

**BUSINESS AND BUSINESS COMMUNITIES OF DARJEELING
SUB-DIVISION FROM 1835 TO 1962:
A HISTORICAL STUDY**

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Chapter-One

Introduction

- **1.1 Theoretical Framework**
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1.1: Theoretical Framework

1.1.1 Business:

The topic of this dissertation is 'Business and Business Communities of Darjeeling Sub-Division from 1835 to 1962: A Historical Study'. In this we have discussed the businesses that developed in Darjeeling hills in the colonial-capitalist hegemony.

Before going into the actual theme of the dissertation it is necessary to clear the two key words- 'Business' and 'Community' separately. According to the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, business means "the activity of making, buying, selling or supplying goods or services for money".

The etymology of "business" relates to the state of being busy either as an individual or society as a whole, doing commercially viable and profitable work. The term "business" has at least three usages, depending on the scope — the singular usage to mean a particular organization; the generalized usage to refer to a particular market sector. However, the exact definition of business, like much else in the philosophy of business, is a matter of debate and complexity of meanings.

In general the term is broadly used in the sense of commercial trade or financial activities that occupy time, attention and labour of human beings and the investment of capital for the sake of profit or improvement of society, economy of any country. Those who engage in these constructive works are generally known as businessmen. A business or enterprise or sometimes firm is an organization engaged in the trade of goods, services, or both to consumers. No economy- capitalist or socialist can thrive without business. In capitalist economies, businesses are in most cases privately owned and administered to earn profit to increase the wealth of their owners whereas in the other it is predominantly state owned. A business owned by multiple individuals may be referred to as a company, although that term also has a more precise meaning.

In nineteenth century Britain the terms "business" and "commerce" were frequently used synonymously to cover all types of exchange or dealing in commodities. More properly, "commerce" was used to refer to large-scale international trade; when use of the term "trade" was decided by the context whether or not the reference was to local retail trade. The term "tradesman" had a somewhat different connotation, for the "trades" were originally the skilled crafts. In the eighteenth century the term was applied also to shopkeepers in recognition of the fact that most performed some skill or craft in shaping, processing or otherwise preparing goods for sale¹. The terminologies trades, commerce, business were then further diversified by the emergence of many other economic activities of human being. A further application included those providing consumer services, such as restaurant and hotel-keepers. By the mid-nineteenth century, the business class included lower or quasi-professionals such as veterinary surgeons and apothecaries. The elite of the trade stratum were journalists, publishers and booksellers, for these occupations required education, sensitivity to the society's intellectual needs and even the capacity for artistic creation. Essentially the businessman was independent of corporate or bureaucratic wage-earning and served consumers in ways which could entail skilled craftsmanship, production, distribution and management².

In a sense, the business communities of Darjeeling, particularly the early merchants, should actually be considered as entrepreneurs. In this connection the term "entrepreneur" needs to be explained. In general, it has specified capital accumulation, innovation, risk-taking and unusual dedication as the marks of the business entrepreneur. These criteria largely allow them to qualify as entrepreneurs in late nineteenth century context of Darjeeling. Early nineteenth century Darjeeling is generally described as place covered with virgin forests and inhabited by a group of uncivilized people. Light of civilization reaches in Darjeeling only after the coming of the British. It is the British-led Business communities who introduced the modern economic system in the wild hills.

Arguing for a more general definition, G. H. Evans has suggested that the entrepreneur is "the person or a group of persons, in a firm, whose function it is to determine the kind

of business that is to be conducted."³ This definition distinguishes entrepreneurial activity from mere management (which entails routine decisions within a framework shaped by the entrepreneur) but does not require the entrepreneur to be exceptionally innovative or risk-taking. This allows entrepreneurs to be identified in trade firms. In British Entrepreneurship in the Nineteenth Century, G. L. Payne accepts Evans' definition as most appropriate for understanding the complexities of business development during and after the industrial revolution.⁴ By such a definition, every business may be said to possess at least one entrepreneur. Certainly the men who establish businesses in Darjeeling should be included in this class. For many of them, the description given of the nineteenth-century industrial entrepreneur would equally hold true that they "combined in one person the functions of capitalist, financier, works manager, merchant and salesman."⁵

Throughout this dissertation, the term "business" has been used in a broad sense, to refer to retailing and consumer-service enterprises; large-scale, export trade activities and tea and tourism industries.

From the last quarter of the last century the term business gained currency among the scholars belonging to different disciplines. According to these scholars nature and function of business changed along with the diversification of human activities. It is also true in case of Darjeeling. We have seen that different categories of business activities come into existence in course of time in the hill as well:

- (1) Agricultural produces businesses are concerned with the production of raw material, such as plants, fruits.
- (2) Financial businesses include banks and other companies that generate profit through investment and management of capital.
- (3) Manufacturers produce products, from raw materials or component parts, which they then sell at a profit. Companies that make physical goods, such as cars or pipes, are considered manufacturers. Manufactured tea, the most important industry of Darjeeling is also included in this category of trading.

- (4) Real estate businesses generate profit from the selling, renting, and development of properties comprising land, residential homes, and other kinds of buildings.
- (5) Retailers and distributors act as middle-men in getting goods produced by manufacturers to the intended consumer, generating a profit as a result of providing sales or distribution services. Most consumer-oriented stores and catalog companies are distributors or retailers. Such categories of business functions were\are more predominant in Darjeeling District.
- (6) Service businesses offer intangible goods or services and typically generate a profit by charging for labour or other services provided to government, other businesses, or consumers. Organizations ranging from house decorators to consulting firms, restaurants, and even entertainers are types of service businesses.
- (7) Transportation businesses deliver goods and individuals from location to location, generating a profit on the transportation costs. After the establishment of tourism industry, transport became a lucrative business in Darjeeling.
- (8) Utilities produce public services such as electricity or sewage treatment, usually under a government charter.

During our period of study we have seen that the trades like financial businesses, manufactured products, real estate businesses, retailing and distributive trading, transportation businesses etc mentioned above, greatly emerged in course of time in Darjeeling. The rise and growth of these businesses and businessmen is one chief theme of our discussion.

On the basis of geographical location, business is classified into two broad sectors: (a) Domestic business and (b) International or Global business.

An international business is a business whose activities are carried out across national borders. This differs from a domestic business because a domestic business is a business whose activities are carried out within the borders of its geographical location. In Darjeeling, merchants engaged both in domestic and international trading activities. We have largely discussed the nature and pattern of the business relating to both internal and international.

The research work basically deals with three categories of business ownership. Each category of ownership needs brief discussion.

- (a)Sole proprietorship: A sole proprietorship is a business owned by one person for-profit. The owner may operate the business alone or may employ others. The owner of the business has unlimited liability for the debts incurred by the business.
- (b)Partnership: A partnership is a business owned by two or more people. In most forms of partnerships, each partner has unlimited liability for the debts incurred by the business. The three typical classifications of for-profit partnerships are general partnerships, limited partnerships, and limited liability partnerships.
- (c)Corporation/ Company: A corporation/Company is a limited liability business that has a separate legal personality from its members. Corporations can be either government-owned or privately-owned, and corporations can organize either for-profit or not-for-profit. A privately-owned, for-profit corporation is owned by shareholders who elect a board of directors to direct the corporation and hire its managerial staff. A privately-owned, for-profit corporation can be either privately held or publicly held.
- (d)Cooperative: Often referred to as a "co-op", a cooperative is a limited liability business that can organize for-profit or not-for-profit. A cooperative differs from a for-profit corporation in that it has members, as opposed to shareholders, who share decision-making authority. Cooperatives are typically classified as either consumer cooperatives or worker cooperatives. Cooperatives are fundamental to the ideology of economic democracy.

The first three categories of business ownership largely dominated the commercial pursuits of Darjeeling in the colonial and post colonial period. The last one has emerged in the recent time. Besides, the 'managing agencies played an important part in the management of plantation industry in nineteenth century Darjeeling. They were provided an important share in lieu of their wage for management, and few of them directly engaged in the plantations of Darjeeling.

Many businesses are operated through a separate entity such as a corporation or a partnership (either formed with or without limited liability). Most legal jurisdictions allow people to organize such an entity by filing certain charter documents with the relevant Secretary of State or equivalent and complying with certain other ongoing obligations. The relationships and legal rights of shareholders, limited partners, or members are governed partly by the charter documents and partly by the law of the jurisdiction where the entity is organized. Generally speaking, shareholders in a corporation, limited partners in a limited partnership, and members in a limited liability company are shielded from personal liability for the debts and obligations of the entity, which is legally treated as a separate "person". This means that unless there is misconduct, the owner's own possessions are strongly protected in law if the business does not succeed.

In colonial India, during the rule of the East India Company, there was initially no legislation governing the conduct of companies except the common law of contract. This meant that buying the share of a company imposed on the buyer full liability, to the entire extent of this own property, for the company's debts. This made investors wary of taking up shares in joint-stock companies. Situation soon changed over time. In 1850, the Company Act provided for the registration in India of joint-stock companies, with provisions made to regulate their management. In 1857, all companies, other than banking and insurance companies were permitted to be organized on the basis of 'limited liability' - that is, the shareholder's liability was now to be limited to their investment in the company concerned.⁶ These enactments encouraged the formation of numerous limited joint-stock companies throughout the second half of the nineteenth century to raise various industries including tea. We see the emergence of 'Kursiong Darjeeling tea Company', Land Mortgage Bank, Darjeeling Tea Company, Lebong Tea Company and so on.

The interpretations of business history have changed dramatically overtime. The nature and scope of business studies have furthered over the past twenty years and it has become a great interest to a wider range of emerging economies. There are many other themes of central concerns to business historians – marketing innovation, human

resource, management, gender and ethnicity among them. Studies of business history in India also in recent times have offered a diverse context of socio-economic as well as political set up. Lineage of business past in India may be traced back to the earliest attempts to early modern states to regulate the flow of peoples, goods and service for the benefit of the realm. Business practices in India, in terms of well articulated economic policy may be said to have originated with the Mughals and it is continued with some modification after them. The British introduces modern system of commercial transactions in India. During the colonial period, for the first time, the political expansions are motivated by the commercials interest. Involvement of the British in the Himalayan countries is also motivated by in this respect.

The systematic research on business history of India is still virtually in its infancy. Despite some recent noteworthy works, the conventional historiography of India laid much importance on the other facets (political) of Indian history. Having shifted from the conventional historiography, the present study makes an attempt to look into the unconventional discourse of Indian commerce and commercial men in general and regional in particular.

1.1.2 Community:

Community is a common tool of the English language to categorize people and put unique individuals into a single group. The term community has two distinct meanings: 1) A group of interacting people, living in some proximity (i.e., in space, time, or relationship). Community usually refers to a social unit larger than a household that shares common values and has social cohesion. The term can also refer to the national community or international community, and, 2) in biology, a community is a group of interacting living organisms sharing a populated environment. The word "community" is derived from the Old French communauté which is derived from the Latin *communitas* (*cum*, "with/together" + *munus*, "gift"), a broad term for fellowship or organized society⁷. Some examples of community service is to help in church, tutoring, hospitals, etc.

In human communities, intent, belief, resources, preferences, needs, risks, and a number of other conditions may be present and common, affecting the identity of the participants and their degree of cohesiveness. Since the advent of the Internet, the concept of community has less geographical limitation, as people can now gather virtually in an online community and share common interests regardless of physical location. Prior to the internet, virtual communities (like social or academic organizations) were far more limited by the constraints of available communication and transportation technologies.⁸

There is no shortage of discussion on the various meanings of community and the contested nature of the concept. One of the difficulties with community is that it falls into the category what Plant⁹ calls an ‘essentially contested concept’. Plant pointed out that community has both a descriptive and an evaluative meaning. The descriptive meaning refers to features of the world that describe what it is to be community- for example. ‘a group of people with something in common’. Hillery¹⁰ noted 94 definitions of community, and the confusion created by the usage of the term led some in the 1960s and 1970s to call for its abandonment¹¹, 1970¹². Yet as Clarke¹³ commented in his classic re-examination of the concept of community” If the concept of community is dead, it stubbornly refuse to lie down in this chapter we will build upon some of the definitions of community: Butcher¹⁴ identifies three senses of the term ‘community’. These are ‘descriptive’, ‘value’, and ‘active’. The first two senses build on Plant’s distinction between descriptive and evaluative meanings. The third meaning is developed from the other two, and has particular relevance to business community, in that it refers to groups of people with something in common, acting in solidarity, participating in policy-making or working towards change in their neighbourhoods of interest groups¹⁵

- 1) **The Descriptive Community:** Social scientists use this term to describe a group or network of people who share something in common. This generally involves both social interaction within the group or network, and a sense of attachment, identification with or belonging. A distinction is often made between two types of communities: territorial communities and communities of interest or identity.

In territorial communities what people have in common is their geographical location – their neighbourhood, village or town. Whereas, communities of interest or identity, are based on characteristics other than physical proximity, such as ethnicity, occupation, religion, sexual orientation, and so on. These categories are not mutually exclusive, as some communities, may be rooted in both shared locality and common interest.

While we would define descriptive community as entailing an attachment to a group or social network, it is important to note that the term is very often used in the context of policy and practice simply to refer to a geographical neighbourhood (for example, ‘the British community in the hill stations of India’), or rest of individuals (‘the native community’) who may not actually feel any sense of attachment to, or identity with, the area or group referred to. Strictly speaking, this is a misuse of the term, but it is used so commonly that we need to take it into account. The term ‘community’ is often used in a policy context to mean simply people who live in an area, and/or people who are not professionals. This is often what is meant when reference is made to ‘community representatives’, ‘consulting the community’ or community- based service’. This use of the term may imply a sense of belonging or attachment, even though there is none. It is also used in the context of community development work, where the task may be actually to develop and strengthen the sense of community within a neighbourhood or group.

- 2) Community as value: as already noted, community not only has several different descriptive meanings, but also has an evaluative meaning. Community generally has positive connotations, conjuring up visions of warm, caring neighbourliness. However, precisely what values are embodied by the concept of community will vary according to the ideological position held. Butcher¹⁶ identifies three ‘community makers values’: solidarity, participation and coherence. In their strongest form, he argues, these are grounded in a communitarian philosophy. Although there are many different versions of communitarianism, broadly speaking they all hold to a view of the individual as constituted by society. According to Sarah Banks what people are, and what they can become, is

profoundly affected by their inherent disposition and need to associate with, and to live a life with, others in society¹⁷.

- 3) Active community: this meaning of community encompasses and builds on the descriptive and value meanings mentioned earlier. It refers to collective action, by members of territorial or interest communities that embrace one or more of the communal values of solidarity, participation and coherence¹⁸.

The term 'community' is applied in various perspectives in various disciplines. German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies distinguished between two types of human association: Gemeinschaft (usually translated as "community") and Gesellschaft ("society" or "association"). In his 1887 work, *Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft*, Tönnies argued that Gemeinschaft is perceived to be a tighter and more cohesive social entity, due to the presence of a "unity of will."¹⁹ He added that family and kinship were the perfect expressions of Gemeinschaft, but that other shared characteristics, such as place or belief, could also result in Gemeinschaft. This paradigm of communal networks and shared social understanding has been applied to multiple cultures in many places throughout history²⁰. The multiple culture of Darjeeling may be the result of the cohesiveness of the communal networks and shared social understanding. Gesellschaft, on the other hand, is a group in which the individuals who make up that group are motivated to take part in the group purely by self-interest. He also proposed that in the real world, no group was either pure Gemeinschaft or pure Gesellschaft, but, rather, a mixture of the two.

However, it may be concluded from the above discussion that a large number of groups formed around limited interests tend to develop the major characteristics of community on the basis of their own socio-economic status, such as merchants, agriculturists, industrialist etc. The businessmen in a small town or a big city constitute a community across caste and local division in so far as they have an association, a body of conduct, programme of social interaction among members and a collective approach to transactions with local governing body, municipal and governments administration. Similarly, those people engaged in trade, commerce and industry at any level whether national, international or local could be regarded as business communities.²¹ Therefore,

it may be argued that business communities are a group of people, sharing a common bond of tradition that support and challenge each other to act powerfully, both individually and collectively, to affirm defence, and advance their values and self-interests.

Though they have common aims and objectives to extort much more profit in a short time, they divide among themselves on the basis of a number of factors like volume of business, quality of trade, business environment etc. A group of merchants in a large trading centre may be divided on the terms of regional or ethnic or religious and linguistic affiliations. Big business houses in the big cities of India recognize some differentiation among themselves on the basis of these factors. Sometimes they make their own clubs and sometimes own elite residential areas. In fact, rival association of merchants and social clubs may exist at some places to symbolize ethnic divisions with the upper class, which is, but one section of the business community as a whole. Sometimes they evolve among themselves an exclusive culture including mannerism of speech and writing, styles of dealing with Government and the public rituals and superstitions relating to business. According to N.R Seth "This economic and cultural distinctiveness provides to business groups the identity as a social class whether or not they are bound by caste, religious or regional background"²²

To N. R. Seth "the concept of business community would therefore, apply to different social entities in various social situations. It may include the entire spectrum of businessmen in relation to government or other segment of society. Or it may refer to a special class of businessmen against other strata of the wider business community. Or it may refer to a compact social unit within a class of businessmen"²³. Therefore, group of merchants in different parts of India may be known by different names in accordance with these variables like Marwaris, Gujratis, Banias, Chetiars Jains, Parsees, Newars, and Tibetans etc. So, the structure of business groups can be identified with specific caste or regional groups. However, there are often sub-communities within business communities at all levels.

Despite, these divisions in some respect they are a community or business magnet at another level. As a business body they share common interests, sometimes common values and act as a collective body to develop the issues like excise, taxation and government control in their own favour.

Enterprise in India, as well in other societies, has however, not developed evenly among all segments and strata of the society. Some socio-economic groups have shown consistent headship in business enterprise, while others have shown hardly any interest in such economic activities. The spirit of enterprise, therefore, needs to be explained in relation to social and cultural factors rather than in terms of psychological variables. Business and trade, along with farming and animal husbandry, were for the Vaishya class in the classical Hindu Varna system. As the Vaishyas occupied the third position in the four-fold Varna hierarchy; business seems to have held a relatively low status in the social hierarchy. For the past few centuries, however, the classical Varna system has remained merely as a model. The social reality of India across its length and breadth has for long been quite different from the Varna model. The occupational basis of caste system has progressively become more flexible over the centuries, although a loose connection between the two has continued all along²⁴.

All these characteristics, stated above would be found in respect of the business communities of Darjeeling Sub- Division. They are sharing common interests, values and sometimes same association to extort much more profit in a short space of time, and trying to secure their vested commercial interests and influence the government policy in their own favour. But at the same time they are divided among themselves into several groups on the basis of caste, creed, religion, ethnicity, language, region and quality and quantity of trade etc. For example, the British Community enjoyed the monopoly control over almost all commercial activities of Darjeeling since its emergence. As a separate race, and linguistic community they established separate entertaining centres in Darjeeling town. The Marwaris, the next important business magnet also made their own association to keep control over their business. On accordance of their caste and creed they again divided among themselves into a number of sub-castes. It is very peculiar to draw a general framework to identify them within a

well-articulated social group irrespective of caste, creed, region etc. In this way, it may be found that each business group made its own association but as a business body they acted collectively to maintain their interests. Therefore, they are framed as 'business community'

In the present study the term 'Business Community' of Darjeeling is used to denote the body of individuals who manage commerce of Darjeeling. They are categorized on the basis of regional variations; caste creed or religious identity of the business group of Darjeeling is unfamiliar. In this district they are come to be known on accordance of their birth place, where from they migrated to Darjeeling. Therefore, present study has also seemed more easy and reasonable to adopt the identification of the merchants on their regional variation. Because each community (on the basis of regional variation) again divided among themselves into a number of small sub-caste and creed, which is very ambiguous to identify them into a particular socio-economic framework.

Before going into the deep of discussion it is necessary to know the history of the rise and growth of Darjeeling in which the business communities took rooted in the soil of this hills.

1.2: Darjeeling: An account of its rise and growth

The Queen of the Himalayas- Darjeeling is a hill resort of West Bengal. It is the northern most district of West Bengal. Due to its location it is strategically important for India's security. It owes its richness to its natural beauty; its clean refreshing mountain air and above all its natural grandeur attract travelers from all over the world. Darjeeling is situated in the Shiwalik Hills (or lower/ outer Himalayas) at an average elevation of 2,134 meter above sea level located between $26^{\circ} 27' 10''$ North latitude and $68^{\circ} 53' 00''$ and $87^{\circ} 59' 30''$ East longitude. Darjeeling is bounded by three countries, Nepal to the west, Sikkim to the North and Bhutan and Bangladesh to the east. Only three Indian districts one of which is in Bihar offer accessibility to Darjeeling and only featured as an irregular triangle of about 1164 sq miles in area²⁵.

The name 'Darjeeling' came from the Tibetan words 'dorje' meaning thunderbolt (originally the scepter of Indra) and 'linga' a place or land, hence 'the land of the thunderbolt'. A landmark year in the history of Darjeeling was 1835 when it was handed over to the East India Company by the King of Sikkimputty, but it is possible to trace its history before that. Actually the history of Darjeeling is intertwined with that of Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim and Bengal. Until the early nineteenth century, the area around Darjeeling was ruled intermittently by the kingdoms of Nepal and Sikkim with settlement consisting of a few villages of Lepcha woods- people. Therefore, prior to its acquisition by the East India Company in 1835, Darjeeling formed a part of Sikkim and for a brief period of Nepal, and Bhutan (the Kalimpong Sub Division).

Previously, Darjeeling formed a part of dominions of the Raja of Sikkim, who had been engaged in unsuccessful warfare against the Gorkahs of Nepal. From 1780 the Gorkha constantly made inroads into Sikkim and by the beginning of the nineteenth century they had overrun Sikkim as far eastward as the Teesta and had conquered and annexed the Terai. According to Dozey, 'prior to the year 1816, the whole of the territory known as British Sikkim belonged to Nepal, which won it by conquest'²⁶.

In the meantime, the British engaged in preventing the Gorkhas from overrunning the whole of the northern frontier. The Anglo- Nepal war broke out in 1814. Defeat of the Gorkhas led to the treaty of Sagauli, 1815 in which Nepal had to cede all those territories the Gorkhas had annexed from the Raja of Sikkim to the East India Company²⁷.

In 1817, in the treaty of Titaliya, the East India Company reinstated the Raja of Sikkim (who was driven out) restored all the tracts of land between the Mechi and the Teesta to the Raja and guaranteed its sovereignty. With the intervention of the British, the Gorkhas were prevented from turning the whole of Sikkim into a province of Nepal and Sikkim (including the present District of Darjeeling) was retained as a buffer state between Nepal, Bhutan and Tibet.

Ten years later dispute again arose between Sikkim and Nepal which according to the 'Treaty of Titaliya' were referred to the Governor General of India. Accordingly in 1828

Captain Lloyd was deputed to settle the dispute. Capt Lloyd and J.W Grant, I.C.S, the Commercial Resident at Maldah, after settling the internal faction between Nepal and Sikkim, found their way to a 'Old Gorkha station' called Darjeeling near Chuntong and were very impressed with the possibilities of the station as sanatorium. They saw and thought of making this place a sanatorium to escape the heat in Calcutta. Other British officers also reported favourably on the situation of the hill of Darjeeling. However, Capt Lloyd reported some important points to convince the Governor General to annex the place. He emphasized its strategically important location in commanding entrance to Nepal and Bhutan on the one hand and on the other, he stressed that, from its commanding height, the whole of Sikkim and the neighbouring countries pointed out that it would serve as a British out post in the Himalayas and a base for the defense of the trade route to Tibet through Sikkim. Above all it would be an important summer resort for British officials to escape the heat in the Plains²⁸.

Lord Bentinck promptly deputed Capt. Herbert to examine and map the tract of land along with Grant with special reference to it's strategically and communication benefits. Their Reports proved the feasibility of establishing a sanatorium in Darjeeling. General Lloyd was accordingly deputed to start negotiations with Raja of Sikkim of a Deed of Grant on the 1st February 1835.

"The Governor- General, having expressed his desire for 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". the deed ran, i. the Sikkimputtee Rajah, out of friendship for the said Governor- General, hereby present Darjeeling to the East India Company that is, all the land south of the Great Rangeet river, east of the Balasun, Kahail and Little Rangeet rivers and west of the Rango and Mahanaudi rivers²⁹.

Thus, Darjeeling was annexed as an unconditioned gift from the Raja of Sikkim in 1835. Later on the Government granted the Raja an allowance of Rs 3,000 as compensation in 1841 and in 1846 it was raised to Rs. 6.000. It was a narrow enclave of 138 square miles, about 30 miles long and 6 miles wide. It was entirely surrounded by

the Raja's dominions – entry and exile being restricted to a narrow path which included the sites of Darjeeling and Kurseong towns and touched the plains near Pankhabari, what the Raja got in return immediately a gift parcel- one double barrel gun one rifle, one 20 yards of red broad cloth, 2 pairs of shawl – one superior quality and the other of inferior quality³⁰.

Though, the present form of Darjeeling did not complete at that point of time. It was made complete by two other annexations – one from Sikkim and another from Bhutan. Final form to the shape of the district was given in 1866.

Initially, the king of Sikkim was not happy with the British Government, even though he gifted for purpose of a sanatorium but it was made an important administrative and military out post. Moreover, the British authority at Darjeeling encouraged the Sikkimese to migrate to this virgin land by allowing them with many facilities. this increasing importance of Darjeeling under free institutions was a constant source of jealousy and annoyance to the Dewan of Sikkim who captured all power of Sikkim. Thus, relation between the British and Sikkim soured. According to Sir Hooker, every obstacle was thrown in the way of a good understanding between Sikkim and the British Government³¹. When in 1849 the Pagla Dewan arrested Dr. Campbell and Hooker, the British Government sent a fugitive expedition against Sikkim in 1850. An annual grant of Rs. 6,000 was also stopped and the British annexed 640 square miles of additional territory from Sikkim. It comprised the entire Sikkim between the Great Rangeet and the plains of India, and from Nepal on the West to the Bhutan frontier and the Teesta river on the east³².

Impact:- The impact of this was far reaching-

- (i) Raja of Sikkim became confined to mountainous hinterland and cut off from all access to the plains except through British territory.
- (ii) It was welcomed by inhabitants as they had to pay a small and fixed tax to the treasury at Darjeeling.



