic data except revenue expenditure accounts from local authorities. Under such circumstances one tends to rely heavily on demographic data and associates urban growth with increase of a town's population. ³ Though good number of economists regard population as a very poor proxy for an index of growth, it is mostly used for the measurement of urban growth.

Despite the parlous state of urban growth theory, understanding why and how cities develop is important both for its own sake and because of planning implications. Today market forces are not the only determinant of city growth. As to the reasons why cities have grown in the past is not to speculate their future growth since planning decisions are capable of controlling many institutions of city development. But a controlled appreciation of the economic detriments of the urban growth process will help planners to analyze to make concentrated decisions and to help "shape a city".⁴

The study of urbanization in India centres on several dimensions of analysis.⁵ Basically it includes a time period covering

a dimension of nearly 5,000 years, a spatial dimension that spans 2,800 kilometers east to west, and 3,300 kilometers north to south and a socio-cultural dimension, that covers a wide spectrum of people of diverse ethnic origins speaking a variety of languages and practicing some of the world's oldest religions. "A fourth dimension relevant to the study of India's urbanization has to do with the economic and political process that have shaped and are continuing to shape the basic character of urban life in India".⁶

British India contributed greatly to the urban scene in India. One of their major urban creations was a chain of hill stations in the Himalayan foothills and the introduction of tea and other plantations, which produced a number of small settlements with distinct urban characteristics. The hill stations therefore are an inheritance from the British, though thoroughly Indianised. During the post independence period these urban settlements originated as an entry point to the needs of the British population in India. Apart from its popular image of health resorts, pleasure spots, civil lines or cantonment areas the hill stations generated another type of settlement that of tea and coffee plantations in the hilly areas of West Bengal, Assam, Kerela, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka. These urban settlements were brought about by voluntary and forced migration from Nepal and Bihar in the case of the estates in Darjeeling and Assam, and from neighbouring districts in the case of tea and coffee plantations in the hills of southern India. Plantation settlements had

a distinct urban characteristic relating to commodity, labour and migration, which reshaped the local settlements, cementing urban economy with local culture.

Historically the location and organization of various economic activities on urban land determine urbanization in most towns and cities to a large extent. Apart from social cultural and strategic advantages most cities have risen due to distinct economic advantages of land.⁷ Further the economic growth of any city is dependent upon the availability of major inputs for the production of economic goods and services and the quality of infrastructure. One of the major factors determining the nature and extent of urban development is land resource available in urban area for deployment in production and infrastructure. Land resource for urban development is essentially governed by three major factors: (a) Constraints relating to land mass, (b) Institutional framework for allocation of land, (c) Socio-economic process influencing the allocation of land, on the other hand, the demand for land is largely determined by the nature and organization of socio-economic activities.⁸

Sustained urban economic growth is usually accompanied by urbanisation “Thus urbanization is regarded as a societal process, and the important social and economic characteristics associated with the process of urbanization include; greater commercialization and dependence on cash income to carry out day to day

transactions, greater participation of women in labour force, change in life style, greater access to health and economical facilities as well as provision of services".⁹ Krugman has mentioned that the process of urbanization deals with tensions between forces that tend to attract people into urban settlement and the "centrifugal" forces that tend to break up such settlements. The centripetal forces usually include the (a) natural advantage of certain cities, hills, harbours, rivers strategic vocations etc., (b) market related economics e.g. easy access to markets products and skilled labour. On the other hand centrifugal forces constitute commuting costs, house rents in urban areas, congestion, pollution and the cost of public service.

Expansion in settlement patterns and urban activities have their impact on the environment. This is because of the excessive burden on the absorptive capacities of the local environment on land and land resource leading to a tremendous scarcity of urban land. Urban expansion leads to urban change in the economic, cultural and social conditions culminating in unprecedented growth of urban population generating negative environmental social and political effects.

The trend in the growth of urban population both in general and in particular and in particular urban exhibits certain features in India. While the total population in India increase from 361 million in 1951 to 1027 million in 2001, the urban population increased from 62 million to 285 million during period indicating 17.3 percent

in 1951 to 27.58 percent in 2001. If we take up the process of urbanization from state to state we find a very surprising range of variation. The most urbanized state in India is Maharashtra where 35.03 percent of its population is urban. Tamil Nadu in which 34.98 percent is urban closely follows it. The other states in which more than 30 percent of the population is urban is Gujarat (31.08 %). Karnataka, Punjab, Manipur and West Bengal. As far the percentage of population in urban areas to total population of the state is concerned, the first position continues to be held by Maharashtra, Gujarat occupied the second place in 1951 but was pushed to the third place in 1961 by Tamil Nadu. In 1971 and 1981 also, Tamil Nadu continued to hold the second place while Gujarat was a close third.

One of the most urbanized states in India is West Bengal. Urbanisation in West Bengal has shown an increasing trend rising from 24.45 percent in 1961 to 32.44 percent in 2001.¹⁰ West Bengal occupies fourth position among the Indian states in terms of absolute size of urban population. Post independence urbanisation in West Bengal was much ahead in relation to the whole nation. But slowly the scale of urbanisation is getting slower. This can be attributed to slow growth of industry immigration of a huge number of people from Bangladesh and acceleration in agricultural growth in the 1980(s). The most important aspect of urbanisation in West Bengal is its high degree of spatial concentration with Calcutta

holding the pre-eminent position. One of the import criteria of the process of urban growth in West Bengal is the pyramidal urban hierarchy in which the class I towns/cities account for the bulk of urban population and growth while others lag behind.

In the secondary and tertiary activities of the urban areas of West Bengal, a significant growth has been noticed., leading to the development of small towns. While in the state as a whole, the contribution of tertiary and secondary sectors stood at 37 percent in 1980-81 and 27 percent in 1980-89, the corresponding percentage figures for urban West Bengal were 51 and 32 during 1988-89. Urban West Bengal accounts for 57 percent and 69 percent of secondary and tertiary Sector State Domestic Product for the state as a whole. The widespread agricultural prosperity aided by distributive land reforms has generated impulses for the growth of small towns. The high rate of growth occurred in all the districts with the exception of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri. The average daily rate for male and female agricultural labourers has increased significantly recent years. It has generated demand for wage and non-wage goods, and has resulted in significant off-farm activities. These developments have contributed to the expansion of urban secondary and tertiary activities, and hence growth of small towns.¹¹ In 2001 the level of urbanisation in most of the Eastern Himalayan towns was about 15% and Darjeeling has been designated as most urbanized. (52%) The level of urbanisation differs from area to area.

Economy in Darjeeling is mostly administration based, where instruments of administration have been used for carrying out policies and programmes.

Darjeeling Hill which is most urbanized is a pointer to the kind of urbanization that may happen in hills if it is left uncontrolled. Size of urban settlements varies greatly one or two urban centres are large while others are very small. In Darjeeling hill area, Darjeeling has been a city in 2001 with a population of more than 1 lakhs, while Kalimpong and Kurseong have 42 and 40 thousand population respectively.¹² The average town size varies considerably across the various parts of the Eastern Himalayas, indicating that urbanisation process is passing through different stages in different parts, and possibly the influencing forces are also different. The share of urban population of the Darjeeling hill area in comparison to the urban population of Eastern Himalayas is highest 52 %.¹³

The urbanisation process in Darjeeling is mainly exogenous maintained through surplus from outside. If one scans the revenue generated locally and the productivity in the local economy and compares it with the funds provided by the central and state governments to develop and maintain the present infrastructure of Darjeeling the generation of urban employment and income, one, cannot but conclude that the present level and space of urbanisation in Darjeeling would not have been able without the transfer of surplus from elsewhere. To access the urban economy of Darjeeling

it is necessary to look into its natural resources, which may be divided into three categories: Non-renewable, renewable and specific advantages.¹⁴ Coal, dolomite, metal sulfides, graphite and tungsten occur in Darjeeling as non-renewable source. The renewable sources are forest, plantations, pastures, bio-diversity and water. The specific advantages are its hilly landscape, scenic beauty, cold climate and wide-open mountains.¹⁵

Agriculture is the third most important economic activity in Darjeeling following Tourism and the Tea Industry. In Darjeeling it is the sedentary terraced land use on steep hill slopes that is under cultivation. Out of the total area in Darjeeling is used for agriculture and agro-farming. Economically Darjeeling presents a unique situation especially in a comparative analysis between its urban centers and the hinterland. But availability of land for agriculture is limited in Darjeeling. The traditional food grain based agriculture and surplus derived prosperity is not prevalent in the urbanisation process in Darjeeling. The non-renewable resources are available but not in large amounts. The Hydro Electricity generated in Darjeeling is not enough for furnishing the economic activities of the region neither can Darjeeling export power to the plains, rather it is heavily dependent on receiving power from the plains.

Water in Darjeeling is scarce and water resources in Darjeeling cannot cope up for economic activities hotels and related tourism. Moreover one has to keep in mind the fragile, hazard prone

ecosystem and environmental constraints of Darjeeling. As regards to the growing population of the region for which both natural growth and migration is responsible urbanisation involves a fast increase in urban population.¹⁶ It is true that in Darjeeling has non farm-less land and other non intensive economic activities have provided livelihood to many people. As compared to the rural belts, the urban unit of Darjeeling uses less forest resources in terms of fuel use. But at the same time high density of population, concentration of consumption, generation of waste over space, vehicular pollution has affected the environment of Darjeeling severely. Added to all this is poor sanitary and sewerage systems, a lack of space for recreation such as playgrounds, inadequate communication links, a shortage of essential facilities and commodities, relative isolation and distance from the plains or centres of production, communication failure in the event of heavy rainfall and landslides. An acute shortage of essential commodities and high prices are prevalent under such condition. Moreover the supply of energy resource such as kerosene gas and electricity is erratic and inadequate especially during the monsoons.¹⁷ Darjeeling being a hilly area, the environmental constraints on urbanisation are more binding. Urbanisation with a high degree of urban concentration in Darjeeling is not at all environmentally viable.¹⁸

Tourism is certainly the major livelihood in urban Darjeeling. Out of the four main occupations tourism, trade (mainly tea industry

based and construction work) agriculture and crafts – the first two occupations are controlled by the upper sections of the society and the other two are controlled by the lower rungs of society, being less profitable. Tea, Tourism and Timber and trade have become the principal occupation. Tourism and transport, till 1975, was managed privately with little interference by the government. The tourism department Government of West Bengal came into being in 1958 and the West Bengal Tourism Development Corporation in November 1975. Tourism is the backbone of the regional economy of Darjeeling “Unlike Industry” tourism is much more pervasive in its economic impact. It represents an injection of external purchasing power into the economy widely distributed in its initial regional impact and acting as a stimulus to every sector of economy. Therefore it embraces different trades like transport industry, accommodation industry, Catering, souvenir industry, recreational industry etc. The economic stability of the resort towns depends upon the expenditure on different trades by tourists. A large share of the total earning is dependent on tourism.

The establishment of the Darjeeling Gorkha Autonomous Hill Council in 1988 led to tourism activities being transferred to the DGHC. However the West Bengal Tourism Development Corporation continues, to operate in the area. Tourism in Darjeeling is the most important activity. The tourist industry in Darjeeling generates income in crores. Everybody from the ‘Chaiwala’ to the hotel owners

benefits from tourism. The increased income including foreign exchange earnings has a direct effect on the regional economy of Darjeeling. Demands for local products – links between trades directly involved in tourism, tourist expenditures filter through the economy and generates other economic activities. The multiplier effects is based on links between the trades directly involved in tourism and those trades and industries which supply the tourist trades with goods and services. Infrastructural improvement in the form of electricity, water supply, drainage sewerage, transport network, road construction, and tourist based industries have helped in the development of the region. Today Darjeeling tourism has a new buzzword “eco-tourism”. Previously, the main tourist spots were Darjeeling, Kurseong and Kalimpong, but today there has been eco-tourism development in places like Lava. Lolygaon, Rimbik, Sukhiapokhri, Mirik, Bijanbari, Sandakphu, Rohini etc.

Many mountain trekking trips have also changed the face of tourism in Darjeeling. With the growth of middle class in India and the Maruti taking over the Ambassador there has been a welcome change in the tourist activities in the area. New tourist traditions are taking place. Travelling to many tourist destinations within Darjeeling hills have become more viable and economic. In addition to the contribution in economic growth the labour intensive nature of tourism has led to significant generation of employment in this urban centre.

However inspite of tourists still loving the “Queen of the hills” and the mighty Kanchenjunga, tourism in Darjeeling faces a lot of problems today. Tourists complain of overcrowding, poor water facilities and poor infrastructure. Unplanned urbanization uncontrolled tourism activities, lack of conservation measures and pollution has robbed the “Queen of the Hills” of its glory and has created service environmental hazards. The development of tourist activities has moreover also brought serious damages to the urban centre. Extension of hundreds of hotels, road building, and infrastructural facilities have mauled the ecosystem and leading to the degradation of the urban centers. Darjeeling caters to over two lakhs of tourists in the peak seasons and this is one burden that is creating serious socio-economic dislocations. The fundamental problems in Darjeeling are that mountain tourism in this area like the rest of Asia has very little impact on poverty alleviation environmental care, and the empowerment of local communities in addition to environmental degradation. There is a glaring lack of linkage with the local and regional production. Though tourism is the major economic factor yet it is neglected by state based agencies as a potential positive force. Complementary sectoral policies, more baseline information on communication capacity integrated development are the need of the day. Unlike the neighbouring state Sikkim Darjeeling tourism lacks networking, monitoring impact. Where then does the money go? Inspite of all the revenue generated

through tourism – major hotels are owned by the rich tour operators, hoteliers have the lion's share – domestic tourism suffers. Most of the real beneficiaries of tourism in Darjeeling operate largely outside the formal economy.

Darjeeling tourism lacks custom – designed experience of the oriented, quality travel. With the beginning of GNLFF agitation in the eighties, and frequent threats of bandhs, throughout the year the tourism management in Darjeeling has been disoriented, lacking coordination. For subsequent years many hotels in Darjeeling have remained empty, creating financial ruin. Apart from this, Aids, flesh trade, drug abuse, economic disparities, depletion of common resources of land, water and forest for the benefit of a few and loss of confidence and faith in the traditional lifestyle and culture have led to the slow poisoning of Darjeeling tourism.

But whatever prosperity tourism has brought to Darjeeling it has been at the cost of the environment. Moreover the growth potential of Darjeeling tourism has added pressure on the limited land resources of the hill like, land degradation, seasonal water scarcity, drainage problems, landslides and also the rapid degradation of the scenic beauty of Darjeeling. With the formation of the DGHC local compulsions arose leading to the development and expansion of transport, communication, tourism and commerce. Each of these processes involved pouring of man money and technology from outside with very limited participation of the local

people. Various social groups being actively involved with development issues, spread of modern communication, media exposure and education, of late there has been growing awareness as regards to democratic rights and better living. All of this has further led to more ethnic conflicts and tensions, indicating the fragile nature of economic urbanisation in Darjeeling.

Apart from tourism the other most economic factor that has decided the fate of urbanisation in Darjeeling is the tea industry. Tea industry is not only the mainstay of the hill people of Darjeeling but also the backbone of the hill economy. There are at present 86 tea estates covering about 19020.29 hectares and employing about 50 thousand permanent labourers. But during the last two decades the industry has been in deep trouble. Many diseases from low productivity old age of the bushes, high input cost, labour unrest, and industrial sickness have lead to the final closedown of many tea gardens. Apart from these, different environmental problems like landslide, drought, and problems of encroachment are also affecting the gardens. The present scenario reflects that the famed tea estates of Darjeeling are weighing tourism as a means of ensuring their economic survival amid slumping markets for the hill station's most celebrated crop. The tea gardens of Makaibari and Mariyanbari have opened their doors to tourism related activities where the original Manager's Bungalow have been converted into Heritage hotels. The number of tea gardens has come down from 132 in 1991 to 86 in

2001 in the district. The closure of 46 gardens in 10- 12 years is in itself an alarming situation. (Besides this is the official record of West Bengal Government. The unofficial record shows the number of present gardens is only 65). This means nearly 50% of the gardens were closed in Darjeeling district in the last 10-12 years.

Independence of India from British Raj brought in new changes in the tea industry. As most of the tea gardens were sold to Indian Companies, the new management did not have prior experience regarding tea industry and their sole interest was profit maximization. Indian enterprise had taken over the reins from their British counterparts but in absence of any long term policy of the Government of India, in respect to management in tea plantations, their role in tea gardens has, however, been to carry on the old business rather than to open new gardens. Since these companies carried on tea business in a stereotyped manner the position of tea companies particularly in Darjeeling, continued to deteriorate. The new garden owning class did neither have the experience to run tea gardens nor have the willingness to bring changes in the technology and machineries related for 19th century tea industry. Thus from management perspective and both from quality and quantity perspectives, post-independence owners have not been able to upgrade the standard of tea industry. Obsoleted machineries and fund pauperization have weakened the basis of tea-economy. The following table needs no elaboration.

Statistics of Tea in Darjeeling 1951 - 2001

Year	No. of Gardens	Total area in hectares	% increase / decrease	Total production in 000 kg.	Average yield / hectare	No. of labourers employed
1951	138	25325.3		13177.57	473	69590
1961	139	27708.9	+9.41	18050.2	543	59844
1971	140	25495.2	-7.99	200000	564	69000
1981	137	24986.9	-1.99	12656	628	55765
1991	132	26780.1	+7.17	13932	694	52659
2001	86*	18999.6	-29.05	9742	563	51223

*Source - Compiled from Census handbook (1951 - 2001) and Tea Statistics Tea Board 1979 and 2002. *West Bengal Government official record.*

There was a steady fall in production and acreage since 1961 and the number of labourers substantially decreased. But the situation worsened during the last decades (Table1). The most important reason is closure of uneconomic tea gardens specially those owned by the Government. Due to poor management practices, high social cost of production, decline in exports and competition with neighbouring countries and continued decline in price realization the tea industry in the district is virtually facing a crisis. The chart of ownership pattern of some of the old and major tea gardens may be presented.