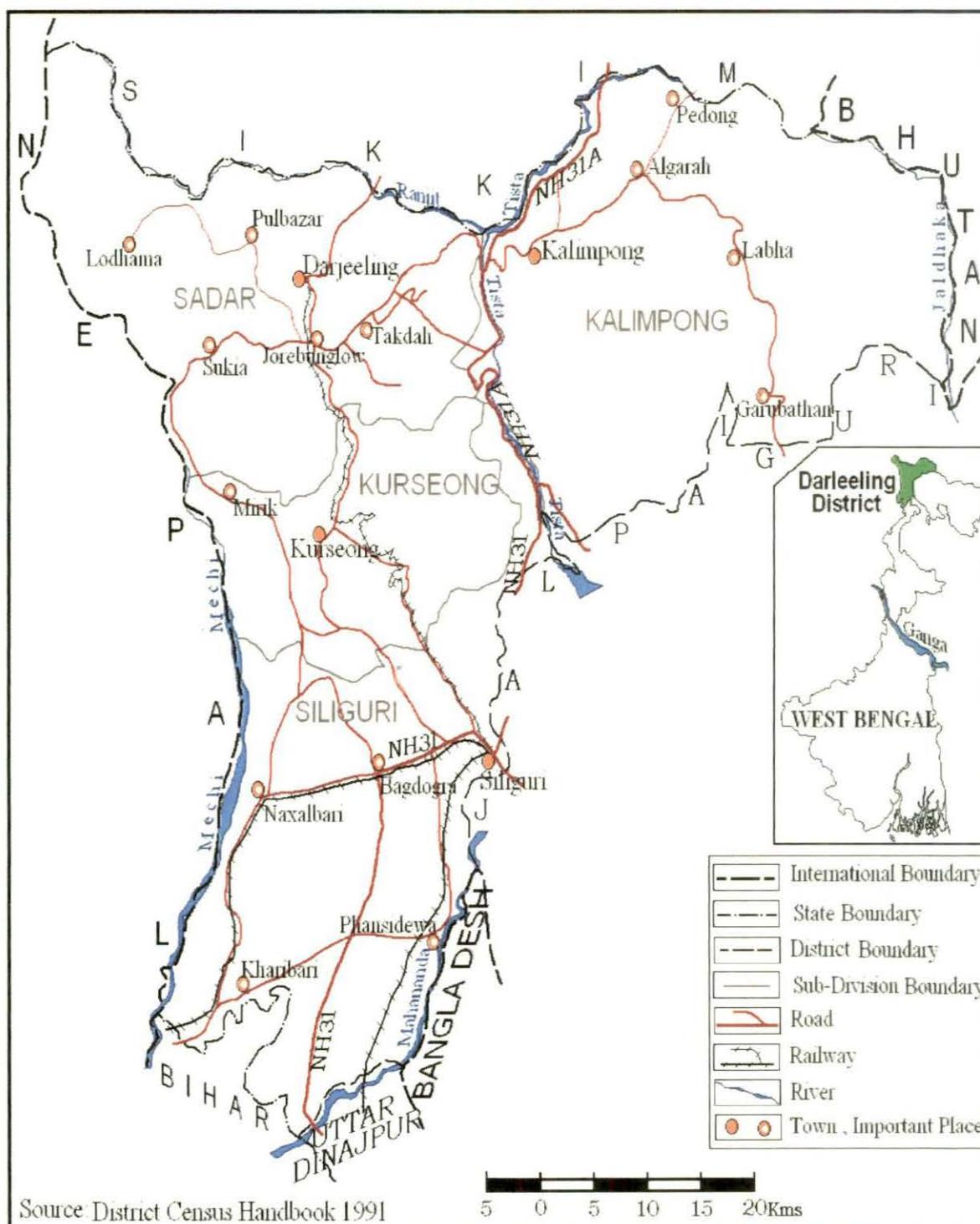
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(iii) This also proved to be beneficial for the economy and development of Darjeeling. And assets to Darjeeling as (a) it led to an increase in population (b) the place was identified suitable for tea and (c) connected Darjeeling on the south with British districts of Purnea and Rangpur, Jalpaiguri and other places which opened an era of trade. Raids from Sikkim however, continued. In 1860 the British occupied Rinchinpong.

In 1861 (1st February) Colonel Gowler and Ashley Eden moved from Darjeeling and reached the Sikkemese capital of Tumlong. The Dewan fled and the old Raja abdicated in favour of his son. On March 28th 1861, Ashley Eden signed a Treaty with the new Raja. This treaty was of great advantage to Darjeeling as it ended the annoyances caused to its inhabitants and secured full freedom for commerce. A road from Darjeeling to Teesta was constructed; Sikkim undertook to complete the remaining part. In this way Darjeeling completed its second stage of construction.

The last stage of construction of Darjeeling district was completed in 1866 when the Bhutan Doars with passes leading into the hills and Kalimpong were ceded to the British. Trouble arose with the adjoining state of Bhutan because the Bhutanese were constantly raiding and plundering the areas of Darjeeling borders. There were also rumours of a planned attack on Darjeeling from the side of the Bhutanese soldiers. In 1863 when Ashley Eden was deputed to negotiate with the Bhutanese king he was openly insulted and returned to Darjeeling. In the winter of 1864, a military force was dispatched to Bhutan and the whole of Bhutan Duars was captured. In November, 1864, the Treaty of Sinchula was concluded in which the Bhutan Duars with the passes leading to the hills and Kalimpong were added to the British territory³³. Therefore, 1866 marked an epoch in the history of Darjeeling. Peace was established on all fronts hence and the march to progress and civilization started.

DARJEELING DISTRICT



Map: 1.1-Sub-Divisions of Darjeeling District

Later on, the administrative set up of Darjeeling was changed from time to time with political and administrative changes in India. The district remained under the Rajshahi Division until October 1905, and later on it was transferred to the Bhagalpur Sub-Division because of the partition of Bengal in 1905. When partition was revoked, it was again transferred to the Rajshahi Division in 1912.

The partition of India in August 1947 left the boundaries of the district intact and in the share of West Bengal. The district was placed thereafter in Presidency Division³⁴.

Present day Darjeeling District consists of four Sub- Divisions namely (1) Sadar Sub-Division (2) Kurseong Sub- Division (3) Kalimpong Sub- Division and (4) Siliguri Sub-Division. Of these four Sub- Divisions only Siliguri Sub- Division is situated in the plains the remaining three being located in the hills. The Darjeeling Sadar Sub- Division as a district head- quarter and hill resort of the state is much more important and assumed a unique position among all these four Sub- Divisions and it is also our research area. It covers an area of 93.5 square miles (316 square k.m). This Sub-Division consists of five police stations viz (1) Sadar (2) Jorebanglow (3) Pulbazar (4) Sukhiapokuri (5) Ranli- Rangliot. According to the Census of 1961 it had a total population of 26,3,523. It occupies roughly 28.7 percent of the district area and contains 31.7 percent of its population³⁵. The town of Darjeeling is nestled on a ridge which starts at Ghum and varies in height from 6500 to 7886 feet above sea-level. The ridge might be likened to the letter 'Y', base resting at Katapahar and Jalapahar while the two arms diverged from the Mall, one dipping suddenly to the north-east and ending in the Lebong Spur, the other running north-west (on which Birch Hill stand) passes the St. Joseph's College and finally ends in the valley near the Takvar Tea Estate.

At the time of annexation in 1835 of Darjeeling Sadar, comprising 357.4 square k.m. (138 square miles), the tract was wholly covered by forests.³⁶ From 1835 onwards Darjeeling underwent a great socio-economic change brought about by the administrative policy undertaken by the colonial state for its vested interest. From a small sleepy village with about a hundred souls Darjeeling transformed into a modern hill resort with more than one million people. After the annexation Lt General Lloyd

was appointed as Local Agent, and Surgeon A. Chapman engaged in exploring the land and the trend of the country. In 1839 the appointment of Local Agent was abolished and Dr. Arthur D. Campbell a member of Indian Medical Service and the Asst. Resident at the Court of Nepal was appointed as the first Superintendent, a post which he held for twenty two years. The same year Lt. Napier of the Royal Engineers (subsequently Lord Napier of Magdala) was deputed to lay out the town and construct a hill road which would connect at Siliguri with the Grand Trunk Road, measuring 126 miles. The road started from Karagola Ghat opposite Sahibgunge on the East Indian Railway, spanned five large rivers, and was completed in 1866 at a cost of Rs. 14.68.000. The Calcutta Road to the east of the hill on which the Jalapahar Cantonment stands was completed in January, 1838, by Lt. General Lloyd. In a short time the town boasted of a 16 miles long drive of a broad road named after the Governor-General, Lord Auckland, while the alignment of a road, since known as the old Military Road, measuring 40 miles, was started in 1839 and completed in 1842 at an expenditure of Rs. 8.00.000. This road unfortunately proved unsuitable for the cart traffic owing to its steep gradients, and as it was also found incapable of meeting the expanding requirements of the district, sanction was accordingly obtained in 1861 for the construction of the 25 feet width Cart Road, from Siliguri to Darjeeling at a cost of about £6,000 per mile. It was on this highway that the Darjeeling Himalayan Railway worked its way in and out of the several spurs slowly but surely creeping up the hillside to its terminus at Darjeeling³⁷.

In 1869 the Cart Road from Darjeeling to Siliguri was completed. The year 1878, however, ushered in a new era for the break in the metre-gauge line between Poradah and Atrai was linked up via Bhairamara, and formally opened for traffic by the late Sir Ashley Eden, Lieut. –Governor of Bengal. Jalpaiguri and extended to Siliguri on June 10th, 1878³⁸. The establishment of Darjeeling Himalayan Railway in 1885 revolutionized the railway communication between Siliguri and Darjeeling. Large-scale merchandises were carried on smoothly at comparatively low cost in a short time. Within a few decades Darjeeling networked with a good communication and transportation system which signified the emergence of trading network in and around Darjeeling Sadar.



Figure 1.1 Darjeeling 1887s,

Source: ebay.com



Darjeeling Town in the early 1900's

Das Studio - Darjeeling

Figure 1.2 Darjeeling Town in the early 1900s

Source: Das Studio



Darjeeling Town From Shrubbery - 1940's

Das Studio - Darjeeling

Figure 1.3 Darjeeling from Shrubbery (Governor House) -1940s

Source: Das studio



Darjeeling Town Close-up

Figure 1.4 Darjeeling 2010s

Source: www.darjeelingphoto.com

A simple system of justice was introduced in line with the tribal system. The district witnessed the growth of population mainly due to immigration. Forced labour was abolished at Darjeeling. Experimental cultivation of tea, coffee, fruits etc. was introduced. At the time of Dr. Campbell's superintendentship the number of inhabitants rose from 100 to 10,000. And the revenue also increased amounted Rs 50,000⁴¹. The Darjeeling Municipality was established in 1850.

Several British style public schools were established. Scottish missionaries undertook the construction of schools and welfare centre for the British residents, laying the foundation for Darjeeling's high reputation as a centre of education. It attracted students from many part of India and neighboring countries. At the same time it was also developing as a tourist destination. Elite residents of the newly developing hill resort were the members of British ruling class of that time who visited Darjeeling every summer. An increasing number of well- to- do Indian residents of Calcutta- land-owners, zamindars and barristers of Calcutta High court also began to pour in Darjeeling. The town continued to grow as a tourist destination. Consequently, the hotel business attracted the attention of the entrepreneurs. The first 'Darjeeling family Hotel' was opened on 31st March 1840 by D. Wilson and soon it was followed by many other hotels such as Woodland (shortly followed by Drum Druid) Rockville, Bellevue, Central Hotel and the Hotel Mount Everest etc.⁴². A dozen of boarding houses also came into existence for the purpose of serving visitors. The increase of hotels and boarding houses obviously indicated an excellent business prospect centring round this industry. Rise and growth of tourism industry from the 2nd half of the nineteenth century opened up other avenues of economic activities such as transport business. It became lucrative due to the increase of travelers which again extended the purview of distributive trade and commerce. In this way from the 2nd half of the nineteenth century onwards Darjeeling emerged as an important tourist centre as well as a trading mart. In the mid 50's of the nineteenth century the establishment of Darjeeling Municipality brought about two significant commercial progresses; it provided market space and buildings for shop and thereby goods were stored for higher market especially for

Trans-Himalayan countries. In this way it helped to build up trading relations with its neighboring countries. Traders imported merchandise from Calcutta for consumption as well as for export to Sikkim, Nepal, Bhutan and Tibet. Due to its geo-strategic location a Trans-Himalayan trade system emerged in the subsequent year. Darjeeling served as halting point. All these factors proved to be instrumental in the immigration of the merchants which led to the growth of business communities in Darjeeling.

Along with the development of trade and market, both internal and external, Darjeeling's economy received a tremendous boost from the rapid growth of tea industry in its hinterland from the late 50's of the nineteenth century⁴³. All the requirements of tea gardens were mostly met by the Darjeeling market, the managerial staff used to visit the town on weekends for spending sometime in luxuries of the town life which they could not get in the gardens as well as for purchasing their necessary goods from the market.

Darjeeling soon gained reputation as an education centre and attracted a large number of students from India and outside India. A number of Christian missionaries started to establish English medium school on metropolitan model of European line. As a result a number of Europeans and Indians sent their children to educate in those schools. Therefore, Darjeeling always crowded with many people whose material needs were met by the traders.

The objective behind the British occupation of Darjeeling was not only to make a sanatorium but also to establish trade relations with Tibet, and central Asia and to open up the district for trade and commerce. So they constructed a large number of roads along boarder. The construction of a trade route in Sikkim and its linkage with the Northern Bengal Railway fulfilled the British desire to establish a trade relation with Tibet and Central Asia. This was made possible by signing a friendly treaty with Sikkim in 1865. It became helpful to do free trade and commerce through Darjeeling.

The geographical location of Darjeeling was favourable for developing a close commercial intercourse with Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet and its importance as a trade mart steadily increased. Darjeeling became a melting – trade centre. Because the

business class imported articles (European piece-goods, cotton yarn, rice, kerosene, salt and coke, etc.) from Calcutta and stored at Darjeeling. Some articles sold in the local market and a part of it was exported to Nepal, Sikkim and Tibet. In the same way imported commodities from Nepal, Sikkim and Tibet were used partly Darjeeling and partly shifted to Calcutta for a larger market. All these transactions were carried on by a group of people who migrated as merchants, a petty trader, and merely a fortune-seeker and tea-labourers

Agricultural development:- At the time of its annexation the whole territory was almost covered with forest and was very sparsely populated. The soil of Darjeeling is mostly light in texture (sandy to sandy loam) and rich in organic matters. It is mostly acidic in nature, porous and water percolates down rapidly. The hilly terraces vary widely between less than a metre to 2.5 m. on an average and the slope of the terraces varies in different blocks. For that reason during June to September due to excess run-off water soil erosion have reached alarming proportions and are causing loss of fertilized lands, decline in fertility and consequent productivity of soil.

Inspite of all these difficulties, agriculture became one of the major economic activities. The arrival of the new settlers, especially the Nepalese marked an important change in the field of agriculture. They introduced new techniques to slop the land for cultivation and the local inhabitants learnt this new technique which accelerated the agriculture development as well. Now the Lepchas gave up their age-old Jhuming method of cultivation and learnt how to construct on the mountain slopes, the terraces which formed such a distinctive feature of Himalayan cultivation. In this way they started to cultivate paddy (in lower elevation), Maize and cash crops like cardamom, potatoes, oranges, apples and vegetables on experimental basis. Early experiment of plantation crops viz: tea, cinchona proved successful and within two decades tea industry had its niche in the Darjeeling Himalaya. Actually Darjeeling is a part of outer Himalayas and its economic features are influenced by sub mountain regional environment. Its physical geography, sub-mountain climate and density of forest play a significant role in developing a different kind of economy distinguished from the Plains. Crop pattern of this area is totally different from the plains. As a result the trading pattern of this hill

tract arose in course of time is also distinctive. Darjeeling largely depends on the plain for its daily needs like groceries, manufactured goods etc. Tropical cash crops like oranges, cardamom, and zinger included as an important export goods.

After independence, the district of Darjeeling remained in the partitioned section of Bengal (West Bengal) and therefore, in the Indian Union.

Afterwards, the Indian Government reconstructed her relation with its neighboring states on the basis of peaceful co-existence and non-alignment policy. In 1954 India revived her relation with China on the basis of 'Punchsheel' and peaceful co-existence. Despite this 'Agreement', China attacked India in 1962. China also occupied Tibet in 1959. As a result of all this the subsequent years saw the knock down of some important trade routes that passed through Lhasa to Darjeeling. Both of the incidents had a great influence on the commercial pursuits of Darjeeling. Firstly due to these events all the important trade routes running through Tibet were closed down. Secondly, its frontier areas and finally the Tibetan refugees who settled in and around Darjeeling started creating pressure on its commercial activities. A good number of Tibetan people engaged themselves in the local business and began to compete with the indigenous merchants. In this way this new addition had a great influence on the commercial prospect of Darjeeling. Thus, the year 1962 turned out to be significant in the history of Darjeeling. We have glimpsed the influence of this phenomenon over commerce of Darjeeling.

Therefore, we have seen that the emergence of Darjeeling as plantation hub, tourist resort, gave rise to a well-established trading platform over time under the Raj. Its geo-strategic location made it an halting point in between Calcutta and the Trans-Himalayan countries. We find the following three major historical changes in Darjeeling:

- (1) Commercialization of Darjeeling
- (2) Emergence of Darjeeling as tourist destination and
- (3) Rise and growth of Darjeeling as trade centre

We see the very growth of these historical phenomenon had taken place simultaneously with the growth of its businessmen and markets and vice versa. Since its inception as a colonial sanatorium and tea plantation hub, Darjeeling attracted many business communities and commercial classes such as Europeans, Marwris, Biharis, Nepalese, Bengalese, Panjabis, Tibetans, Kashmiris, Parsees, Chinese and others. Among them the Europeans were the most important traders who had already established their own long history of trade from the early medieval period with different parts of the world. Setting up bases in Calcutta these communities grew their businesses (chiefly tea) across the north-eastern part of India and the world through their intricate and expanding trading network. In course of time they also included Darjeeling into this network. (Through tea and tourism industries). We have largely concentrated on the growth of tea and tourism industries under the Europeans as well as the British. How the indigenous business communities were marginalized by these well-developed business networks of the Europeans and confined them within local retailing of distributive trades is also examined through personal survey of oral history. How these groups of merchants, especially the Marwaris diversified into various trading activities in course of time is largely traced back within the colonial traits with example of some particular Marwari families. These entire phenomena are explained in this research through a rich narrative of human and institutional accounts. Through these narratives, we have a well-told story of the manner in which business structures and practices have evolved in the changing context of the development of Darjeeling from a sleepy village in late nineteenth century to a modern plantation zone, hill resort and trade centre in the twentieth century. In the stories recounted in this study, the theme of diversification has featured prominently. While staying true to their commercial calling, many enterprising business individuals and families were able to leverage (means control, influence) on new and diversify their business portfolios. The stories in this study have focused on history of the migration and settlement of the mercantile class and their shifting from one business to other.

Hence we had to face some problems in collecting the information and sometimes there even led to inevitable death of useful sources. Many indigenous big enterprises are family business and family businesses tend to guard their privacy, and do not readily

divulge trade practices and business strategies for public scrutiny. But in spite of such shortcomings, we hope that whatever we have been able to collect will do justice to theme of the research work. Set in the retrospect of socio-economic development of Darjeeling this study is an attempt to situate a group of people into this historical phenomenon. Therefore, the chief objectives of the study are as follows:

1.3: Objectives of the study:

They main objectives of the research work are as follows:-

1. To reconstruct the picture of trade and commerce of Darjeeling Sub-Division during the British period.
2. To identify the important business communities and highlight the trading pattern of each community.
3. To highlight the diversification of business communities over time
4. To identify changes in the trading scenario after the departure of the British.
5. To highlight the effect of political changes in Tibet and the Indo-China war of 1962 on the economy of Darjeeling.
6. To identify the role of the business communities in the development of Darjeeling.

1.4: A short overview of literature:

While some information about trading network and structure are called from various archival documents, contemporary accounts and some secondary sources, the actual history of some business families have been reconstructed from oral sources.

An overview of related literature shows that some works have been done on the business communities of India in general and some of its important communities in particular but region- wise study is almost absent excepting few exceptions. We have discussed those books separately. History of Darjeeling on the other hand can be reconstructed from various books and articles. Some of these are:-

a) Books on Darjeeling -

1. *District Gazetteers of Darjeeling*:- Three important Gazetteers have been written on the District of Darjeeling. These are by O'Mally(1907) , 'District Gazetteer: Darjeeling' by A.J. Dash(1945), and 'West Bengal District' by A.K Banerjee, Barun De & others (1984) In addition there is also A Statistical Account of Bengal,(vol-10 for Darjeeling) by W.W.Hunter(1876). All these are first hand accounts regarding the origin, expansions and development of Darjeeling. They deal with all aspects of the district including the people, flora and fauna, industries, agriculture, administration, expansion of trade and commerce, development of education, transport and communication etc. But they have not given any extra emphasis on the history of business or the mercantile communities of Darjeeling Sub-Division.
2. *A Concise History of the Darjeeling District Since 1835* by E.C. Dozey(1922):- It is something of a history, something of a guide and pleasantly encyclopedic. The author tells all about old Darjeeling, describes the various hill people and gives an account of trips out of Darjeeling. It also contains chapters on industries, flora and fauna, shikar and reminiscences of the author. It also gives the list of tours and description of Kurseong, Kalimpong and Siliguri. It includes a small chapter on trade and commerce of Darjeeling town and its neighboring areas which were of great help for this dissertation.
3. *Darjeeling, the Sanatorium of Bengal and its Surroundings* by R.D. O'Brien (1833):- It deals with history of Darjeeling from 1835 to 1881. It gives an account of its establishment as a sanatorium. It also deals with its history, description of new buildings, administration, tea industry etc.
4. *Thacker's Guide Book to Darjeeling and its Neighborhood (1899)* by G. Hutton Taylor: - The author tries to give an important picture of the contemporary development of Darjeeling and its surroundings. It writes about the improvement of tea cultivation and other agricultural productions. This work contains a small chapter on local market and its commercial interaction with the neighboring countries, but does not give any account of the people who were involved in the trade.

5. *Newman's Guide to Darjeeling and its Surroundings* by W. Newman (1913):- This is a first hand tourist guidebook. It contains chapters on general developments, description of the town and its neighboring areas and its natural beauty.
6. *Tibet Past and Present* (1924) and *The People of Tibet* (1928) by Charles Bell:- The first book deals with Tibetan history from earliest times, but especially with the aims and movements of the period witnessed by the author early in the twentieth century. It contains anecdotes, conversations with leading Tibetans and quotations from poetry and proverbs illustrate the Tibetan point of view. Sir Charles Bell gives an inside view of Tibet which he served for twenty years on the Indo-Tibetan frontier, spoke and wrote the Tibetan language, and was brought into close touch with all classes from the reigning Dalai Lama downwards. In his second book he attempts to speak about the socio-economic life of the people in their own homes from a unique perspective. It provides an account of the real and inner Tibetan domestic life and a good degree of detail about intra-regional and trade with British Territories. These books provided some useful information with regard to the Tibetans of Darjeeling.
7. *Darjeeling: A Favoured Retreat* by Jahar Sen(1989):- The author of this work tries to trace the emergence of Darjeeling as an entrepot with an emphasis on the commercial interaction of Darjeeling with its neighbouring countries like Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim, and Tibet. While it contains an account of the trans-Himalayan connections of Darjeeling, it does not give any account regarding the local markets and commercial ventures of the indigenous businessmen of Darjeeling.
8. *Dynamics of a Hill Society: the Nepalis in Darjeeling and Sikkim Himalayas* by Tanka .B. Subba(1989):- It contains a wealth of information on the early history of the Nepalis , their migration and subsequent settlement in the Darjeeling-Sikkim Himalayas, changes in the caste organization in the background of its traditional structure, nature of the agrarian system and the caste-class nexus, and lastly, an incisive analysis of the emerging class structure and its role in shaping the destiny of the people. The work based on intensive field-work carried out in the well chosen five villages in Sikkim and Darjeeling has amply supplemented

- by the use of old historical records, interviews with people from all walks of life and author's own perception about the dynamics of Nepali society and politics.
9. *Urbanisation in the Eastern Himalayas: emergence and issues* (ed) by Karubaki Datta (2006) - It is an important work for the history of urban development in the Eastern Himalayas. Three important articles by Enakshi Majumdar, Aditi Chatterjee and Swatasidha Sarkar are written on the urban development of Darjeeling. Of these, the article by Enakshi Chatterjee is on the origin and growth of Kalimpong while the other two are on Darjeeling proper. These articles not only explore the process of urbanization from historical perspective but also analyze the inner texture of urbanization and its impact on socio-economic sustainability of Darjeeling from inter-disciplinary point of view.
 10. *Contested Landscapes: the story of Darjeeling* by Aditi Chatterji(2007) :- Basically a book of Human Geography, it is one of the few works to depict the growth and characteristics of the town in all its aspects.. The author has shown how the social impacts of population variations and ethnic composition of the town population have influenced the economic as well as physical development of the town. She also emphasized on the segregation of landscapes between the migrant communities and the British and hierarchical division of the town among the ruler and the ruled in terms of power.
- b)Unpublished dissertation on Darjeeling**
- Nineteenth Century Darjeeling: A study in Urbanization 1835-1890* (1997)' by Kashinath Ojha -This unpublished thesis submitted to North Bengal University, traced the process of urbanization in Darjeeling. It also contains one chapter on the commercial inter-course of Darjeeling with Himalayan states. Besides, there are some other important works on Darjeeling but the subjects of these works are varied and they are written from different perspectives. Some of these are- *The Eastern-Himalayas:- Environment and Economy'* (ed) R.L. Sarkar(1986). *Women Workers in the Informal Sector:- a study of the Hill Areas of Darjeeling District in West Bengal* by Shanti Chhetri, '(1999), *Small Scale Industries*

Problem and Prospect in West Bengal with special reference to Darjeeling (1951-1985), by Nilmani Mukherjee(1997) etc.

c) Books and Articles on Business and Business Communities:-

1. *Business communities of India: A Historical Perspective*, (ed)- Dwijendra Tripathi(1984):- It is perhaps the first ever attempt to write the history and trading interest of the business communities of India. It is a macro level study consisting of a number of articles by various authors. The writers deal with the history of different business communities, like the Marwaris, and the Pareses. One article of this book defines the term business community, their origin and role in the society and economy of India. The book however, does not give any account of the history of business or businessmen in Darjeeling.
2. *The Marwaris:- From Traders to Industrialists* by Thomas A. Timberg(1979):- It is the first ever attempt to deal with the Marwari community of India. It traces the history of their emergence from business group to industrialist. The Marwaris are eminent businessmen from Rajasthan and have contributed significantly to India's economic development. For this book he did extensive research in India on the Marwaris. In addition to public and English language materials, he used privately held family and business records of Gujarati and Hindi publications and collected relevant information. The book is interesting and informative on the Marwari community. Timberge largely spoke about the history of the nineteenth-century migration of the Marwari firms from Rajasthan, their relationships with various political and economic powers, their changing investment patterns over time.
3. *Industrial Entrepreneurship of Shekhawati Marwaris* by D.K. Taknet(1986):- It only deals with the history of the Marwari of Shekhawati region in Rajasthan who emerged as an important industrial entrepreneur in India.
4. *The Marwari Community in Eastern India: A Historical Survey focusing North Bengal* by Narayan Chandra Saha(2003):- It is a micro-level study on the Marwari community living in the three districts of North Bengal viz Cooch Behar, Jalpaiguri, and Terai region of Darjeeling. It has extensively discussed

the commercial pursuits, industrial activities and achievements of the Marwari community in these three districts. This work also deals with the process of migration of the Marwari community to the regions in the context of the socio-economic conditions prevailing before and also at the time of their migration.