Sl. No.	Name of the Garden / Owner in its inception	Present name of the Gardens	Year of inception	Present age of the garden
01	Darjeeling Company namely Ging, Ambutia, Takdah and Phubsering	Ging, Ambootia*, Tukdah* Phoobsering	1860-64	140-144 yrs.
02	Lebong Co. Namely Tukvar ^o , Badamtam and Pankhabari	Bamesbag, Badamtam	1860-64	140-144 yrs.
03	Tukvar Co.	Tukvar and N. Tukvar	1857	147 yrs.
04	Sum Co.	Soom	1862	142 yrs.
05	Land Mortgage Bank namely Minchu, Mineral spring and Changtang	Lebong and Mineral Spring+ Minchu (Bannockbum)	1862-63	141-142 yrs.
06	D. Wilson	Happy Valley	1862	142 yrs.
07	C. H. Barnes, Singtam	Singtom	1856	148 yrs.
08	C. H. Barnes, Pattabang	Bamesbeg	1858	146 yrs.
09	C. R. O. Donoghue, Pattabong	Pattabong Tukvar	1868	136 yrs.
10	W. Lloyd. Lebong ^o	Vah Tukvar+	1869	135 yrs.
11	S. Mackintosh, Minchu	Bannockbum	1862-63	141 - 142 yrs.
12	Karsiang and Darjeeling Co. Makaibari and Alubari	Makaibri*, Aloobari and Pandam	1856	148 yrs.
13	H. Stoelke Sternthal	Steinthal (Singtom)	1854	150 yrs.
14	Stoelke and Sinclair Rishihot	Risheehat	1895	109 yrs.
15	Sidrabong	Arya	1897	107 yrs.
16	Consolidated Tea and Lands Co. Ltd.	Bloomfield / Orange Valley	1890	114 yrs.
17	Ringtong Tea Co. Ltd.	Rungneet	1885	119 yrs.

* Gardens not located in Darjeeling P.S. area.

^o Garden area bifurcated or joined after 1900

+ Gardens closed

Source : Compiled from W.W. Hunters, A Statistical account of Bengal, Vol. - X London 1876, Report of the General committee of the Indian tea Association Feb. 1880-1915. Calcutta Bengal Secretarial Press and Survey done by the author in the tea gardens in 2002-2003.

Statistics of changing status and area of different tea gardens in

Darjeeling P.S. Area (1952-2004)

Sl. No.	Name of the garden	Tea area in 1952 in hectares	% increase or decrease	Tea area in 2004 in hectares	% increase or decrease
01	Aloobari	20.26	---	22.00	+8.57
02	Pandam*	163.09	---	131.32	-19.48
03	Arya	96.72	-5.91	123.26	+27.44
04	Badamtam	298	+169.74	321.05	+7.74
05	Bannockbum	132.63	+9.25	142.27	+7.26
06	Bamesbeg	112.31	+15.15	132.50	+17.98
07	Bloomfield / Orange Valley	232.24	+5.92	220.15	-5.21
08	Ging	218.98	+2.77	279.76	+27.76
09	Happy Valley	94.70	+112.73	103.00	+8.77
10	Lebong and Mineral Spring	235.73	-31.87	Garden closed	---
11	Phoobsering	146.70	-9.52	245.36	+67.25
12	Risheehat	140.21	-23.00	253.42	+80.74
13	Rungneet	75.22	+4.42	87.53	+16.37
14	Singtom / Steinthal	280.85	+17.63	286.32	+1.95
15	Soom	218.13	+12.29	237.28	+8.78
16	Tukvar (including Pattabong)	397.73	-21.38	436.66	+9.79
17	Tukvar n. / Singla	212.41	-30.02	182.21	-14.22
18	Vah Tukvar	195.41	+1.87	Garden closed	---
	Total	3271.31	+0.76	3204.29	-2.05

* Tea area included in Aloobari in 1897-1900

Source : Compiled from W.W. Hunters, A Statistical account of Bengal, Vol. - X London 1876, Report of the General committee of the Indian Tea Association Feb. 1880-1915. Calcutta Bengal Secretarial Press, Data obtained from DPA, Darjeeling and Survey done by the investigator in the tea gardens in 2002-2003.

The tea plantation industry was mainly set up in Darjeeling hills during the second half of 19th century and were built up with huge capital investment. This investment mainly came from the British entrepreneurs who were interested to do flourishing business in India for breaking the monopoly of China in tea. When the tea gardens first developed the whole area was covered by virgin forestlands. A large number of labourers were required to clear several hundred acres of land for tea cultivation from an elevation of 750 mts. to 1800 mts. above sea level. The first pioneers suffered a lot while clearing the vast jungles, making roads, terracing hillocks and erecting factories. By 1870, almost all the plantations began constructing factories with local materials, like bamboo, plank stones and thatch at the lowest levels. The development of motor able roads, the Pictures que bungalows of the managers, the planters club, the factories were all by the Britishers which remains more or less the same till date.

Mention should also be made that the growth of Darjeeling town largely depends on the surrounding tea gardens development because the town was the main centre of association for the surrounding garden employees. Thus infrastructural development contributed not only to growth of urban atmosphere but also gave impetus to more and more people to settle in Darjeeling raising the population. But this development also had its own share of problems. The topographical variation made the accessibility

opportunity poor. There was tremendous lack of transport and communication, energy and irrigation, which have profoundly hampered the productivity in these estates. Transport systems till today is still at its nascent stage some terrains are still inaccessible. This makes the task of bush care varying from manuring to managerial supervision almost a formidable venture. The cost of production thus goes up. Besides this has a negative impact on health, psychology and socio-economic welfare of the poor labour class. So though this sector attracts immense importance neither the management nor the government machinery's endeavour to develop these facilities seemed discernable.

In 1835, Darjeeling town was sparsely populated and the biggest problem faced was that of labour and that too of skilled labour. As tea is a labour intensive industry low population or lack of labour force did not point prosperity in this sphere. So the story goes that during that time a nobleman from Nepal, Sri Dakman Rai, had come to Darjeeling with a caravan of 20 black ponies and a retinue was a rare sight at that time and this event caught Dr. Campbell's attention. A meeting between the two followed and the nobleman agreed to help in this enterprising venture by bringing labour from Nepal. Each garden used to have labour agents known as sardars. A sardar was in charge of a small labour force of 50 to 60 strong men whom the sardar recruited and brought to work in the gardens.

Apart from supervising their work he was their headman looking after their daily needs and social welfare.

But there was still a labour problem in Darjeeling as ill sanitation, improper water supply and inadequate medical arrangements. The immigrant population of Darjeeling was mainly from Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan and this had two major long lasting effects. Firstly, the original tribe of Darjeeling the Lepchas were rapidly outnumbered by persons mainly from Nepal and secondly, this marked the beginning of rapid rise in population and consequently to urbanization. The majority of immigrant tea garden labourers from eastern Nepal comprised of the Gorkhas. In spite of a monthly wage as high as Rs. 5/- for men and Rs. 3/- for women and Rs. 2/- for children there were shortage of workers. Those people were encouraged to settle down in the company's garden permanently by assigning to them small plots of land for cultivation of cereal crops such as maize, millet etc. The management provided the labourers with additional facilities like free accommodation, free medical service and subsidized rations, which are continuing even today.

Labour being at premium the production used to be uncertain, especially with other agencies engaged in various constructional work in the district weaning away the labourers with more attractive wages. Dessertation was another problem as there was no special legislative enactment and the labourers were free to come and go, as

they like. To maintain a balanced work force, the management had to grant additional facilities, mostly financial to the extent possible. It is said that in order to attract the labourers, the kuly sardars with the help of the management, used to plant mint fresh coins around some tea bushes, where the work was to be done next day. In the morning while working the unsuspecting labourers happened to find their coins to their utter surprise and joy. Not only the labourers worked with more enthusiasm but also while on leave these stories were told to their friends and relatives back home. Thus more and more people migrated to the district with the hope of gathering fortune as they believed that in "Muglam" (Darjeeling) money grows in tea bushes.¹⁹

With more and more people migrating to Darjeeling the labour intensive tea industry flourished. New gardens were opened and the acreage under tea plantation substantially increased. The tea industry assumed prime position in Darjeeling industrial and agricultural sector as 1/3rd of the entire population resided on tea gardens. From 1951 there was a decline in immigrant population who would settle here but the natural population was on the rise. The reason behind this was that there was not much room for further extension as in the area reserved for tea cultivation almost all the land capable of being planted with tea had already been taken up.

**Statistics of Growth of Tea Gardens and Population in
Darjeeling District. (1951-2001)**

Year	No. of tea gardens	No. of Persons Employed	% increase / decrease
1951	138	69590	-0.16
1961	139	59844	-14.00
1971	140	69000	+15.30
1981	137	55765	-19.18
1991	132	52659	-5.57
2001	86	51223	-2.73

Source- District Census Handbook-Darjeeling 1951-2001

The initial period of tea industry saw a rapid increase in population growth mainly through immigrant population. Local labour could not meet the resultant demand of tea industry and immigration on a very large scale made up the deficiency. But the rate of immigration very vigorous in the past steadily came down in from 1900. From 1941 to 1961 there was decrease in percentage of labour in tea industry. Only from 1961- 1971 there were a 15% increase in tea garden labourers. From 1971 there has been a steady fall not only in the total working force in tea gardens of Darjeeling P.S. but also in relation to total workers. This may be attributed to the recession in tea industry and closure of sick and uneconomic units in which workers are migrating towards the town for better job opportunities.

The gardens of Darjeeling P.S. area remained mostly unaltered except regarding the name, which was changed several times due to

change in ownership. Moreover in recent years due to crisis in the tea industry the gardens are changing hands very rapidly as most of the owners are running their gardens either without profit or at loss. The gardens of Darjeeling P.S. area have been broadly divided into three groups according to their size or the total grant area. Such as -

(i) > 600 hectares (ii) 200-600 hectares (iii) < 200 hectares.

In case of Tea Gardens in Darjeeling P.S. the real discrepancy lies in the total area / grant area, which according to various sources are different. Three authentic sources -Government Publication (Labour Department) Census (1991), Tea Board Directory (1998) and Darjeeling Planters' Association have been shown to suggest the total or gross area of tea gardens. But in each case the areas of the gardens are different. So it is very difficult to make the exact estimation of total area or garden area, as the size of P.S. area remains the same. The same disparity may be noticed from the records of Tea Directory (Tea Board) in the years 1960, 1982 and 1998 though no official change regarding area is notified in any of these tea gardens. Moreover there is a large disparity regarding tea area and total grant area between the Census data (1952) and Tea Directory records (1961).

Darjeeling therefore portrays an important pro urban picture. Added to this the proportion of working age population is higher in urban Darjeeling than its rural counterpart and urban work participation rates have also increased in Darjeeling in comparison to

the rest of the state. Among the urban sectors that have shown a remarkable growth of employment generation in Darjeeling is wholesale and retail trade, transport, tourism construction and manufacturing.

Today as Darjeeling stretches its urban boundaries from Singamari to Batasia and from Jalapahar to Kakjhora the acquisition and use of land has remained unchecked. There is an old saying that great cities never die. They simply resurrect themselves adapting to the changed circumstance.²⁰ Darjeeling had been the 'tea' capital of India much before independence. Tourism, agriculture, natural resources, human resource were in place and perhaps the best in the state. Planters, army personnel, businessman, many lawyers' educationalists have made Darjeeling their home. Darjeeling is proud of its people and the people are proud to belong. Creaking economic infrastructure withstanding the Human Development Index on Darjeeling ranks it as the 4th major district in West Bengal in relation to consumption, poverty and life expectancy parameters on which urban economy depends. As Buddhadeb Bhattacharjee the Chief Minister of West Bengal has rightly remarked "Economic development does not mean the growth of income alone; genuine economic development requires that the quality of life of our people be improved..."²¹

Its important to remember that inspite of all its misgivings the urban economics of Darjeeling has always enjoyed a pre-eminent

status in comparison to the rest of the hill towns of the Eastern Himalayas. It has been the hub of commercial activity for decades. Economic conditions of Darjeeling have been positive in terms of resource mobilization, and control over basic economic processes, infrastructure and the provision of health and educational facilities. Darjeeling has been influenced by its strong historical and structural factors that have influenced both the degree of development as well as the relative backwardness of the urban unit. In Darjeeling any discussion on polity, economy or society must also take into account the role played by colonial administration in restricting trade to only certain social group and creating a complex system of land relations. Generally speaking the Indian economy as a whole was never really chosen as a favourite by international financial markets over the periods. In other words the economy did not receive large inflows of speculative capital, it did not suffer from large outflows either. This had unfortunate implications on the states productive expenditure, unemployment and crisis in agriculture have adverse effects on the stagnation of the economy. Its natural that as part of the nation the human development indicators have been relatively slow in Darjeeling too. Greater population pressure puts more pressure on basic infrastructure. Excessive high population density affects per capita resource allocation. Thus, whatever Darjeeling has achieved has been inspite of this factor of having high population density.

The Human Development Report indicates that Darjeeling stands fourth in the over all assessment of the state in relation to health income and education index and it is evident that in comparison to the rest of the state the position is undoubtedly positive. While in general the districts with lower HDI more than average per capita, district sector plan outlay – Darjeeling inspite of its relatively high HDI, the district has received the second highest plan outlay in per capita terms in the mid 1990(s). ²²

A cursory view of material indicators indicates that while incomes have been increased, infrastructure provisions still remain an important issue, with direct links to achieving better economic growth and improved human development condition. Apart from infrastructure consumption patterns, economic structures relating to agriculture, tea or tourism employment is clearly one of the most significant issues in terms of the living conditions of the people of Darjeeling. Quite simply, there are not enough jobs for all the people who are willing or forced to work. The rate of employment generation in terms of aggregate main wok has been lower than the rate of expansion of population and substantially lower than the rate of income growth. As a result the pattern of job creation in this urban settlement has shifted towards more casual, marginal, part-time and insecure contracts or self-employment. It is interesting that in Darjeeling more women are entering into the workforce as paid men workers are as well as self-employed specially in various services.

The most significant feature being that participation of women in work force is relatively higher in non-agriculture related jobs than in agriculture sectors. This might be the hidden matriarchy imbibed in the proto-Mongoloid tradition of the indigenous people of Darjeeling and the resulting impact of tradition in modernity in Darjeeling's Urban way of life. What is indicative is that there has been a diversification of employment, in general, from the rural to the urban sector.

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CHAPTER - V

POST COLONIAL URBAN POLITICAL HISTORY OF DARJEELING

Four problem areas might be identified in the study of political institutions, organization and processes in the urban context. Firstly, there is the formal political structure, municipal or corporation government where national, regional and local political parties compete for positions of power. Besides formal structures of power, informal political organizations operate through caste, religious, and sectarian groups, and occupational categories. Associations formed on these lines acquire political dimensions insofar as they act as pressure groups, and in some cases they even form part of organized political parties. A third aspect of politics in the urban context, refers to what is generally called the small town politics where elite, factions or ethnic groups, more than political parties, are significant in understanding the power structure.¹ The study of post colonial polity of Darjeeling falls mainly under the third category.

Literature so far reviewed on urban studies since 1950 suggest that urbanization is a multidisciplinary approach involving sociology, economics, geography, history, political science demography and social anthropology. It may be pointed out that social scientists began to take real interest in urban studies only after the 1951 census, which revealed a high rate of growth in urban population. At

first the emphasis was on identifying the dimension of urban population through descriptive studies based on census information as well as collection of first hand data. Such studies resulted in cumulating of a large body of facts but not in commensurate with the growth of theoretical knowledge. ²

Post-colonial studies in urbanization have been varied, and social historians have studied the modern transformation of Indian traditional society, over the years. In the sixties the studies were mainly descriptive in nature revealing only the magnitude of the phenomenon concerned. They did not aim at explaining the problems or make generalizations. Important studies were carried out by urban researchers for the preparation of a national report. The report, based on ten cities, was presented at a special session in Istanbul. Similarly the Government of India established the town and country planning organization to encourage studies in urbanization. The National Urban Observatory has developed urban databases at the city level as part of the local urban observatories. All these efforts and the preceding analysis reveal the overall development and trends of urban studies in India during the early two decades.

Therefore urbanization is one of the major forces of our times changing and restructuring social reality in its own characteristic forms and throwing up social problems stamped with its own peculiarities. Different approaches in urbanization need not be mutually exclusive but their effectiveness shall depend upon the

degree to which they enable us to better understand the problem under investigation. In general therefore urbanization represents a process of growth. On the positive side, growth could lead to development economically, politically and socially. On the negative side it may degenerate "into a dangerously alienated form of mal development". While fully recognizing the valuable contributions of studies and theories in Indian urbanization – the study of hill station in India as urban centers has been sadly neglected and no literary discourse has been able to provide an adequate theoretical framework which could be applied to the process of urbanization in the hills or to Darjeeling Hills in particular and hill towns of trans-Himalayas in general. By all standards, the status of Darjeeling as an urban space, is no more a 'minor town' it has infact tuned into a 'city (as per 2001 census)' marked by essential, economic, political and social characteristics.

The interests of scholars grew unabated during the seventies and the study of urbanization attracted the attention of many sociologists like (Desai and Pillai 1970, 72 Wiebe 1975 D'Souza 1978 Amit Bose D'Souza 1979.) The studies during this period were based mainly on census data. The important feature of this decade was the absence of city surveys. Studies were not based on primary data but through problem – oriented and analytical approach. During the eighties where here many studies on urbanization patterns and trends. Migration studies were undertaken and all India as well as

regional trends were explored. Contribution in the field were mainly theoretical statements about urban impact on traditional institutions, (Misra and Gupta – 1981 Rao and Rao 1984 Jha 1956) During the eighties studies were mainly based on sample surveys, interview schedules and questionnaire. Like the eighties urban studies became attractive for scholars during the nineties too. The National Commission on Urbanization (NCU) published five volumes dealing with urbanization at the grass root, sub-state and state level.

While writing on Urbanization in the Eastern Himalayas, Professor S.K. Munshi has referred a three part model of urbanization as presented by R.J. Johnston. The first part of the model is related to upward quantitative demographic change involving enhancement in the proportion of population living in Urban areas in which migration is the stimulating factor behind urban growth. The second part is the structural change in society resulting out of the development of capitalism in which towns grow as centres of production, distribution and exchange processes. The third part of the model relates to psycho-behavioural urbanization bringing out social change such as attitudinal changes, changes in behavioural patterns and values which may be branded as urbanism. In this three-part model of urbanization, demographic change are the dependent variable driven by structural imperatives. Moreover any attempt to study the process of urbanization anywhere has to take note of the specific context of time and place.

Presumably, any model on the emergence of urbanization in India has particularly to take note of the variety of socio-economic factors and forces, issues and the events.³

Society of Darjeeling and Society of North-eastern hill towns do differ historically. The tribal societies of the North-eastern terrain were kept insulated and isolated from free and open contact with the people of the plains. While Darjeeling has a different history. With the creation of Darjeeling as a hill station and with its designation as the world's best quality tea production settlement, Darjeeling hills in the eastern Himalayas got closely linked with the colonial urban processes since early 19th century and had become the most urbanized tract in the eastern Himalayas.⁴ Tourism and Transportation, Health Resort, Educational Institutions grew in pace resulting a different kind of urbanism for Darjeeling.