5. *Private investment in India (1900-1939)* by A. K Bagchi(1972) -This book has two parts. It developed a simple theoretical framework in its first part and tries to isolate the influence on private investment in India of factor supplies, as against demand conditions. In the second part, all the major manufacturing industries of the period are studied in detail. Most of the analytical apparatus used is developed from orthodox economic theory, but a heavy emphasis is placed on Keynesian ideas. Finally the author presents a case study in the economic relations between an imperial power (Britain) and a dependent colony (India). He also examines the social relations between the ruling race and the Indians and provides a detailed account of the imperialism.
6. *Origin of the Modern Indian Business class: An Interim Report* by D.R. Gadgil(1959): In this book Dr. Gadgil discusses the socio-economic and political condition of the later part of the Mughal period and the emergence and growth of modern business communities, their regional distribution and social position in this context. He also pointed out the unit of business and capital formation.
7. *Bazaar India: Markets, Society, and the Colonial State in Bihar* by Anand A. Yang (1999): The role of markets in linking local communities to larger networks of commerce, culture, and political power is the central element in Anand A. Yang's original study. Yang uses bazaars in the northeast Indian state of Bihar during the colonial period as the site of his investigation. The bazaar provides a distinctive locale for posing fundamental questions regarding indigenous societies under colonialism and for highlighting less familiar aspects of colonial India. At one level, Yang reconstructs Bihar's marketing system, from its central place in the city of Patna down to the lowest rung of the periodic markets. But he also concentrates on the dynamics of exchanges and negotiations between different groups and on what can be learned through the

"voices" of people in the bazaar: landholders, peasants, traders, and merchants. Along the way, Yang uncovers a wealth of details on the functioning of rural trade, markets, fairs, and pilgrimages in Bihar. A key contribution of Bazaar India is its many-stranded narrative history of some of South Asia's primary actors over the past two centuries. But Yang's approach is not that of a detached observer; rather, his own voice is engaged with the voices of the past and with present-day historians. By focusing on the world beyond the mud walls of the village, he widens the imaginative geography of South Asian history.

d) Articles:

1. 'The Comprador Role of Parsi Seth, 1750-1850', Amalendu Guha:- In this article, published in the *Economic and Political Weekly*, 1970, Amalendu Guha has traced the growth of the Parsi business community over a period of 100 years. He has shown that Parsi mercantile capital was ripe for industrial transformation and that an all round development towards an indigenous navigation and shipbuilding industry was already witnessed in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. It also analyzes the behavior pattern of the Parsi Seth on the way to limited industrialization within the bound of colonial fetters.
2. 'Indigenous Business Enterprise in Bengal- 1780-1880', Chittabrata Palit:- This article Published in the *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies* in 1966, traces the flourishing emergence of some enterprising personalities in the later part of the Mughal period, while the socio-economic set up of India said to have been stagnant. The author traces their rise in an adverse condition of this period.
3. 'Entrepreneurial Cultures and Entrepreneurial Men', Ashis Nandy:- This paper published in the *Economic and Political Weekly* in 1973 examines, on an exploring basis, some of the psychological and social correlates of entrepreneurship in an urban community in West Bengal and compares two caste groups within the community – differing in entrepreneurial success, modernity and traditional social status on the magnitude of these correlates.

Research Gap:

An overview of the scholarly works suggests that there is no single work on the economy of Darjeeling in general and commerce in particular. Only a couple of these deal with the nature of trade from this region. As to the business communities, here, also we find that only one or two that deal with the Marwaris- the dominant community of Darjeeling but these Marwaris are of North Bengal and Doors in general and not of Darjeeling. Thus, the present investigation 'Business and Business Communities of Darjeeling Sub- Division from 1835 to 1962: A Historical Study' is the first comprehensive work focuses on local business and business communities exclusively.

1.5: Research Questions:

The basic questions that have been answered through this work are as follows:-

1. What was the nature and pattern of both internal and external trade of Darjeeling Sub-Division during the British period?
2. What were the major changes that set in the pattern thereafter?
3. What were the principal business communities of Darjeeling Sub- Division? What was the history behind their arrival?
4. What was the trading pattern of each business community? Was there any change or diversification over time?
5. Did the business communities maintain their social organization? What was their role in the development of Darjeeling Sub- Division?

1.6: Research Methodology:

The present study is a micro-historical type. The historical method of research i.e. both descriptive and analytical types has broadly been used to reconstruct the nature and pattern of business and business communities of this area. This work is not merely a compilation of information. It has tried to analyze the nature and pattern of trade and traits of the business communities in relation to the wider society. As the various business communities are dealt with by this study, the group approach of social science

research is also used. To highlight the annual produce of the tea estates, the statistical method of the Clinometric historical approach is largely used.

The methodology for the dissertation has been based on relevant, though inadequate archival materials, several newspapers articles, oral history sources related secondary sources and extensive conversations with the members of the business communities of Darjeeling. The available sources at the British Libraries, London and archives could not be used due to several constraints as also the exhaustive use of local publications. Facts and figures of trades have been collected from State Archives, Kolkata, National Library and Commercial Library, Kolkata, Tea Board Kolkata, Darjeeling District Record Room and Municipality etc. All these Government documents have thoroughly been searched from Home Department, Foreign Political Consultation Department, and Finance Department in State Archives.

The work based on intensive field-work was carried out in the old and important business areas of Darjeeling bazaar and its suburbs. It has been amply supplemented by the use of old historical records. For collection of specific information about the particular business groups, face to face interviews and short conversations have been conducted covering different business communities and their history has been reconstructed from these oral sources. A self-made questionnaire consisting of 30 different questions was prepared to find the inner traits of these communities and to find how their business patterns changed in course of time. Some old families from each community were identified and senior members of the families were interviewed. Their diaries, memoirs, letters, account books etc. when available, were also consulted. However, there are limitations in the work resulting from the interviewees' lack of willingness to converse and their extremely guarded approach. The websites of the related business communities and their organizations have been used quite liberally, especially for the case studies of the European business communities in particular to obtain information regarding their profile and enterprises.

The secondary data are collected from different sources like books, journals, souvenirs, district Gazetteers, district census hand books, unpublished works, magazines etc. All

these data are used after proper checking and comparing with the primary source materials.

1.7: Short overview of the following Chapters:

As we have mentioned above, the dissertation probes into two aspects of the economic history of Darjeeling from the British period to the post colonial period. Accordingly, we have made the following chapterisation covering both the aspects.

The second chapter deals with the nature of business networks that developed after the coming of the British and examines the emergence of business communities within the context of the changing phenomenon of colonial Darjeeling. It gives an emphasis on the evolutionary growth of Darjeeling town and the bazaar and its relationship with the Trans-Himalayan trading network. This chapter also analyses the role of Darjeeling in the expansion of commercial exchanges between Calcutta and the Tran-Himalayan countries.

The third, fourth and fifth chapters of this dissertation are about the people who were involved in this trade. An attempt has been made in these three chapters to identify the major mercantile groups and then find out the shifting nature and diversification of their trade in accordance with the changing nature of taste and demands of the market. Of these, the third chapter; ‘European business communities’ - deals with the role of the Europeans in the expansion of plantation and tourism industries as well as some retail traded to cater to the financial elites in Darjeeling.

The fourth chapter – ‘Major Indian business communities’ largely discusses the migration of the Marwaris and Biharis - the two major business communities and their early struggle in accumulating capital and to make their place in the trade and commerce in and around Darjeeling.

Several other small traders from different communities flocked in Darjeeling to set up their business establishments the early years. Descendants of some of them are still there in the town while some others like the Nepalis and Tibetans have started their

business ventures not so long ago. We have tried to capture the history of these communities in the fifth chapter – ‘Profile of minor business communities’.

Along with their commercial activities, the business communities as a whole played a significant role in the development of Darjeeling Sub-Division. They not only provided the daily goods but also strengthened the economic backbone of Darjeeling and played a vital role in capital formation in the society. They participated in the developmental works through establishment of various institutions. The sixth chapter, ‘Role of business communities in the development of Darjeeling sub-division’ highlights this role of these business communities in the growth of the Sadar Sub-division as well as the district.

Therefore, on the whole it can be said that this dissertation is partially a social history; and partially a business history; but on the whole a history of Darjeeling in its formative years.

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Chapter-Two

Nature and pattern of trade

Introduction

- **2.1 Conceptual Study of Market**
- **2.2 Domestic Trade**
- **2.2.1 Plantation Industries and agricultural developments**
- **2.2.2 Other Minor Commercial Crops**
- **2.2.3 Tourism and Transport**
- **2.3 Foreign Trade**
- **2.3.1 Trade with Nepal**
- **2.3.2 Trade with Sikkim**
- **2.3.3 Trade with Bhutan**
- **2.3.4 Trade with Tibet**
- **Conclusion**

Reference

Introduction

The great chains of the Himalayan Mountain greatly influenced the topography, as well as socio-economic and political events of India throughout the ages. In ancient time several Indian literature described the grandeur of its presence in the north. However, the concept of mountainous topography and its economic exploitation in terms of modern sense is of recent origin. It was in the British period that the socio-economic life of the Himalayas had been consciously interfered in terms of an integrated political as well as economic objective for the first time. Warren Hastings made the first attempt in this respect by sending the Bogle Mission in 1774 which opened up an era of colonial interference in the Himalayas. This phase of interference and colonial expansion was culminated by the annexation of Darjeeling in 1835.

Geographically the Himalayan region has been classified into three parallel environmental zones running on an east-west through the region: the Terai, the Subtropical or Middle Hills (Shivalik or Outer Himalayas) and the Himalaya¹. Each zone is distinguished by specific variables of elevation, vegetation, soil composition, slope contours, precipitation, and pattern of socio-economic life of its inhabitants. The territories within the Darjeeling district are marked out by two distinguished zones; the Terai in the south and the hilly areas- the Midlands or the Middle Hills: the area that falls under our research area. The region is characterized by rugged hills, narrow river valleys, and forested spurs rising to 2500 meters or more.

The economic activities of this area distinctly developed on the basis of this physical environment. Being 2500 meter above the sea-level it has been free from the virulent strains of malaria, and its cool pleasant climate is suitable for healthy habitation which later on gave birth of a British Hill Station which developed into a prosperous tourist destination. On the other hand the region is not suitable for the general agricultural crops that grow in the plains. Cultivation of commercial cash crops like tea and cinchona became an important economic activity of the district under the British in the second half of the nineteenth century, due to the suitability of the soil and climate. Besides, the natural resources, especially the forests also provided an important sector

of commercial activity. Different kinds of timber available in the hills became a profitable item of business.

After the annexation of Darjeeling, the colonial ruler followed a well integrated economic policy for its rapid growth. This economic development of the district was characterized by both colonial trends (i.e colonial economic exploitation and drain of wealth) prevailing in the country as a whole, as well as some unique physical features of this hilly region mentioned above. Therefore, economy of the hilly region comparatively followed a specific pattern i.e the expansion of commercial agricultural investment, development of tourism industry and distributive trade that was different from the economic features of the plains.

Commercial adventure is said to have initiated even before the introduction of the Pax Britannica in this hilly region. The British sent a number of trade missions like Boggle Mission of 1774, Turner's Mission of 1782,² Macaulay Mission in 1886 to learn more about this trade and to establish commercial relations with the Trans-Himalayan countries, especially with the Tibetans. The establishment of the British sanatorium in Darjeeling just accelerated this process of British mercantile expansion in the Himalayas.

While the British officials signalled in favour of its commercial potentialities, the Government undertook a major constructive step to develop it into an international trade centre by integrating Darjeeling into the trading system of the Trans-Himalayan region. One such major constructive step taken by the British was the establishment of communication network. Before their arrival the whole tracts were covered with virgin forests and there was no road excepting a serpent hilly patch that led the way to the hill. They paid their attention towards both the construction of roads and railways. Attempt was made to build a cart road from Darjeeling to the foothills. In 1869 the Cart Road from Darjeeling to Siliguri was opened for traffic. More importantly the Darjeeling Himalayan Railway, opened in 1885, proved a major impetus to the increasing level of transport and communication.

After train services reached the plains of Siliguri in 1878 under the North Eastern Railways, Franklin Prestage, agent of the Eastern Bengal Railway, foresaw the utility of a rail link between the hills of Darjeeling and the plains. He submitted a scheme for the construction of a two feet gauge railway line from Siliguri to Darjeeling. This scheme was mainly driven by hard economic considerations viz., the huge difference in the cost of essential commodities between Darjeeling and Siliguri, the need to carry out tea for export and the inability of the existing road to handle the growing traffic. In a detailed scheme submitted to the Government of Bengal and approved by the Lt. Governor Sir Ashley Eden, he pointed out how a railway could substantially reduce the cost of transport between Darjeeling and the plains. Prestage received final sanction for his project on April 8, 1879 and formed the Darjeeling Steam Tramway Co. However, the idea of operating the line as a steam tramway was soon abandoned and, on September 15, 1881, the company adopted the designation of Darjeeling Himalayan Railway Co. (DHR), which remained effective until it was taken over by the Government of free India on October 20, 1948. Throughout this period Gillanders Artbuthnot & Co., one of the oldest managing houses in Calcutta, handled its financial, legal and purchasing interests³. The establishment of Darjeeling Himalayan Railway in the last quarter of the 19th century had a profound impact on social and economic developments of Darjeeling.

Its strategic location on the international boarder covered up the Trans-Himalayan trade specially the Chinese trade via Tibet. In this way this hill town emerged as the central place of the region from the late nineteenth century onwards. The expansion of plantation industries and the availability of jobs resulted in the population explosion in Darjeeling leading to a major shift in the socio-economic and cultural life of Darjeeling. By the turn of the 19th century, the expansion of urban economy resulted in the growth of well equipped locality level business network along with the Trans-Himalayan trade system. This trading network gradually evolved around the middle of the nineteenth century in Darjeeling. It opened up a new horizon in the business vista of Darjeeling.

The commercialization of Darjeeling in the second half of the nineteenth century led to great demographic change. It has already been mentioned that before the coming of the

British there were only hundred Lepcha people in Darjeeling. Soon the population rose from 100 in 1839 to about 10,000 in 1849, chiefly as a result of immigration from the neighboring states of Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan. According to the first regular census in 1872 the population increased to 94712⁴. The following Census Reports (table no-2.1) highlight the rigorous demographic change in Darjeeling:

Table-2.1

Demography of Darjeeling (1881-1962)

Year	Population	Percentage
1881	155179	64%
1891	223314	44%
1901	249117	12%
1911	265660	7%
1921	282748	6%
1931	319635	13%
1941	376379	18%
1951	445260	18%
1961	624640	40%

Source: A.J Dash p-24 and Census of India-1951, 1961

The above mentioned table (Table No2.1) shows that a great number of migrants came to Darjeeling for the purpose of better livelihood from the different corner of the country and also from the neighbouring states. The British planters appointed agents to collect laboureres at cheap rate. The Nepali Sardar went into the deep of Nepali villages and convinced the Nepalese regarding the myth '*chia ka patta ma sona chha*'(tea leave has gold)⁵. A good number of migrants from Nepal settled in the different tea gardens as tea labourers. As a result of this population explosion, a new commercial horizon

emerged in the Northern part of Bengal. This created demand for essential commodities to fulfill their daily requirements. It became essential not only to provide those daily goods but also the other requirements. A number of businessmen engaged in these trades entered the arena hence. On the other hand, the gradual increase of population not only opened up many new horizons of commercial sectors but also accelerated the expansion of the earlier business sectors.

2.1: Conceptual Study of Market:

Commercial practices, especially the exchange of goods usually takes place in a market. Therefore, markets always play a central role in shaping the commercial scenario of a region from the earliest period in the life of human beings. "Markets provided a compressed display of an area's economy, technology and society - in brief of the local way of life"⁶. And "as an analytical unit and at a metaphoric level, bazaars speak the language of exchange and negotiation of movement and follow of circulation and redistribution – in short of extra-community or supra-community connections and institutions⁷. As in all other places Darjeeling 'Bazaar' also played the central role in shaping the trading exchange as well as constituting the business communities. The major exchange of commodities of this district took place in market and therefore, Darjeeling Bazaar provided access of all large scale transactions. Therefore, the conceptual studies of markets need to briefly discuss here.

A number of theories developed in India as well as in other parts of the world with regard to the role of markets in the economy. Among these, the most over- arching work is Walter Christaller's⁸ central place theory in which, he offered a diversity of models of market organization, shared a common interest in highlighting markets on nodes in a complex of economic and social exchange organized hierarchically as well as by such factors as economy, geography, transportation, politics and administration. Skinner⁹ developed another theory of marketing system in which markets were hierarchically categorized into four classes- viz (a) minor or periodic market, (b) standard market, (c) intermediate market, (d) and finally the central market.

The hierarchical theory as developed by Skinner is applicable in case of Darjeeling." The minor market, popularly known as a "green-vegetable market," specializes in the horizontal exchange of peasant-produced goods. Many necessities are not regularly available, and virtually no services or imports are offered. It is of negligible importance as an entry point for locally produced goods into the larger marketing system. The minor market what had been defined by Skinner is similar to that of the Darjeeling *haat* or a periodic market held on Sunday. We get reference to this in the beginning from 1835 to 1850.

In ascending order, the other two types are standard and intermediate markets. Standard market according to him is that type of rural market which meets all the normal trade needs of the people. What the household produce but do not consume is normally sold there and what it consume but not produced is normally bought there. The standard market, according to Skinner provides for the exchange of goods produced within the market dependent area. More importantly, it is the starting point for the upward flow of agricultural products and crafts items into higher reaches of the marketing system, its another function being the termination of the downward flow of imported items destined for local consumption. Darjeeling Bazaar assumed this character in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, when market was regularized and inhabitants of this city increased and urbanization completed its first stage.

The central market or the market as per the highest Skinner model is normally situated at a strategic site in the transportation network and has important wholesaling functions. Its facilities are so designed, so as to receive imported items and distribute them within its dependent area and on the other, to collect local products and export them to other central markets or higher- level urban centres.

Skinner's typology of marketing system may be applied to explore the evolutionary growth of Darjeeling Bazaar. It played a central role in shaping the business as well as the economy of Darjeeling District. Therefore, it is necessary to search the evolutionary growth of Darjeeling Bazaar and its relationship with other parts of India as well as the world especially the Trans- Himalayan zone. According to this above theory, the

Darjeeling Bazaar passed a long period of historical evolution. The first phase of the marketing system i.e minor market coincided with the period between 1835 to 1850. Standard and intermediate marketing system covered the period from 1850 to 1860 and 1860 to 1900 respectively. However, Darjeeling town, the central place of attraction passed through more than six decades to assume the character of central market. Though its location on a strategic site and its political significance led to its rapid growth in last quarter of the nineteenth century and made centre of market, it is difficult identifying its demarcating line from one rung to another in the process of its evolutionary growth. The drastic emergence of Siliguri in the plains soon overshadowed the importance of Darjeeling in the second half of the twentieth century and it held the place of central market in North Bengal. The position of Darjeeling reduced to hold the place of intermediate market.

In order to analyze the evolutionary growth of Darjeeling in terms of this Marketing system, we have to discuss the nature and pattern of trade which had grown in course of time. This is done under the two heads of

- (a) Domestic trade
- (b) Foreign trade

2.2: Domestic Trade

The chief characteristic feature of the economy of Darjeeling was that the economic development was directed to some selected pockets. The colonial state paid more attention to develop tea, timber and tourism rather than agricultural and commodity production system. Darjeeling had to depend largely on the imports of commodities either from the plains or from the neighbouring regions. Weaving handicrafts, such as, cottage industries developed here for local consumption but not for bigger markets. The local trade was concentrated largely in the bazaar of Darjeeling district. Therefore, the markets of Darjeeling developed as distributive centres and not as centres of production.

The chief trade centres of Darjeeling district were the Darjeeling town itself, Kurseong, Kalimpong, and subsequently Siliguri. Of these Darjeeling market played a central

role before the drastic emergence of Siliguri at the foot hills. It was locally known as Bazaar. This term is said to have originated from Persian and gained currency in Indian and European languages.

Origin of Market: - Before the arrival of the British, Darjeeling was commercially in primitive stage. Their assumption of administrative responsibilities and the commercialization of Darjeeling (plantations) brought a steady flow of people into Darjeeling. Demography of Darjeeling underwent a great change in the mid-nineteenth century. Therefore, it became essential to set up a market place to meet at least the primary demands of local people. The step was taken first by Colonel Lloyd in 1838. He did a deed with his friend Mr. Perry who lived in Soorajpur near Kishanganj to provide daily essentials to Darjeeling. At that time these goods were carried on by porters from Pankhabari to Darjeeling. There was no transportation system at all, only packhorse and pack ponies were used, in some small extent to carry these goods. Consequently, Mr. Parry was given advanced money to open up a market for primary requirements in Darjeeling town. In course of the three months of October to December, 1838. he continuously transacted groceries to Darjeeling¹⁰. But their friendship did not translate into smooth running of the market. Clash soon broke out between them for their vested interests. Colonel Lloyd did not anticipate that Mr. Perry would monopolize trades of Darjeeling as he built his bakeries, storehouses and took advanced money and handled everything concerning commerce. Mr. Perry refused to accept such accusation and clarified that he only assisted Colonel Lloyd to ensure the continuous flow of transactions¹¹. In spite of these clashes, improvement of markets was not disrupted as is evident from the contemporary news items, 'Bengal Harkaru' reported that "there is a bazaar for supplies, chiefly of native produce, Mr. Wilson opens his Hotel no doubt there will be plenty of European articles, but present we depend upon Calcutta for them. Livestock should be brought from the plain...." The bazaar has been opened to the public and partially supplied goods, fowls etc. procured below Punkhabaree. Midah, rice, dhal (pulse) sugar, ghee were sold at the godowns¹².

Soon, Darjeeling saw the establishment of market on a permanent platform. A successful attempt in this respect was made by Dr. Campbell soon after his assumption

of administrative responsibilities in 1839. He set up a market with formidable shop space. 42 acres of land had been provided for establishing the Darjeeling bazaar¹³. It extended from the station in the south to the Hospital in the north and from Mount Pleasant Road in the east to the Jakir Hussain Basti in the west. He built five shops in Darjeeling market square which were followed by another eighteen shops in the early period of his administration. He encouraged the merchants to occupy these shops by granting loans to them on easy terms to attract the business communities¹⁴. The contemporary record stated that "one rupee per mensem has been fixed as the rent for a shop in the Darjeeling bazaar for 1841"....."Prices in the bazaar and rates of servants" wages, are left to regulate themselves by the amount of demand and supply, unfettered by Nirikhs or other authoritative interference. A set of standard scales and weights are kept at the Kutchery and in the bazaar for reference in all case of dispute about weight"¹⁵. In this way Darjeeling entered into the second rung of the marketing system.

The establishment of Darjeeling Municipality in 1850 ushered in an era by inaugurating the process of urbanization and proved to be another important step towards the expansion of marketing system. The Municipality took all responsibilities to conduct progressive works for new establishment of buildings, stalls, and storehouse on the one hand and granting loans, providing necessary requirements to encourage the new traders to engage themselves in trading adventure¹⁶. The slaughter house was established in the market square in 1883¹⁷.

In course of time, the Municipality took over the charge of its management. Contemporary source stated that "The Municipality has the management of it, and has expended large sums on buildings, from which a great part of its revenue is derived"¹⁸. These buildings were named in alphabetical order. This continues till today, such as 'A' Building 'B' Building to 'Z' Buildings. Dr. Campbell imposed Rs. 22 per month on each shop as rent and 12 percent returns from wine shops for government investment.

Along with those improvements foreign trade through Darjeeling made it way. W.B Jackson of the Bengal Civil Service submitted a report in favour of Darjeeling to make

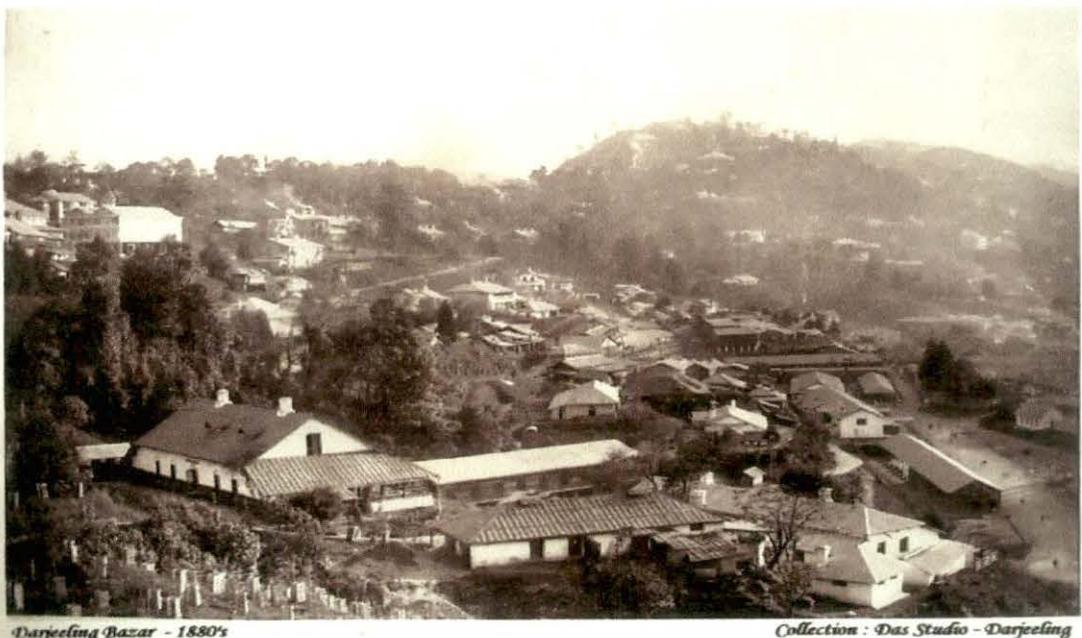


Figure 2.1 Darjeeling Bazaar-1880s

Source: Das studio-Darjeeling

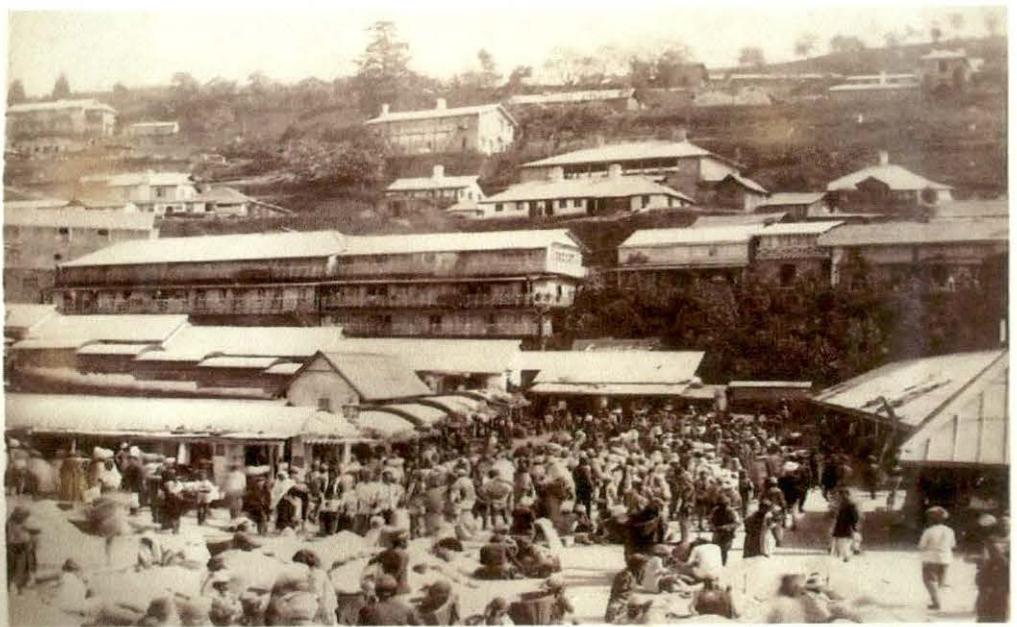


Figure 2.2 Market Day Darjeeling-1880s

Source: Das studio-Darjeeling

it a centre for Tibetan trade¹⁹. 'The Calcutta Review' pieced together the history of progress of the market in descriptive manner- "The market was on the whole well arranged and well supplied. The traders were all from the plains. The shops were erected by and remained the property of the Government. The authorities did not regulate the prices of the things sold in the market. Trade was quite free. Encouragement was given to traders to settle at the station" ²⁰. The Sunday '*haat*' supplemented the Bazaar. Due to lack of available sources, the origin of this *haat* is shrouded in obscurity. It may be said that it originated during the period of superintend ship of Dr. Campbell as early as 1860, an important source referred the existence of Darjeeling '*Haar*' in his book²¹. R. D O'Brien found "The bazaar is quite down in the hollow, a square piece of ground flanked on either side by the native shops and a Hindu temple surmounted with rather an elegant cupola".

He furnished a descriptive account of the Sunday market which is as follows- "Sunday being a holiday for the people employed on the many tea plantations, it is taken advantage of for making bazaar and on that day all the choicest goods are displayed by the enterprising tradesman. These people nearly all squat on the ground with their goods beside and in front of them and a curious collection it is every variety of goods, including tin, whistles, Crosse and Blackwell's pickles, jams and sardines, umbrellas, pots, pans grid- irons, tooth brushes, feeding bottles, looking glasses, cups, saucer, and plates of the most antediluvian design needles and woolen spoons, Mrs. Allen's hair-dye and Mrs. Winslow's soothing syrup in fact the most heterogeneous assortment of articles ever exhibited in any bazaar in the world. In addition, there are numberless articles of native manufacture: the thick coarse striped woolen cloths and soft silk (woven from the fibre) that the peculiar worm which feeds in the castor oil plant produces. Besides most uninviting vegetables, coarse, tea and tobacco, goats, skinny sheep, beef of a colour that makes one shudder, poultry so attenuated that they look as if they had been raised for their bones, only rice, coarse grain in every variety ugly pigs"²²

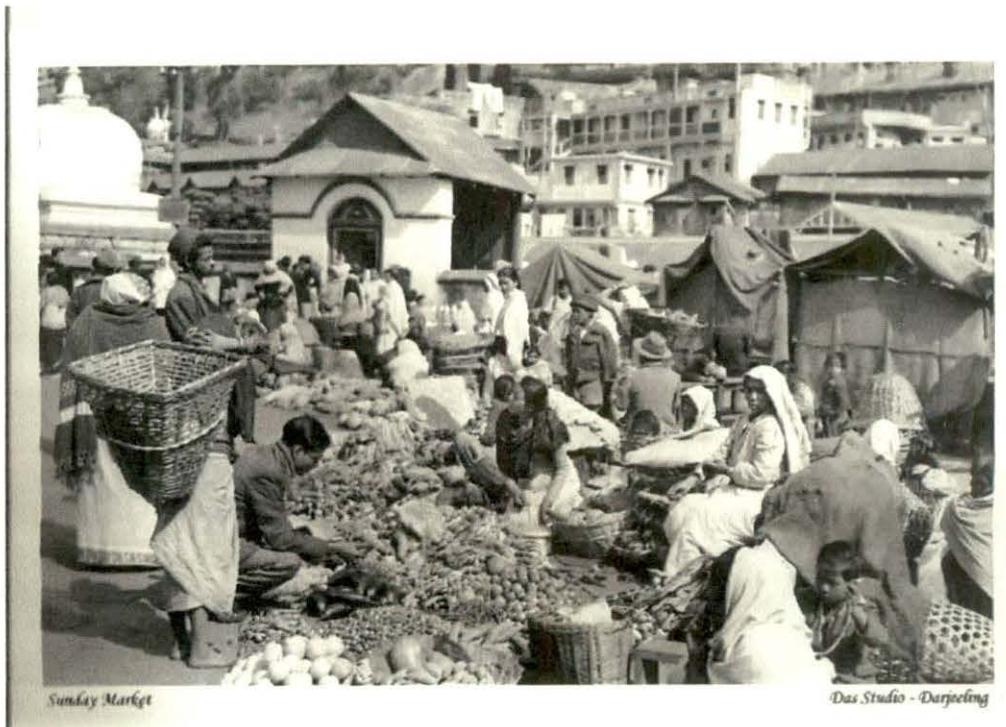


Figure2.3 Sunday *Haat* in Darjeeling early-1900s

Source: Das studio-Darjeeling



Figure2.4 Portrait of a Lepcha Girl Selling Nuts at the Street Market in Darjeeling-

1928

Source: ebay. com

The annual food service of the district more or less casually developed. The same account revealed that "Animal food of a fair quality is obtainable on paying a good price. The sheep are brought in from Thibet, Nepal and Sikkim. The Thibet sheep is small and the mutton of excellent flavor, but unfortunately these sheep will not live in Darjeeling during the rains. The Nepalese sheep is big Roman nosed brute with coarse flavorless flesh. Good beef is generally obtainable, pork is obtainable but the purchaser ought to know from where it comes, as the hill pig is just as dirty amender as his relative of the plains. Hams and bacon are really good quality is obtainable. Poultry is usually brought from Nepal and from the Plains. It is impossible to buy a good fat roasting fowl in the bazaar, but most people fatten their own poultry. The same way is said of ghee and ducks. The Sikkim Cock is a fine bird and appears somehow to have a bit of the Chittagong bred in him. His cow is most extra ordinary..... Eggs are plentiful and as a rule good but the price runs up terribly sometimes. The milk is always good..... the Bhutan gwallahs are post master in alteration. Butter is one of the features of Darjeeling and if as is the general rule it made on the premises by the households servants, is quite as good as the best English butter. Fish brought up from the Rungeet and Teesta is often obtainable perfectly fresh and of excellent flavor. Fish is also brought up in ice from Calcutta and reaches Darjeeling in excellent condition. Vegetable are difficult to obtain as a rule, but all English vegetables thrive in and around Darjeeling and are of excellent quality. The Darjeeling potato has been much improved by importation of English seed. Really excellent potatoes are to be had all the year round. The Bhootea turnip is really delicious, and in season in November oranges are imported in large quantities from Sikkim and are simply delicious in December and January fruit such as plantains, pineapples, pears, peaches, (the two latter only fit for stewing) guavas and a yellow raspberry are obtainable and if the visitor has any friends amongst the tea- planters he will often be able to taste strawberries. Altogether the present food supply of Darjeeling in spite of improved means of communication is not what it might be and ought to be but there is every reason for hoping that this very serious defect will soon be remedied, as Dr. Greenhill, so well known in Calcutta has established a farm under European supervision at Nagro, about 10 miles from

Darjeeling, from whence all the needs to the station in this respect will be amply supplied"²³. Therefore, it will not be wrong to refer from the above description that a good number of businessmen engaged in the business to provide these domestic needs. The town kept growing and other new commercial ventures appeared gradually.

By the turn of the century, Darjeeling bazaar underwent an all-round expansion. Shops, stalls, sheds and hotels grew rapidly and were scattered in different nooks. An important contemporary record of the last decades of the 19th century provided such valuable information regarding the British enterprise who established a millinery shop at the Mall, later on known as Whiteaway Laidlaw Ltd.²⁴. Habib Mullick, a Kashmiri trader, established his curio shop at the Mall in 1890. He came to Darjeeling as early as 1880s²⁵. Md. Musa (whose third generation still in the same business) who came from U.P in 1880's opened a woollen shop at Chawk- Bazaar at 'A' Building and bought imported wool and woollen garment's from the East India Company's agents in Darjeeling²⁶. L. A. Waddell also gave such information regarding the availability of European manufactured goods in Darjeeling. He wrote that "in a Sunday market in Darjeeling Nepalese women dressed in English broad cloth with gaudy handkerchief of European manufacture thrown gracefully over their heads"²⁷.

The market square of Darjeeling did not have well concrete structure till 1900. It was "tin-roofed shanties with variegated hues". In the last decades of the 20th century, G.P. Robertson, the then Engineer to the Municipality, transformed the bazaar "into a neat, clean quadrangle with three- storied, concrete structures".....²⁸.

The bazaar catered to the wants of the inhabitants. It supported bankers, money lenders, usurers along with merchants and wholesalers who dealt with every kind of commodity, from cloth to grain to household goods. It became the gathering place of every kind of commodity and buyers were thronged largely by both wholesalers and retailers. Such description would also be found in the history of E.C. Dozey, the historian as well as inhabitant of the town who visited the Sunday market of Darjeeling in the first quarter of the 20th century. He wrote that 'Here will be seen astute Marwaris, whose chief

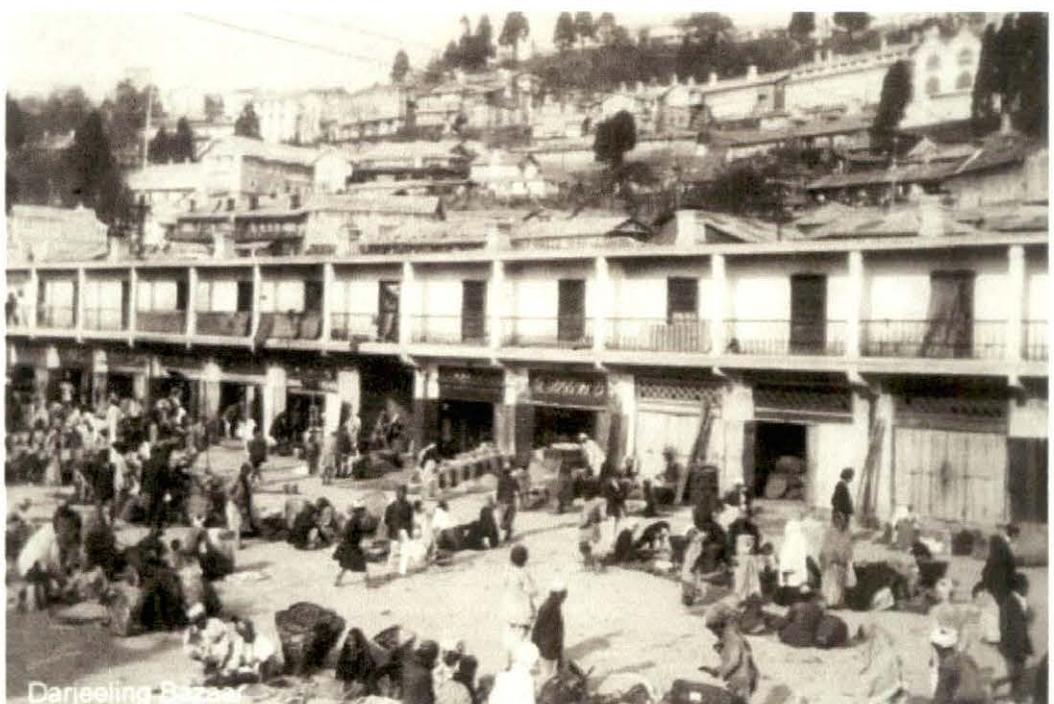


Figure2.5 Darjeeling Bazaar-1916s

Source: http://www.oldmhs.com/older_darjeeling.htm



Figure2.6 Vegetable Shop 1930s

Source: http://www.oldmhs.com/older_darjeeling.htm



Figure 2.7 Native Shops in Darjeeling -1930's

Source: ebay.com



Figure 2.8 Darjeeling Bazaar-1950s

Source: Das studio-Darjeeling

business and source of income is money-lending; mild-spoken Kashmiris and Panjabi dealers in silks, skins and furs; petty grocers from the plains; sellers of old and rare coins; Bhutia pawn-brokers and Cheap-Jacks from whom many an article of virtue may be picked up; Nepalese who deal in curios consisting of turquoise-wear, coral, amber and jade ornaments, kukris, knives and brass-ware (of which the reader has already been warned); and last but not least, the affable Parsee who deals in Japanese silver-ware and oilman's stores. In the Daroga Bazar, which leads from the east of the Market Square to Mount Pleasant Road just below the Central Hotel, as well as in the latter road, are located the iron-mongers, and Indian tailors so dear to the hearts of our lady visitors"²⁹. This bazaar is still famous for its tailoring. There are more than 40 tailoring shops even today.

From the 1890's onwards Darjeeling bazaar met daily and functioned as an outlet for the products of the artisanal industries and a centre of commercial exchanges. The merchants of this region normally conducted three activities: banking, transactions of goods and advancing money both in agricultural (especially in orange) and non-agricultural sectors. The involvement of agents in trade was correspondingly lower. The traders of Darjeeling town were, by contrast more involved in tea industries, trans-frontier trade, and hotel business and retail trading. The chief trade on the whole was carried on with Calcutta, the export items consisting of cardamom, gunny-bags. Jute, maize and tea and the imports cotton yarn, kerosene-oil, piece-goods, rice, salt. Coal and coke were imported from the field at Raneegang.⁽³⁰⁾ Besides the vegetables, fruits etc were found to be sold here from the last quarter of the 19th century. Fruits consisted Apples, cocoanuts, guavas, jack-fruit, leeches, lemons, mangoes, oranges, papayas, peaches, pine-apples, plantains and plum. also all other fruits from the plains and also dry fruits imported from Afghanistan. Vegetables consisted of Beans, beetroots, brinjals, cabbages, carrots, cauliflowers, celery, cucumber, leeks, lettuce, melons (water and marsh, mint, parsnips, peas, potatoes. (ordinary and sweet) pumpkins, rhubarb, sugar-cane, tomatoes (ordinary and tree, turnips, thyme and yams of all varieties grown in the plains and neighboring valleys where the heat is tropical³¹.

In the last decade of the nineteenth century the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling reported that tea, gunny bags and cinchona were important items that exported from Darjeeling. Cardamom locally known as *bara elachi* became exportable item of the District in this period. According to Wadell, the native dealers at Darjeeling conducted profitable business in much of the aconite of commerce that finds its way to Europe and which is so largely used now-a-days by homeopaths³². The following table gives an idea of the volume and nature of the goods that were exported from Darjeeling.

Table- 2.2

Export of Local manufactures of Darjeeling District:

Local manufactures	1887-88	1888-89	1889-90
Tea	9944356£	10274131£	10838220£
Cinchona	34958£	453675£	429110£
Gunny bags	34075Mds	34583mds	24071Mds
Molasses	200Mds	250Mds	300Mds
Cloth	9000	9500	9000
Pottery	105700Nos	125320Nos	11320Nos
Beer and porter	42450Gallons	53226Gallons	35640Gallons

Source:-DDR, Collection XXXII F. No. 54, 26 May, 1890

The hand book of Darjeeling in the first decade of the twentieth century gives an idea about prices of some goods that sold here: "Mutton was sold at 1/12 to 3/- the quarter; beef 'at moderate prices'; fowls at 3 to 5 per rupee; Masheer fish from the Rangneet at 4 annas a seer (our supplies are at present obtained from Sara Ghat stored in ice at 1/4 per seer); potatoes at 2/- the maund (now at 4/); vegetables were dear and only obtainable from Trentler's Farm and the Jail (which still does the major portion of the supply); pigeons at 3 to 4 annas each; pork and ham were excellent, the latter being sold at eight annas a pound; half-grown geese at one rupee each, half-grown ducks at 4 to 5 per

rupee (they are now 1/4 each); eggs at 3 for an anna; milk, Great Scott at 12 to 20 quarts per rupee (now 4 seers per rupee); butter at annas twelve per lb.; and on lf. loaves of bread, baked by Schow, the Danish baker, at 7 per rupee³³. 'Market rates' showing the prices for all the fruits, vegetables, meat, etc were published weekly in 'the Darjeeling advertiser in the mid 19th century. Therefore, it can be said from the above description that business transactions in the domestic sector of Darjeeling bazaar developed on a satisfactory level in the first decade of the twentieth century.

Besides tea industry a brewery was also founded at Sonada. It was known as Victoria Brewery. It was looked after and managed by a European. The output of this brewery was 75,000 to 1000,000 gallons per annum. The manufactured beer was of excellent quality and it mainly supplied the Army commissariat Department for the soldier stationed at Darjeeling³⁴.

We get an idea of the volume of businesses carried on by the merchants in Darjeeling in the 1940s from an account left by A.J Dash. In 1942-43 there was an import of 7,104 ton of rice, 1007 tons of salt, 540 tons of sugar, 417 tons of grains pulses other than rice ,773 tons of provisions and 2769 tons of coal. Downwards from Darjeeling in the above year were moved 1080 tons of potatoes and 1298 tons of tea. Imports from below Ghum included 16129 tons of rice ,513 tons of salt , 434 tons of provisions and 1167 tons of coal. Downward export from Ghum included 1629 tons of potatoes, 2190 tons of tea, 515 tons of timber³⁵. They imported merchandises chiefly from Calcutta. The establishment of the Eastern Railways in 1870s ushered an era of economic exchanges. The emergence of Darjeeling Himalayan Railways also supplemented to the commercial transactions.

The following tables give relevant information about the main import and export in 1942 which were booked in Darjeeling Himalayan Railway. However, it is difficult to find out statistical data for Darjeeling Sub-Division separately.

Table-2.3

Import and Export of Darjeeling in 1942:

	Import	Export
Commodities	Tons	Tons
Paddy	24	38
Rice	5,676	1,830
Gram and Pulses	394	2
Wheat flour	1358	1
Wheat	0	0
Oil Seeds	2	39
Other grains	642	54
Salt	3,209	0
Gur, Molasses	50	0
Sugar	216	8
Wood, unwrought	93	5,737
Cotton, raw	40	0
Cotton, processed	1,356	57
Fodder	457	41
Fruit, Vegetables	12	0
Oranges	0	739
Jute, raw	0	1,641

Jute, processed	131	16
Iron and Steel	1,360	192
Manures	0	0
Oilcake	0	0
Kerosene	164	0
Petrol	0	0
Oil fuel	0	0
Vegetable oil	84	4
Tobacco	686	51
Provisions	1,181	19
Potatoes	32	3,824
Coal	2,900	0
Tea	1,247	6,450
Cardamoms	1	1,027
Wool	0	3,058
Revenue	0	0
Miscellaneous	7,732	1,591
Cement	5,516	0
Marble, Stone	4	0
Total	34,567	26,419

Source: A.J Dash, Bengal District Gazetteer: Darjeeling, 1947

The table (2.3) shows that a small volume of agricultural produces were exported from Darjeeling including paddy, oil seeds, potatoes, raw jute and orange. Almost all the manufactured merchandises were imported from outside the District.

"Besides the articles listed above, following are some of the important commodities imported into the district from outside: electrical goods from Calcutta; fountain pens from Calcutta, Bombay and Aligarh; wool from Delhi and Ludhiana; groceries from Kanpur and Bihar; stationery from Calcutta, Bombay and Delhi; confectioneries from Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Bangalore and Gwalior; hardware and paints from Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi and Kanpur; wine from Calcutta; hurricane lanterns, umbrellas, soap and rubber tyres from Calcutta; curios from Kashmir, Delhi and Nepal, brassware from Moradabad; ivory works from Jaipur; shoes from Calcutta and Batanagar; cloths from Calcutta, Ludhiana and Delhi; utensils from Calcutta; indigenous medicine from Nepal; sewing machines from Calcutta; Bombay and Delhi, watches and clocks from Calcutta and Bombay; hosiery products from Ludhiana, Delhi, Madras, and Howrah and fish from Katihar. Other items of import include sugar, gur, molasses, petrol, kerosene, coal, matches, salt poultry, slaughter animals, motor cars and parts"³⁶.

At present there are a number of chief markets in Darjeeling: the lower Market or the Chawk bazaar, Judge Bazaar, the Super Market, the Mahakal Market and the Market in and around Chowrasta and the Mall. Among them, Lower or Chawk bazaar is the oldest one. The word 'Chawk' is derived from Persian meaning city centre; it was aptly named as it was established almost at the heart of the town. The total annual turnover in Darjeeling market was estimated Rs.58 lakhs. The bazaar was crowded daily by approximately more than 200 souls and an estimate of 1951 indicates that as many as 10,179 people directly engaged in commercial activities³⁷. The increase of population in the commercial sector indicated that the expansion of the old businesses and emergence of many new sectors. The following table (Table No-2.4) shows that a good number of merchants engaged in trade in 1951 which again referred to the tremendous improvement of commercial sector.

Table-2.4:**General trade and number of Merchants of Darjeeling in 1951**

Retail trade	Total	Males	Females
Otherwise unclassified	2413	2309	104
Hawkers and street- vendors otherwise unclassified	380	329	51
Dealers in drugs and other chemical stores	198	198	----
General storekeepers, shopkeepers and persons employed in shops otherwise unclassified	1461	1436	25
Publishers, book sellers and stationers	374	346	28
Retail trade in food stuffs cavehdng Beverages and Narcotic	5561	4954	607
Retail dealers in gram and pulses; sweetmeats, sugar and spices; dairy products, eggs and poultry; animals for food, fodder for animals; other foodstuff, vegetables and fruits	4627	4078	549
Vendors of wine, liquors, accreted waters and ice in shops	110	103	7
Retail dealers in tobacco, opium and ganja	78	74	4
Hawkers and street- vendor of drink and foodstuffs	260	252	8
Retails dealers in pan, bides and cigarettes	486	447	39
Retail trade in fuel (including) Petrol (petrol distributions)	265	235	30
Retail dealers (including hawkers and street vendor in firewood charcoal, coal cow-dung and all other fuel except petroleum	232	204	28

Retail trade in feather and Leather goods- Retail trade including hawkers and steel-vendor in piece goods, wool, cotton, silk-hair, wearing apparel, made up textile goods, skin, leather, furs, feathers etc.	617	604	13
Wholesale trade in foodstuffs- wholesale dealers in grains and pulsed, sweetmeats, sugar, spices, dairy, products eggs and poultry, animals, other foodstuffs, wholesale dealers in tobacco opium and jute	308	302	6
Wholesale trade in commodities other than foodstuffs	564	540	24
Insurance- Insurance carriers and all kinds of insurance agents and other persons connected with insurance business	6	6	---
Money – lending banking and other financial Business – officers, employers of joint stock bands, minims, agents or employees of indigenous banking firms, individual money Landers, exchangers and brokers and their agents	264	253	11

Source:-Census of 1951.

Besides, a number of manufacturers- carpenters, Taylors (sic) weavers, coppersmiths, basket makers, shoemakers and other professional classes regularly came to flock in the market with their products. Although an extraordinary range of wholesale and retail dealers and petty shopkeepers and to some small extent, manufacturer of the different professional classes built the commercial feature of Darjeeling. Along with this the presence of import and export dealers from neighbouring countries was another feature added in course of time. There were also some petty traders and manufactures located in the side streets³⁸. Above all there were traders who conducted their business from tiny sheps attached to their residence³⁹. This was mainly because of lack of available space. Sometimes, front part of the house was used as shop for retail trade and the interior ground floor was used for the wholesale of goods. The peddlers or hawkers also added another dimension to the commercial scene.

The shops and stalls in this bazaar were arranged in rows, having open spaces in between to be used as roads. The interior was, sometimes used for the military ceremonies. Now this open space has been occupied by a number of sheds arranged on

15 consecutive rows for green vegetables, groceries, retail tea, stationary, kukri,etc This phenomenal development indicates the general expansion of trade both in regional and international levels from the late 20th century. This change ushered in an era by the emergence of a number of places of exchange in the different parts of Darjeeling District including the Sadar Sub- Division.

There were eighteen markets in Sadar sub-Division and 57 markets all over the District during the colonial rule. Most of the markets were controlled by the Darjeeling Improvement Fund. Almost all of the markets had close commercial intercourse with Darjeeling Bazaar. Actually the latter played a significant role in evolving a trading network from the 2nd half of the 19th century. Out of (18) eighteen, ten also served as *haat* that met once or twice a week. Two served as important outposts for registering import and export commodities namely Sukhia Pokhuri and Pul Bazaar – Bijanbari. The chief articles that were marketed in these bazaar were paddy, rice, gram and pulses, wheat, flour, wheat, oilseeds, other grains, salt, gur, molasses, sugar, wood, cotton, raw, cotton processed, fodder, fruit, vegetable, oranges, raw jute, Jute processed, iron, steel, manures, oil cake, kerosene, petrol, oil fuel, oils, tobaccos provisions, potatoes, coal, tea, cardamom, wool, revenue, stores, miscellaneous cement, marble, stone etc.

The ten important haats located different police stations of Darjeeling Sadar Sub Division are as follows: - the table shows the days of the week when they were held, important products transacted here⁴⁰.

Table-2.5

List of Markets (*haat*) in Darjeeling Sadar:

Name of Market	Days of week when held	Important products handled
P.S. Darjeeling		
Darjeeling Haat	Saturday & Sunday	Vegetables, ginger, orange, butter, eggs
P.S. Jore Bungalow		
Sonada Market	Sunday	Potato, rice, cardamom, chirata, vegetables
P.S. Pulbazar		
Bijanbari Hat	Daily	Rice, potato, cardamom, chirata, vegetables
Lodhoma Hat	Sunday	Paddy, rice, vegetables, orange
Pulbazar Hat	Friday	maize, rice, vegetables, poultry
Rimbik Hat	Wednesday	Potato, rice, vegetables, butter
P.S. Rangli Rangliot		
Rambi Hat	Sunday	Maize, millet, orange
Rangli-Rangliot Hat	Sunday	Maize, millet, orange
P.S. Sukhiapokhri		
Pokhribong Hat	Sunday	Rice, potato, vegetables, butter
Sukhiapokhri Hat	Friday	Vegetables, potato, poultry, cardamom, maize

Source: A.K. Banerji et,al, op cit. p. 283- 285,

The above table (2.5) characteristically referred the nature of domestic exchange in the rural and urban markets. The rural *haats* only served the needs of the domestic essentials in terms of vertical flow of the merchandises. The religious and annual fairs were also important channels of rural exchange, but it played comparatively less significant role in shaping the economy of Darjeeling Sub-division.

We have another table below (Table No-1.6) that lists the important bazaars that had started before the 1940s. The table shows the annual turnover of these bazaars. All these markets were located within the Sadar Sub- Division of Darjeeling. Those marked 'A' had a turnover of over 20 Lakhs of rupees annually: 'B' turnover of between 15 and 20 lakhs: 'C' between 4 and 15 lakhs and 'D' less than 4 Lakhs.