The euphoria of 1947 could not hide the ugly realities of the colonial legacy that India inherited and it was specially so in the context of hill stations in India. In 1947 when India gained independence, the district no longer enjoyed the special privileges and status that it had enjoyed before independence except the Bengal Tenancy Act. The Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling henceforth began to be known as the District Magistrate.⁵ After August 1947 the district consisted of four subdivisions, Darjeeling Sadar, Siliguri, Kurseong and Kalimpong. Darjeeling town had been and still has been a major tourist centre and administrative

headquarters. Two military installations at Jalapahar and Katapahar have direct bearing on Darjeeling town. There are as many as 112 schools, five colleges, old clubs in the town. With the end of the British raj, the internal political dynamics of Darjeeling loomed large on the Urban Darjeeling. Urban Darjeeling had witnessed and has been witnessing a conglomeration of socio-economic, ethnocentric, administrative and other compelling factors and forces which have largely given the shape urban politics in the post-colonial period.

After Independence Darjeeling demographic political economic, social linguistic administrative cultural and moral spheres underwent radical changes. The Bengali population who were major shareholders in the government service of the district was reduced to a substantial minority. By the 70s therefore the theory that the more advanced people from the plains exploited the region of Darjeeling is a myth utilized by the leaders of the Gorkhaland Movement. By the mid-seventies one clearly notices substantial degrees of access to positions of political and administrative power of the local people in Darjeeling. The Nepalese position in Darjeeling and to say that they were deprived and economically backward in comparison to the rest of Bengal is an understatement. Infact the urban people of Darjeeling received good education joined the services, identified themselves with the vast Nepali community both in India and Nepal and made rapid economic gains. The urban Nepalese in Darjeeling fulfilled their political and cultural aspirations to a large extent, forging alliances

and with the party in power. The Gorkhaland Movement by and large was not really the question of suppressed discontentment but it was a calculated demand to carve out a separate state where the Gorkhaland leadership under Subhas Ghising would dominate. It was widely recognized that the primary concern for the demand of Gorkhaland was to crush the economic and political domination of the plains. In reality what they wanted was a separation from Bengal – a regional formula leading to slow and gradual crystallization of district level bases exercising a good deal of influence on the Gorkha National Liberation Front Apparatus and ultimately organizing a technique wherein the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council came into existence.

The Gorkhaland Movement launched in the mid-eighties has been a complex set of process working over a period that converged into the formation of the DGHC. In this process of regionalism there has been a resurgence of ethnic identities, which are seeking equivalence with if not priority over separatist claims. The ethnic identities have generally been manifested through the claims of land and language. One therefore tries to analyse the reasons behind the rejuvenation of the Gorkhaland Movement. The reasons are wide ranging. Socially, the movement with primary focus on culture believed in Gorkha identity as a necessary condition for ethnocentric behaviour.

At the same time the GNLF needed the support of all the people in the hills and a volatile form of social politics emerged in Darjeeling. This was a result of roughly equal distribution of Nepalese, Lepchas, Bhutias all speaking the same language, having a homogeneity in culture, economy and religion throughout urban Darjeeling. Politics was definitely in air. With the creation of Gorkha Police Force Ghising's threats of enforcing authority by creating a parallel government, gained momentum. "Transport operators, the intelligence, had started taking orders from Mr. Lakpa Isering Dong, the GNLF advisor and fund collector. GNLF orders became binding on teachers, Government and Municipal Employees in the hills." ⁶ Important dimensions of the movement whether it was the "Study Forum consisting of congress supporters prominent Church personalities like Enos Das Pradhan or the resignations of J. Rai Chairman of Kalimpong Municipality members of Zilla Parishad. Municipal Boards of Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Kurseong subdivision Panchayat Pradhans, members of the Nepali Academy, Darjeeling Hill Areas, Development Council, ABTA and other governments bodies all submitted their resignations. "The GNLF agitation thus turned into an insurgency". ⁷

The post-colonial urban history of Darjeeling is intimately associated with commodity capitalism, labour migration and the reshaping of local and national ideologies around gender, race, language, citizenship and religion. Darjeeling political journey

therefore is to be traced from being a colonial 'enclave' and to divorce it from its indigenous setting will be a kind of non-recognition of history. The indigenous publicists attacked the colonial character of the plantation, but it remained a central component of the 'progress' and 'nation' to which they aspired, as did other South Asian elite.

To be precise, any political movement in any society at any point of time is an outburst of the people's long suppressed aspiration of ethnic identity development and freedom, tinged with political motivation and mobilization by the local elite. Historicity of the land and people forms the hidden strength of such movement.⁸ Politics there fore has it own dimensions expressed through the emergence of language, citizenship, identity and ethnicity. "The symbol of language has a greater dimension in forming the shape of political communication and politics as such."⁹

The Europeans gave Darjeeling a formal urban shape to satisfy their interests by way of instituting Urban Institutions like Municipality and such other provisionings such as basic civic amenities, viz., health, sanitation, educational institutions, water supply, electricity, roads, markets and such other urban services. The town of Darjeeling under the care and nurture of the British Raj allowed the natives / country gentlemen to stay at Darjeeling. Thus from the very beginning, both locals and Europeans living in Darjeeling had been engaged in non-agricultural avocations. Tea, Timber, Trade, Tourism and Educational Services along with other

non-farm avocations of the people of Darjeeling helped accelerating the growth of urbanism in Darjeeling. The European culture had had a tremendous impact on the inhabitants of Darjeeling, however, the local indigenous culture brought by the migrated Nepalese and inherent primordial culture of the local natives did have their existence since the beginning of the process of urbanization in Darjeeling.

The access of the people of the locality in modern system of Education gave rise to a new form of renaissance which provided the local people to have a new space quite unknown to the neo-political leaders of post-independent India. While the Britishers left India, Darjeeling started confronting with the mega-nationalism which was objectively made unknown to them. As a natural corrolary, the little nationalist consciousness of the local people of Darjeeling based on their unique administrative status and distinctive ethno-culturo-centric ethos of the pre-independent period, distinctive identity as a race having unique culture, identifiable language, a different sense of Indianess, citizenship issue, distinct political space within the Indian political structure gave rise to a unique form of politics distinctively different from the politics of the plains and Darjeeling has always remained the abode of such politics, geared and engineered by the local urban leaders. All these factors including economic factors, ushered in a different kind of urban political culture in Darjeeling Hills. The role of Communist Party led trade union movements in the

surrounding gardens had also played a role in organizing movements and shaping as well as sharing the state of the art of political movements in Darjeeling hills. Some of the ingredients of post-independence urban phenomena in Darjeeling need elaboration.

Nepali, language was brought by immigrant Nepalese to Darjeeling. As far as the antiquity of the language is concerned its earliest evidence is found in Rani. Pokhri inscription of 1670 at Katmandu.¹⁰ One can presume from this inscription that Nepali was the language of the Nepal valley. The conquests of Prithivi Narayanshah lead to the spread of Nepali as a link language in various areas under his control. It was during the second half of the 19th century Nepali as a language spread in Darjeeling. During this period the language prevalent in Darjeeling was the Lepcha Tibetan dialect. In a working paper entitled 'The Nepali Language with reference to its relationship with Rai, Limbu, and Lepcha languages ' presented at the seminar on the Development of the Nepali language in India. R. K. Sprigg had demonstrated how the Nepali language apart from being language of the royal court in Nepal also has its closeness to Hindi, and as such it emerged as a common bond of unity among all migrant Nepalese not only in Darjeeling but other parts of India too. In spite of caste differences or religious, Nepali language created a sense of oneness, a sentiment of regionalism among the Nepalese. With the coming of the British, Nepali literature also slowly started gaining impetus and Darjeeling became a center

for education and culture that brought into its fold a spirit of Nepali nationalism principally concentrated in the hill towns of Darjeeling.

In 1872 the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling was however informed that Hindustani and Bengali were the official languages of the district administration. There was no mention of Nepali. There was even no separate schools for the Nepalese. It was only from 1872 that planning was undertaken for the development of separate schools for Nepalese and it was decided that Hindi and Pahari was to be regarded as the vernacular of Darjeeling.¹¹ It is there fore clear that there was no distinct Nepali language in vogue at that time of the coming of the British. It was actually Rev: William Mac farlane who for the first time introduced Nepali in schools and he also endeavoured to develop Nepali literature and language. In 1821 the Serampore missionaries translated the New Testament into Nepali Language. Ganga Prasad Prodhan wrote and authored the first textbook of Nepali language.

Calcutta University included Nepali in the list of vernacular languages for the subject of composition in the Matriculation Intermediate and B.A. Examinations of the University in 1918 by Notification 1 dt. 24.7.18.¹² In 1921 Nepali as a language was introduced as a vernacular subject in Darjeeling government school. By 1925 the Inspector of schools Rajshahi division recognized the introduction of Nepali language at the primary and middle schools of Darjeeling. ¹³ The post Independence era saw the birth of Nepali as a

second language along with Bengali in the three hill subdivision of Darjeeling district by the West Bengal official language Act 1961. In 1961 North Bengal University was established and Nepali was recognized as a vernacular subject and the post-graduate Department of Nepali was established in 1978. It is important to inform that throughout India, Nepali language and literature as a separate post-graduate department can only be available in North Bengal University.

During the last quarter of the 19th century a large variety of news magazine and journals were also published from Darjeeling, and a tide of Nepali journals and periodicals inspired the mental activities of the local people. Within 1981 as many as 290 different Nepali periodicals were published from India. Gorkha Bharat Tivan (1886) was the first Nepali journal published from Varanasi. In 1901 the "Gorkha Khaba Kagat" was published from Darjeeling by 1932 the "Nepali Sahitya Sammelan Patra" contributed to serious prose in Nepali. With the publication of Gorkha" (1945) the mouthpiece of the Gorkha a political flavour was added to Nepali literature.¹⁴ "It contained many analytical, thoughtful and critical essays and also poetry and satire."¹⁵ From 1940 - 48, the modern Indian Nepali literature was born. Prominent Nepali literary heads like Agam Singh Giri, Ambar Bahadur Gahatrraj, Lain Singh Bangdel, Achchha Rai made their appearances in the pages of Gorkha. The period of 1949 - 58 is regarded as the golden Age of Nepali journals. "The lyrical

under current of Nepal literature manifested itself in Pukar (1948) and Bharati in 1949 Kailash Nath Katju the then Governor of West Bengal had sent a message to this journal which was published in its June edition of 1949. The message has a historical significance that is relevant even today.¹⁶

“Before coming to Darjeeling I had heard a great deal of the tremendous urge for education among the hill people but the reality as I have seen it during the last six weeks has far exceeded all my anticipations. The people here seems to have been starved of all education during the British regime and now they are flocking to schools of all grades, both boys’ and girls’, just as a thirsty man would rush to life-giving waters. It is one of the most joy-giving and ennobling sights that I have seen in my life. These small schools are scattered all over the hill side and there the children come walking up miles and miles to learn to read and write. And though it is obviously imperative in the national interest that we should have Rashtrabhasa for the entire Bharatbarsa and wherever necessary, a regional language into which our Bharatbarsa will be divided, it is conceded that the best medium of instruction for a child is his own mother tongue ... And it is not only the children but men and women who live in the villages of India and who speak, read and write to a great extent their own mother-tongue who ask and are entitled to have intellectual sustenance in their own language. It is from this point of

view particularly that I welcome this literary enterprise in the Nepali language...."¹⁷

Sathi (1949) was the local mouth piece of the Indian National Congress. "In 1960(s) the movement demanding inclusion of Nepali language in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution of India was initiated. The journals of 1970(s) namely Khoji, Astiva, Chaubandi, Prathinidhi, Utoaha, Hamro Drani, Nepali Bhasa Proyog Gara, Madal, Guhar and others provided in no uncertain terms the ideological impetus to the movement of constitutional recognition of Nepali language.¹⁸ The issue of language and its fostered development has given birth to political connotations in the district and its ultimate culmination from Nepali to Gorkhali has shaped the exteriority of the movement. However comments Tanka. B Subba, 'deep down it makes no sense to claim that Gorkhali is different from Nepali'.¹⁹ Interestingly Ramlal Adhikari had prepared a list of schools belonging to the four subdivisions of Darjeeling who had adopted Nepali as a medium of instruction during the post independence period. His findings were revealing. In the entire district only 50 percent of the secondary and higher secondary schools introduced Nepali as a medium of instruction. It may therefore be added with precision that the colonial hang over which can be felt in every aspect of culture, language, identity in Darjeeling also retains its permanence in the every day life of the people. As a source of identity therefore language has been politicized. And in a

closely-knit community the use of language has been passionately used. At the onset of the political movement language definitely became one of the most sensitive points of the Gorkha identity in Darjeeling.²⁰

As the British consolidated their position of Darjeeling they developed transport, communication, plantation economy, trade and commerce and along with all this, they also developed a group of western read British educated elite class, for their own sustainability. The British rule in Darjeeling thrived on these very factors. A district head quarter soon became a pulsating town consisting of the Palzers the Ladenlas combined with the Bengali elite. What sustained Darjeeling was its image of aloofness. This imposed sense of aloofness lead to comparatively modest political awareness in Darjeeling, in comparison to the other districts of Bengal. Darjeeling as an urban center differed radically from Bengal. Though the Nepalese dominated the district and still does the population in the three hill subdivisions of Kalimpong, Kurseong and the district head quarters were more heterogeneous.²¹ The Lepchas and the Bhutias dominated the labour trade. Tibetans and the Mawaris formed the professional business class. Butchers and the majority of the tailors in Darjeeling are still the Muslims. The Bengalis in Darjeeling mostly came as government employees, as, being a part of the state machinery. So to create a view that the Nepalese have resented the influence of the Bengalis culture is difficult to accept. The Bengalis

had never been a threat to Darjeeling. Most Bengali Government servants, posted in Darjeeling, constantly harped on the harsh winter weather and the westernized culture.²² Instances of a Bengali Government employee choosing Darjeeling for settlement is rare. Culturally, economically, politically and socially there was no Bengali assimilation with the people of Darjeeling.

The wide-heard claim that the Gokhhaland agitation is a result of the domination of Darjeeling by Bengalese is a myth. It is a card used by local political leadership to fuel popular sentiment. Darjeeling had always been an abode of the Lepchas the Bhotias and the Nepalese; the Bengalis had always been the outsider. During the greater part of the GNLFF agitation unlike other parts of India where ethnic minorities were targeted, it was not so in Darjeeling In Assam or else where, when one ethnic group was projected, as having a major edge over other ethnic groups, the argument is that, it resulted in the theory of territorial discontent. The argument does not hold good for Darjeeling. Darjeeling was never a creation of Bengal or Bengalis, but a carefully nurtured colonial policy where in the colonial rulers or policy makes purposely divided and separated the country and created obstacles to the growth of national consciousness. What actually lead to the culmination of the movement was the gradual growth of political awareness due to the development of education and related similar movements (Jhakkhand, Mizo). Growth of an intellectual class from teachers, army personnel

and other professionals – an extremely conscious effort, on the part of the leaders of the movement.

In 1909, at the eve of the Council Act – the leaders in Darjeeling submitted a memorandum for separate land for Darjeeling. More demanding voices were raised by the Hillmen's union for the "creating a separate administrative unit comprising the percent Darjeeling district and the portion of Jalpaiguri district which was annexed from Bhutan in 1865".²³ Much importance has been given to the demand of 1907 as being "a statement for a political delinkage of the hills, from Bengal, strongest possible political statement, the first of it kind showing political awareness and every party in Darjeeling worth its weight swearing by it."²⁴ The British had always encouraged a policy of administrative division creating an environment of conflict between people of different origins.²⁵ The Hillmen's association – was an elite organization under the residentship of S.W. Landela which sought to create the hiatus between the hill people and the plains people on political as well as ethnic and cultural issues."²⁶ However the reorganization of Darjeeling was not viewed sympathetically, by a section of educated Nepalese. The Peoples Association led by Sir P.M. Pradhan and the Kalimpong Samiti under the leadership of Sardar B.B. Dewan sent a separate memorandum in 1920 opposing the reorganization of the district. A meeting was held in Kalimpong in July 1920 and signatories like Prem Sing, N.P. Kumai and Lachman Singh of the

Hill men's union withdrew their signature from the memorandum and they further disclosed it was under persuasion by namely Dr. Graham an European settler of Kalimpong that they had penned in their signatures. ²⁷

With the coming of the Montague Chelmsford reforms of 1919, the Darjeeling planters' Association" European Association and Hill men's Association gave full support to the memorandum in its meeting in march 1920 where a formation of a separate administrative unit was envisaged on the plea of backwardness. Sonam B. Wangyal comments this resolution was important from the point of view that the Europeans too had joined the Hillmen's Association - "being apprehensive about a possible Bengali domination" He further adds that lack of education and poverty and fear of all lead to the prayer. Thus, even before the independence, the local Nepalese tried manipulate, space, politics and economy, to sustain their own identity - joining the Hillmen's Association was a carefully preplanned step in that direction, it was not tinged with any fear of Bengali domination.

As far as the economy of Darjeeling was concerned most people were enmeshed in the multifarious demands for labour that rose with the coming of the British services like portorage, domestic labour - man power for building roads, houses finding wage employment in British establishments and there was a lot of filtration into the local tea and cinchona plantations all of this which

was manned exclusively by the local people. Apart from some Bengal clerks in British offices whatever pattern of employment existed in British Darjeeling the local people had the major share in it. Therefore judging by the contemporary level of economic development Darjeeling was no different from the rest of India which lagged behind in science technology and the urban economy so created was a organized result and deliberate policy of colonization.