Table-2.6

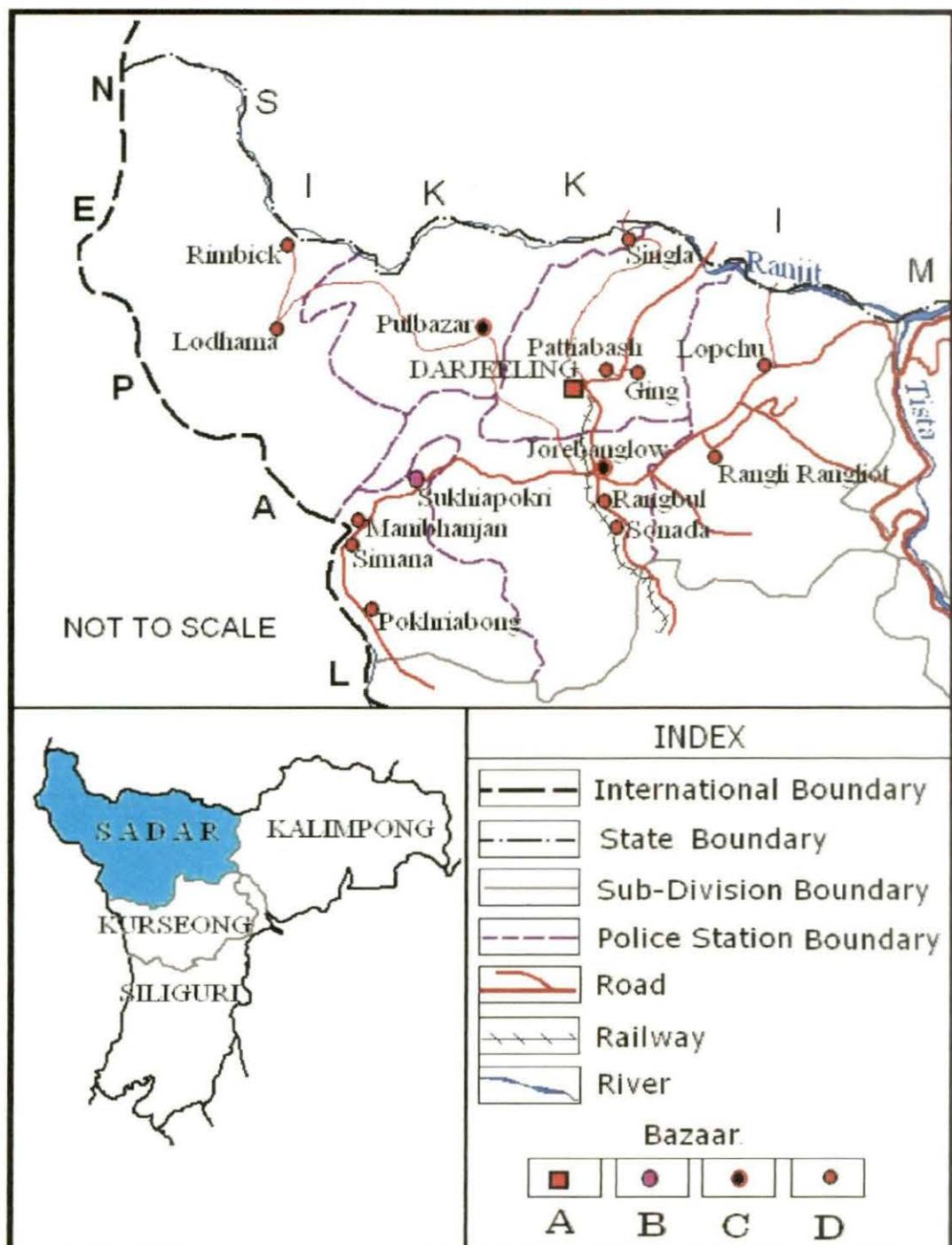
Annual turnover of the Bazaars in Sadar Sub- Division:

Darjeeling	A	Rangali Rangliot	D
Sukhiapokri	B	Sonada	D
Ghum-Jorebungalow	C	Rangbul	D
Pulbazar & Bijanbari	C	Lodhama	D
Simana	D	Rimbick	D
Manibhanjan	D	Singla	D
Pokriabong	D	Ging	D
Lopchu	D	Pattiabash	D
Takdah	D	Lebong and Bhutia Basti	D

Source:- A.J. Dash, p. 170,

SADAR SUB-DIVISION

Location of Bazaars



Map 2.1- Bazaars of Darjeeling Sadar Sub-Division

Source: Survey of India

The table (2.6) shows that the Darjeeling Market only appeared to categorize in the first 'A' category of over 20 lakh turnover annually. These markets transacted both grassroots (lowest) level of exchange and at the higher reaches (in the bazaar). Marketing and trade in agricultural and non agricultural commodities attracted different types of peoples, including producer, (peasants), middlemen (Dalal/ agents) traders etc. They participated in the transfer of goods from the fields to the local market and rest of it was sent to the higher market for export. Therefore, there were close relation both among these markets and merchants who engaged in this commercial inter-course of circling goods from one market to another. Micro level data revealed such type of relationship. Take for example; the orange trade of Darjeeling, which was next to tea in terms of importance. A survey conducted in 1938 showed that 230 acres in the Sadar Sub-Division were under oranges. Orchards were practically owned by the hill men. The traders employed agents to book the orange on the trees in advance in September and the fruits, when ready were carried on in the market as early as possible in order to get the highest price. Most of the crop was sold by the peasants to the up country Mussalman fruiteers from College Street and Chitpur Road, Calcutta⁴¹.

Initially markets were usually periodic rather than continuous. They convened only every few days once or twice a week. They appeared to assume certain characteristic features in course of time. The bazaars provided a venue of a common category of exchange. Most of the markets provided same pattern of business transactions, only some of it served as an important out post for trans-frontier trade, and some of it as police-station or Thana as well. These markets were generally not in competition with one another. The various *haats* functioned on different days and the itinerant peddlers toting their wares from one market to other with the aid of pack ponies or pack horses before the emergence of modern means of transport⁴². Many from nearby villages offered their vegetables, fruits, local-hand made artisanal produces and other agricultural produces for sale at the markets. For example, villagers from Lodhoma, Kaijalia, 4 and 2 miles away, exchanged their produces such as squash, green-vegetables, marwa, Suntala (orange locally known as suntala) with non-available goods brought from the central market Darjeeling Bazaar. It catered to these needs of the local population that could not be met by the local market in the locality. People from

villages as far as 5 or 7 miles away came to exchange their goods. These numerous villages as well as trans-frontier regions were nested in its marketing area, and remained tied to one another by an important commercial interaction. At the local markets one could also find goldsmiths, sellers of oil, clothes, bangle in addition to the usual range of shops devoted to selling of agricultural products⁴³. These markets were tied to one another by rigid commercial interaction.

The complementary economic relationship was reinforced by their communication links. In course of time, with the introduction of the modern means of communication Darjeeling town became well connected with the markets scattered all over its landscape. These markets were connected to one another not only by unmetalled road, but also by the metalled roads. In late 19th century, the metalled roads and ropeways were introduced to connect the different markets resulting in faster, smother movement of goods from one market to another. The Government built a cart road from Siliguri to Darjeeling in 1869 and Darjeeling Himalayan Railway in 1880. Thereafter, the establishment of railways from Siliguri to Calcutta via Jalpaiguri by the end of 1878 heralded an important era in the history of communication as well as in the history of commercial venture. It not only connected the North-Bengal to South but also the age-old dreams of the British to establish an Indo-Tibetan and finally the central Asian trade via Darjeeling came into being. Consequently, the railway communication reduced the time space and cost from 5/6 days Journey to 1 or 2 days and from Rs. 240.00 to approximately Rs. 185.00, and finally a shortcut (land route) in contrast to the trade overseas from Calcutta to Central Asia. On the other hand ropeway proved to be an efficient and economic form of transport. It was opened for traffic in January 1939⁴⁴. Extensions to the ropeway were possible in both directions to the north to provide Sikkim and beyond with cheap and reliable transport facilities and to the south to connect with the Sivok. Branch ropeways were likewise possible to the cinchona factories at Monghpo to adjacent tea gardens and for the extraction of timber and charcoal produces from the surrounding forest. It also served Bijanbari which was an important centre of trade from Eastern Nepal and Western Sikkim and important tea garden forest and Khas Mahal area. Potatoes, green vegetables poultry, cardamoms, and

forest products were carried up to Darjeeling. Cloth, yarn, sugar, salt, kerosene and metalled ware were carried down.

Table-2.7

Import of Agricultural Produce into Darjeeling District: 1960-61

Commodities	Source	Annual quantity (in lakhs of quintals)	Value (in lakhs of rupees)
Rice	Orissa, West Dinajpur, Birbhum and Burdwan	7.46	440.00
Wheat and wheat products	U.P., Bihar and Calcutta	5.60	300.00
Sugar	Calcutta	3.00	400.00
Pulses (whole and split)	U.P. Bihar and Calcutta	2.24	180.00
Potato	Assam, Bihar, U.P., Panjab, Nepal and Sikkim	0.75	32.00
Mustard oil	Calcutta and Bihar	0.75	180.00
Tobacco	Calcutta and Bihar	0.037	15.00
Salt	Calcutta	0.02	0.42
Chillies	Calcutta and Bihar	0.019	5.00
Spices	Calcutta	0.004	0.60
Molasses	Calcutta and Bihar	0.004	0.40
Total		19.884	1,553.42

Source: A. K. Banerji, West Bengal District Gazetteers, Darjeeling, p. 276

Table-2.8**Export of Agricultural Produce into Darjeeling District: 1960-61**

Commodities	Destination	Annual quantity (in Lakhs of quintals)	Value (in Lakhs of rupees)
Seed potato	Bihar, U.P., Orissa, Assam, M.P., and Panjab	0.75	80.00
Orange	Calcutta, U.P., and Bihar	0.75	7.50
Vegetables	Calcutta	0.15	8.80
Cardamom	Calcutta, U.P. and Bihar	0.04	13.20
Ginger	Calcutta	0.02	1.50
Total		1.71	111.00

Source: A. K. Banerji, West Bengal District Gazetteers, Darjeeling, p. 277

Table-2.9

Import and Export of Darjeeling Bazaar itself in 1960-61:

Name of market	Commodity	Source of imports.	Value of imports (in quintals)	Destination of exports	Value of exports (in quintals)
Darjeeling	Maize	Manipur, Nepal and Sikkim	1,000	---	---
	Seed potato	Manipur, Nepal and Sikkim	70,000	Bihar, U.P., Delhi, Panjab, Calcutta and different districts of West Bengal	1,00,000
	Ginger	---	---	Calcutta, Maldah, Jalpaiguri etc.	1,500
	Vegetables	Jalpaiguri and Purnea	5,000	Calcutta, Jalpaiguri, Maldah and West Dinajpur	15,000

Source: A. K. Banerji, West Bengal District Gazetteers, Darjeeling, p. 278

2.2.1. Plantation Industries and agricultural developments:-

The physical geography of Darjeeling district is not suitable for agriculture in general. To some small extent, rice, wheat, barley, and millet, maize, cardamom and spices, potatoes, were cultivated in the Sadar Sub- Division. Of these, potatoes, cardamom, orange and ginger and to some small quantity vegetables (such as squash, among which were cultivated on commercial purposes), were exported from the Sadar Sub- Division. Tea and cinchona were chiefly cultivated for commercial exchange. Therefore, Darjeeling Sadar appeared to be a cash-crop agricultural or semi- agricultural Sub Division.

Its economic strength stands on its tea, tourism and to some extent timber. Because cash crops, particularly tea plantation is one of the main pillars on which stands the economy

of Darjeeling, an extra- emphasis should be given to discuss the rise and growth of tea plantation in the district. The successful experiment of tea plantation brought about a sea-gulf change in political, economic, social and demographic history of Darjeeling. The first trial of the tea plant was made in 1841 with a few seeds grown in Kumaon from China Stock. It was quite successful in Assam. The growth and the quality of the plantations in Darjeeling were approved by an Assam Planter who visited the place in 1846. The Government Report of 1860-61 furnished a vivid description of the first experiment of tea plantation in Darjeeling. It reported that "The original Plants have assumed a gigantic size one of them being fifty feet in circumference and twenty feet high, nevertheless the elevation of the Darjeeling Station 7,000 feet seems to be too great for profitable planting. The frost kills the seedlings and there is not a sufficiently rapid succession of leaf in the warm season to make the manufacture pay. At 7,500 feet the Plantation does not thrive at all. The elevations best suited for Tea are from 4,500 feet down to 2,000 feet and for Coffee from 3,000 to 1,200 feet. It was not till 1856 that the first Plantation was started at Kursiong and another at Darjeeling by Captain Samler who was also the first to grow Coffee and the success in both cases appears to have been complete. The yield of tea to Captain Samler's Company this year will be about 200001bs and the yield of Coffee about the same"⁴⁵. Therefore, from mid 19th century tea industry made firm establishment in the district. A number of companies came to establish entrepreneur in Darjeeling. W.W. Hunter observed in 70s of the nineteenth century that "It is conducted almost entirely by means of English capital and under skilled European supervision, and the cultivation of the plant is making rapid and steady progress every year"⁴⁶.

According to Hunter "The largest tea concern in Darjeeling District is that of the 'Darjeeling Tea Company Limited', which owns four gardens, established between 1860 and 1864"⁴⁷. "In 1874 there were 129 Europeans employed as managers or assistant-managers of tea gardens in Darjeeling and under them there were 1373 natives in posts of trust or authority, it will be therefore, that within the short space of nine years between 1866 and 1874, the number of gardens under tea has almost exactly trebled, and the area under tea cultivation has increased by 82%, while the out turn of tea has multiplied itself nearly ten times"⁴⁸. Therefore it became the only staple crop that the

District sent to the higher markets. Darjeeling Sadar had 55 tea gardens in 1940s. The following Table (Table-2.10) exhibits the quantity of land taken up for the several Plantations in Darjeeling Territory the extent of cultivation in each the number of coolies employed &etc. in the year 1861. A summary of the detailed information regarding all the Plantations in Darjeeling is given in Table No-2.11. The following table (Table No-2.12) highlights the salient features of the tea industry in Darjeeling.

Table-2.10

Expansion of plantation Industries in Darjeeling in 1861

Name of Owner or Grant.	Extent of Grant in Acres.	Area under Cultivation.	Out-turn of Crop.	Number of Laborers employed.
			lbs.	
Kursiong and Darjeeling Tea and Coffee Co., Limited	2,000	Tea.... 421	40,000	300
		Coffee... 112		
Tuqvor Tea Co., Limited	1,500	Tea.... 500	3,200	360
		Coffee... 20		
Hope Town Tea Association, Limited	1,500	500	4,800	360
Balasun Tea Co., Limited	1,000	130	....	150
Br. Perry, Rumooto	...	25	....	30
Mr. Cleeve, Hope Town	...	25	....	25
Br. Taylor, Hope Town	300	Coffee, 8	....	25

Mr. Vaughan	...	Nursery for 300 acres.	...	10
Darjeeling Tea Co., Limited, Gung Park	4,150	200	4,800	700
Ditto Ambotia	3,000	50		
Mr. Treutter	26	9	1,600	24
Muichee	81	8	...	10
Singell	1,500	210	...	200
Woodropper and Ames, Kursiong	100	80	2,000	50
Ditto Tuqvor	...	15		
Tarikolla	360	200	1,000	30
Mr. Grant	150	12	400	20
Mr. Barnes	300	Tea, 13	...	40
		Coffee, 3		
Mr. Castleton	300	200	...	100
Dooturia	4,000	500	4,800	300
Darjeeling Tea Co., Limited	1,508	...	...	100
Total	21865	3251	Tea plants 4303000 Coffee 91800	42600 tea 20000 coffee

Source:- Annual Report on administration of the Bengal presidency, 1860/61-1935/36 p124

Table-2.11

A summary of the detailed information regarding all the Plantations in Darjeeling:-

Extent of Grant in Acres.	Area under Cultivation.(acres)	Out-turn of Crop.(lbs)	Number of Laborers employed.
21,865	3,251	62,600	2,834

Source:- Annual Report on administration of the Bengal presidency, 1860-61, p124

Table-2.12

The salient features of the tea industry in Darjeeling:-

Year	No. of tea gardens	Area under tea (in acres)	Outturn (in lbs.)
1885	175	38,499	90,90,500
1895	186	48,692	1,17,14,500
1905	148	50,618	1,24,47,500
1910	148	51,281	1,41,37,500
1915	148	45,024	2,03,03,500
1920	148	59,356	1,58,50,500
1925	148	59,356	1,87,32,500
1930	148	59,356	2,08,70,500
1935	148	59,356	2,10,26,000
1940	142	63,059	2,37,21,500

Source: A.J. Dash, Bengal District Gazetteer- 1947

Darjeeling tea with its exquisite quality and flavor was in great demand not only in other districts of West Bengal and in several states of North India but also in foreign countries and large part of production was exported to countries like U.K, West Germany, USSR, Irish Republic, and Iran etc. It has been given that the consumption of tea per head of the population in Britain rose from 2-7 Ib. in 1860 to 6-1 Ib. in 1900⁴⁹.

2.2.2 Other Minor Commercial Crops:

Cultivation of cardamom also introduced on commercial basis. It was taken from Nepal. According to Waddle Indian dealers at Darjeeling conducting profitable business in much of the aconite of commerce that finds its way to Europe. This is largely used now a days by homeopath.

Darjeeling also began to produce good quality potatoes. A large quantity was also imported to the other states of India. Bijanbari became the collecting centre for seed potatoes. The cultivators or village merchants could hoard the potatoes here to be purchased and transported by the wholesale merchants to their counterparts in the secondary markets at Darjeeling, Ghoom etc. Later these were dispersed to different parts of India. The Sunday market held in the upper part of the market place became one of the important channels of exchange. On the other days those flats were used by squatters at normal charge. The market was well provided with drain, water and latrine accommodations. The market at Jorbunglow and Ghoompahar too were provided with some civic facilities⁵⁰.

2.2.3 Tourism and Transport:-

Tourism industry of Darjeeling emerged more or less at the same time with the tea industry. It usually conducted three types of activities such as providing food and lodging, transport (site seeing, etc), amusement etc. Among these, the three activities of food, lodging and transport were more significant in shaping the commercial history of Darjeeling. From its very first days Darjeeling attracted visitors not only from Bengal and India but also from different parts of the world. One of the important objectives

behind the annexation of Darjeeling was to make it a sanatorium. A good number of people started to come in search of health as well as to enjoy the cool climate and natural beauty. From the last quarter of the nineteenth century a number of indigenous Rajas, elite Bengalese, judges and the middle class fortune-makers began to establish their summer seat in Darjeeling. The Raja of Cooch Behar, Burdwan etc established their permanent summer site here. The elites not only from Bengal but also from other parts of India came to visit Darjeeling. For example, Mohammad Ali Jinna and Rotti (a Parsi lady) came to visit Darjeeling separately. Both fell in love during their stay in the hilly resort. They got married in Darjeeling around the first decade of the twentieth century and their marriage registration was completed in the Anjman-i-Islamia. This record is still preserved in the office of Anjuman-i-Islamia. It became fashionable to the aristocrat people to visit the hilly resort at least once a year. It would also be proved by the fact that in 1901 no less than 17,000 were resident in the town of Darjeeling, which during the summer months rose to 24000, owing to the influx of visitors which also follow the movement of the Government. Among 7000 people, 4000 might be the new fortune-makers and rest of it apparently would be the travellers who came to Darjeeling for visit. Moreover, in 1872 the town contained 3,000 inhabitants, which at the end of the next twenty years had quadrupled itself.

Tourism industry in Darjeeling was further accelerated by the fact that it became an important centre for education from the last quarter of the nineteenth century. A number of English medium schools were founded under the supervision of the European missionaries. The Europeans basically sent their children to educate in their own European line. From the first decade of the twentieth century many indigenous people also sent their children in these English medium schools. Thereby a large number of people used to visit Darjeeling either for education or for travelling.

All these accounts were indicatives of an important flourishing hotel business. As in tea industries, the British capitalists invested to the hotel business in Darjeeling. The first hotel in Darjeeling town was established by Mr. Wilson, the proprietor of the Great Eastern Hotel in Calcutta. The evolution of hotels in Darjeeling began in 1839 with "The Darjeeling Family Hotel". It was one storied building with 12 rooms⁵¹. The

Castelton, a large one- storied building, on Hooker Road was also built by Mr. Wilson. Around 1845, there were only two hotels initiated by one entrepreneur, but by the end of the century the number of hotels and boarding houses in Darjeeling town grew manyfold. Most important among them were "Woodlands, to be followed shortly by Drum Druid, Rockville, Bellevue, and the Central Hotel, which could accommodate 40 boarders and was situated at the junction of the Post Office and Mount Pleasant Road, the transition eventually evolving 'Hotel Mount Everest'⁵² owned by Mr. A Stephen. Besides, a number of boarding houses also came into existence to provide service to the visitors. These were- Adavilla, Alice villa, Annandale, Beachwood House (now Windamere), Carolve villa, El Esparanza, Fern cottage, Havelock House, La Roche, May cottage, Moss Bank, the Labyrinth and Balachva hotel at Ghum. Almost all these hotels and boarding houses situated in Darjeeling town were owned by European entrepreneurs and came into existence before the 2nd decade of the 20th century. Therefore, the two important characteristic features of the tourism industry in Darjeeling was that it was in the hands of the British capitalist class and Indian traders who came to Darjeeling in early decades were out of the orbit of such business arena till the 4th decade of the 20th century. Consequently the larger commercial transactions were totally under the British control. Indigenous traders engaged themselves in petty trading and to some small extent agency (locally known as dalali) before the departure of the colonial ruler in India. During the closing period of the colonial rule, the Marwari, some Nepalese and also Bengali took part in the hotel business. Some Tibetan traders also shared in this venture from the 2nd half of the 20th century. The latter greatly influenced the commerce and finance of Darjeeling as they in great number participated in the business of transport, hotel and restaurant.

The transport business became flourishing along with the development of tourism industry in Darjeeling. A good number of people engaged themselves in providing their vehicles to the tourists. Here two categories of businessmen appeared. One, those who engaged to cover the site seeing in and around Darjeeling and other who catered services from the hotel to stations or Bus stands outside Darjeeling or vice versa. Some of the businessmen engaged in transport business along with their other enterprises. 1950s onwards it became a lucrative sector that attracted most of the Nepali

businessmen. Before the introduction of the modern means of transportation system, Darjeeling had 57 carts in urban and 20 carts in rural area 12,80 pack ponies and horses. The motor vehicles on roads in Darjeeling town were 202 taxis and 42 buses and trucks in public service and about 381 private vehicles (287 cars, 34 motor cycles and 60 lorries). All these vehicles were run on the roads before the year 1944⁵³. These vehicles increased in number within a short time. It tripled in 1956, there being 1,811 registered passenger vehicles and 752 registered goods vehicles. This comparative figure reflected the increase of transport which again indicated a flourishing transport business. And it was well-established from 6th decade of the 20th century. The census of 1911 showed that the population increased more than 7,580 during the month of September than the month of March. Therefore, hotels emerged like mushroom in Darjeeling over time with the capacity of providing food and lodging more than 200 visitors each.

2.3: Foreign Trade

The geographical location of the district led the British officials to think about the establishment of commercial mart in Darjeeling town from where the Trans- Himalayan trade would be conducted. The Government of Bengal instructed the superintendent of Darjeeling to report the potentialities of the district for trans- Himalayan Trade. He was also requested to "prepare and submit a general report on the trade between Darjeeling, Sikkim, Tibet, and "the quality and value of every kind of produce imported into Darjeeling from those countries during 1860-61⁵⁴". The Superintendent was further requested to ensure the routes by which the traders conveyed their goods, all impediments by which the trade may be in any way hindered and also the 'means' suggested for removing them⁵⁵. He was farther requested to ascertain and report the particulars of any trade that may now exist with Bhutan on the one hand and Nepal on the other and make any suggestion for the encouragement of such trade that many occur to you⁵⁶. It appeared that there were inquiries instituted on the subject which originated with information in a great measures supplied by Chebu Lama, who represented that the trade between India and Tibet was yearly increasing and had then assumed considerable proportions.

H.C Wake, the then Superintendent of Darjeeling fully reported on trade with Sikkim, Tibet, Bhutan and Nepal in details. The Deputy Commissioner confirmed that there had been a steady annual increase of trade both with Sikkim and Tibet during the four years from 1860-63 brought under notice, that with then improved relations with Sikkim, the great difficulties to a wider expansions of traffic arose solely from imperfect communications in a mountainous country. Hope was expressed that the execution of the project of a main road from Sikkim to the frontiers of Tibet "in connection with a railway from Calcutta, would no longer be debated. It was represented that a considerable portion of the China trade would with the completion of such a road, be diverted from other and more circuitous routes, and would result in making Darjeeling with its fine climate an important mercantile centre"⁵⁷ in this aforesaid letter the superintendent gave a detailed account of the commodities imported from Sikkim and Tibet and value of every kind of export and import goods. He reported that "horse, cattle including sheep and goats, blankets, salt, musk, wax, ghee, oranges, millet, rice, lime and copper" etc were imported from Sikkim and export to Sikkim included "English cloth, metal utensils, tobacco and coral. The balance of trade was in favour of India. It was estimated Rs. 89,535 out of which Rs. 19,450 was return to Sikkim in the shape of goods in a year.

The merchandise imported from Tibet were, horses, blankets, tea, turquoise, wool, musk, ox-tails, musical instruments, and shoes" The items exported to Tibet were Tobacco, indigo, kutch". The total price of goods sold amounted to Rs. 64,005, out of this amount Rs. 43,700 was spent in Darjeeling for the purchase of goods for export. The balance of Rs. 20,305 was taken away in cash⁵⁸.

In his report the superintendent stated that the trade with Nepal was not profitable as it did not increase and there were certain uncertainties. Only imports of cattle and blanket had increased in these three years from 1861-63, the import of 1863 amounted Rs. 25,140 against Rs. 23,040 in 1860. The total realize in three years amounted to Rs. 96,960 out of which only 4000 were spent in the purchases of Chintz and cotton goods. Export of cattle and iron from Nepal was prohibited. They were smuggled secretly. The subsequent years saw the steady increase of trade.

It was written in the aforesaid report that the trade with Bhutan was small and insignificant. Bhutan only exported muscle. From 1861-63 the total value of this article was Rs. 17,00 and exchanged goods valued Rs. 4200. Trade with Sikkim was conducted through four routes; two via Namchee and Chadam to the Great Rangit, and two via Zeeme to Gok and Tramduc to Colbong.

The Tibetan merchants entered Darjeeling by routes starting from Chola, Yekla, Nathy, Cumra and Dangas. All these met in Sikkim through which they entered Darjeeling via Gangtok and Dikeeling. The Nepalese traders reached Darjeeling by three routes: (1) via Elamghuree in Nepal crossing the Mechi to Nagri, (2) via Mayoong in Nepal to Goong, and (3) via Toongloong and Fulaloong in Nepal to Samabjong near Gok. There were two roads by which Bhutan trade entered Darjeeling: (1) via Shougney and Jugsa to Dalimkot, then crossing the Sumlienghat to Pashok, and (2) from Paro passing the frontier of Tibet and Bhutan by Chumbi and Rinchingong in Tibet, then via the Chula Yeklah and Nathey passes in Sikkim to the Great Rangit.

The superintendent made some important points regarding "difficulties of travel in mountainous and sparsely populated countries" and added that the uncertainty of markets" was another important problem. Open competition was restricted. Therefore, he suggested the holding of an annual fair in Darjeeling. This report had great influence on the Bengal Government which took a number of steps to accelerate trade especially with Sikkim and Tibet. The Deputy Commissioner was instructed to build up an establishment of Sarai and Bazar, on the Lebong spur. The Government further instructed that the road to the Great Rungeet must be kept up in good repair... you would also call upon the Maharaja of Sikkim, through the Dewan Cheebo Lama, to see that the road made to the Teesta by the British Force in Sikkim in 1861 is kept in good repair... you should give every information in your power to those likely to engage in the trade regarding the articles chiefly in demand by the Tibetans, the prices they can afford to give and the season for the opening of the trade⁵⁹.

To promote the trans-frontier trade, the Government established outposts for registering the frontier traffic around the mid nineteenth century. At that time they were numbered

three viz Pedong and Rangit (for Sikkim and Tibet trade) and Labah (for Bhutan traffic). The subsequent period saw the emergence of a number of outposts in Darjeeling District. From the last quarter of the nineteenth century simple registering system was introduced in these outposts. The nature of exchange of the outposts would be necessarily discussed here. In 1908 F.B.B. Birt, the then I.C.S officer gave a vivid description of the nature of exchange and working of the outposts in and around Sadar Sub-Division with detailed accounts of the imports and exports between those countries and Darjeeling. These outposts played a significant role not only in shaping the local trade, but also influenced the international trade.

The system of traffic registration in Darjeeling was an extremely simple one. In the first decade of the twentieth century there were forty trade stations, spread along the entire length of that portion of the frontier which merged with Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan and east for the purpose of registering the traffic that passed to and from between those countries and British territory. Of these forty outposts, there were eight out stations in and around the Sadar. The trade stations in Darjeeling were located on all the main routes that crossed Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan frontiers. A *muharrir*, assisted in some cases by a literate peon, was placed in charge of each station. Four books were supplied to him, two daily registers and two daily Ledgers. Of the first two, one was for imports and the other for exports. It was his duty to register all traffic as it entered or left British territory along his own particular route or in the immediate vicinity. He was instructed to register the weight, value, or number of the articles in English and Hindi. The traffic *muharrir* had no authority to open out or inspect the goods that passed by. In such cases he was allowed either to rely on the statement of the person in charge or on the evidence of his own eyesight. No toll was levied on any article either of export or import. At the end of each day, the *muharrir* entered in his daily Ledgers the contents of his registers, consignments of the same description being brought together under one head and finally totaled at the end of the month. The monthly statement, that the *muharrir* had to submit was expected to show the total value, weight or number of each separate item of import or export. The monthly statement was then forwarded to the Sub-Divisional officer or the District Magistrate in whose immediate jurisdiction his office lie. The District Magistrate in his turn forwarded it in its original form to the Director

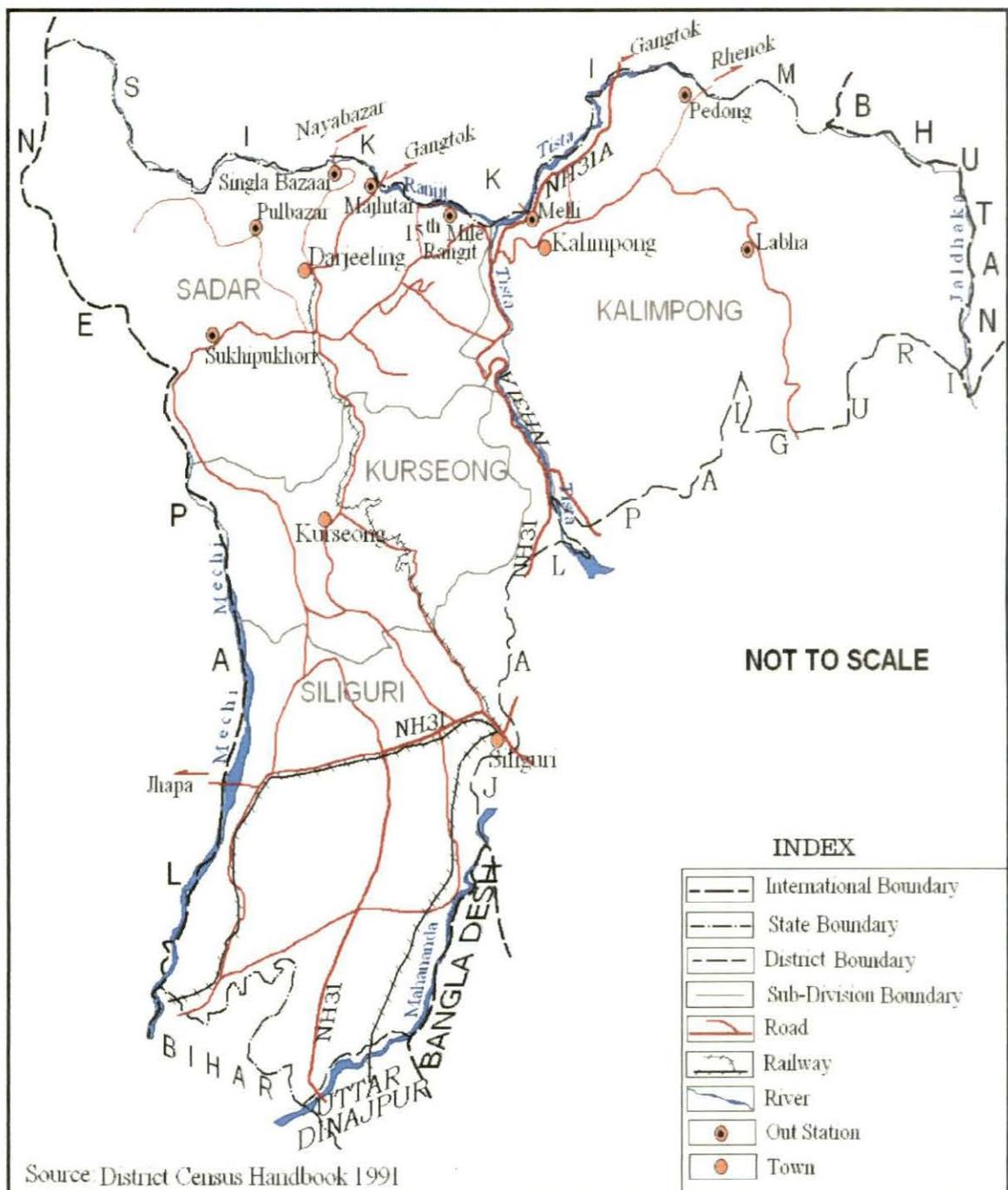
General of commercial intelligence. Annual statements were also submitted by the *muharir* but these were for the information of the District Magistrate only in the preparation of his annual District trade returns, and not forwarded to the Director-general of commercial intelligence⁶⁰. In this way the traffic registration system evolved in these outposts under the British rule in late nineteenth century.

There are ample sources available on the Trans-frontier trade of Bengal. We have incorporated few years' statistics to show the changing nature of the foreign trade conducting in and around the Sadar. Along with this a brief description of these important outposts which were significant for the Sadar Sub-division are as follows:-

2.3.1: Trade with Nepal

Trade with Nepal was one important constituent of foreign trade of Darjeeling. In early eighties of the nineteenth century frontier trade with Nepal was registered at Naksalbari, Ghum and Kanjilia and Sukhiapukhori. The imports consisted chiefly of cattle, gram and pulses, rice and other rain crops, ghi (clarified butter), saltpeter, mustard seed and linseed while exports included cattle, raw cotton, piece-goods (European and Indian), brass, copper, iron salt, sugar, spices and wool (manufactured). In the first decade of the nineteenth century, Sukhiapokhri and Kanjilia were the registering stations for goods imported from or exported to that country, the articles of trade remaining almost the same⁶¹. In 1921-1922 the value of imports at Pulbazar and Rangit was Rs. 63.62 lakhs and consisted chiefly of animals worth Rs. 27.80 lakhs, fruits, vegetables and nuts Rs. 27.41 lakhs, ghi Rs. 1.19 lakhs and grains and pulses Rs. 0.75 lakhs. Exports, valued at Rs. 4.55 lakhs, consisted chiefly of cotton manufactures Rs. 2.11 lakhs, rice Rs. 0.07 lakhs grains and pulses Rs. 0.5 lakhs, metals and manufactures thereof Rs. 0.45 lakhs, petroleum Rs. 0.3 lakhs and salt Rs. 0.42 lakhs⁶². Writing in 1947, Dash reported that Pulbazar-Bijanbari handled exports of rice, mustard oil, cloth, salt pulses, kerosene oil, copper and brass-sheets, cotton yarn, bar iron, wheat products and sugar etc, which were valued at Rs. 3.15 lakhs a year⁶³. The imports were potatoes, cardamoms, chirata, majinth, ghi and butter, vegetables, poultry and eggs, slaughter animals, maize, millet bristles and black dal (pulses). The commodities passing through Sukhiapokhri were

DARJEELING DISTRICT LOCATION OF OUT STATIONS



Map 2.2- Out Stations of Darjeeling District.

similar in description and their export accounted for Rs. 7 lakhs annually. The annual import of potatoes along this route was about 24 thousand quintals. The main export commodities passing through Naksalbari and Adhikari were cotton cloth, salt, copper and brass-sheets, cotton yarn, bar iron, kerosene oil and sugar of an estimated annual value of Rs. 2,35 lakhs. Annual imports were about 38 thousand quintals of rice, mustard oil of the value of Rs. 25,000 and small quantities of maize and potatoes, Galgalia handled practically all the imports of rice and paddy from Nepal⁶⁴. All these outposts shut down over time located in the Sub-Division, except Sukhiapokhori.

Sukhiapukhori:-

The office was formerly situated at Simana Basti right on the frontier, some three miles away from Sukhia. In 1881 it was transferred to Jorpokri, and finally in 1889 to its present site at Sukhia, which emerged as the most convenient one. According to Birt the building of the registering office was in a very poor condition. Traffic *muharir* Dhaniwanta Singh was appointed to this office as early as November 1877. There were two small rooms one of which the *muhurir* used as his bedroom & the other as his kitchen. The inspection officer had to stand outside to examine his book, there being no place which could be regarded in any way as an office. There was no peon at that time. The traffic *muharrir* got only Rs.15 a month⁶⁵.

The exports and imports here were considerable. This was the chief registering station for Nepal trade in the Darjeeling District and a considerable amount of traffic was met with on this route which crossed the frontier at Simana Basti. The chief imports were fowls which were brought across in very large numbers potatoes, bhutta, mats, wool, yak's tail, hides & butter. The chief exports were European piece- goods & cash, both of which showed very large increase during the year 1906-07, gold iron, Indian piece goods & kerosene oil⁶⁶. The figures are as follows:-

Table-2.13**Imports from Nepal to Darjeeling**

Years	1905-06	1906-07
Description of goods	Mds.	Mds.
Fowl	198550	240290
Hides	30039	30576
Sheep & goats	20057	19924
Potato	34116	45648
Blanket	26960	24232
Piece goods	18540	19748

Source: Report on the trade frontiers station in Bengal- by BB Birt, 1908, pp 10.

Table-2.14**Exports from Darjeeling to Nepal**

Description of Goods	Rs.	Rs.
European piece goods	2,56,250	2,81,600
Indian piece goods	17139	19917
European thread	3071	3478
Iron	913	257
Kerosene oil	785	855
Spices	386	633

Source: Report on the trade frontiers station in Bengal- by B.B Birt, 1908, pp. 10.

Kaijalia (Pul Bazar)

It was a flourishing mart. Trade passed through it both from Sikkim and Nepal. The correct name for this office would be PulBazaar where it was situated. Formerly, the office was at Kaijalia. As the name implied, this station was situated close to a suspension bridge, which spanned the little Rangit River. Mr. Birt, the inspecting officer of these stations reported in 1908 that it was a flourishing mart and trade passed through to command both the routes that approached PulBazaar from different directions. On *haat* days there was a crowd of traders from both directions and it was an impossible task for one man to register the traffic from both sides. The exports and imports for which as annual figures were available, were of the same nature as those at Rangit.

2.3.2: Trade with Sikkim

Trade with Sikkim via Darjeeling started from the early nineteenth century. In 1880-81, trade with Sikkim was registered at Pedong and Rangit. Imports consisting chiefly of horses, other cattle, food-grains, brass-ware, ghee, salt etc. and exports of cattle, European piece-goods, brass and copper; salt and tobacco etc. were valued at a total of Rs. 1.68 lakhs and Rs. 0.81 lakhs respectively. In 1900-01 the value of imports consisting of sheep, goats, other animals, fruits, vegetables, nuts, grain and pulse, ghee, spices etc, was estimated at Rs. 4.21 lakhs and exports of piece-goods (European and Indian), rice and salt at Rs. 2.46 lakhs⁶⁷. In 1921-22 Pulbazar, Singla, Rangit, 15th-mile Rangit, Mullighat, Pedong and Lava served as the registering stations for commodities exported to or imported from Sikkim when the value of both exports and imports rose considerably. On the import side the largest single item falling under the head fruits, vegetables and nuts accounted for Rs. 49.83 lakhs followed by animals, Rs. 6.83 lakhs, spices Rs.5.35 lakhs, grains and pulses Rs. 3.69 lakhs and ghee Rs. 0.67 lakhs making for a total of Rs. 63.59 lakhs including other miscellaneous commodities. The principal articles of export were cotton manufactures, grain and pulse, metals and manufactures thereof, which made up a total of Rs. 13.13 lakhs during the same year⁶⁸. As noticed by Dash in 1947, the commodities imported from Sikkim consisted chiefly of oranges and cardamoms, apples, vegetables, sheep and goats. A small quantity of musk was also

imported. In 1943-44, the Sikkim Darbar, controlling all the oranges produced in the State, exported Sikkim oranges required for the army to the value of Rs. 10 lakhs and for civilian consumption to the value of Rs. 5 lakhs. Sikkim cardamoms were generally of better quality than those of Darjeeling District. Sikkim output passing through Kalimpong Subdivision was estimated to be 25,000 maunds (9,328 quintals) annually.

The Sikkim bazaars at Rangpo, Rhenok, Rangli, Namchi and Soren used to get their supplies from Kalimpong. An area of Sikkim near Tista Bazar depended entirely on that bazaar for its supplies of food and other commodities. Since 1942, supplies were interrupted and these parts of Sikkim started to contact with suppliers at Calcutta and elsewhere. Only about two to three per cent of Kalimpong's trans-frontier trade was with Sikkim.

Singla

The trade passing through the Singla Bazar was mainly trans-frontier trade with Sikkim, local trade being small. Exports were rice, mustard oil, cloth, salt, pulses, kerosene oil, copper and brass sheets, cotton yarn, bar iron, wheat products and sugar of a total annual value of Rs. 75,000. Imports from Sikkim were fruit, potatoes, cardamoms, chirata, ghee, maize, millet and black dal.

The traffic office at Singla was situated on the Little Rangit River about five miles west of the Rangit (Manjhitar) office, and a mile east of a bridge over the Ramman River which there joined the Rangit. It was well placed since 1902 on the bank of the river beside the road and facing the open space, where the *haat* was held. It was reported that "the building itself was adequate, but without a sign-board and furniture in the way of chair and table"⁶⁹.

Between this station and the next to the west at PulBazaar was a place called Gok, four miles away from Pulbazaar through which much traffic passed unregistered." A road coming from Nepal running through the south west corner of Sikkim crosses the British frontier and runs via Gok (four miles away) straight to Darjeeling the whole of the traffic which passes along it escaping registration"⁷⁰. The import here was practically of

the same nature as that at Rangit. This bazaar has lost its former importance and most of its trade that transacted here was shifted to Nayanbazar in Sikkim in recent times⁷¹.

Table-2.15

Imports from Sikkim to Darjeeling:

Description of goods	1904-05	1905-06
	Mds	Mds
Bhutta and other food grain	142253	13816
Grain and pulse	2800	4229
Coal and coke	2242	2955
Rice	350	618
Ghee	70	156
Cotton piece goods (Indian)	18	-

Source:- Proceedings of the Bengal Government, Report on the Trade Frontier Stations in Bengal by F.B Badley Birt, Calcutta, 26, February 1908 p1-16

Table-2.16

Export from Darjeeling to Sikkim:

Description of goods	1904-05	1905-06
	Mds	Mds
Salt	581	687
Tobacco (Manufactured)	349	298
Kerosene oil	257	379
Unrefined sugar	254	99
Cotton piece (Indian)	52	23
Tea (Indian)	7	-

Source:- Proceedings of the Bengal Government, Report on the Trade Frontier Stations in Bengal by F.B Badley Birt, Calcutta, 26, February 1908 pl-16

Rangit (Manjhitar)

This office was situated on the Sikkim border, bank of the Rangit river close to a suspension bridge about ten miles below Darjeeling. From here one road ran east to Nanthong and another to Nepal, both led to Gangtok while on the British side traffic passed to Darjeeling and by the Teesta road to Siliguri. The trade here was not as considerable as anticipated. The chief imports were timber, bhutta, hides, sheep, goats and mats, the first two showing a large increase in 1906- 07 on the figures of the previous year. The chief exports are European and Indian piece- goods, salt, manufactured goods, mustard oil, kerosene oil, sugar and dry fish. The chief exports and imports:-

Table-2.17**Imports from Sikkim to Darjeeling:**

Darjeeling goods	1904-05	1905-06
	Mds	Mds
Bhutta and other food grain	21,328	21,706
Grain and pulse	7,603	4,184
Coal and coke	50	41

Source :-Proceedings of the Bengal Government, Report on the Trade Frontier Stations in Bengal by F.B Badley Birt, Calcutta, 26, February 1908 p1-16

Table-2.18**Exports from Darjeeling to Sikkim:**

Darjeeling goods	1904-05	1905-06
	Mds	Mds
Rice	5,238	5,138
Salt	2345	3,553
Kerosene oil	1,597	2,179
Refined sugar	656	697
Tobacco (manufactured)	507	528
Unrefined sugar	479	898

Source: Proceedings of the Bengal Government, Report on the Trade Frontier Stations in Bengal by F.B Badley Birt, Calcutta, 26, February 1908, pxii

15th Mile Rangit

This office was on the left bank of the Rangit, about two miles above its junction with the Teesta. A suspension bridge crossed the Rangit here at the 15th Mile from Darjeeling, hence the office was known as the 15th Mile Rangit office. It was another separate outpost from the other Rangit or Manjhitar office higher up river. The office, though not far from the bridge, might with advantage be placed actually at the bridge itself. It was placed perforce on the Sikkim side as there was no room across the river, the road being a narrow one at the foot of the hills. The figures are:-

Table-2.19

Value and volume of imports from Sikkim to Darjeeling:

Description of goods	1905-06	1906-07
	Mds	Mds
Maize and other food- grain	26,080	-
Grain and pulse	276	-
Ghee	217	20
Articles in number other than those specified in the statement	6243	-
Articles in value other than those specified in the statement	Rs. 1,256	-
Cotton piece- goods (Indian)	Rs. 570	-

Source: Proceedings of the Bengal Government, Report on the Trade Frontier Stations in Bengal by F.B Badley Birt, Calcutta, 26, February 1908, p xii

Table-2.20**Value and volume of exports from Darjeeling to Sikkim:**

Description of goods	1905-06	1906-07
	Rs.	Rs.
Cotton piece- goods (Indian)	4,575	Nill
Articles in value other than those specified in the statement	2,151	Nill
Tea (Indian)	4141	Nill
Gunny bags	2,026	Nill
Articles in number other than those specified in the statement	1,882	Nill
Rice	989 (Mds)	30 (Mds)

Source: Proceedings of the Bengal Government, Report on the Trade Frontier Stations in Bengal by F.B Badley Birt, Calcutta, 26, February, 1908, xii

Mullighat

The trade station was situated on the left bank of the Teesta River where it was spanned by a suspension bridge about two miles above its junction with the Rangit. It was one of the main routes to Gangtok and the Nathula pass into Tibet on the one side and to Darjeeling and Siliguri on the other. Mr. Birt pointed that "A considerable amount of traffic passes along this road and shows every sign of increasing in extent in the near future. The position of the office is excellent though the office itself is not in good repair and should be furnished with a new Sign-board. The exports along this route show a considerable variety, comprising rice, wheat, bhutta, Indian black tea, unrefined sugar, tobacco, cotton piece goods, cotton twist, slippers, salt, kerosene oil, and miscellaneous goods. The imports comprise chiefly gram and pulse, gunny bags, coal, coke, and wool"⁷².

Table-2.21**Value and volume of imports from Sikkim and Tibet to Darjeeling:**

Description of goods	1904-05	1905-06	1906-07
	Mds	Mds	Mds
Bhutta and other food grain	3,626	21,525	28,885
Grain and pulse	1,399	1,809	2,027
	No.	No.	No.
Articles in number other than those specified in the statement	1,785	4,546	6359
Articles in value other than those specified in the statement	Rs. 595	Rs. 8,737	Rs. 10,969

Source: Proceedings of the Bengal Government, Report on the Trade Frontier Stations in Bengal by F.B Badley Birt, Calcutta, 26, February 1908, xiii

Table-2.22

Value and volume of exports from Darjeeling to Sikkim and Tibet:

Description of goods	1904-05	1905-06	1906-07
	Rs	Rs	Rs
Cotton piece good (Indian)	14,840	58,450	67,117
	Mds	Mds	Mds
Rice	13,987	18,773	9,317
Bhutta and other food grains	4,623	5,625	5,896
Salt	2,782	4,506	6,442
Refined Sugar	1,402	871	1,716
Tobacco (manufactures)	842	546	1,464

Source: Proceedings of the Bengal Government, Report on the Trade Frontier Stations in Bengal by F.B Badley Birt, Calcutta, 26, February 1908,xiii

2.3.3: Trade with Bhutan

The Bhutan frontier marches with the Kalimpong Sub-Division, hence a very little trade reached Sadar Sub-Division. Therefore, the trade with Bhutan was not only small in volume but also insignificant in the case of Sadar Sub-Division "Only two or three percent of Kalimpong's trans-frontier trade is with Bhutan"⁷³.

2.3.4: Trade with Tibet

Even prior to the annexation of Darjeeling the British had turned their attention towards the entrepot trade between Tibet and British possession Bengal. For this purpose they had sent several trade missions in these Himalayan zones, first being that of Bogle of 1774. These missions (mentioned earlier) revealed that the Tibetans paid gold for commodities from Bengal, such as rice, cottons, tobacco, and coral that were shipped

through the Kathmandu Valley and some less significant trade routes in the east. Tibet, in turn, acted as conduit for Chinese silks and teas as well as a source for valuable shawl wool, dyestuffs, and medicinal plants. More to the point, however, the British saw the control of trans-Himalayan trade as a means of gaining access to untapped markets in the north. Hard-pressed to meet their commitment to unload British broadcloth in India, the Company's directors suffered substantial losses in having to pay silver bullion for Indian cottons, gauzes, and silks which they exported to England. In this era,(1770s) when the overseas trade with China had not yet developed, Hastings saw great opportunity in introducing British goods into China via Tibet⁷⁴. Therefore, the Tibet trade appeared more lucrative than the other Himalayan countries.

A very little volume of trade reached into the Sadar Sub-Division. Around the last quarter of the nineteenth century the Tibetan traders were found in the Sunday market in Darjeeling. According to a contemporary description "As Thibetan may often be seen in Darjeeling during the cold weather, short description of them may be of interest. In a mixed crowd in the bazaar of a Sunday, if you pick out the very dirtiest man or woman you can find, be sure he or she is a Tibetan trader; these people cross the snowy range annually about November bringing with them rock salt, yaktails, sometimes, gold dust, musk, and other commodities of various kinds, besides, sheep, goats in large flocks. These they sell and return laden with tobacco, broad- cloth, piece- goods, and other commodities, in February, March. During their stay in Darjeeling they live in small light tents which they bring with them. Their favorite encamping ground is the Lebong Spur "⁷⁵.

In course of October to December 1873 J.Ware Edgar ,deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling had visited the Sikkim and Tibetan frontier to explore the trade prospects with Tibet. In his report he had mentioned some commercial transactions between Darjeeling and Tibet and pointed out that it had great possibilities if roads and bridges over Teesta river were properly constructed. From his report, however, it is not very clear whether the people who traded were actually Tibetans or people living in the border areas of Sikkim. In any case it was clear that these people had access to Phari in Chumbi valley and they had already started exploring the possibilities of trade with

Darjeeling. On 28th October 1873 Edgar also met some traders who were on their way to Darjeeling where they wanted to exchange coarse blanket for tobacco. At Keu Laka he met a family of herds-men from whom he learnt that they had supplied butter and cream cheese to the markets of Darjeeling and Lhasa. These markets were mainly dependent for beef, butter and cheese of the herds of cow of the Phari valley. It was not uncommon for a family in this area to keep a flock of four or five thousand sheep. In one particular instance , he mentioned a man with his wife who came up with from Gangtok 'with murwa of their own growing valued at rupees six only which they were taking to Chumbi for sale. They said they meant to take the proceeds to Phari where they would buy salt which they would bring to Darjeeling, where they might probably lay out the proceeds of its sale in an investment for the Tiber market, if they found time to do so before next years sowing season'⁷⁶ He further added that during his stay in East Sikkim he 'regularly met people either coming from or on their way to Darjeeling with goods, the value of which at first sight seemed quite disproportionate to the labour that had to be undergone in taking them to market, but I have no doubt they find the traffic pays them. These merwa sellers expected to get six rupees for their merwa at Choombi, and with this sum to be able to buy at Phari four maunds of salt, which they could sell in Darjeeling for Rs 32, while the value of their merwa at Guntock was only was Rs 4-8'⁷⁷.

After the annexation of Kalimpong in 1865, the Tibet trade passed through Kalimpong via Sikkim. Therefore the importance of Darjeeling for Tibetan trade was reduced. On the whole, the trade from Tibet to the Darjeeling District passed through two routs "one route leave Tibet for Sikkim via the Jalap La, enters the District north of Pedong and passes through Kalimpong. The other route enters Sikkim by the Nathu La and passes through Gangtok".In 1962 all the outposts dealt Indo-Tibet were shut down.

Pedong

The traffic was quite one of the best along the frontier. Located in the Kalimpong Sub-Division, it was integrated with the commercial network in which all the out stations were closely inter-connected. During the time of inspection of B.B. Birt it was combined with the post office. The building was a large well built pucca one by the side

of the road. Yet the duties of the post master here were extremely light. The office could not be in a more suitable position. And there was a single barred gate which was closed at night so that no traffic could pass without permission.

There was a considerable amount of traffic here and a very large portion of it comprised of that from Tibet, which had been registered earlier at Chumbi. The latter registering station, however, was some five days away, and the greater part of the trade from south-east Sikkim, was also registered at Pedong. The chief imports here were raw and manufactured wool, brick tea, silk-piece-goods, gram and bhutta the chief export being European and Indian piece-goods, manufactured wool, sugar, tobacco, gunny bags, gram and tea. Certain articles figured both among the imports and exports. Tea for example was both imported and exported, the value of the import increasing in 1906-07 as compared with 1905-06 by Rs. 640, while the value of that exported decreased by Rs. 233. It was interesting to note that the value of the manufactured wool imported increased by Rs. 9295, while the value of that exported decreased by Rs. 1412⁷⁸.