A major factor in the growth of regionalism in Darjeeling has been the political opportunity towards regionalism advocated by the British. When the on going nationalist movement for constitutional reforms plagued the British, the Hillmen's Union, having permitted the intrusion of ethnicity and regionalism into their politics as advocated by the British compromised with communal forces on the pleas of protecting the Gorkhas, sent a memorandum to Sir Samuel Hoare Secretary to state for India in October, 1930, arguing that in lieu of the services rendered by the Gorkhas in the military civil and potter departments in the preservation of the solidarity of the British Empire there should be some special reservations kept aside for the Gorkhas. ²⁸ The district of Darjeeling should be excluded from Bengal and be treated as an independent administrative unit. ²⁹

Another memorandum date August 6th 1934 was sent by the Hillmen's Union on behalf of the Lepchas, Bhutias and Nepalese to Sir Samuel Hoare and S. Anderson Governor of Bengal demanding special safeguard for the minorities in the hills and a total exclusion

of the district from Bengal by creating an independent administrative unit directly under the central government. Communal Award was the basis of this demand. The Government of India Act 1935 however made Darjeeling a partially excluded area. Though the Hillmens Union projected the homogeneity of the people of Darjeeling, its major weakness was that it laid almost exclusive emphasis on the Gorkhas and that too on their military activities ignoring the Lepchas and the Bhutias. There was much more to Darjeeling than Gorkha contribution major to the British army development in economy society and culture was ignored. In the work of the Communal Award steps were initiated to include other groups into the fold of 'hill people'. On December 23rd 1934 a public meeting was held under the chairmanship of S.W. Landenla. Many people from all corners of Darjeeling attended the meeting, which was described as a meeting of the 'children of the soil'. Here a pledge was taken for fostering brotherhood among the Nepali Lepchas and Bhutias.

Though the Hillmens Union had highlighted the exclusiveness of Darjeeling from time to time – it ignored the lives and struggles of the common people and limited them solely to 'territory'. Real issues were kept in disguised. Social and economic aspects in Darjeeling reveal that the Bengalis did not dominate the district. All the Bengalis did not rule the district and neither were all the Nepalese the ruling class. Like the Nepalese the Bengalis too were looked down upon. So whether one was a Bengali or a Nepali – it made no

difference in British India. Social and cultural history of Darjeeling brings out the forces of cultural heterogamy and economic heterogametics. An upper class Nepali had more common culturally with a Bengali elite than he had with a fellow poor Nepali. Political events and movements should be placed in their basic social and economic setting. What one should note in Darjeeling is how economic gains social prestige and political power distributed among different social classes and groups. To what extent did the British the Bengalis or for that matters the Nepalese distribute the existing patterns of political social and economic power. From this analysis it is evident that the Hillmen's Union, an elite body of Nepalese Lepchas and Bhutias shared a common basically pro-imperialist political approach.

The Gorkha League; the Hillmen's occasional activities during the first two decades of the century paved the way for the emergence of the All India Gorkha League in 1943.³⁰ The communal Award accelerated the process, and surprisingly the AIGL strongly opposed the separation of Darjeeling district from Bengal.³¹ Dambar Singh Gurung provided the leadership and in "his keynote address at the official inauguration Gurung made a colossal error".³² According to Sonam B. Namgyal he backed, the wrong horse by supporting Nepal wherein and mentioned that the days of the British had already been numbered and supporting the British the cause of the AIGL would be viewed sympathetically. On the eve of the independence two

alternatives were placed for Darjeeling district's separation from Bengal. A separate province should be created along with Darjeeling, Doors and Assam and three districts of North Bengal namely Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling and Coochbehar together with Sikkim should form a separate province. From the Resolution of 1948 two conferences were taken place in Darjeeling on October 30th 1949 and the 1952 Memorandums highlighted one common point – separation from Bengal.

On April 6, 1947, the undivided Communist Party of India demanded the existing boundaries of the three contiguous areas of Darjeeling district, southern Sikkim and Nepal be formed into one single zone to be called Gorkhastan".³³ The communist stance of 1947 in fact was a social formation where the evolution of the struggle within an emerging bourgeois capitalist society could be seen. Aspects of communist ideology is based on the doctrine that people meaning a community of persons occupying a common territory and having a common language culture tradition should be 'empowered" to share in the governance of the state given a position in the decision making process. Political theorists have differed a lot on many questions but have hitherto agreed that the exploited oppressed and suppressed can only be empowered through their own political mobilization and through extension of social economic and political democracy to them."³⁴

In 1957 the Communists along with the Congress, and the All India Gorkha League submitted a representation to the then Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru demanding for “regional autonomy” of Darjeeling Hills. By the 1970’s most of the parties in Darjeeling be it the Congress, the Gorkha League or the CPI(M) favoured for an Autonomous Administrative Setup of Darjeeling.³⁵ On 5th April 1980, the Gorkha National Liberation Front was created by Sri Subhash Ghising followed by the establishment of the Pranta Parishad on 8th August 1980.³⁶ Letter was sent to the then Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi demanding a separation from West Bengal followed by demands of the inclusion of Nepali language in the Eighth Schedule. Ever since mid 1980’s, the GNLFF Supremo Sri Subhash Ghising started gaining his political ground both in the rural and urban areas of Darjeeling Hills and has become the champion for the cause of Gorkhas of Darjeeling. It has been possible for him to make a master blend of politics, economy and primordial society of the Hills. His master-stroke has been the replacement of the term ‘Nepalese’ by ‘Gorkhas’ worked magically to attract both the psychological attention of the Nepalese living in Darjeeling and the political aspiration of the people to have a separate political entity for the Indian Gorkhas within the constitutional structure of India.

What Ghising did was to harness emotional aspects and present communalism as the band wagon for under development and regionalism. Ghising is a shrewd observer of political events and

personalities. He disapproves the intellectual and as such does not want to take the advice and guidance from them. The Gorkhaland movement provides an interesting amalgamation of linguistic ethnic identities with politico-economic interests. The demand for the creation of a Nepali Gorkhali speaking state brings to light the availability of language as an important tool for ethnic assertions in the political process.

The spread of modern education ushered in a belated renaissance in early twentieth century Darjeeling which, in turn, altered largely the internal political dynamics of the “Queen of Himalayas”. Not only language, a sense of distinctive identity on the unresolved issues like citizenship, right of self-determination and governance, sense of “relative deprivation”, ‘Son of the Soil’ policy, reaffirmed primordial bondages, senses of “transferred anger” (on the issue of eviction of Nepalese from Meghalaya during early eighties), “transferred Zealousy” (referring Sikkim as fast growing neighbouring small state), gave rise to a new sense of ‘Gorkha’ identity replacing ‘Nepalese’ identity and accommodating other tribal native communities within the greater “Gorkha” fold. Ever since eighties, under the leadership of Mr. Ghising this unique kind of social cohesiveness dovetailed with political engineering created conjugal sense of political identity cutting across rural-urban spaces of Darjeeling Hills. The other political identities rooted in the tea gardens labour movement have not been able to combat the ethno-

centric movement by their ideologies. One important issue needs to be mentioned here that the rejuvenated politics in the line of regionalism and ethno-centricism in Darjeeling hills have cut the so called rural-urban divide and urban politics of Darjeeling has not been limited to urban areas only, it has its roots in villages too. The thesis of polarized politics or urban-rural divide make no sense for Darjeeling hills. Like its rural counterparts, the urban politics of Darjeeling has been principally concentrated on regional and ethnic issues based on relative deprivation. The right of self-determination has become the common concern of urban political culture. Since, eighties of the 20th century, in almost every form of democratic election be it Municipal election, DGHC election or Panchayat election, the Gorkha National Liberation Front has overpowered almost all other political forces in Darjeeling. To be precise, for the last two decades, the political experiences of Darjeeling amply suggest the emergence of one-party dominance.

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CHAPTER – VI

EPILOGUE

I

An overall understanding of the study so far made in the preceding chapters amply suggests that urban Darjeeling – the Queen of the Himalayas is as yet a little understood phenomenon. Compared to the quantum of writing on Urban settlements of the plains of India the research available on Urban Darjeeling has been decidedly inadequate. Two important points may be mentioned to substantiate the argument. First, in the absence of any substantial empirical work, the intensity of urbanism in Darjeeling can only be impressionistically gauged. Second, the general works on the period mostly made by the European administrators / travellers which touch on the problem and issues of Urban Darjeeling lack an appropriate analytical framework.

The sequels to the urban social formation of Darjeeling primarily are : (i) the reaching out of the Britishers in Darjeeling with their own objectives, purposes and culture they represented; (ii) their interaction with local and migrated indigenous cultural matrices and (iii) in subsequent stages, the formation of urban Darjeeling was made complete by the frequent intermixing and assimilations of indigenous and European culture. Thus the major historical – socio-economic and political processes in Darjeeling hills are to be

identified not by taking an epicentric view, but by keeping in mind the fact that historical-cultural stages have always been uneven over this eastern Himalayan settlement.

Viewed from the entire discourse so far presented in different chapters of the study, three major processes may be identified which had been and still have been operative both in pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial phases of Darjeeling. These processes are : (i) the expansion of state and superimposition of culture; (ii) the labourization of tribes and indigenous castes / tribes consolidation; (iii) Appropriation, Assimilation and Integration.

Certainly those above processes are not unrelated to one another, and together they constitute a cultural matrix which came to acquire over the last two centuries a recognizable shape at Darjeeling which had initially remained peripheral. Thus Darjeeling experienced with late urbanism compared to its plains' counterpart. The history of integration of Darjeeling into the fold of British Indian political economy as narrated by the European historiographers amply suggests that Darjeeling as a hill station has been solely the creation of the British. Such a hegeographic version of the history of Darjeeling is a kind of epicentric version of history, which is half-truth. Though Darjeeling did begin as a distinctive British colonial identity, it was much more indigenous. The occupation of Darjeeling by the British is one aspect and its growth as a strategic military center ensuring basic civic amenities is bordered around the typical

colonial concept of consolidation has been the other major aspect. Though most historians, political scientists, sociologists have traced British adoption of Darjeeling to the establishment of a sanatoria, the growth of Darjeeling as an urban center was certainly crucial to the British to control Nepal, Tibet, Sikkim and Bhutan. This unique strategic compulsion of the British and the compelling physiographic feature of Darjeeling compels a serious reader to look beyond the so called general feature of Darjeeling as a sanitarium or recreational center for the tourists.

The present study sub-serves five distinctive but mutually interwoven processes of how Darjeeling – the most urbanized hill station in the Eastern Himalayas – evolved as the center stage of politico-cultural events, strategic-economic and social dynamics. The processes are:- (i) Darjeeling as a hill town was developed mostly for geo-political and strategic considerations. Our discussion in the preceeding chapters confirmed this fact that Darjeeling was developed as Cantonment and Sanitarium particularly after the Anglo-Bhutan War. The cantonments of Katapahar and Lebong of Darjeeling had a pull effect which brought in civilians, travellers, tourists, traders, merchants, market mechanism and the local settlements. Municipal Acts were brought in motion with the creation of Darjeeling Municipality. With the rise of trade and commerce, Marwaris and few other trading communities from different parts of

plains of India started settling in Darjeeling. Infact, this trading class of people replaced the old commissariat contractors.

√(ii) The promotion of the hill town Darjeeling by the British was principally for trading across the border. The occupation over Darjeeling hills and corresponding control over the Kalimpong hills gave British an opportunity to use the silk route for trade through passes. The big increase in service sectors, market demands, tourist arrivals in Darjeeling prompted people to invest more in trading activities, hotels and transportation. There has been the experience since 1960's that hotels are coming up in all shapes and sizes along with associated business.

√(iii) Since the mid-nineteenth century Darjeeling town served as a major producing ground of very specific corps like tea and cinchona. The growth of tea economy in Darjeeling resulted a huge pull factor for the rise and growth of Darjeeling town as the growth center, service and trade center and center for recreation and leisure. The surplus in tea plantation had a direct impact for the growth and development of Darjeeling as an urban settlement. Commercial tea plantation in Darjeeling dates back about one hundred and fifty years under the British colony and today forms the major socio-economic backbone of the local population. Rural agriculture only supports a fraction of the local population. The primary revenue of Darjeeling population is primarily dependent on tea and tourism industries.

✓(iv) Tourism in Darjeeling flourished with the British and received official recognition in 1835 when the township of Darjeeling was formally opened. Creation of infrastructural facilities such as communicable roads, railways track, hotels, resorts, water, electricity are some of the basic pre-conditions for the development of tourism as an industry. By the late 19th century, a toy train track (narrow gauge) and roads were constructed connecting Darjeeling with the plains of Bengal. The introduction of the Toy Train Track and the road considerably increased the flow of tourists in Darjeeling. The early twentieth century Darjeeling experienced with adventure tourism in the form of mountaineering. Since 1950, most of the expeditions to the Himalayas initiated from Darjeeling. With the conquest of Mt. Everest in 1953, the Himalayan Mountaineering Institute was established in Darjeeling and this has become a temple for the probationers of mountaineering and a spot of tourist attraction. Trekking as a form of adventure tourism activity has become popular since 1960. The big increase in the quantity of tourists coming to Darjeeling during tourist seasons (April-June and September-November) sometimes pose threat to available basic civic amenities of Darjeeling.

(v) Situating in a region having very rich and diverse bio-resources, Darjeeling attracted the attention of the researchers and bio-medicinal and pharmaceutical Corporations to harness them. Darjeeling along with the entire eastern Himalayan tract has become

a cradle of scientific knowledge and an incessant source of commercial ventures. Resultantly, Darjeeling has started receiving adequate development interventions and got boosted in the process. However, the development orientation in the hill town of Darjeeling become skewed and unplanned. Precisely the entire eastern Himalayan region, of which Darjeeling has been a part, plays a crucial role in conditioning the climatic situations, as custodian of extra-ordinarily rich bio-diversity, as the origin of many a lifelines including the river system and as provider of the world's most beautiful panorama. Most importantly Darjeeling Himalayas provide the core strategic security incorporating in it the very basis of border configurations that determine our national sovereignty and national identity too.

II

The study has revealed that till 1971 the town of Darjeeling along with Kalimpong and Kurseong remained as the three urban centers in the hilly part of the District. Another settlement Mirik emerged as towns in the census as late as in 2001. The same census designates Darjeeling as a 'city'. It transpires that originally Darjeeling had been a part of Sikkim – a small independent state of the Eastern Himalayas which became a tributary of the colonial power of India during early 19th century. Darjeeling was identified as the most suitable location for a sanitorium way back in 1828 by Caplain Lloyd. The king of Sikkim could rescue the part of Darjeeling

hills from Nepal which was annexed by the latter with the active military support from the British. As a mark of respect and gesture the king of Sikkim handed over Darjeeling hills to the British with certain conditions. However, the British could manage to secure Darjeeling as a gift from the Raja of Sikkim in 1835.

Soon after the annexation of Darjeeling with British India, Darjeeling underwent through several boundary reorganizations. The territory of Terai geographically connected with Darjeeling was seized by the British in 1849. The treaty between Sikkim and the British in 1861 had reaffirmed the territorial seizure. The European model of hill resort development was instilled in Darjeeling and within a short period of time Darjeeling developed as a center of health resort, cantonment, center of educational institutions and military activities as well as trade and service center. It may not be out of place to mention here that Darjeeling grew as an urban settlement not by the agricultural surplus created out in its rural hinterlands, rather it received its urban form to fulfil the health, strategic and economic and social aspirations of the colonizers. Tea plantation and tourism provided a great pull effect for the people who migrated from neighbouring Nepal, Sikkim and to some extent from Bhutan. The military administrative efforts, road linkages, plantation and tourism, enhanced economic and trade activities and population rise ultimately gave Darjeeling an urban shape.

Kurseong compared to Darjeeling is a small urban center started becoming important and has been developed as a medium town (Census 2001) or a satellite town of Darjeeling. The Kalimpong hills formed an integral part of British Darjeeling hills after following a different course of political experience as revealed in the study. History tells us that Kalimpong part of Darjeeling hills originally belonged to Sikkim. Over the years, it was annexed by Bhutan. The British could manage Kalimpong soon after the Anglo-Bhutan War of 1865. Since then Kalimpong has been designated a part of British India. Strategically and economically gaining control over Kalimpong was considered important by the British for the proximity of the region to the Jelep-la and Nthu-la – the two important passes connecting Tibet and Russia as well. The British developed Kalimpong as an important trade and commercial center. The missionaries established educational institutions in the settlement. Basic amenities and facilities did develop to give Kalimpong an urban shape. The town was designated as a sub-divisional headquarters. The ethnic-caste composition of Kalimpong and Kurseong has a homogeneity with the town of Darjeeling.

The present study further revealed that colonial urban Darjeeling was cut off from and insulated from the urban settlements of the plains of Bengal which witnessed a distinctive kind of administrative experience for military and other objective interests of the British. As a result, each urban component of Darjeeling hills

followed its own pattern of urban growth. The nature, content and pattern of urbanization is therefore fundamentally different for Darjeeling hills compared to its counterpart at the plains of Bengal. The internal dynamics of society / societies of the Darjeeling hills are to be inclusively understood to have a perception of the level and depth of urbanization. The ingredients of local and migrated tribes in Darjeeling hills have developed over the years a consciousness construction resulting a sense of homogenous cultural identity mixed with urban cultural ethos of the plains. This unique sense of primordial loyalties in a diversified poly-cultural set up sometimes lead to ethnic conflicts and tensions as Darjeeling has experienced with through decades.

Two principal types of Hill urban settlements came out during colonial times : (i) the hill stations and (ii) administrative headquarters and Cantonments. Darjeeling is one of such hill towns which enjoyed both of the features. As a result, over the years, population pressure on the town of Darjeeling has been very high. Neither the town was conceived to hold more than lakh of population, nor the very physiognomy of Darjeeling terrain is able to hold such enhancing pressure of population. Due to scarcity of water sources Darjeeling has always experienced with a perennial crisis of water. The town has also encountered with the problems such as the scarcity of energy resources, poor sanitary and sewerage systems, landslides, incessant rains loosening the soil, inadequate parks and

playgrounds, a shortage of essential facilities and commodities, relative isolation from the centres of production, heavy traffic congestions on the roads and the disruption of communication links in the event of heavy rainfall and landslides. Resultantly, the cost of living has become relatively high in Darjeeling compared to urban settlements in the plains. The frequent use of non-biodegradable articles made of polythin causes tremendous pollution and unaccounted environmental hazards. Heaps of solid wastes and pools of sewerage create unhygienic conditions by polluting air, water and soil. Strategies to address such problems should immediately formulated and action-oriented, target oriented policy and planning have been urgently called to save the "Queen of the Himalayas" from further deterioration.

It is important to mention here that the British never conceived of a big towns with more than lakh of population owing to fragile hill eco-systems and they were particularly concerned on the load bearing capacity of the comparatively younger age of eastern Himalayas. Observing the potential of the region, the British restricted Darjeeling within a scale of ideal size. However, urbanization along with its push-factor giving rise to population concentration has become a natural phenomenon. What Darjeeling needs at this juncture is to spreading of the towns taking into account its neighbouring hinterland and connecting those proposed agglomerated areas with adequate linkage facilities and ascertaining

such other required infrastructures. Networking with the up or down towns is preferred than one overgrown Darjeeling 'city'. No further argument is required to substantiate that as a result of historical metamorphosis Darjeeling as an urban settlement has crossed all such critical limits. Thus added area settlement planning can only save Darjeeling from further degradation.

Provisioning of urban services to the rural area has been the call of the honourable President of India, APJ Kalam. As the progress and fruits of development of the economy of rural hinterlands precedes urbanization in the endogenous process, it is urgently needed to ensure urban basic services to these rising rural economies. Such provisioning would have double edged purposes : (i) prevention of population pressure of the rural people on the 'mirage town' Darjeeling; and (ii) creation and consolidation of urban provisions at the rural hinterlands. This may reverse the process of migration and people would always love to live in a pollution free environment with comfort. The concept of balanced neighbourhood may well adopted to save Darjeeling from further population pressure and growing degradation.

Since the hill town of Darjeeling was established more than 150 year age, the town needs a thorough overhauling. The principle of urban renewal has to be adopted to enable the town to ease out its enhancing problems. A planned urban re-provisionings is also extremely important by way of taking short-term and long term

measures for the future growth and capacity building of Darjeeling town. A thorough urban renewal project suggested for Darjeeling must include Conservation, Cooperation, Development Plan, Finance, Legislation, Fixed Duration of Project implementation, Re-development, Rehabilitation etc. Such renewal measures are extremely urgent for the good health of Darjeeling. A regular surveillance is important to see that Darjeeling's development should not be at the cost of environment. Urban renewal strategy for Darjeeling should be in harmony with the local environment and culture. To be precise, an ecological equilibrium has to be achieved by way of making a balance in every effort of development. Harmonising the initiatives of development has become the central focus which can meet multi-dimensional challenges of development.

Urbanization in Darjeeling during the colonial regime was essentially the spatial expression of British power and their urgency to realize various objectives. The initial objective was political, namely, military or defence, and health. Darjeeling was developed as a sanatorium by the colonizer for British military and civilians. The initial hotels were established in the mid 19th Century to encourage visitors (mostly British and indigenous urban elites) from the plains. The most important medical institutions was the Education Sanatorium established in 1882. It was primarily made for the Europeans. The Lowis Jubilee Sanatorium was built in 1887 and it was meant for Indian patients too. To address the needs of the

comparatively poor Indians and Europeans, the Victoria Memorial Dispensary was established during 1907.

Both colonial and post colonial Darjeeling has enjoyed a crucial Military and strategic importance. As a frontier zone adjacent to Nepal, Bhutan, there has always been a fear of intrusion. The significance of Darjeeling as the headquarters of the Eastern zone for the recruitment for the Gorkha soldiers was considerable. The process was initiated since 1886. Hyde Clarke (1859) stressed the strategic value of Cantonments for the vulnerability of the area from the perspective of Nepal, Bhutan and even Tibet. Political and military significance of Darjeeling soon made it a hub of imperial power and the possibility of forming a promising town in Darjeeling was thus firmly established.

Economic activities of Darjeeling as a growth center had started assuming importance since 1840's. Fried Pinn (1986) has extensively searched the primary initiatives of the British on trial and error method for the creation of market and such other economic activities in Darjeeling. The Calcutta Review (1957) reported that Darjeeling market was on the whole well arranged and well stocked. The traders were mostly from the plains and the shops were erected by and remained the property of the government. Trade was free and traders were encouraged to settle in Darjeeling, Tibetan traders were also given separate space for trade. By the end of the 19th century a considerable number of tea gardens did come up resulted the growth

of economic activities in Darjeeling. The other influences of the development of tea industries in Darjeeling were found in the improvement of transportation system and road development. The Darjeeling Himalayan Railway that was opened in 1881 practically ushered in a new era of transport economy. Since Darjeeling was designated as the Summer Seat of Bengal Government, administrative functions gave an additional filler to the growth and rise of economic activities in Darjeeling.

Even since inception Darjeeling has had to witness both the positive and negative impacts of urbanization. The physical, the natural and climatic hazards, social and economic and political dimensions of such impacts have been elaborated in different chapters of the study. The vulnerability of Darjeeling, the Finance and nature of local governance are some of the important areas which need immediate special attention. The broader issue is of the capacity of Darjeeling to be able to deal with changes that are taking place both within and without. The question may be raised whether Darjeeling related socio-administrative institutions have the capacity to deal with the demands and pressures that are being generated in Darjeeling as a result of the above changes. Decay in the institutional cultures is a serious phenomenon.

Thus the primary concerns are: erosion in the institutional structures and cultures; globalization led market and products have started destroying some of the finest indigenous, cultural, social and

economic practices, non-recognition and un-awareness on sustainable development parameters, haphazard and overwhelming unplanned and rampart growth of constructions making Darjeeling a “Construction Jungle”. The development of a town like Darjeeling needs to be addressed with new development paradigms and alternative unique policy interventions. The real challenge as perceived by Professor M.P. Lama (2007), in Darjeeling hills is of human security created out of a unique colonial and post-colonial metamorphosis. If any one continues to ignore such challenges, social instability and political turmoil are inevitable.

III

It has been revealed from the that the town of Darjeeling was initially developed on the ideology of differentiation between the ‘hills’ and ‘plains’ which was naturalized and cemented not only physically but also socially, culturally, and even politically. During colonial period, Darjeeling was nurtured and administered with this objective differentiation. This idea of difference did work well both among the hill men and among the westernized middle class urbanites settled in Darjeeling. The end result was the cold response of the hill people in the national freedom of India. The symbols of Indian nationalism could not make its mark in the Darjeeling hills. Neither the Indian nationalists were prepared to make any political communication network nor the hill people were interested to be communicated by those symbolic identities of nationalism. The only

effort of the communists to make their presence felt in the trade unions of the tea gardens. Thus the so called hill-plains divide which exists till date has its own historicity in respect of Darjeeling hills.

The study further reveals that an epicentric position would not be able to point out how the social, cultural and political movements at the local level did develop with a distinctiveness and identities of its own independent of so called pan-Indian social order which is simply a post-colonial phenomenon. The post-colonial society, history and politics of Darjeeling need to be understood keeping in view these regional dimensions in mind. The post-colonial urban Darjeeling has been shaped and reshaped by projecting its own distinctiveness in the form of a concrete identity as well as by integrating itself with pan-Indian socio-cultural and political identities. If one adopts this perspective, it would be adequately revealed that Darjeeling hills although distinctive and differentiated from the plains curtail does have a symbiotic relationship with the plains. It is certainly not hill-plains divide but hills and plains coordination shall shed light to the further growth of the "Queen of the Himalayas".

Some absorptive analysis of socio-cultural and political setting of Darjeeling should not be out of place to present here. The local ethnic composition of Darjeeling had undergone a sea change since the middle of the 19th century till the present time. The local Lepchas and few Bhutias were outnumbered by a large scale migrated

Nepalese. Because of the dominant presence of Nepali people, Nepali language gradually forged a bond of cultural identity. The local Lepchas, Bhutias and other small tribes slowly but ultimately accepted Nepali as the lingua franca in Darjeeling hills. Interestingly, the ethnic identity of Nepali strove to cut across the indigenously developed economic stratification and tried to express itself in two distinct streams. First, the language identity and second, multi-dimensional socio-economic and ethnic identities culminated to various forms autonomy movement in the name of Gorkha nationalism at the regional continuum.

The move to improve Nepali language was initiated by the Christian Missionaries at Serampur in Hoogly district of Bengal during the 1820's as had been referred in the study. In 1918, Calcutta university recognized Nepali as a vernacular language. With the expansion of Nepali as medium of instruction in some public educational institutions, the enlightened Nepali community began to assert itself to have the ethnic cultural identity. Along with the growth of literary movement for Nepali cultural identity, ethnic exclusiveness was also expressed through the demands for autonomy in Darjeeling which were not always homogenous in nature (A. Dasgupta 2001). First, the retired army nepali personnel, policemen supported by landed aristocrats and rich traders voiced their memorandum in 1907 pleading for Darjeeling to be kept outside of Bengal. Second, the Hillmen Association under the

stewardship of Ladenla submitted a memorandum demanding a separate administrative unit comprising "the present Darjeeling district and the portion of Jalpaiguri District which was annexed from Bhutan in 1865". Another petition was placed by them in 1934.

In addition to above two dimensions, another demand for autonomy was formulated by the educated middle class of Darjeeling. The effort was to nourish the incipient Nepali nationalism in the name of Nepali language and literature. The Fourth type of demand for autonomy grew out of Communist led movements of the Nepali working class engaged in tea plantations. As far as the demands for autonomy of Darjeeling was concerned, the Communist stood for regional autonomy. During 1940's the Gorkha League began to put forward the demand for autonomy with a broader social base. The fifth dimension took shape in the post-colonial Darjeeling. The various types of demands for autonomy of Darjeeling started converging in the 1950's and in 1960's. The interventions of certain factors resulted in a shift of emphasis in the movements for autonomy in Darjeeling and gradually the demand for a separate Gorkhaland as an independent unit and thereafter as a part of pan-Indian policy come to the forefront. The violent movement led by Gorkha National Liberation Front came to a temporary pause soon after the establishment of Gorkha Hill Council. During the initial years of this millennium, the GNLFF movement was renewed with vigour and both the central and state of West Bengal have principally

agreed to include Darjeeling in the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India, providing thereby an autonomous council after bringing amendments to the Constitution.

All these social and political pre-requisites have amply proved that the 'Queen of the Himalayas' has to experience with a tremendous process of historical, social, economic and political metamorphosis. Urban Darjeeling has never been an isolated reality, rather it had been and still has been the center of every activity, be it political, cultural, social, ethnic or economic in nature. The essence of the entire discourse points to the fact that the history of Darjeeling as a major hill station and administrative headquarters during colonial regime and the most urbanized 'city' of the Eastern Himalayas during post-colonial phase always provides a space for further research for understanding Darjeeling in general and urban Darjeeling in particular to have a perception of knowing India's social history not from its epicentric viewpoints but from specificities of Indian social life. In the ultimate analysis, such attempts would approve the proposition that Indian society has been in the true sense the society of societies cutting across their location and growth either in center or at the peripheries.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX - I

THE TREATY OF SGAULI

2 DECEMBER 1815

Treaty of Peace between the Honourable East India Company and the maharajah Bikram Sah, Rajah of Nipal, settled between Lieutenant Colonel Bradshaw on the part of the Honourable Company, in virtue of the full powers vested in him by His Excellency the Right Honourable Francis, earl of Moira, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, one of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy council, appointed by the Court of Directors of the said Honourable Company to direct and control all the affairs of in the East Indies, and by Sree Goorpp Gujraj Misser and Chunder Seekur Opedeea on the part of Maharajah Girmaun Jode Bikram Sah Bahauder Shumsheer Jung, in virtue of the powers to that effect vested in them by the said Rajah of Nipal, - 2nd December 1815.

Whereas war has arisen between the Honourable East India Company and the Rajah of Nipal, and whereas the parties are mutually disposed to restore the relations of peace and amity, which previously to the occurrence of the late difference, had long subsisted between the two states, the following terms of peace have been agreed upon.

Article 1

There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the Honourable East India Company and the Rajah of Nipal.

Article 2

The Rajah of Nipal renounces all claim to the land which were subject of discussion between the two States before the war; and acknowledge the right of the Honourable Company to the sovereignty of those lands.

Article 3

The Rajah of Nipal hereby cedes to the Honourable east India Company in perpetuity all the undermentioned territories, viz-

First – The whole of the low lands between the Rivers Kali and Rapti.

Secondly – The whole of the low lands (with the exception of Bootwul Khass) lying between the Rapti and the Ganduck.

Thirdly – The whole of the low lands between the Gunduck and Coosah, in which the authority of the British Government has been introduced or is in actual course of introduction.

Fourthly – All the low lands between the Rivers Mitchee and the Teestah.

Fifthly – All the territories within the hills eastward of the River Mitchee, including the fort and lands of Nagree and the Pass of Nagarcote, leading from Morung into the hills, together with the territory lying between the Pass and Nagree. The aforesaid territory shall be evacuated by the Goorkha troops within forty days from this date.

Article 4

With a view to indemnify the Chiefs and Barahdars of the State of Nipal, whose interests will suffer by the alienation of the lands ceded by the foregoing Article, the British Government agrees to settle pensions to the aggregate amount of two lakhs of rupees per annum on such chiefs as may be selected by the Rajah of Nipal, and in the proportions which the Rajah may fix. As soon as the selection is made, Sunnuds shall be granted under the Seal and signature of the Governor-General for the persons respectively.

Article – 5

The Rajah of Nipal renounces for himself, his heirs, and successors, all claims to or in connection with the countries lying to the west of the River Kali, and engages never to have any concern with those countries or the inhabitants thereof.

Article – 6

The Rajah of Nipal engages never to molest or disturb the rajah of Sikkim in the possession of his territories; but agrees, if any differences arise between the States of Nipal and the Rajah of Sikkim, or the subjects of either, that such differences shall be referred to the arbitration of the British Government, by whose award the Rajah of Nipal agrees to abide.

Article – 7

The Rajah of Nipal hereby engages never to take or retain in his service any British subject, or the subject of any European or American State without the consent of the British Government.

Article – 8

In order to secure and improve relations of amity and peace hereby established between the two States, it is agreed that accredited Ministers from each shall reside at the Court of the other.

Article – 9

This Treaty consisting of nine Articles, shall be ratified by the Rajah of Nipal within fifteen days from this date, and the ratification shall be delivered to Lieut-Colonel Bradshw, who engages to obtain and deliver to the Rajah the ratification of the Governor-General within twenty days, or sooner, if practicable.

Done at Segowlee, on the 2nd day of December 1815.

PARIS BRADSHAW, Lt.-Col., P.A.

Received this Treaty from Chunder Seekur Opedea, Agent on the part of the Rajah of Nipal, in the valley of Muckwaunpoor, at half-past two o'clock p.m. on the 4th of March 1816, and delivered to him the Counterpart Treaty on behalf of the British Government.

D.D.OCHTERLONY
Agent, Governor-General.

APPENDIX - II

THE TREATY OF TITALYA

10 FEBRUARY 1817

TREATY, COVENANT, or AGREEMENT entered into by CAPTAIN BARRE LATTER, AGENT on the part of HIS EXCELLENCY the RIGHT HONOURABLE the EARL of MOIRA, K.G., GOVERNOR-GENERAL, &c., &c., &c., &c., and by NAZIR CHAINA TENJIN and MACHA TEINBAH and LAMA DUCHIM LONGDOO, Deputies on the part of the RAJAH OF SIKKIMPOTTEE, being severally authorized and duly appointed for the above purposes, - 1817.

Article 1

The Honourable East India Company cedes, transfers and makes over in full sovereignty to the Sikkimputtee Rajah, his heirs or successors, all the hilly or mountainous country situated to the east ward of the Mechi River and to the westward of the Teesta River, formally possessed and occupied by the Rajah of Nepaul, but ceded to the Honourable East India Company by the Treaty of peace signed at Segoulee.

Article 2

The Sikkimputtee Rajah engages for himself and successors to abstain from any acts of aggression or hostility against the Goorkhas or any other State.

Article 3

That he will refer to the arbitration of the British Government any disputes or questions that may arise between his subjects and those of Nepaul, or nay other neighbouring State, and to abide by the decision of the British Government.

Article 4

He engages for himself and successors to join the British Troops with the whole of his Military Force when employed within the Hills, and in general to afford the British Troops every aid and facility in his power.

Article 5

That he will not permit any British subject, nor the subject of any European and American State, to reside within his dominions, without the permission of the English Government.

Article 6

That he will immediately seize and deliver up any dacoits or notorious offenders that may take refuge within his territories.

Article 7

That he will not afford protection to any defaulters of revenue or other delinquents when demanded by the British Government through their accredited Agents.

Article 8

That he will afford protection to merchants and traders from the Company's Provinces, and he engages that no duties shall be levied on the transit of merchandize beyond the established custom at the several golahs or marts.

Article 9

The Honourable East India Company guarantees the Sikkimputtee Rajah and his successors the full and peaceable possession of the tract of hilly country specified in the first Article of the present Agreement.

Article 10

This Treaty shall be ratified and exchanged by the Sikkimputtee Rajah within one month from the present date, and the counterpart, when confirmed by His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor-General, shall be transmitted to the Rajah.

Done at Titalya, this 10th day of February 1817, answering to the 9th of Phagoon 1873 Sumbut, and to the 30th of Maugh 1223 Bengalie.

BARRE LATTER
NAZIR CHAINA TINJIN
LAMA DUCHIM LONGADOO.

MOIRA.
N. B. EDMONSTONE
ARCHD. SETON.
GEO. DOWDESWELL.

Ratified by the Governor-General in Council, at Fort William, this fifteenth day of March, one thousand eight hundred and seventeen.

J. ADAM
Acting Chief Secy. to Govt.

APPENDIX - III

THE SUNNUD GRANTED TO THE CHOGYAL OF SIKKIM

DATED 7 APRIL 1817

The Honourable East India Company, in consideration of the services performed by the Hill tribes under the control of the Rajah of Sikkim, and of the attachment shown by him to the interest of the British Government grants to the Sikkimputtee Rajah, his heirs and successors, all that portion of low land situated eastward of the Meitchie River, and westward of Maha Nuddee, formally possessed by the Rajah of Napaul, but ceded to the Honourable East India Company by the Treaty of Segoulee, to be held by the Sikkimputtee Rajah as a feudatory, or as acknowledging the supremacy of the British Government over the said lands, subject to the following dominions :

The British Laws and Regulations will not be introduced into the territories in question, but the Sikkimputtee Rajah is authorized to make such laws and regulations for their internal government, as are suited to the habits and customs of the inhabitants, or that may be in force in his other dominions.

The Articles or provisions of the Treaty signed at Titalya on the 10th February 1817, and ratified by his Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council on the 15th March following, are to be in force with regard to the lands hereby assigned to the Sikkimputtee Rajah, as far as they are applicable to the circumstances of those lands.

It will be specially incumbent on the Sikkimputtee Rajah and his officers to surrender, on application from the officers of the Honourable Company, all persons charged with criminal offences, and all public defaulters who may take refuge in the lands now assigned to him, and to allow the police officers of the British

Government to pursue into those lands and apprehend all such persons.