Laba

The traffic office at Laba was at the farthest east of all the trade stations along the Bengal frontier. It was situated some five miles from the Sikkim frontier and about an equal distance from the Bhutan frontier. Traffic from both the countries passed along the route branching off in a westerly direction towards Kalimpong, Darjeeling and Siliguri and in a southerly direction towards the plains of eastern Bengal. The trade from Bhutan entered Bengal. Proper trade was apparently insignificant, the majority of it passing direct to the south and entering British-territory in eastern Bengal. Neither was the trade from Sikkim of great importance, the main route from this corner of Sikkim being through Ari and Pedong. During the first decade of the twentieth century, it was reported that the outpost was situated in the best position available. Though there were paths through the forest to the west along which a certain amount of traffic apparently passed and which was difficult to register. The chief imports from Sikkim and Bhutan were hides, butter, wax, goats; and ponies, the chief exports were tea, rice, flour, gram tobacco, kerosene oil, mustard oil, salt, spices and Indian piece-goods.

The office itself was a good one and stood on the main road and was distinguished by a sign-board. The pay of the *muharrir* here was Rs. 25 rising by annual increments of Rs. 20 to 50⁷⁹. The figures for the six chief imports and exports were:-

Table-2.23

Value and volume of imports from Tibet to Darjeeling:

Darjeeling	1904-05	1905-06	1906-07
	Rs	Rs	Rs
Silk piece good	1607	4,808	Nill
Wool (manufacture)	Nill	600	70
	Mds	Mds	Mds
Grain and pulse	2473	2,042	630
Bhutta a other food grain	573	274	278
Ghee	254	297	46

Source: Proceedings of the Bengal Government, Report on the Trade Frontier Stations in Bengal by F.B Badley Birt, Calcutta, 26, February 1908,xiii

Table-2.24

Value and volume of exports from Darjeeling to Tibet:

Darjeeling	1904-05	1905-06	1906-07
	Rs	Rs	Rs
Silk piece-goods	11,619	25,250	530
Tea (Indian)	8341	10,692	3,370
Cotton piece	585	Nill	1,119
	Mds	Mds	Mds
Salt	2253	2071	327
Rice	2,016	2009	346
Kerosene oil	899	703	56

Source: Proceedings of the Bengal Government, Report on the Trade Frontier Stations in Bengal by F.B Badley Birt, Calcutta, 26, February 1908,xiii

Conclusion:-

The Administration of these markets was looked after from the District head-quarters in Darjeeling Town. Most of these markets remained under control of the Darjeeling Improvement Fund throughout the colonial period. The sting of administrative headquarters in towns and other large settlements reflected the ambition of the colonial state to prevent competing centers of powers from flourishing in the internal and external trade nodes. Government's goal was partly to safeguard its share of the revenue and availability of labourers in the tea plantation which facilitated by growing residents in the main centre of commerce, and partly to preserve law and order. They made it free from any anti- British wave, which surged through from the 20th century onwards. But the control of network of the colonial ruler concentrated sharply in the Darjeeling Town and especially in the tea industries and to some small extent, hotel and timber business.

The *haats* and local markets and their hinterland were largely beyond the pale of direct colonial control.

Darjeeling was under total control of the British. Almost all the large scale industries (tea and tourism) and enterprises were started by the British Business Communities. The economic prosperity of Darjeeling largely depended on the tea plantation and trade with the trans- Himalaya countries. But in course of time tourism industries added an important economic dimension and catered to great shares of income to the economic history of Darjeeling. The British authority almost successfully made a close commercial connection with that of the countries across the Himalayas. They established a number of out posts along with the trans-frontier border. The trade with these countries faced lot of difficulties in the beginning, though the Government successfully overcame these problems. They established close- commercial intercourse with Tibet, Sikkim and Nepal. During the closing period of the colonial rule the trans-Himalayan trade lost its earlier prosperity. There were a number of causes for the decline of the commercial prosperity after the departure of the British. (1) The Indo-China war in 1962 shut down the Indo-Tibet trade. It influenced the commercial intercourse in two ways: (a) A number of trans- frontier outposts shut- down and a good number of business communities lost their direct lively hood and, (b) The arrival of the Tibetan refugees engulfed the economic strength of Darjeeling. The arrival of the Tibetan community created a kind of extra-pressure on the economy of Darjeeling in many ways. They started commercial competition with the existing age – old business communities. The old Tibetan settlers were categorized as Schedule Tribe by the Government of India which provided extra advantage to enter the government jobs. All these advantages resulted in the economic as well as social tensions in Darjeeling. Neither the Nepalese nor the Marwari took it easy for their economic survivals. They are treated as arch- rivals in the commercial venture of Darjeeling. (2) Lack of proper modern means of communications, (3) physical features (4) lack of open competition (5) limited local demands (6) scarceness of density. Moreover, after the departure of the colonial authority, the business magnets of European communities also withdrew from Darjeeling. As a result there was a kind of vacuum which was not immediately filled up by the indigenous business communities.

The local business chiefly concentrated on the collection and distribution of the consumer products. As Darjeeling is the producer of only cash- crops including tea and to some extent cinchona, orange cardamom and ginger. Therefore, the non- cash crop essentials were imported from the other sides of West Bengal or India. Darjeeling Sadar is neither an agricultural zone nor a highly industrialized- area. Import and export chiefly consisted of general daily essentials, light industrial goods, and clothes etc. In course of time, the replacement of trade- routes also reduced the importance of Darjeeling as only the chief trade centre of North Bengal. The drastic emergence of Siliguri overshadowed the prosperity of Darjeeling in three ways- first, the traffic particularly that conveyed by rails and roads which converged on Siliguri en route to its hinterland or other areas. Second, it had easy – smooth access to store merchandise without much more time and third, direct communication network with Calcutta, the chief trade centre of Bengal.

Darjeeling's status as 'summer capital' of colonial India declined after the transfer of capital from Calcutta to Delhi and subsequently Simla became the summer capital of the British government. Therefore, the importance of Darjeeling declined gradually from 1912 onwards and it culminated in the closing era of the British rules in India. It also lost its earlier significance as an important international trade mart. As Sikkim merged into the Indian confederacy in 1975 the Sikkim trade 'via Sadar lost its international character. Moreover, Singla bazaar declined in the last quarter of the twentieth century onwards. Among all these outposts, only Sukhiapokhori survives today for Nepal trade. Indo-China war of 1962 shut down all the outposts that dealt with the Indo-Tibetan trade. Therefore, the commerce of Darjeeling reduced to mere local business i.e. collection and distribution of commodities. Darjeeling stands as an important tourists resort and tea producing zone.

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- ³⁵ . A.J. Dash, op cit. p.195.
- ³⁶ .. A.K. Banerji and others, *West Bengal District Gazetteers, Darjeeling*, 1980, p.279.
- ³⁷ . *Census of India*, 1951 p. xei.
- ³⁸ . Interview with Abdul Majeed, Chawk bazaar, Darjeeling.
- ³⁹ . Interview with Jamshed Ansari, Chawk bazaar, Darjeeling.
- ⁴⁰ . A. K. Banerjee, op cit. p.283.
- ⁴¹ .A.J Dash, op cit, p.170.
- ⁴² .Interview with Chudamani Pradhan, Bijanbari.
- ⁴³ . Interview with Rinku Agarwal, Bijanbari.
- ⁴⁴ .A.J. Dash op cit. p.197.

⁴⁵ Annual report on administration of the Bengal Presidency, 1860-61, p.123.

⁴⁶ W.W. Hunter, op cit. p. 164.

⁴⁷ Ibid p. 164.

⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 172.

⁴⁹ James B. Jefferys, *Retail Trading in Britain 1850-1950*, 1954, p.9.

⁵⁰ Annual Report of the Darjeeling Municipality, No 213, part-xiv, 1889-90.

⁵¹ E.C. Dozey, op cit. p. 27.

⁵² Ibid., p.28.

⁵³ A.J. Dash, op cit. p. 161.

⁵⁴ Proceeding of Bengal Government, General, July 1864, H.C. Wake, superintendent, of Darjeeling, to Under secretary to Government on Bengal, No. 227, 30 June 1864, pp.- 47-57.

⁵⁵ ibid., p. 47-57.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ W.W Hunter, op cit p. 161.

⁵⁸ Proceeding of Bengal Government, general, July 1864, H.C. Wake, Superintendent, of Darjeeling, to under secretary to Government of Bengal, No. 227, 30 June 1864, p- 47-57.

⁵⁹ Proceeding of Bengal Government, General, July 1864, No.26. A. Eden, Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling, No. 1335 T. 7 July 1864.

⁶⁰ Proceedings of the Bengal Government, Report on the Trade Frontier Stations in Bengal by F.B Badley Birt, Calcutta, 26, February 1908. p xii.

⁶¹ O'Malley, *Bengal District Gazetteers; Darjeeling*, 1907, p. 129-30.

⁶² The Trade of Bengal with Nepal, Tibet, Sikkim and Bhutan in 1922, Government of Bengal, Calcutta, 1922, p.111.

⁶³ A. J. Dash, op cit.p. 169.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p.170.

⁶⁵ Ibid,Trade Frontier Stations in Bengal by F.B Badley Birt, Calcutta, 26, February 1908. p xi.

⁶⁶ Ibid., pp. 10.

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- ⁶⁷ . The Trade of Bengal with Nepal, Tibet, Sikkim and Bhutan for the official year ending March 31, 1901; Government of Bengal, Calcutta.
- ⁶⁸ . The Trade of Bengal with Nepal, Tibet, Sikkim and Bhutan in 1920-22; Government of Bengal, Calcutta. 1922; p.111.
- ⁶⁹ . Ibid., report on the Trade Frontier station by B.B.Birt 1908. P 1-6.
- ⁷⁰ .Ibid., p1-6.
- ⁷¹ . A. J. Dash, op cit.p.168-69.
- ⁷² . Ibid.,report on the Trade Frontier station by B.B.Birt 1908 , pp.1-6.
- ⁷³ . A.J. Dash-op cit. p- 166.
- ⁷⁴ . Richard English,"Himalayan state formation and the impact of British rule in the nineteenth century",in *Mountain Research and Development*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 1985, pp. 70.
- ⁷⁵ O'Brien R. D, *op cit.*, p. 36.
- ⁷⁶ J.Ware Edgar— *Report on a visit to Sikkim and the Thibetan Frontier* , In October, November and December, 1873, New.edition, pilgrims Publishing Varanasi, 2004 p.32
- ⁷⁷ Ibid..
- ⁷⁸ . Ibid.,report on the Trade Frontier station by B.B.Birt 1908. P.1-6.
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Chapter –Three

Profile of the European Business Communities

Introduction

- **3.1 The British Business Community**
 - **3.1.1 British entrepreneurship in tea plantation industry**
 - **3.1.2 British Entrepreneurship in Hotel business**
 - **3.1.3 British Entrepreneurship in other miscellaneous sectors especially Retailing**
 - **3.2 The Scottish Business Community**
 - **3.4 The German Business Community**
 - **Conclusion**
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Introduction

The business communities of Darjeeling represented a heterogeneous group. They can be classified on the basis of their nationality as well as on nature and volume of their trade. In the previous chapter we have discussed the nature of business itself that could be carried on from Darjeeling in those days. Since business could be both wholesale and retail, the businessmen could also be classified accordingly be as wholesaler and retailers. The most important and lucrative business opportunity was provided by growing tea plantations. In addition business in hotels and other tourism related activities also offered ample scope of making money.

As the available sources show, the sectors of plantation and tourism were almost monopolized by the European businessmen particularly the British in those early days. There are references to other Europeans like the Germans and Scottish though they were very few in number.

As for the Indian businessmen, they were more in other wholesale and retail business of grocery and other livelihood products. We have discussed on the British and other European business communities in this chapter. The activities of the Indians are discussed in the next.

3.1 British Business Community:

Commercial interest was the chief driving force behind British politics in India. Involvement of the British in the Himalayan countries was also motivated by the same objective. The character of British economic interests in the Himalaya region stemmed from two objectives (1) mercantile expansions and (2) commercial agricultural investments. Geographically, Darjeeling next to Nepal to the west, Sikkim to the north and Bhutan and Bangladesh to the east and Bihar to the south is commercially suited to the Trans-Himalayan trade system. The annexation of Darjeeling and subsequent emergence of plantation and tourism industries provided an additional initiative to the British to further penetrate into the Himalayan countries. Successful experimentation of tea opened up a new horizon to the British investors for rapid commercial penetration in

Darjeeling. Natural beauty and lofty mountains on the other hand led to the rise of the tourism industry in Darjeeling.

Gradual expansion of tea cultivation added a tremendous boost to the economic history of Darjeeling. Within few years (1860-1885) the whole tract saw the rise of tea estates from 39 to 175. O'Malley in his Gazetteer has described that it appears that by the year 1866 Darjeeling had 39 gardens producing a total crop of 21,000 k.g of tea. In 1870, the number of gardens increased to 56 to produce about 71,000 k.g of tea harvested from 4,400 hectares. By 1874 tea cultivation in Darjeeling was a highly profitable venture and there were 113 gardens with approximately 6000 hectares. Since that time the industry has progressed steadily until no less than 50,600 acres or 79 square miles are under tea cultivation¹. With the expansion of tea plantation the demography of the region changed dramatically as it required a large number of labourers. Hundreds and thousands labourers were encouraged to migrate to this region. According to the first regular census of 1872 the population was 94,712. In 1901 the population increased to 2,49,117, or about eight times. Therefore, all requirements essential for the expansion of plantation gradually came into existence. We have already mentioned that it was the Europeans who took the initiative to launch the plantation on commercial basis and expand rapidly under their supervision and finance.

The Europeans mainly lived in the urban areas of Darjeeling. According to the census of 1869 the total population of Darjeeling Municipality was 22,607, of which 125 were European adult males. As per the census figure the number of British in Darjeeling was mere 207 in 1872 which rose to 524 in 1891 and 884 in 1941, only 0.23% of the total population. British population in Darjeeling did not increase considerably in comparison with the others because they were capable of controlling their enterprises from Calcutta or London with the help of the managing agency houses. In spite of these factors they maintained a strong hold over the emerging economic growth of Darjeeling.

When the British first came to Darjeeling, the hills were largely covered with dense forests and life was primitive and very simple. Only a few European houses were built.

The early records indicate that British enterprises began to arrive in Darjeeling from 1841 onwards along with other indigenous merchants. British capital was largely concerned with commercial agriculture and hotel business. Some got involved in retailing as well. The history of British mercantile penetration can be traced back as early as second half of the nineteenth century while the tea plantations advanced from the experimental to a more extensive and commercial stage.

'Pull' factor was more important than the 'push' factor for the migration of British business communities in Darjeeling. Land grant system of this area was made easy and favourable to attract the mercantilists. Land was provided on rent and revenue free for long period of 99 years. The contemporary settlement report provided such information regarding land grant as revenue free to the British business groups. A large proportion of land was given to the British Planters for tea plantation from 1860 to 1880. To give an example, Mr. C.H Barnes, a British planter, received more than 3000 acres of land as free hold from 1860 to 1869 in different parts of this district². Besides, being of same race and community, all the British capitalists enjoyed special privileges and elite status of the ruling power that the other indigenous merchants could not expect. The latter never received any single land as free hold from the British neither for settlement nor for tea plantation. The Rajas of native states however, enjoyed this privilege to some extent.

The early British business activities began with retail trading just after the annexation of Darjeeling in 1838. We have the first reference to such trade of Mr. Perry of Soorajpur near Kishanganj under the supervision of Colonel Lloyd in 1838. He did a deed with his friend Mr. Perry to provide daily essentials (chiefly groceries) to Darjeeling. At that time packhorse and pack ponies were used, in some cases to carry these goods and these goods had to be carried on by porters from Pankhabari to Darjeeling. There was no transportation system at all. Consequently, Mr. Perry was given advanced money to open up a market for primary requirements in Darjeeling town. From October to December 1838, he continuously transacted groceries to Darjeeling but this enterprise did not run for long³.

3.1.1 British entrepreneurship in tea plantation industry;

Tea plantation and manufacturing of tea were the only large economic activity of Darjeeling. It was the British who took the initiative to introduce tea in Darjeeling as also other parts of India. British entrepreneurship in tea plantation industry was launched by handful civil officials in the first decade of second half of the nineteenth century-a little after of the experiment of Dr. Campbell."Tea plants have been sown and raised on the lower slopes, at Tukvar, to the north, by Captain Masson, at Kurseong by S. Smith, Esq., and tea is being raised the Canning and Hope Town plantation by the companies attached to those locations, by Mr. Martin on the Kurseong Flats, and by Sambler, the agent of the Darjeeling Tea Concern, between Kursion and Pankhabaria"⁴. British Enterprises in Darjeeling were established under two categories of ownership (a) under the companies and (b) under private entrepreneurs.

(a) Plantation under the Companies: - By 1856 tea industry was firmly established in the district as a commercial enterprise. Tea plantations established on every nook and corner of the District almost entirely by means of European capital and under skilled European supervision⁵. The first plantation in Darjeeling district started at Kurseong and another at Darjeeling by Captain Sambler, the Agent of the Darjeeling Tea concern. He was also the first to grow coffee⁶. In the same year the Alubari tea garden was opened by the "Kurseong and Darjeeling Tea Company and another on the Lebong spur by the Darjeeling Land Mortgage Bank"⁷. In this way a number of companies were formed to engage in tea plantation in Darjeeling. By 1891 there were 164 Tea planters in Darjeeling⁸.

One of the largest tea concerns was that of the 'Darjeeling Tea Company Limited'⁹. It was incorporated on December, 1864 under the supervision of Henry Smith, Esq., J.P., D.L. (Chairman), Sinclair Macleay, Esq., Frederick Arthur Roberts, Esq., James Riddell, Esq., William Roberts, Esq. (Managing Director). The authorized capital of this company was Rs. 250,000 in 12,500 shares of 20 each. The National Bank of Scotland Limited looked after the financial transaction of this company. Messrs. Begg, Dunlop & Company was

the managing agent of the company. It was situated in Calcutta. The head quarters of the company was situated at Rochester Building, 138, Leaden hall street, E.C 39, London, its local management was vested in the hands of a superintendent, with five European assistants¹⁰.

The Darjeeling Tea Company Limited was formed to take over the Ging. Ambotia, Tukdah and Phoobsering tea Estates from the year 1864. The first three were under cultivation. At the time of purchase there were 2,087 acres under cultivation, including Ging with 758 acres, Ambotia 579 acres, and Tukdah 750 acres, The Phoobsering Tea Estate, at that time , consisting of 345 acres was created out of revenue. The latter was given as free hold. The Estates comprised 2,178 acres under tea cultivation, of which 2,041 were mature. The total area held by the company was increased to 8547 acres in 1872, of which 1300 acres were under plantation, the numbers of labourers employed on the Company's gardens was on an average, one to every acre of cultivated ground. This was the average for the year. A larger number of hands were employed during the manufacturing season, from March to November, and a smaller number during the months when no tea was manufactured. The labourers were paid at the rate of about Rs. 3 (6s.) per month for children, up to Rs. 5 or Rs. 5.8. (IOS. Or IIS.) for able-bodied men¹¹.

The out-turn of tea manufactured by the Company in 1870 amounted to 311,257 lbs. or 3794 standard maunds, from a total cultivated area of 1109 acres; average out-turn of tea per acre, being 280 lbs. In 1872 the out-turn amounted to 471,325 lbs.. or 5748 maunds, grown from 1300 acres, of which 1050 acres were under mature plants; average out-turn per acre of mature plants. 448 lbs. The Company's gardens were situated at elevations varying from 2000 to 4700 feet above sea level. The soil was generally good, and in some parts extremely rich¹². The following table (Table No-Table-3.1) shows the workings of the Darjeeling Tea Company Limited during 1890-95 of the 19th century:

Table-3.1

The working of the Darjeeling Tea Company Limited during 1890-95:

Year	Mature acres	Crop Sale Weight lbs	Yield per acre lbs	Average cost per lbs	Average per lbs realized	Total Profit from all sources	Dividend lbs
1890	1,906	595,578	318	10.l 4 d.	12.66d.	£6,266	6%
1891	1,906	589515	313	9.36d	11.726d.	£5795	5
1892	1,906	580,651	309	8.40d	12.9od.	£10,865	6
1893	2,003	5644H	285	8.50d	11.02d.	£5,927	5
1894	2,003	514,148	200	8. 97d.	12.53d.	£7,624	5½
1895	2,041	575,308	286	8.23d.	11.29d	£7,360	5½

(Accounts were made up annually to the 31st December and submitted, together with the Directors' Report, in the May following when the dividend was announced).

Source:- Gow,Wilson & Stanton, *Tea producing companies of India and Ceylon*(showing the history and results of those capitalized in sterling, together with the Annual Report about the March or April following) , A. Southe and co, London,1897,p.7-13

One of the largest tea companies in Darjeeling was established under the land Mortgage Bank in 1856. The first tea garden under this enterprise started at Lebong Spur near Darjeeling ¹³ in the same year. Within seven years i.e from 1856 to 1863 it established five tea gardens in Darjeeling district. The total area under Land Mortgage bank was 9657 acres. In 1869 the total out-turn of tea of the gardens under the Bank was 164544 lbs¹⁴ which increased to lbs 223519 in 1870. Later on the properties of the Land Mortgage Bank were taken over by the Amalgamated Tea Estate Company Limited.

Among the early British tea companies Lebong Tea Company Limited was the most important enterprise. It was incorporated with 100000 sterling authorized capital in

10,000 sterling shares of 10 each. The Tea Estates under the company were situated near Darjeeling. Some of the best properties of the district were owned by this company. They worked in two divisions viz: Badamtam and Tukvar. They comprised 4943 acres, mostly free hold, the planted area amounting to 1546 acres practically the whole of which was in bearing.

The pioneer directors of the company were Charles, Goodhart. Esq. (chairman), Dudley R. Smith Esq. George W. Christtson, Esq., Gardener S.Bazley esq. It dealt with a number of banks for financial transactions including Smith Payne and Smith (in London) Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China (in Calcutta) and Lloyd's Bank (in Darjeeling). The local agent was Messrs. Balmkr, Lawrik and Company in Calcutta. George G. Play Fair. Esq. was the pioneer- secretary of this company who looked after its managerial works from Calcutta. The headquarters of the company was situated at Cannon street, London. The following table (Table No-3.2) shows result and dividends of the **Lebong Tea Company Limited** from 1889 to 1894(in sterling and guinea).

Table-3.2

The Result and dividends of the Lebong Tea Company Limited from 1889 to 1894(in sterling and guinea):

Year.	Acres in bear- ing.	Crop Sale Weight. lbs.	Av. lbs. per acre.	Average cost per lb.	Average per lb. realised.	Total Profit from all sources.	Dividend %	Remarks.
1889	1126	372,954	335	9.56d.	12.5 2d	£6,033	6	£908 to Reserve
1890	1254	397,692	321	10.68d.	13.4od	£5,658	6	£487 to Reserve
1891	1359	470,778	350	9.83d.	11.49d.	£4,201	6	£963 from Reserve
1892	1,451	494,052	344	8.68d.	13.59d	£10,966	9	£1,030 to Reserve
1893	1,520	457,138	304	8.7od.	11.88d	£6,805	10	—
1894	1541	489120	321	8.19d	14.31d	£2,957	15*	£3,000 to Reserve
1895	1542	519907	340	7.37d	12.34d	£11,741	15*	£1,000 to Reserve £1,749 carried forwd

* Including Bonus of 5%.

There was some tea seed produced each year, the cost of which is included in the above table (cost column), but not the price realised for the same ; it is, however, included in the net profit.

An ad interim dividend of 5% has been paid on the 1896 workings.

Source; Gow,Wilson & Stanton. Tea producing companies of India and Ceylon: (showing the history and results of those capitalized in sterling, together with the Annual Report about the March or April following), A. Southee and co, London 1897.

The British Darjeeling Tea Company was formed in 1895 with £50,000 capital divided shares of 10 each, £35,000 of which were issued and fully paid. This Company also issued debentures to accumulate capital, 25,000 in bonds of 50 and 100, bearing interest at the rate of 6% payable half yearly on the 1st April and 1st October. It was repayable at par on July, 1920, the option being reserved to the company, at any time after 1st January 1900, to pay off all or any of them at 105, on giving six month's notice. These debentures were secured by a mortgage deed on the estate belonging to the company at the time of issue. In this way they accumulated capital from the London Share market for the investment to the Tea Estates in India. It was established under the Directorators of R.J.Boyle Esq, W.F. Raban Esq. Sydney Thompson Esq. Loftus R. Tottenham Esq. Messr. Devenport and Company became the managing agents in India. They usually performed all the functions of management from Calcutta. London Joint stock Bank Limited became the financial transaction authority of this company. Messr. Lloyd & Company was appointed as its secretary to look after the development of the estates in Darjeeling.

The headquarter of the company was in London. The company acquired a large proportion of land as free hold. West Darjeeling, Nigali and Pusumbing came under its jurisdiction in the early period of its emergence. The general elevation of the estates ranged from 3000 to 5,500 feet. The uncultivated land comprised of a large quantity of prineval forest, practically untouched, except to procure timber¹⁵.

In due course a number of companies amalgamated with **Darjeeling Consolidated Tea Company, Limited** in 8th July 1896 including the Balasun Tea Company, Limited, the Gyabaree Tea Company, Limited. Singbulli & Murmah Tea Company, Limited. the Ting Ling Tea Company, Limited. The initial capital of the company was £120,000 in 12,000 shares of £10 each, half of which were ordinary and half 5% was preference shares, all issued and fully paid. Preference shares were cumulative, and had priority as to capital as well as dividend. It was formed under the directorship of Sir Alexander Wilson, James Murdoch, Esq. W.L. Thomas, Esq. W. F. Raban, Esq. Davenport & Company was appointed as the managing agent of the company.¹⁶ The purchase price for the properties was fixed at £118,000 in cash.

This Company acquired the following properties of the under mentioned Tea Companies registered in India:

	Total Acres	under cultivation.(acres)
The Balasun Tea Company, Limited.	1,256	Freehold land, 500
The Gyabaree Tea Company, Limited ...	3,005	Freehold land, 420
Singbulli & Murmah Tea Company, Limited, 2,700		Freehold land, 750
The Ting Ling Tea Company, Limited ...	1,552	Leasehold land, 485
	Total ... 8,513	2,155

All these properties were situated in the Darjeeling District. The cultivated land was all in bearing with the exception of about 112 acres¹⁷.

It was the intention of the management authority to further extend the planted area, and with this object 120 acres were immediately taken in hand, cleared and planted. For the three years previous to the flotation of this Company, the average price realized for the produce of the four concerns acquired had been equivalent to 1s 1½ d per lb. in London, and the net average profit amounted to £6,945. These calculations were based on an exchange of 1s 2d per rupee. Accounts were made up annually.

Table-3.3

Statistics of the British leading tea gardens of Darjeeling district for 1870.