In consideration of the distance of the Sikkimputtee Rajah's residence from the Company's Provinces, such orders as the Governor-General in Council may, upon any sudden emergency, find it necessary to transmit to the local authorities in the lands now assigned, for the security or protection of those lands, are to be immediately obeyed and carried into execution in the same manner as coming from the Sikkimputtee Rajah.

In order to prevent all disputes with regard to the boundaries of the low lands granted to the Sikkimputtee Rajah, they will be surveyed by a British Officer, and their boundaries accurately laid down and defined.

APPENDIX - IV

**THE DEED OF GRANT making over DARJEELING to the EAST
INDIA COMPANY**

DATED 29th Maugh, Sambat 1891

1st February 1835

English Translation

The Governor-General having expressed his desire for the possession of the Hill of Darjeeling, on account of its cool climate, for the purpose of enabling the servants of his Government, suffering from sickness, to avail themselves of its advantages, I, Sikkimputtee Rajah, out of friendship to the said Governor-Genral, hereby present Darjeeling to the East India Company, that is, all the land south of the Great Runjeet River, east of the Balasur, Kahail, and Little Runjeet Rivers, and west of the Rungno and Mahanuddi Rivers.

A. CAMPBELL,
*Superintendent of Darjeeling,
and in charge of Political relations with Sikkim.*

Seal of the Rajah
Prefixed to the document.

APPENDIX - V

INSPECTION REPORT ON THE DARJEELING MUNICIPALITY BY THE SANITARY COMMISSIONER FOR BENGAL

DURING my stay in Darjeeling I spent a good deal of time in carefully inspecting the sanitation of the place.

I may say at the outset that the Municipal Commissioners are fully alive to the importance of the sanitary well-being of the town, and on the whole are to be congratulated on the condition of the Municipality. Hill stations are always more difficult to keep clean than plain stations, and, speaking broadly, Darjeeling is a clean and well looked after township.

I do not propose to give a description of the very satisfactory features in the town, but rather to indicate briefly the lines on which improvement should be made in the future.

(1) The subject of the serious overcrowding of many of the buildings or busties in the bazaar has claimed the attention of several members of the Municipality. There can be no doubt as to the existence of the evil. Whilst out with the Chairman, we visited three or four tenement houses which were extremely overcrowded and which were a distinct danger to the health of the community.

I would recommend the vigorous use of paragraph 245 of the Municipal Act. on the recommendation of two medical officers any house that is a danger to the health of the community can be ordered to be demolished. The most convenient method of procedure is to cause a rough plan of the bustie to be made, marking all the houses that it is necessary to demolish, and showing the roads or passages that it is desired to open up. The houses to be demolished should be numbered the same as those on the map.

The map need not be an expensive plan or made to scale.

This matter is urgent, because if ever Plague made its appearance in these very overcrowded places, the disease would soon become quite unmanageable, and probably no amount of measures would prevent the disease from establishing itself.

(2) Conservancy matter, - Darjeeling is another town where imperfections and the incompleteness of the hand removal system of disposing of nightsoil are very apparent. I consider from a very careful examination of the town that practically no improvement in the conservancy arrangements beyond a very few details can possibly be expected without a change of method. It must not be imagined that I am finding fault. In the face of many difficulties, the conservancy staff do very fairly well, but as is always the case in this system, the weak link in the chain is the sweeper. The amount of labour that is required of these men is very great, they have to carry buckets of nightsoil down steep hill side at are a great expense to the commissioners, they get sick and occasionally go out on strike; any system which is based entirely on such a foundation is bad.

In order to lighten the work of the sweepers, there is a system of what is known as urine pipes to remove fluid from latrines and houses. This is a system of small iron pipes. It possesses all the disadvantages and dangers of a badly-laid sewage system without any of its advantages. The pipes block up (usually it is too true by the sweeper endeavouring to pour solid matter down them) they are neither trapped, ventilated or flushed. Even in the United Service Club urinal all the branch pipes lead straight into the main without a single trap. I believe the same applies to the men's urinal in the Amusement Club. Pipes laid in this way without a single precautionary measure, cannot fail to give rise to nuisance, if not to actual danger. I consider that these pipes should never have been laid at all, they are entirely wrong in principle and practice. They were, I understand, put down some time ago, so the Commissioners will not be losers when they are replaced by a more up-to-date

device. At any rate, I most strongly urge the Commissioners not to spend any more money on them.

To third and last serious objection to the existing arrangement is the ultimate disposal of the nightsoil at Bhatasia. Trenching in the proper and scientific way is out of the question on the hillsides. Pits are dug at great labour and the night-soil is placed therein and covered up, but the first heavy shower of rain washes the contents of the pit down the hill side.

Some 250 buckets of nightsoil arrive daily by train : these have to be carried sometimes hundreds of feet down the khud to the trenches, the buckets have to be washed in the jhora and then returned up to the siding. With all this labour (which must go on in all weathers), the ultimate disposal of the nightsoil is only one stage more efficient than if it was thrown on to the hill side.

The system that is mentioned above is a very expensive one. Something like Rs. 40,000 are spent in sweepers' wages, mules' food, etc., and the haulage charged by the Railway Company for the removal of rubbish and nightsoil is Rs. 900 per month. This is a very large proportion of the Municipal income to go in wages and up-keep of the conservancy staff.

What is the remedy for this ? I consider that a very great improvement in method and saving of money could be effected by laying down a very simple system of sewers in the most crowded parts of Darjeeling. By this I do not mean that a complicated system with a house connection to all houses in the station is either desirable or possible. But two branch sewers traversing through the main part of the town and joining together somewhere below the bazaar, and running on as one down the jhora, would tap a very large proportion of Darjeeling. On this system could be situated the large public latrines, and pail depots for depositing of nightsoil could be constructed at convenient places. The sewage should be

conducted down the khud and rendered fit to pass into the river by an installation of septic tank and a set of heap filers.

THE ADVANTAGES OF THIS SYSTEM COULD BE MANY :

(I) The public latrines, which if they are used by a large number of people must remain in a very unsatisfactory condition for many hours of the day, could all be connected up direct to the sewer, flushed and kept clean. In other words, we could convert the abominable latrine of the present day into a decent sort of water closet latrine. At each of these latrines a pail depot, or dumping chamber, could be provided for the nightsoil of the houses in the neighbourhood.

Thus such latrines as the one under Rockville Hotel and the one used by the United Service Club servants could be made really satisfactory in every way.

(II) The whole of the very objectionable system of urine pipes could be done away with.

(III) Large houses, such as Hotels and United Service Club, could have a private pail depot, or could have water closets if they cared to go to the expense.

(IV) There would be an enormous saving of manual labour. It would not be possible to do away with the sweeper altogether, a certain amount of removal from the housed to the depot would have to be done, but the total number of methers could be much reduced and the work would be done better.

(V) The system would be cheap in the end. I consider that with some such system about one-third to half of the expenses in wages and haulage to Batasia would be saved.

(VI) The sweepers themselves would appreciate the change and would be more contented.

(VII) The whole of the labour, expense and trouble of the trenching at Batasia could be done away with.

(VIII) It would be possible to have buckets and receptacles properly washed and cleaned before return.

Now I sincerely hope the commissioners will not look upon this proposal as counsel of perfection and altogether beyond their means. The initial cost of laying the pipes would of course be great, but I fell convinced that in, say, 7-10 years' time the saving effected would repay this amount. There can be no doubt that the present system is extremely imperfect and dangerous. Whilst I admit that everything is done to work the hand removal system as well as possible, it always is objectionable and is doubly difficult to make a success in a place like Darjeeling. The system has broken down in nearly every place in India over 20,000 population. Further I hope the Commissioners will not be frightened by the proposal to purify the sewage by the septic tank method. With the fall that is available this will be a simple and cheap method. It is only in places where the fall is limited, that a large amount of expensive masonry is necessary. A system such as the one suggested above is working very well in Simla now. Darjeeling possesses very many natural advantages, the chief of which is that it is not a very scattered place, a very fair proportion of the houses could be reached with comparatively short pipe line. Again I would ask the Commissioners not to pass over this proposal to amend the conservancy working as one that is quite beyond their means, but to request that their Engineer, Mr. Robertson, may be asked to go into the matter carefully and prepare an outline scheme of what is required, with a rough idea of cost. I shall always be most happy to give him any assistance possible in this matter.

CALCUTTA, W.W. CLEMESHA, M.D., D.P.H.,
The 20th October, 1905 Captain, I.M.S.,
Ofg. Sanitary Commissioner Bengal.

APPENDIX - VI

THE TREATY OF TUMLOONG

28 MARCH 1861

TREATY, COVENANT, or AGREEMENT entered into by the HONOURABLE ASHLEY EDEN, ENVOY and SPECIAL COMMISSIONER on the part of the BRITISH GOVERNMENT, in the virtue of full powers vested in him by the RIGHT HONOURABLE CHARLES, EARL CANNING, GOVERNOR-GENERAL in COUNCIL, and by HIS HIGHNESS SEKEONG KUZOO, MAHARAJAH or SIKKIM on his own part, - 1861.

Whereas the continued depredations and misconduct of the officers and subjects of the Maharajah or Sikkim, and the neglect of the Maharajah to afford satisfaction for the misdeeds of his people have resulted in an interruption, for many years past, of the harmony which previously existed between the British Government and the Government of Sikkim, and have led ultimately to the invasion and conquest of Sikkim by a British force; and whereas the Maharajah of Sikkim has now expressed his sincere regret for the misconduct of his servants and subjects, his determination to do all in his power to obviate future misunderstanding, and his desire to be again be admitted into friendship and alliance with the British Government, it is hereby agreed as follows : -

1

All previous Treaties made between the British Government and the Sikkim Government are hereby formally cancelled.

2

The whole of Sikkim Territory now in possession of British forces is restored to the Maharajah of Sikkim, and there shall be henceforth peace and amity between the two States.

The maharajah of Sikkim undertakes, as is within his power, to restore within one month from the date of signing this Treaty, all public property which was abandoned by the detachment of the British Troops at Rinchinpoong.

The indemnification of the expenses incurred in 1860 by the British Government in occupying a portion of the territory of Sikkim as a means of enforcing just claims which had been evaded by the Government of Sikkim, and as compensation to the British subjects who were pillaged and kidnapped by subjects of Sikkim, the sikkim Government agrees to pay the British authorities at Darjeeling the sum of 7,000 (seven thousand) Rupees in the following installments, that is to say : -

May 1 st 1861	1,000
Nov. 1 st 1861	3,000
May 1 st 1862	3,000

As security for the due payment of this amount, it is further agreed that, in the event of any of these installments not being paid on the date duly appointed, the Government of Sikkim shall make over to the British Government that portion of its territory bounded on the south by the River Rummam, on the east by the Great Runjeet River, on the north by a line from the Great Runjeet to the Singaleelah Range, including the monasteries of Tassiding, Pemonchi, and Changacheling, and on the west by the Singaleelah Mountain Range, and the British Government shall retain possession of this territory and collect the revenue thereof, until the full amount, with all expenses of occupation and collection, and interest at 6 per cent per annum, are realized.

The Government of Sikkim engages that its subjects shall never again commit depredations on British territory, or kidnap or

otherwise molest British subjects. In the event of any such depredation or kidnapping taking place, the Government of Sikkim undertakes to deliver up all persons engaged in such malpractice, as well as the Sirdars or other Chiefs conniving at or benefiting thereby.

6

The Government of Sikkim will at all times seize and deliver up any criminals, defaulters, or other delinquents who may have taken refuge within its territory, on demand being duly made in writing by the British Government through their accredited agents. Should any delay occur in complying with such demand, the Police of the British Government may follow the person whose surrender has been demanded into any part of the Sikkim territory, and shall, on showing a warrant, duly signed by the British Agent, receive every assistance and protection in the prosecution of their object from the Sikkim officers.

7

In as much as the late misunderstandings between the Governments have have been mainly fomented by the acts of the ex-Dewan Namguay, the Government of Sikkim engages that neither the said Namguay, nor any of his blood relations, shall ever again be allowed to set foot on Sikkim or to take part in the councils of, or hold office under, the Maharajah or any of the Maharajah's family at Choombi.

8

The Government of Sikkim from this day abolishes all restrictions on travelers and monopolies in trade between the British territories and Sikkim. There shall henceforth be free reciprocal intercourse, and full liberty of commerce between the subjects of both the countries; it shall be lawful for British subjects to go into any part of Sikkim for the purpose of travel or trade, and the subjects of all countries shall be permitted to reside in and pass through Sikkim, and to expose their goods for sale at any place and

in any manner that may best suit their purpose, without any interference whatever, except as in hereafter provided.

9

The Government of Sikkim engages to provide protection to all travelers, merchants, or traders of all countries, whether residing in, trading in or passing through Sikkim. If any merchant, traveler, or trader, being a European British subject, shall commit any offence country to the laws of Sikkim, such person shall be punished by the representative of the British Government resident at Darjeeling, and the Sikkim Government will at once deliver such offender over to the British authorities for this purpose, and will, on no account, detain such offender in Sikkim on any pretext or pretence whatever. All other British subjects residing in the country to be liable to the laws of Sikkim; but such persons shall, on no account, be punished with the loss of limb, or maiming, or torture, and every case or punishment of a British subject shall be at once reported to Darjeeling.

10

No duties or fees of any sort shall be demanded by the Sikkim Government of any persons on account of goods exported into the British territories from Sikkim, or imported into Sikkim from the British territories.

11

On all goods passing into or out of Thibet, Bhootan, or Nepaul, the Government of Sikkim may levy a duty of customs according to such a scale as may, from time to time, be determined and published, without reference to the destination of the goods, provided, however, that such duty shall, on no account, exceed 5 per cent on the value of goods at the time and place of levy of duty. On the payment of the duty aforesaid a pass shall be given exempting such goods from liability to further on any account whatever.

With the view to protect the Government of Sikkim from fraud on account of under valuation for assessment of duty, it is agreed that the custom officers shall have the option of taking over for the Government any goods at the value affixed on them by the owner.

In the event the British Government desiring to open out a road through Sikkim, with the view of encouraging trade, the Sikkim Government will raise no objection thereto, and will afford every protection and aid to the party engaged in the work. If the road is constructed, the Government of Sikkim undertakes to keep it in repair, and to erect and maintain suitable travellers' rest houses throughout its route.

If the British Government desires to make either a topographical or geological survey of Sikkim, the Sikkim Government will raise no objection to this being done, and will afford protection and assistance to the officers employed in this duty.

Inasmuch as many of the late misunderstandings have had their foundation in the custom which exists in Sikkim of dealing in slaves, the Government of Sikkim binds itself, from this date, to punish severely any person trafficking in human beings, or seizing person for the purpose of using them as slaves.

Henceforth the subjects of Sikkim may transport themselves without let or hindrance to any country to which they may wish to remove. In the same way the Government of Sikkim has authority to permit the subjects of other countries, not being criminals or defaulters, to take refuge in Sikkim.

The Government of Sikkim engages to abstain from any acts of aggression or hostility against any of the neighbouring States which are allies of the British Government. If any disputes or questions arise between the people of Sikkim and those of neighbouring States, such disputes or questions shall be referred to the arbitration of the British Government, and the Sikkim Government agrees to abide by the decision of the British Government.

The whole military force of Sikkim shall join and afford every kind of facility to British Troops when employed in the hills.

The Government of Sikkim will not cede or lease any portion of its territory to any other State without the permission of the British Government.

The Government of Sikkim engages that no armed force belonging to any other country shall pass through Sikkim without the sanction of the British Government.

Seven of the criminals, whose surrender was demanded by the British Government, having fled from Sikkim and taken refuge in Bhootan, the Government of Sikkim engages to do all in its power to obtain the delivery of those persons from the Bhootan Government, and in the event of any of these men returning to Sikkim, the Sikkim Government binds to seize them, and to make them over to the British Authorities at Darjeeling without delay.

With a view to establishment of an efficient Government in Sikkim, and to the better maintenance of friendly relations with the British Government, the Maharajah of Sikkim agrees to remove the seat of his Government from Tibet to Sikkim, and reside there for

nine months in a year. It is further agreed that a Vakeel shall be accredited by the Sikkim Government, who shall reside permanently at Darjeeling.

23

This Treaty, consisting of twenty-three Articles, being settled and concluded by the Honourable Ashley Eden, British Envoy, and His Highness Sekeong Kuzoo Sikkimputtee, Maharajah, at Tumloong, this 28th day of March 1861, corresponding with 17th Dao Neepoo 61, Mr. Eden has delivered to the Maharajah a copy of the same in English, with translation in Nagri and Bhootiah, under the seal and signature of the said Honourable Ashley Eden another copy also in English, with translation in Nagri and Bhootiah, bearing the seal of His Highness and the said Hon'ble Ashley Eden. The Envoy engages to procure the delivery to His Highness, within six weeks from this date, a copy of this Treaty duly ratified by His Treaty shall in the meantime be in full force.

SEKEONG KUZOO SIKKIMPUTTEE

ASHLEY EDEN,
Envoy.

CANNING.

Ratified by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India in Council at Calcutta on the sixteenth day of April 1861.

C. U. AITCHISON,

Under-Secy. To the Govt. of India

APPENDIX - VII

INDO-NEPAL

TREATY OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP

31 July 1950

The government of India and the Government of Nepal recognizing the ancient ties which have happily existed between the two countries for centuries :

Desiring still further to strengthen and develop these ties and to perpetuate peace between the two countries :

Have resolved therefore to enter into a treaty of Peace and Friendship with each other, and have, for this purpose, appointed as their plenipotentiaries the following persons, namely the Government of India, his Excellency Shri Chandreshwar Prasad Narain Singh, Ambassador of India in Nepal; The Government of Nepal, Mohan Sumshere Jung Bahadur Rana, Maharaja, Prime Minister and supreme Commander-in-Chief of Nepal, who having examined each other's credentials and found them good and in due form have agreed to as follows:

Article I

There shall be everlasting peace and friendship between the Government of India and the Government of Nepal. The two Governments agree mutually to acknowledge and respect the complete sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of each other.

Article II

The two Governments hereby undertake to inform each other of any serious friction or misunderstanding with any neighbouring State likely to cause any breach in the friendly relations subsisting between the two Governments.

Article III

In order to establish and maintain the relations referred to in Article I the two Governments agree to continue diplomatic relations with each other by means of representatives with such staff as is necessary for the due performance of their functions.

The representatives and such of these staff as may be agreed upon shall enjoy such diplomatic privileges and immunities as are customarily granted by international law of a reciprocal basis: provided that in no case shall these be less than those granted to persons of a similar status of any other State having diplomatic relations with either Government.

Article IV

The two Governments agree to appoint Consuls-General, Consuls, Vice-Consuls and other consular agents, who shall reside in towns, ports and other places in each other's territory as may be agreed to.

Consuls-General, Consuls, Vice-Consuls and consular agents shall be provided with exequaturs or authorization of their appointment. Such exequatur or authorization is liable to be withdrawn which issued to, if considered necessary. The reasons for the withdrawal shall be indicated wherever possible.

The persons mentioned above shall enjoy on a reciprocal basis all the rights, privileges, exemptions and immunities that are accorded to persons of corresponding status of any other state.

Article V

The Government shall be free to import, from or through the territory of India, arms, ammunitions or warlike material and equipment necessary for the security of Nepal. The procedure for giving effect to this arrangement shall be worked out by the two Governments acting in consultation.

Article VI

Each Government undertakes, in token of the neighbourly friendship between India and Nepal, to give to the nationals of the other, in its territory, national treatment with regard to participation in industrial and economic development of such territory and to the grant of concessions and contracts relating to such development.

Article VII

The Governments of India and Nepal agree to grant, on reciprocal basis, to the nationals of one country in the territories of the other the same privileges in matter of residence, ownership of property, participation in trade and commerce, movement and privileges of similar nature.

Article VIII

So far as matters dealt with herein are concerned, the treaty cancels all previous treaties, agreements, and engagements entered into on behalf of India between the British Government of Nepal.

Article IX

This Treaty shall come to force from the date of signature by both Governments.

Article X

The Treaty shall remain in force until it is terminated by either party by giving one year's notice.

Done in duplicate at Kathmandu this 31st day of July, 1950.

(Sd.)

CHANDRESHWAR
MOHUN SAMESHERE JANG
NARAIN BAHADUR RANA

(Sd.)

PRASAD SINGH

For the Government of India for the Government of Nepal.

APPENDIX - VIII

REPRESENTATIVES OF DARJEELING'S MEMORANDUM

The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

The humble memorial of the representatives
of the Darjeeling District.

Dated 8th November, 1917

Respectfully Sheweth,

That the undersigned Lepchas, Bhutias and Nepalese representing the opinion of the people of the Darjeeling District gratefully respond to the invitation issued by the Government to the people of India to make representations to be laid before the Secretary of State for India during his coming visit.

What prompts us to approach the Government is not any feeling of discontent or dissatisfaction with the present system of Government. On the contrary we are perfectly contented. We have hitherto abstained from all political agitation and we have treated the movement for Home Rule with neglect and even disfavour. But now that the British Government has definitely stated that Home Rule is the ultimate goal towards which it is desired that India should gradually proceed, we feel it our duty to safeguard the future position by presenting the Government with a statement of our views on one point which seems to us of vital importance.

At present the Darjeeling District is one of the many districts of the Bengal presidency with the center of Government in Calcutta. This intimate connection with the plains of Bengal, however, is but of comparatively recent origin and it only exists because of the common relationship of the lands under the same British rule. There is moreover no real affinity between the people of this Himalayan and Sub-Himalayan region and those of the plains of Bengal, and our plea is that it may now be established as a settled principle in any

arrangement for the realization of the Home Rule for the people of Bengal that this district should be excluded from them and that the evolution of our political life should be towards a district local government of our own on such lines as may be approved by the British Government.

We live in an absolutely different world from the rest of the people of Bengal. Geographically no greater contrast is possible than that between the mountainous Darjeeling District and the plains of Bengal. Racially there is an equal dissimilarity for the great mass of the population is Mongolian and akin to the peoples beyond the Himalayas rather than to those of India. Historically we have until recent years lived a life entirely apart. The Darjeeling district except the Kalimpong Sub-division and the Dooars were Bhutanese till about fifty year ago and the Nepalese have immigrated from Nepal in recent years. Religiously we are, as regards the Lepchas and the races of Tibetan origin as well as a number of Nepalese castes, quite distinct from the people of the plains and even the religious customs of the Nepalese who are classed as Hindus vary largely from those of the Hindus of Bengal. Linguistically we have no alliance with the rest of Bengal. Even the lingua franca of our courts and school is Hindi and not Bengali, while the great mass of the workers on the tea gardens of the Dooars and the Terai are immigrants from Bihar and Orissa and Nepal which fact in addition to the geographical and historical arguments makes in natural and fitting that the Tea District of the Dooars should be linked up with the Darjeeling District rather than with Bengal.

A further argument in favour of a separate Eastern Himalayan unit of Government is based on health considerations. The plans are entirely unsuited to hill people who are unwilling to go to the plains to live. This makes it essential for the future welfare of the district that it should be as far as possible self-contained. In the matter of Education, to give one important illustration, we look forward to

having our own colleges and other institutions for professional training. At present those are in the plains and this has acted as a great barrier to the higher education of our peoples. But although higher education is backward, primary education is more general than in any other district of Bengal and we have therefore to had the true basis for a natural and satisfactory educational advance.

Our humble petition there fore, is that in laying down plans for the future, the Government should aim at the creation of a separate unit comprising the present Darjeeling District with the portion of Jalpaiguri District which was annexed from Bhutan in 1865.

The creation of this separate unit may be objected to on the ground that it would be very small as compared with other probable unit of the Government of India. The population of Darjeeling District is now only 300,000 while that of Jalpaiguri is larger. But fifty years ago the population was not a fifth of what it is now and the phenomenal increase is likely to be maintained as the district is capable of large development. The possibilities through the use of hydro-electric power alone are immense. Moreover the District has an importance disproportionate to its area in that it is a vital frontier district. Our people are the natural guardians of the frontier and we would welcome the privilege of keeping ourselves ever ready to fulfill this function. A small but a significant incident, illustrative (in this connection) of the drawback from our relations with the organizations situated to the plains, is found in the recent call for recruits for Indian Defence. Very few felt able to respond because large period of training were to be undertaken in the plains. Had it been possible to arrange for training at centers in the Hills, we are convinced that volunteers in large numbers would have been forthcoming and we are confident that, if the Government wished it, practically all the able bodied men of our hill communities could be enlisted in a Force to defend the Frontier.

It is possible, indeed, that the Government consider it wise to still create a North Eastern Frontier Province to include in addition to this District the Assam Dooars and the hill territories which lie to the east of Bhutan and whose peoples have affinities with our people.

We shall be grateful if the Government of Bengal will give us the privilege of sending a deputation of our members to present these views personally to the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India during his coming visit.

1. Sd. S. W. Ladenla
2. Sd. Khadga Bahadur Chhetri
3. Sd. Dr. Yensing Sitling
4. Sd. Prem Singh Kumai
5. Sd. Meghbir singh
6. Sd. Lachman Singh
7. Sd. Nar Prasad Kumai
8. Sd. Deonidhi Upadhaya & Others

APPENDIX - IX
MEMORIAL OF THE GURKHAS
SETTLED AND DOMICILED IN INDIA

The Right Honourable Sir Samuel Hoare, P.C., G. B. E., C. M. G.
Secretary of State for India, London

The humble Memorial of Gurkhas the settled and domiciled in British India.

Most Respectfully Sheweth :-

1. That the Gurkhas domiciled in British India consisting of Military pensioners, Government Servants, Traders, Farmers, and plantation labourers are about 3 million, most of whom are settled at Darjeeling (in Bengal), Shillong (in Assam), Dehra Dun (in United Provinces) and in Burma and the rest are scattered all over British India.
2. That the Gurkhas although in the minority in the Provinces of British India are not a negligible element and in view of their services to the Government in Military, Civil and other departments of the Government they (Gurkhas) have played no mean part in the preservation of the solidarity of the British Empire.
3. That the Gurkhas although domiciled in British India still cherish the customs and traditions of their ancestors and are quite a distinctive social unit and are jealously preserving up till now their own social solidarity in spite of the fact that they are in such a minority in British India.
4. That with the advent of the new constitution, which is being framed, the Gurkhas are apprehensive that their claims may be ignored and that eventually they may have to be merged with the rest of India, for causes beyond their control.
5. That so far the Gurkhas have been able to evolve on their own lines of civilization under protection of the British Government, but unless some special reservations are made for the Gurkhas

in the new constitution it would be extremely difficult for them to preserve their social solidarity with the consequent loss to the British Government for once the Gurkhas are forced by circumstances beyond their control to make a common cause with the Indian the British will undoubtedly lose one of their best supporters and comrades in arms.

6. That it is with a view to avoid this contingency something must be done for the preservation of the social solidarity of the Gurkhas under the new constitution and an attempt was made in 1917 by the Hillmen's Association of Darjeeling to do this. They suggested to Mr. Montagu, the then Secretary of State for India, that a North-Eastern Frontier Province should be created consisting of the district of Darjeeling, the Duars and some parts of Assam, where the Gurkhas predominate, and it was then strongly urged that this would be an additional protection to British India from the military point of view as they commanded all the passes in the Himalayas from the eastern border of Nepal to Burma. But somehow the proposal did not materialize and the district of Darjeeling only was excluded from the operation of the Reforms.
7. That another proposal was then subsequently submitted by the Gurkhas League at Dehra-Dun suggesting various matters of importance for the Gurkhas, but so far nothing has been done.
8. That as the new constitution for India is under consideration of the Parliament of Gurkhas think it opportune to place again their views and to start with, they suggest that the district of Darjeeling, where the Gurkha population predominates, should be excluded from Bengal and be treated as an independent administrative unit with the Deputy Commissioner as the Administrator vested with much more

powers than that of a District Magistrate, assisted by a small Executive Council (like the Provincial Governor's Executive Council), representative of all interests, in the administration of the Area. The judiciary, the Police and all other departments of the Government should also be under him so that they (departments of Government) may be independent of the control of the Provincial Government, but should be directly under the Imperial Government. In the Judiciary the Deputy Commissioner as administrator of the Area should be vested with the powers of a District and Sessions Judge. The sub-Divisional Officers should combine the functions of a District Magistrate and that of a Sub-Divisional Magistrate as far as practicable. All appeals from the decision of the Deputy Commissioner should be to the Hon'ble High Court at Fort William in Calcutta. The Services too for this Area should be independent of the Province of Bengal and separate from it and should be recruited from the local people. Of course, there may be occasions when the services from the Bengal Provincial Services may have to be borrowed but this should be under special circumstances and for a short period.

The financial aspect of this scheme presents some difficulties and on careful analysis it will be found that the expenditure under P. W. D. especially under roads and bridges will present some difficulties as the revenue from the Area may not be adequate to meet it. In this connection it may be respectfully suggested that the Imperial Government is maintaining the frontier roads and bridges in Sikkim, which is outside British India, for Military purposes, and the roads at Darjeeling are in continuation of these roads in Sikkim and for the same consideration (from Military point) they should be a charge on the Imperial budget.

This administrative unit of Darjeeling should be placed directly under the Government of India, the Governor of Bengal acting as the Agent for the Governor-General as in the case of Excluded Areas recommended by the Simon Commission. Darjeeling should continue to be the Summer Seat of the Governor of Bengal as in the case of Simla for the Governor of Punjab and the United Provinces. This is a rough outline only and details can be easily worked out. Darjeeling should also get a seat in the Imperial Legislatures whether Federal or otherwise - as recommended for Excluded Areas by the Simon Commission.

9. All Legislation passed by the Central Legislation should not be applicable to the Area without the same being certificate by the Administrator and the Council that it should be extended to Darjeeling.
10. That for the rest of British India where there are appreciable number of Gurkha population they should have special representation (as provided for minority communities) in the respective Provinces where they are. These are the minimum requirements for the preservation of the Gurkha as a nation within British India and the Gurkhas most emphatically urge that in view of their past services and sacrifice for the Empire this request should be granted by Parliament and thus earn the eternal gratitude of the Comrade in Arm.

25th October 1930

H. P. PRADHAN (RAI SAHIB)
President
Hillmen's Association, Kalimpong.
LT. GOBARDHAN GURUNG,
President
Gurkha Officers', Kalimpong.
P. M. SUNDAR,
Secretary,
Kurseong Gurkha Library
N. B. GURUNG
Secretary,
Hillmen's Association, Kalimpong
P. P. PRADHAN,
Secretary,
Hillmen's Association, Darjeeling

APPENDIX - X

THE MEMORIAL OF THE HILLMEN'S ASSOCIATION OF THE DISTRICT OF DARJEELING IN THE PROVINCE OF BENGAL

The Right Honourable Sir Samuel Hoare, P.C., G. B. E., C.M.G.
Secretary of State for India, London.

The Right Honourable Sir John Anaderson P.C., G.B.E., G.C.I.E.
Governor of Bengal.

The Humble Memorial of the Hillmen's Association of the District of
Darjeeling in the Province of Bengal.

Most Respectfully Sheweth,

1. That your memorialists represent the hill people of the district of Darjeeling in the Province of Bengal consisting of the Gurkhas, Bhutias and the Lepchas, who form the majority of the population of the District and are its original inhabitants.
2. That during the latter part of the nineteenth century this district was carved out by annexations from the neighbouring States of Sikkim and Bhutan and since the advent of British rule in the district the hill people have enjoyed the sweet harvest of peace and prosperity.
3. That owing to the close affinity of the people of this district to the neighbouring independent States of Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim the hill people of this district still cherish the same traditions and are guided by the same social and religious practices as they prevail in the home of their origin.
4. That it was for this reason and being a frontier district it has hitherto remained as an Excluded Area directly under the Governor of Bengal and no legislation passed by the Indian Legislatures - Central or Provincial - is applicable to this district unless certified by the Governor of Bengal. That this district has always enjoyed the privilege of a fostering care of

the British Crown whose representative in the Province is its Governor. As a result so far all the culturable land, excepting the tea garden areas, has remained an exclusive reserve for the hill people, who have also enjoyed preferential treatment in the Government services as well in the district to a great extent and the hill people by their unquestionable loyalty and devotion to the British Crown have amply justified that trust reposed on them.

5. That your memorialists beg to draw your attention to the memorial dated the 25th October 1930 in which your memorialists urged that in the Reform Scheme it should be with proper safeguards for the protection of the interests of the hill people, and in submitting this memorial again your memorialists beg to emphasize the same and respectfully urge that the matter may not be overlooked especially when there was no one at the Round Table Conference and the subsequent Select Committees in London to voice the cause of this little band of loyal and devoted people living in the mountain fastness on the spurs of the Himalayas.
6. That all minority communities have received due consideration of their respective claims and they are perhaps finding their due place in the Statue Book but your memorialists are not aware if the same consideration has also been extended to the hill people who, although in the majority in the district, are a small minority in the Province and your memorialists pray that the privileges and reservations made for the minority communities in the constitution should also be extended to the hill people in the Province of Bengal.
7. That with a view to safeguard the interest of the hill people of the district and mainly for the purpose of maintaining status quo in the Revenue administration (Land Revenue) of the

district and specially in view of the fact that a representative from the hill people at the Provincial and Central Legislatures will be in a hopeless minority it is very essential that no legislative enactments passed by any of such Legislatures be applicable to this district without being certified by the Governor of the Province and this wholesome provision in the Statute Book should not be disturbed.

8. That your memorialists have reasons to fear that adequate funds for carrying out the administration in the district may not be voted by the new Legislatures and the local services in the hills may also be swamped by the people from the plains for want of adequate representation of the hill people in Legislatures and administration in the district may therefore suffer. Being a frontier district it requires special treatment and for political reasons your memorialists urge that the Governor of the Province should have adequate educational facilities, for reserving Government contract and Excise settlement for hill people and in the appointments in the hills. Adequate provision may therefore be kindly made in the Statute Book regarding this matter also. These are in brief the minimum safeguards your memorialists think absolutely necessary for the protection of the interests of the hill people.
9. in the event of the permanent Safeguards not being granted, your memorialists emphatically urge that the District of Darjeeling should be totally excluded from Bengal by creation of an independent Administrative Unit with an Administrator at the head of the Area assisted by an Executive Council, representative of all interests in the Area and the Area should be placed directly under the Central Government, the Governor of Bengal acting as Agent to the Governor -General. No legislation passed by the Central Government should apply to the Area unless certified by the Administrator in consultation

with his Executive Council. As the financial aspect of the proposal, the Area not being self-supporting, your memorialists submit that in view of the Military importance of the area the communications in the area should be an imperial charge for the same reason as the Central Government is maintaining the Highway Road to Tibet in Sikkim, which is outside India. The Communications in this area are actually an integral part of the Highway to Sikkim and Tibet and as such should be an Imperial Charge. The services of the Area in all its Administrative Departments such as Executive, Judiciary, Police, Forests, Education etc., should also be locally recruited and should be independent of the Bengal Provincial Service. This is however an outline : the details will be worked out when required. The town of Darjeeling may still continue as the Summer Capital of Bengal as in the case of the Punjab Government who have their Summer Capital at Simla. Delhi is another instance of a small Administrative unit in British India.

10. Your memorialists therefore humbly and respectfully pray that adequate provisions be made in the Statue Book for the protection of the interests of the hill people by way of safeguards suggested in this memorial or in the alternative the prayer in para 9 above. And for which act of kindness your memorialists ever pray.

SONAM WHNGEL LADENLA
President,
Hillmen's Association, Darjeeling

GOBARDAN GURUNG
Vice-President
Hillmen's Association, Darjeeling.

MADAN THAPA
Hillmen's Association, Darjeeling.

Darjeeling
The 6th August, 1934.

APPENDIX - XI

MEMORIAL OF THE DARJEELING DISTRICT COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA FOR A FREE GORKHASTAN SUBMITTED TO THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ON 6TH APRIL 1947

In the opinion of the Communist Party of India, the District of Darjeeling belongs to the Gorkhas and it is their homeland. Further it is the considered opinion of the communist Party of India that the Gorkhas living in Darjeeling District, the adjoining state of Sikkim and the so-called independent state of Nepali where their number is 3 lakhs, 1 lakh and 60 lakhs respectively, constitute a distinct nationality having a common language, a common culture and common historical tradition that date back to the days of Buddha and Ashoka. These three areas are contiguous to each other and here the Gorkhas on the whole, constitute the overwhelming majority nearly 85% of the total. It is the British who have, since the conquest of India as a whole forcibly divided the Gorkhas, disrupting their growth and checked their national development in their own imperialist interests. Besides their homeland as enumerated herein the Gorkhas live as an interspersed minority all over India, in Assam Punjab, the United Provinces etc. thus they are important minority whose legitimate interests must be safeguarded in the new constitution of India. So, any decision that is taken in regard to the future of the district of Darjeeling must be done in consultation with the trusted representatives of the Gorkha people to whom the district legitimately belongs.

It is the opinion of the Communist Part of India that the only way to further the national development of the Gorkha people is by granting them the right of self determination on the basis of complete democracy which means that British imperialism and all its

satellites, the medieval feudal regimes of the native states of Sikkim and the so called independent state of Nepal, must be ended.

The Communist Party of India, therefore, demands that after making necessary revisions of the existing boundaries, the three contiguous areas of Darjeeling district, Southern Sikkim and Nepal be formed into one single zone called "GORKHASTAN". On the basis of Adult Suffrage a Plebiscite may be held in all these areas on this issue and if the overwhelming majority of the Gorkha population living in these areas decide to reunite with each other in single unit, it must be accepted. The other hill tribes and minorities belonging to other nationalities permanently residing in this zone shall have their rights and all legitimate interests. Safeguarded by the constitution of the newly formed union. But this plan of the reunion of the Gorkhas living in Darjeeling district, Sikkim and Nepal can materialize only in the really free India when she has done away with the last vestiges of the British imperialism and its satellites. The medieval feudal regimes of Nepal and Sikkim. Thus it depends in the politico-national development of the Gorkha people as a whole so in the interim period i.e. until "GORKAHSTAN" is formed adequate safeguards must be provided for the Gorkhas living in British India. The Communist Party of India recognizes the limitations of the present Constituent Assembly and the British imperialist maneuvers to sabotage the emergence of an agreed constitution. However,

The Communist Party of India vehemently opposes the sinister British imperialist plan of excluding the district of Darjeeling from the rest of India and its constitution into a separate Chief Commissioner's Province as has been put forward by the Hillmen's Association in its memorial to Lord Pethick Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, in December 1941. This association represents none but the local agents of the British imperialism. The Communist Party of India is also opposed to any such plan that might be put forward by the local agents of British imperialism in a modified form. It has

reasons to apprehend that the British imperialists are hatching a plot to place the district of Darjeeling with other tribal peoples of Assam and Dooars in an altogether new Province to be called the North-Eastern Himalayan Hill Province.

The Communist Party of India demands that an immediate end must be made of the present status of the district of Darjeeling described in the Government of India Act 1935, as a "partially excluded area" and with it all the special powers of the bureaucracy as a preliminary step to further the political, economic and cultural conditions of the Gorkhas and other hill tribes living in this district.

1. Principle of Franchise :

The principle of ADULT SUFFRAGE must be introduced so that all persons who have been deprived of their right of franchise, but who are eligible for the same, might be enfranchised. In the last General Elections only about 27 thousand had the right to vote i.e. little over 7% of the population. Of these, 25 thousand were in Darjeeling Rural Constituency and 2100 in the Darjeeling Sadar Tea Garden (Labour) Constituency. There are 105 Tea Gardens with a total population of over 21 lakhs and out of these 89 gardens are with complete Gorkha population and in the rest 16 also they live and work although they are in minority there. In the last election only 12 of these gardens inside the Darjeeling Sadar Sub-Division were grouped together to form the Tea Garden Labour Constituency.

If the principle of ADULT SUFFRAGE is introduced at least 60 thousands in the rural area and one lakh in the tea gardens will have the right of vote.

2. Proportional Representation :

Under the present constitution there is no provision for the representation of the three lakhs Gorkhas of Darjeeling District in the Provincial Legislature although on the basis of proportion and

even under the present constitution, they claim two seats in a house of 250 members. In a vast country like, India where the problem of minorities has become the problem of problems, the most democratic form of representation is undoubtedly Proportional Representation. The Communist Party of India demands that the principle of Proportional representation must be introduced so that the smallest minorities like the Gorkhas does not go unrepresented.

3. Special Representation & grouping of constituencies :

In view of the extreme backwardness of the Gorkhas and other Hill Tribes living in the District of Darjeeling and with a view to speedily bring them in line with other advanced peoples of India, they must get special representation and the constituencies formed in the following manner:

- (a) Tea Garden Labour : We have seen above that there are 50 tea gardens in the district with a population of over two lakhs of which one lakh are eligible for vote if ADULT SUFFRAGE is introduced. There are 105 Tea Gardens should be grouped in six constituencies of 16 - 17 gardens with 6,250 votes in each so that we get six tea garden labour constituencies and accordingly 6 seats must be reserved for them in the Provincial Legislature.
- (b) Rural Area : Under the present system the whole of the district of Darjeeling is grouped into one single constituency from the Bhutan border in the east to the Nepal border in the west. On the basis of Adult Suffrage there will be over 60,000 voters and they can easily be grouped into two constituencies, Darjeeling and Kurseong sub-Division into one and Kalimpong sub-Division into another. Accordingly in the Provincial Legislature two seats must be reserved for the representation of the rural areas of the district of Darjeeling.

(c) Railway Labour : The number of workers in the Darjeeling Himalayan Railway is 7 thousands and majority of them are Gorkhas who have no right to vote at the present. They cannot be unrepresented in the coming elections in the future. They can easily be grouped into one constituency to be called the Himalayan Railway Labour Constituency and one seat must be reserved for them in the Provincial Legislature.

The rights of the Gorkhas and persons belonging to the resident hill tribes alone to stand as candidates to stand as candidates for elections must be recognized and none but the Gorkhas and resident hillmen shall have the right to stand as candidates for elections. The reasons for this are obvious.

4. Committee of Representatives :

A committee with above nine representatives, to be called the Committee of Representatives, shall be formed to render advice to the Legislature on no Bill in regard to the following subjects shall be passed into Law :

(a) Agriculture (with naturally include agricultural lands), (b) Industries, (c) Tea Industry (which must be completely nationalized), (d) Education and (e) Public Health and Local Self Government. The Committee shall have the right to initiate Bills on the subjects enumerated herein provide the majority of the members of the Committee agree to the same.

The Committee shall elect a Chairman who shall co-ordinate the administration of the district with that of the Province as a whole and shall also be responsible to the people as well as the Provincial Legislature for the administration of the district.

(a) Schools and Colleges : With the view to ameliorating the backward cultural conditions of the Gorkhas and other hill tribes the Communist Party of India demands that more

schools, colleges and one technical institution must be at once opened in the district of Darjeeling.

(b) Grant of Scholarships : The backward hill students do not get any opportunity to develop their intellectual faculties for reasons of their extreme poverty and no provisions have been made so far for their education outside this district and abroad nor any special grant has been made in the Provincial Budget in this respect. The Communist Party of India demands that special scholarships must be granted to deserving students for their education outside the district and abroad and the same shall be arranged through the Committee of Representatives.

(c) Use of Nepali Language and other local Vernacular as medium of instruction in Schools, Colleges and other Public Institutions : Nepali Language must replace English and other languages as medium of instruction in schools and colleges as Nepali, the language of the Gorkhas, is the common language in this district. Local vernaculars such as Tibetan should also be used as medium of instruction in the case of Tibetan students.

NEPALI must also replace English and other languages in the Court, Government Officers and other Public Institutions.

(d) Right to start Newspapers, Periodicals Magazines etc : There cannot be any cultural development of the Gorkhas and other hill tribes if there are no newspapers in the Nepali language to mould public opinion. At present there is only one fortnightly journal called the "Gorkha", the organ of the All-India Gorkha League, coming out of this district. Full facilities must be granted to the Gorkhas and other hill tribes to start daily, weekly and other newspapers in Nepali

and other local Vernaculars and Government must give encouragement in this respect. Existing Press Laws must be rescinded or amended to facilitate the development of newspapers in this district.

PROBLEMS OF THE GORKHAS LIVING IN THE OTHER PARTS OF INDIA

It has already been pointed out that the problem of the Gorkhas is not confined to the district of Darjeeling alone. They live in other parts of India as well, such as Assam, United Province and Punjab in substantial numbers. The Communist Party of India reminds the honourable members of the constituent Assembly that their question cannot be shelved and it must be solved in order to effectively solve the general problem of minorities in India. If the principles of ADULT SUFFRAGE and PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION is introduced in the country as a whole, the Gorkhas living in Assam, U.P. Punjab etc., can get representation in the Legislature of the province concerned. The Communist Party of India thinks that the Constituent Assembly can make provisions for their representation so said herein.

If the Gorkhas of Darjeeling district are backward no less but more backward are their brothers, living in other parts of India. The Communist Party of India demands that the Constituent Assembly provisions in the constitution to include all the cultural safeguards in Para (ii) herein above with necessary modifications to suit the conditions of the localities concerned.

The Communist Party of India demands the above safeguards not in a separatist spirit or to encourage separatist tendencies but with a view to rapidly bring the Gorkhas and other backward hill people in line with the advanced people of India so that the dreams of a free and happy India where the general prosperity of all is ensured might be realized in practice. It will be not only surprising but a

supreme tragedy if the main political organization of the country continue the British Imperialist legacy of keeping the Gorkhas and other hill peoples in backwardness and ignorance in a new India of their vision. If they give the Gorkhas encouragement and support in their fight for democracy, self determination and a creation of a single union out of the feudal states of Nepal and Sikkim and the British administered district of Darjeeling as laid down herein above, the Communist Party of India feels sure that the Gorkhas will not only join the All-India Union but will become the best defenders of the common freedom of the peoples of India as a whole. Their superb fighting quality is universally known and if given proper facilities and opportunities for development they will become a cause for India and fear for the enemies of India's freedom. To minimize their importance, to ignore their problems and to spurn their legitimate demand is to play into the hands of India's enemies and their age-long game of Divide and Rule.

The Communist Party of India, therefore, places this memorandum before the Constituent Assembly and the country's main political organization through the Sub-Committee of the Advisory Committee on minorities that has been sent here for gathering reports on the excluded and partially excluded areas. And it hopes that it will receive their due attention and serious consideration.

Sd/- Ratanlal Brahmin M.L.A.
Sd/- G.L. Subba
For DARJEELING DISTRICT COMMITTEE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

Submitted on the 6th April, 1947

Copy to : (1) Pandit Jawaharlall Nehru,
Vice-President of Interim Government.
(2) Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan,
Finance Member, Interim Government
Leader of the Muslim League Assembly Party.

Memorandum on the PROBLEMS OF DARJEELING DISTRICT and Neighbouring Areas and Suggestions for their Solution submitted by the ALL INDIA GORKHA LEAGUE.

To,
The Hon'ble Sree Jawaharlal Nehru
Prime Minister of India

Camp : Kalimpong

1. This memorandum summarises the demands made at different times during the last 45 years, firstly by the local organization of the Hill people including Hillmen's Association of which the Lepchas and the Bhutias were enthusiastic supporters, and, in the recent years, by the All India Gorkha League.

HISTORY OF THE DEMANDS

2. (a) As long ago as 1907 before the Morely-Minto Reforms, the leaders of the Hill people of Darjeeling submitted a memorial to the British Government demanding a separate administrative set-up for the District of Darjeeling.

(b) In 1917, a deputation of Hillmen of the district waited on Mr. Montagu, the then Secretary of State for India, and Lord Chelmsford, the then Viceroy, and pressed the demand that in laying down plans for the future, the Government should aim at the creation of a separate unit comprising the present Darjeeling district with the portion of Jalpaiguri district which was annexed from Bhutan in 1865. The possibility of the creation of a still wider North Eastern Frontier Province to include, in addition to this, the Assam Dooars and the Hill territories which lie to the east of Bhutan, whose people have affinity with the Hill people of Darjeeling, was strongly emphasized by the deputation as not

being beyond the scope of practical politics and urged for its explorations.

(c) This demand was reiterated when Simon Commission visited India in 1929.

(d) Before the Govt. of India Act of 1935 was passed on 6th August, 1934, the Hillmen's Association of Darjeeling submitted under the signature of Late Sardar Bahadur S.W. Ladenla, its President, a Memorial to Sir Samuel Hoare, the then Secretary of State for India, demanding ... "that the District of Darjeeling should be totally excluded from Bengal and an independent administrative unit created with an administrator at the head of the area, assisted by the Executive in Council." Memorials making a demand for the same nature were submitted at that time and later on too by Rai Saheb Hari Prasad Pradhan on behalf of the people of the District of Darjeeling.

(e) During the years of the Second Great war when Mr. G.R. Casey was the Governor of Bengal, a Memorial was submitted through the Governor of Bengal and the Viceroy of India, Lord Pethick Lawrence, the then Secretary of State for India, by Sri R. N. Sinha, the then President of the Hillmen's Association, and other prominent members of different communities in which they urged the Government to exclude Darjeeling from the province of Bengal and to create it a separate administrative unit under a Chief Commissioner.

(f) The All India Gorkha League which was organized in 1943 took what it considered to be a more statesman-like view and demanded the district of Darjeeling together with the Dooars section of Jalpaiguri be included in the Province of Assam. This demand was made through Memorials submitted to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar B. Patel, the Congress High Command,

the Cabinet Mission and the Constituent Assembly through the Sub-Committee, Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas.

(g) In a Memorandum submitted at Gangtok to the Hon'ble Dr.B.V. Keskar, Deputy Foreign Minister, the All India Gorkhas League suggested, as an Alternative to their demand for the exclusion of Darjeeling and Dooars in Assam, the creation of a separate province comprising of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri and the States of Sikkim and Cooch Behar, which would form a viable unit within the Indian Union.

(h) On the 30th October 1949, leaders of different parties from Cooch Behar, Jalpaiguri, Sikkim and Darjeeling met in a Conference at Darjeeling and resolved to demand the creation of a Separate Province comprising of the above areas, and a Committee called Uttara Khand Pradesh Sangh was formed to place the demand before proper authorities. A Memorandum to that effect was submitted to the late Sardar B. Patel, the then Deputy Prime Minister for Home, Information, Broadcasting & States.

It may be made clear here, once again, that the demand for the creation of a New Province has not been motivated by any desire of separatism, nor by the idea of dominance by the Hill people in the Province: for I the proposed Province, out of the total of twenty lakhs of population, the Hill people would number only about five lakhs. All that the Hill people wants is fair voice and share in the administration of the state proposed by them. The Hill people have always been loyal to India and have served her faithfully. They are prepared to lay down their lives as they have done in past for the defence of India. They feel that, with the demands satisfied, they can contribute more fully to the better governance of this region and maintenance of peace in the border area.

THE DEMAND

3. In the demand made by the different bodies of Darjeeling at different times during the last 45 years, one fact stands out clearly, that the Hill people of the district of Darjeeling have never been willing to remain in Bengal. Two generations of the Hill people have in clear terms expressed their will to breakaway from Bengal. Various solutions have been suggested, namely –

- (i) That the district be a Separate Administrative Unit directly administrated by the Centre.
- (ii) That a Separate Province be set up comprising the district of Darjeeling and the neighbouring areas.
- (iii) That the district of Darjeeling with a section of Jalpaiguri viz., the Dooars be included in Assam.

Incidentally some other All India Political Parties have directed their attention to this demand of separation of the district of Darjeeling from Bengal and have advanced proposals of similar nature.

REASONS IN BRIEF

4. The reasons which impelled the people of this district to demand a break-away from West Bengal have been set forth in all the Memorandums above referred to submitted by them from time to time, especially in the last memorandum submitted to the Hon'ble Prime Minister of India and to the Late Sardar B. Patel by and on behalf of the Uttara Khand Sangh, the reason being recapitulated herein below were also submitted to which we respectfully draw Your Excellency's judicious attention.

- (i) Historically speaking, the district never formed a part of Bengal and no king who ruled the plains of Bengal ever had any suzerainty over these areas. It was the fiat of the British Imperialism, which embodied it in Bengal,

the large administrative unit comprising of the whole of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and part of U.P.

- (ii) Ethnologically speaking, the Mongoloid and semi-Mongoloid races inhabiting the district of Darjeeling and greater part of Jalpaiguri have more affinity with the Hill tribes of Assam than with the people in the plains of Bengal.
- (iii) Geographically the district of Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Cooch Behar are completely cutoff from the main body of West Bengal creating inconvenience in matters of large transport and other overland communications which in times of crisis may create serious delays and difficulties.
- (iv) Linguistically, the people residing in the areas in question have greater affinity with Hindi, the Lingua Franca of India, than with the state language and the average student find themselves burdened with too many languages in the curriculum of study.
- (v) As regards matters concerning the administrative inconvenience in the region in question, so long as it forms the part of West Bengal, the strategic importance, the potential wealth and viability of the new Province if created, they are lucidly summarized in the memorandum submitted to Your Excellency by the Uttara Khand Prades Sangh.

5. The demand for separation of Darjeeling District from the Province of Bengal (now the state of West Bengal) has been the main memorialists have suggested three different solutions (above referred) but the authorities that be have not suggested any alternative solutions to meet the demand. Time and again the demand was shelved in the office files but the demand has persisted all along with added sense of injury and neglect. Even

after the attainment of Independence there has been no gesture just and generous and a few instances would substantiate our statement.

- (i) Within a few weeks of the attainment of Independence in September 1947 the Ministry of Dr. P.C. Ghosh abolished the system of nomination of members of District Board and Municipalities throughout West Bengal save and except in the district of Darjeeling. Various representations were made and in a conference with Dr. B.C. Roy, Chief Minister of West Bengal, on 20th Nov. 1948 this question was again raised and in spite of the assurance for the abolition no action has been taken and the system of nomination persists ensuring return of members of certain community to local bodies by way of anti-democratic system of nomination.
- (ii) Time and again for the last thirteen years representations were made demanding the recognition for Nepali as a major language but the demand has not been conceded by the University of Calcutta though the University of Patna has accorded such recognition.
- (iii) The Gorkhas who form the bulk of the population in the North Eastern border of India and who contribute personnel in the Indian Army in a substantial number have been unfairly treated in as much as the original plan for delimitation of North Bengal Parliamentary Constituency which afforded a fair chance for returning a Gorkha member was scrapped and three membered constituency, the only one of its kind in the whole of India, was created out of North Bengal and as a result the Gorkhas who number more than three millions in



India could not have any say in such important matters as the defence of the country and federal legislation.

Recapitulation of such instances of injustice only helps to aggravate the feeling of injury. But escapism is not a permanent solution and philosophical unconcern can not long be pursued by all.

6. It is said that hope triumphs over experience and we have done our best to put our grievance before the proper authorities in approved and constitutional manner. The demand did not originate with the establishment of the All India Gorkha League nor is it made to create confusion in the administration nor with a view to spite other communities. We sincerely believe that in view of events across the northern border, time is now overdue to consider our demand seriously and to adopt one of the three solutions, if other alternatives are not in view, which can lend complete satisfaction.

KALIMPONG
The 29th of April 1952

Sd/-
N.B. Gurung
President
All India Gorkha League