Name of proprietor	No. of gardens comprising the Estate	Year in which the gardens were established	Acreage and varieties of tenure				Total Acres under cultivation at end of 1870	Out-turn of tea in 1869	Out-turn of tea in 1870	Labourers			
			Held grant under old rules	Held in fee-simpl e under new rules	Held under rent payin g leases	Total area				Men	Wo men	Child ren	Total
			acres	acres	acres	Acres	acres	Ibs	Ibs				
Darjeeling Company Limited	4	1860-4	7718	....	646	8364	1109	230,578	311,257	650	350	100	1100
Kurseong and	2	1856	...	680	2050	2730	719	69,200	69,760	77	141	43	261

Darjeeling Company													
Soom Tea Company	1	1862	..	1252	..	1252	403	69,351	63,627	100	150	20	270
Indian Tea Company	1	1861	600	...	...	600	450	3,360	2,160	120	80	30	230
Takvar Tea Company	1	1860	574	...	...	574	574	76,947	101,520	200	150	50	400
Pankhabari Tea Company	1	1861	534	...	...	534	130	25,280	26,000	50	50	20	120
Lebong Tea Company	3	1863	3499	319	2109	5927	1066	194,880	272,720	420	405	133	958
Salim Tea Association	1	1864	...	2039	...	2039	500	100,800	80,000	300	200	100	600
Land Mortgage Bank	1	1856	...	1750	...	1750	500	50,000	57,926	200	100	40	340
Do	1	1859	...	1150	...	1150	250	18,788	25,052	120	30	10	160
Do	1	1862	...	1760	...	1760	250	16,164	25,152	115	30	5	150
Do	1	1863	...	...	3154	3154	250	8,047	12,972	80	35	5	120

Do	3	1862	1585	...	...	1485	490	62,810	86,887	224	140	26	390
Do	1	1862	...	258	...	258	250	8,735	15,530	96	30	4	130
Darjeeling Terai Tea Company	1	1867-8	...	...	500	500	200	13,280	16,800	100	40	10	150
Terai Tea Association	1	1866	...	...	413	413	150	20,800	23,200	100	40	10	150

Source- W.W Hunter, A Statistical Account of Bengal Vol- 10: Darjiling, District of Jalpaiguri and State of Koch Bihar, Oxford, 1876 p.167-68



Figure 3.1 Women Workers Cleaning Tea Leaves in Factory in Darjeeling – 1865

Source: http://www.oldmhs.com/older_darjeeling.htm



Figure 3.2 Tea Planter with Tea Pickers Steinthal Tea Estate 1930s

Source: http://www.oldmhs.com/older_darjeeling.htm

Table-3.4

Statistics of the British leading tea gardens of Darjeeling district for 1872.

Name of Plantation Proprietor	No. of Garde ns comp rising the Estate	AREA					Approximate Yield of Tea				Average Yield in lbs. per Acre of Mature Plants
		Area under Matu re Plant s in Acres	Area under Imma ture Plants in Acres	Total Culti vated Area in Acres	Area of Un- cultivate d and Unsuits able Land in Acres	Total Area in Acres	Pekoe	Pekoe- Souchong and souchong	Fannings and Broken Tea, etc	Total Yield	
							Lbs	lbs	lbs	Lbs	
Darjeeling Co., Viz, Ging, Ambutia, Takda, and Phubserang	4	1050	250	1300	7247	8547	226,000	180,000	65,325	47,325	448
Lebong Co., viz, Takvar, Badamtam, Little	4	910	147	1057	4693	5750	163,000	129,040	47,560	339,600	373

Badamtam, and Pankabari											
Takvar Company	1	376	25	401	173	574	84,712	67,064	24,704	176,480	469
Soom Company	1	350	5	355	897	1252	17,288	19,442	45,650	82,380	235
Land Mortgage Bank, viz. Mundakoti, Nagvi Nahor, Dukdobo, and Dajea	4	1250	50	1300	3663	4963	89,000	49,000	33,000	171,000	136
Land Mortgage Bank, viz. Minchu, Mineral Spring, and Changtang	3	670	...	670	2675	3345	92,000	71,000	16,680	179,680	268
Karsiang and Darjeeling Company, Makaibari and Alubari	2	690	...	690	2040	2730	25,840	49,440	44,720	120,000	173

Karsiang and Tarai Comapany, Castleton and Morapur	2	400	120	320	338	858	9,069	7,180	2,646	18,895	47
Pankhabari Company	1	50	50	100	144	244	13,320	11,840	4,440	29,600	592
Selim Tea Association	1	500	127	627	1412	2039	51,840	41,040	15,120	108,000	211
Darjeeling Tarai Company	1	125	75	200	350	550	16,000	20,000	4,000	40,000	320
Tarai Tea Association	1	100	100	200	213	413	14,400	11,520	22,080	48,000	480
Indian Tarai Tea Company, Chenga	1	...	220	220	617	837	...	...	...	...	...
Gielle Tea Association	1	...	100	100	234	334	...	...	...	...	...

New Tarai Tea Association	1	...	400	400	2850	3250	...	...	...	...	...
Changtang, Tea Association	I	...	40	40	460	500	...	...	...	...	...

Source- W.W Hunter, A Statistical Account of Bengal Vol- 10: Darjiling, District of Jalpaiguri and State of Koch Bihar, Oxford, 1876, p. 167-170

(b) Tea Plantation under Private entrepreneurs;

As explained earlier tea plantations in nineteenth century were managed simultaneously by individual enterprise and partnership or joint-stock companies. As for the plantations under individual enterprise, they were under direct control of the British tea planters consisting of retired army personnel, civil servants, civil surgeons and business magnets. State patronage and their entrepreneurial skill induced them to acquire land for the purpose of creating tea-state in Darjeeling. What was more important in respect of establishing tea gardens was the availability of labourers on cheap rates. It was the British authority and planters who became instrumental to encourage the people from neighboring states like Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim and other parts of India specially Bihar, Uttar Pradesh etc to migrate to Darjeeling. Therefore, the flow of mass continued to Darjeeling throughout second half of the nineteenth century. Among the early British planters the most eminent were Fred Brine, Dr. Brougham, W.C. Taylor, David Wilson, John Stalkkart, C.H. Burnes, J.F. Muller, W. Lloyd, C.R. 'O' Donogue, John White, Judge Gustavas, J. Tylor, James Grant, A. King, B. Dickenson, R.S. Wight, S. Makintosh etc. Among all Henrietta Colebrook Taylor is particularly remembered till today. She came to establish her tea garden in Hope Town near Sonada. She was one of the important pioneers of the Hope Town scheme. The land of '318' acres¹⁸ was given to her for the purpose of tea plantation near Sonada namely Neej Kaman (Since renamed The Cedars)¹⁹. The Brief description of Henrietta Colebrook Taylor's enterprise in Hope Town (Table No-3.5) is given below.

Table-3.5

Henrietta Colebrook Taylor's enterprise in Hope Town:-

Name of Plantation Proprietor	No. of Garde- ns com- prising the Estate	AREA					Approximate Yield of Tea				Average Yield in lbs. per Acre of Mature Plants.
		Area under Matur- e Plants in Acres	Area under Imma- ture Plants in Acres	Total Culti- vated Area in Acres	Area of Un- cultivated and Unsuitabl- e Land in Acres	Total Area in Acres	Pekoe	Pekoe- Souchong and souchong	Fannin- gs and Broken Tea, etc	Total Yield	
							lbs	lbs	lbs	Lbs	
W.C. Taylor, (son of H.C. Taylor) Hope Town	1	40	10	50	268	318	3,000	1,960	...	4,960	124

Source: Hunter, *Ibid*, p. 169

The Hope Town scheme however, proved to be a great failure after some years when she decided to sell off her estate. The Cedars Estate was purchased by Francis Colbrook Fooks in 1866. She stayed with her son William Taylor, a Deputy Magistrate of Mymensingh. Her husband was Colonel, perhaps under the East India Company.

Due to lack of proper experience the early pioneers made a lot of mistakes and then they had to depend on trial and error methods. In Hunter's word "the earlier planters, Owing to want of experience made many mistakes and their venture did not meet with success"²⁰. Some of them failed to achieve success and sold off their tea estates to others. In course of time they mended their mistakes and within a few decades they began to make a steady increase and prosperity in tea plantations. Within few decades they became business tycoon in Darjeeling. Their business empire extended into the Terai.

How lucrative it had become for the British officials to invest in tea business is understood from the following description of E.C. Dozey "Dr. Chas Graham who threw up his practice in Calcutta for tea culture" ²¹. Dr. Roberts migrated from Raneegung to Darjeeling for this lucrative business of tea. He laid out Rangmuk Tea Estate in Sonada,²² around 1860.

Some were not so fortunate. Those who lacked patience and perseverance even sold out their estates. In this way Dr. Brougham, the civil surgeon of General Hospital, Calcutta purchased Dooteria garden at an auction at Calcutta for a sum of only Rs. 20,000. It was estimated to have cost of over eight lakh in its outlay. He appointed Mr. Malins, an Asst. Surgeon as the manager of the garden,²³ for its further improvements.

After the hilly zone of Darjeeling was completely brought under the tea cultivation the British planters moved down to the Terai. At that time it was known as malaria's zone. The first two gardens started by H. Hancock at upper Puntunghar date back to 1861; then the Champta was planted shortly after in 1862 and the Single Tea Estate was laid out by Mr. James White (one of the pioneer of tea industry in Assam) in Kurseong. In 1866 Messrs. Patterson, Mandell and Martin made a partnership and started a garden at

Manja near Panighatta. Another partnership had been made among three British entrepreneurs Mr. Flemsted, Lloyd and Hill. Under their partnership a garden was laid out in Terai, which was named Followdhi - a combination of the first letters of the names of the owners. Atulpore in 1871 was owned by Lloyd, the banker of Darjeeling. By 1872 there were fourteen gardens in all, one of which Chota Cheng was flourishing under Smallwood, while Sal kotee (later on a part of Wingfidd Tea Estate) was laid out in 1873 by Mrs. F.C Fooks, to be followed the year after by twenty six more gardens²⁴. Besides, Mr. Lloyd was a considerable landholder of the Terai²⁵. He also established a tonga service on commercial basis²⁶. His business acumen gave him considerable prosperity and honour.

Table-3.6

Statistics of the leading British Tea gardens under private enterprise for the year 1870:

Name of proprietor	No. of gardens comprising the Estate	Year in which the gardens were established	Acreage and varieties of tenure				Total Acres under cultivation at end of 1870	Out-turn of tea in 1869	Out-turn of tea in 1870	Labourers			
			Held grant under old rules	Held in fee-simple under new rules	Held under rent paying cultivating leases	Total area				Men	Women	Children	Total
			acres	acres	acres	Acres	acres	Ibs	Ibs				
Dr. Brougham	1	1895	...	3000	...	3000	550	64,480	84,000	200	90	40	330
W.C. Taylor	1	1861	318	...	...	318	45	5,000	5,800	14	8	3	25
Estate of the late A. King	1	1863	50	...	...	50	50	...	4,000	15	10	5	30
David Wilson	1	1862	...	...	210	210	123	10,261	9,770	38	13	11	62
John Taylor	1	1865	1526	100	...	1626	254	16,400	24,400	60	60	20	140

Benjamin Dickenson	1	1867	700	...	...	700	109	7,101	13,440	53	13	2	68
John Stalkartt	4	1861-9	694	...	1080	1774	148	7,048	15,955	107	46	23	176
Messrs. Collis, Miller, Blacker, and Partridge	1	1860	1100	...	...	1100	834	112,000	147,200	260	250	50	560
Thomas Stenhouse	1	1864	228	...	...	228	200	13,930	13,930	40	30	20	90
Messrs. Rutherford, Blckwood, and Partridge	1	1860	200	...	...	200	200	22,400	35,920	120	100	20	240
S. Mackintosh	1	1860	...	80	...	80	50	4,000	5,280	18	10	2	30
C.H. Barnes	1	1864	...	1,816	...	1,816	125	1,600	11,170	42	10	7	59

J. Stoeleke	1	1865	19	...	26	45	40	1,040	1,120	8	6	...	14
J.F. Muller	1	1868	...	...	138	138	30	...	800	10	10	..	20
James Grant	1	1860	516	...	...	516	160	6,800	26,400	60	30	25	115
Messrs, Daniel and Partridge	1	1863	...	...	1,007	1,007	120	2,560	10,880	49	24	10	83
Tweedie	1	1868	Not returned				12	Not returned		6	4	...	10
Messrs, Kennedy and Fleming	1	1869	156	...	450	156	30	...	49	7	3	...	10
C.R. O'Donoghue	1	1868	...	...	500	450	200	...	...	5	11	...	16
H.M. Harold	2	1867	...	...	244	244	90	8,800	15,200	-30	30	20	80
Messrs. Lloyd, Hill, and Flemstead	1	1867	...	1,460	1,336	2,796	115	1,840	27,600	70	20	10	100

W.S. Paterson	2	1866	2,188	...	...	2,188	137	5,240	11,800	100	40	...	140
H. Hancock	1	1862-3	...	...	60	60	18	1,280	3,040	20	6	4	30
W. Lloyd and Others	1	1867	...	...	60	60	50	69	69	30	10	5	45
R.S. Wight	1	1862	...	...	75	75	75	8,200	7,200	60	40	20	120
Messrs, Mandelli and Martin	1	1866	...	...	311	311	70	10,800	20,560	50	40	10	100
W. Lloyd and Others	1	1869	...	...	120	120	108	...	3,040	60	50	15	125

Source: - Hunter, Statistical Account of Bengal, p. 167-68

Regarding the profit of these companies, a report issued by Messrs. Barry & Co. of Calcutta in June, 1915, established "the fact investments in tea have produced an average profit of 20.7 per cent on the capital involved (in one instance to the writer's knowledge the percentage was as high as 50)"²⁷.

E. C Dozey in his history of Darjeeling has given some interesting accounts of the planters in the early years. On the basis of his accounts we are trying to rebuild the story of the contributions of British enterprise of those days to the growth of Darjeeling.

Mr. Fred Brine was an eminent, skilled, shrewd businessman who started the Oaks Tea Estate in Hope Town in Sonada in early 1856. It was he who also started the Hope Town scheme. Initially he worked as the Executive Officer of South Hidgelee, near Diamond Harbour, Calcutta and later he moved to settle in Darjeeling. He was given number of plots as free- hold land to set up tea plantation, factories, and also to build his own cottage. The latter was situated at the Hope Town settlement area. He was assisted by D' Cruz of the financial secretary's office, Calcutta. Later on, when the Hope Town Tea Association was established in the area the planters of the Hope Town settlement became leading member of this association. The other pioneers of the Hope Town were:- Mrs. Henrietta Colebrook Taylor (widow of Col. Taylor) Dr. Roberts of Raneegunge Capt. Mitehell of the ordnance Dept. Fort William, Messrs. Deare of Monghyr, Rundle, Waters, the Rev. Mr. Greenfield of Purneah and conductor Vaughan. Perhaps all of them associated with the Hope Town Tea Association in Darjeeling District.

John Stalkhartt, another tea entrepreneur, had started his career as an indigo producer. In 1864 he resigned from indigo as indigo cultivation had lost its earlier importance, profits and purchased a small cottage and an extensive tract of land from Mr. Fred Brine on which he laid out the 'Oak Tea Estate' which was continuously owned by his heirs in the first quarter of the 20th century. Over the years he extended his commercial pursuits. Chota Rigtam, was also purchased by Mr. Stalkart. Besides, he received a number of plots as free-hold in the Hope Town settlement. He was a pious man. In 1868 he made donations for the construction of St. John Church in the heart of this

settlement. He appointed Mr. Ted Brown to look after this construction. According to Dozey he had a branch of his family established the Rope works at Goosrery, near Calcutta which was the leading business in that line²⁸.

Judge Gustavus Septimus was one another pioneer of Darjeeling tea industry. His family practically owned the whole of the Rangli- Rangliot Tea Estates, to the south-east of the Hum cantonments. He was also the founder of the Aria Tea Company Limited Darjeeling. Septimus acquired large landed property in Darjeeling Town. He was also the founder of the Judge property of which the upper Beech Wood Estate once formed a part. The creation and extent of the property describe thus- "The Auckland Road on the east the Lloyd and Ferndale Roads on the North, and by Banstead and Brynguine Roads on the south, and a second plot which was enclosed by a vertical line extending from Annadale, on the Cart Road to the south of the station, right down to the valley on the one hand and the ravine which is the boundary of the Burdwan Raj at Kakjhora further south, on the other"²⁹. "The first strip covered a very large area, indeed including the Upper and Lower Beech wood, the Cart Road being the dividing line". On Lower Beech Wood on which were built 5 Beechwood cottages, such as the Albion and Trio cottage, North View, and the shops and dwellings in Judge Bazaar on the Cart Road. Perhaps the name Judge Bazaar was given after Mr. Judge Gustavus Septimus. On the second strip- Rock wood and the cottages and huts below and to the south of Moss Bank were built. But it is impossible to find out his original house and race. He came in Darjeeling around 1840 and spent whole of his life in Darjeeling till 1889. After death, he was buried in the Darjeeling Cemetery. He left a huge property for his successors in Darjeeling who continued to stay in Darjeeling till the first half of the 20th century³⁰.

Major Keane, another planter laid out the Maharanee, Toong Tea Estate and subsequently acquired Avongrove in Sonada; which passed on to his two sons namely J.P and R. Keane respectively. The widow of the former married Mr. J. Kenay who was the son of Thomas Kenay, a Garison engineer at Jalaphar in 1864. The Maharanee Tea estate and Arongrove was passed into the possession of Mr. J. Kevay on the demise of Mr. J.P Kean's son. Mr. J. Kenay later on, brought a huge property in Darjeeling that

included Assyline villa, Shannon Lodge, Charlemon, Fir Grove, West Point (all of which were to the south of the town) and the building in commercial Row (presently Nehru Road) in which Mitchell and Company, Hall and Anderson Limited and Frank Ross and Company were located³¹.

Among all the early pioneers, Francis Colbrook Fooks was mostly remembered for his activities which greatly influenced the tea culture of Darjeeling. Regarding his early life Dozey pointed out that "Fooks who hailed from the Isle of Wight, landed in India in 1857 and was immediately drafted into the Yeoman cavalry which subsequently proved not only useful in rounding up the rebels but also in pressing hard on the heels of the infamous Nana Sahib (the author of the massacres at Cawnpore), who eventually found an asylum as well as his last rustling place in the dense forests of the Nepal Terai into which he had been driven³².

After the Mutiny, Fooks, was transferred to the New Police Force at Mymensingh where he subsequently met Mr. William Taylor (son of Mrs. H.C. Taylor, one of the pioneer-associates of the Hope Town scheme), the Deputy Magistrate, and was influenced by him in 1866 to buy Neej Kaman' garden at Sonada on the hire-purchase system. According to Dozey he appeared as a savior in the Hope Town scheme³³, which was almost destroyed by the time he arrived. The Hope Town Scheme about destroyed before his arrival. On arriving at Sonada, he found to his great surprise, the following conditions obtaining: - 1. The Hope Town Scheme had ended in complete failure, 2. All the gardens had been deserted by their managers, and allowed to one revert to scrub jungle, and 3. The tea bushes had been laid out in irregular patches and about ten feet apart on order to enable the projectors to advertise their gardens as covering so many acres of land with a view to impose on the credulity of purchasers- as in those days it took the best part of a week and much trouble to get to Sonada.

"Fooks, whose father was head gardener at the Royal Gardens at Osborne, very early imbibed a certain amount of agricultural knowledge which stood him in good stead at this critical juncture; and so with a view to better supervise a smaller area he had the tea bushes uprooted and laid out in parallel rows three feet apart and facing due east and

west near his shanty, as bungalows did not exist in those days. But before replanting them he had the tap-roots cut off, thus treating the plants as one does fruit trees and rose bushes. The result, as anticipated by him, proved exceptional for the outturn increased 100-fold, although nothing but failure was predicted by Le Mesurier in the Terai and others in Darjeeling. He may, therefore, be considered the pioneer (whatever the Chinese, who were imported, may have taught the projectors of the H.T. Scheme in the way of planting out tea) in this district who was the first to recognize the utility of planting out in parallel rows facing due east and west in order that the plants should obtain the greatest amount of heat and light so necessary for their well-being, conditions so essential for growth and reproduction. The cutting off of the tap-roots is so opposed to practice and current literature on the subject that it appears to be worth consideration at the hands of the Scientific Officer of the Indian Tea Association, especially in view of the fact that if found to yield the advantages claimed by Fooks it would obviate the necessity of deep trenching, as practiced at present, and thereby materially reduce the cost of production.

While running his own garden, he also supervised the Willows at Hope Town, and Atulpore, Chota Cheng, and Sal Kotee in the Terai. Due to his hardship he became physically weak and retired to Terai where he built 'Bloomfontein in 1879³⁴.

The story of Williamson Magor & Co. begins in 1869, when Captain J.H. Williamson and Richard Boycott Magor, two Englishmen based in Calcutta, formed a partnership firm, Williamson Magor & Company, to service the requirements of tea estates in Assam. It played more significant role in the expansion of tea plantation of Assam rather than Darjeeling. The offices were originally at 7 New China Bazaar Street, in Calcutta before they moved in 1894 to Four Mangoe Lane, where the Company is located till today.

The Williamson Magor Partnership grew in strength over the years and went through the usual cyclic patterns common to tea industry. In 1954, it was renamed Williamson Magor & Co Limited, when it changed its status to a limited company. In the second half of the twentieth century this Company directly involved in the tea plantation and

tea business of Darjeeling Sadar. The Lingia tea estate located in the north-west of Darjeeling town was purchased by the Williamson Magor Company Ltd from the Wernick Family around 40s of the 19th century³⁵. The Chamong Group purchased the garden from Williamson Magor Company Ltd in 2001³⁶.

Williamson Magor was one of the largest tea plantation groups in India, producing over 75 million kg annually. This represented about a fifth of the total tea produced in Assam. Williamson Magor owned 57 tea estates in Assam and West Bengal and provided direct employment to over 110,000 people. The tea estates of the company were over 140 years old. The erstwhile company "Williamson Magor" now is owned by the Khaitan family of Kolkata. It now functions as Mcleod Russel India Ltd. They produce approximately 100 million kilos of high quality tea a year from tea estates in Assam, West Bengal, Vietnam and Uganda. Tea business directly employs over 90,000 people. It continues to be a WM enterprise³⁷.

Brij Mohan Khaitan, an East India merchant who used to supply the estates with fertilizers and tea chests, was asked to join the Board of the company in 1963 and became the Managing Director in 1964.

In 1975, Williamson Magor merged with another company, Macneill and Barry Ltd which had interests in tea and other businesses. The new company was named Macneill and Magor Limited³⁸.

Some of these British planters became so accustomed to Indian way of life that they even considered India their home. One such British planter was Geofirey James Owen Johnston who was popularly known as Geoffrey sahib. He was a workaholic but seldom lost his sense of humour. He was born on 22 March 1929 at Cedars Tea Garden that his family bought later along with the one at Rungmook. In fact, these two gardens had a great influence on the social lives of the British before India won Independence. Before The Darjeeling Club or The Planters Club came to exist, Rungmook was the only place for club activities. HC Taylor and a gentleman called Dr Roberts of Runnegung in 1880 founded Neej Kaman (re-named The Cedars since) and Rungmook Tea Estate at Sonada respectively³⁹. Geoffrey started managing the factory when he was only 17 years old.

As he grew in age and experience he became a role model for other managers. He devoted his life and energy to tea industry in general and his own plantations in particular and also for the welfare of its workers. Even today he is remembered in Darjeeling as a demi-god. He was murdered on 28th April, 1969 and buried at the Old Cemetery, near Chowrasta, Darjeeling.

In 1947, when India became free, most British planters left for their homeland. Geoffrey sahib, however, decided to stay on. He resolved to devote the rest of his life to Darjeeling, its world famous tea gardens and the people working there⁴⁰.

3.1.2 British Entrepreneurship in Hotel business:-

In addition to the plantations, tourism industry also contributed to the growth and development of Darjeeling. As in the case of plantation, tourism too attracted the British businessmen in its initial years. The contemporary accounts gave a very panoramic description of the wild – natural beauty of this hilly zone. "The whole of the Kinchenjunga group is seen in a setting hardly to be matched elsewhere in the Himalayas"⁴¹. These natural wild beauty of the hills attracted the visitors in increasing numbers. Distance from Calcutta to Darjeeling reduced from five days journey to two days after the establishment of railways in the 1880s. The greater ease and shrinking cost of travel to Darjeeling encouraged a greater number of Bengalese to go to the hills for holidays. Doorga Pooja, the greatest festival of the Bengalese, became an especially popular occasion for a visit to Darjeeling, which was "at its gayest" during those ten days in September and October.⁴² Like the European inhabitants of Calcutta, they turned to Darjeeling as the most accessible and attractive hill station in the region. Kipling's snide remark about "the Babus . . . stealing to Darjeeling" in his poem "A Tale of Two Cities" evidenced its growing popularity. A more substantive sign of its appeal was the opening in 1887 of the Lowis Jubilee Sanitarium, a health resort that catered exclusively to Indian clients. Built on land donated by the Maharaja of Cooch Behar with funds contributed by Maharaja Gobindo Lal Roy, this imposing facility had rooms to accommodate well over one hundred patients, and admission figures for 1910 indicated that about half of them hailed from Calcutta.⁴³ Other institutional evidence of

a growing middle-class Indian presence included a branch of the Brahmo Samaj (founded 1880) and a Hindu public hall (1891, rebuilt 1907). "The influx of native visitors to the station of Darjeeling in recent years had been considerable," reported the chief secretary for the Bengal government in 1903. "They generally go to boarding-houses, or the Lowis Sanitarium . . . , or they rent existing houses."⁴⁴

British decision to make it a sanatorium of both Bengal and Burma drew many from both places in search of health. Later on, Darjeeling became the summer seat for the British Government and this also contributed to the causes of its attraction. Besides, it became fashionable for a group of indigenous among them some rajas and elites to visit Darjeeling once or twice a year. Some of them even owned villas or bungalows and settled permanently. Thus, tourism industry in Darjeeling began with bright sunshine. We do not have every detailed of the founder of the hotels founded over time as they were handed over from one to another for many times. We have the following details given below;.

"The evolution of hotels in Darjeeling began in 1839"⁴⁵ under the entrepreneurship of the British merchant David Wilson, the proprietor of the Great Eastern Hotel, Calcutta⁴⁶. He was born in Brilley Herefordshire in 1808. Wilson rose from a very humble position. He worked as a 'Confectioner and Biscuit Baker' in Calcutta before the establishment of the Great Eastern Hotel on November, 18, 1840⁴⁷. A businessman with entrepreneur skill he realized the bright future of hotel business in newly acquired Darjeeling. Soon he established 'Darjeeling Family Hotel' with twelve rooms. His second hotel was the Castleton (Wilson's Hotel) on Hooker Road with eighteen rooms. Simultaneously with business, he paid his attention towards tea plantation industry as well. He received free hold land to make Happy Valley Tea Estate. He lived in Calcutta for a long time. Mr. Wilson also married in Calcutta to Mary Mandy in 1838. One of their grand children was Lt. Boyd Alexander, the famous African explorer. His sister Anne also lived with him in Calcutta and got married Frederick, one of his friends, William Browne in 1840 was also a confectioner⁴⁸. David moved back to England in the 1860s but continued to manage the hotels. Over the ensuing years his business both

in Calcutta and Darjeeling moved from strong to stronger, and when he died in 1880 he left a huge amount of capital of over 60000 pounds net worth⁴⁹.

The next important hotel business magnet of Darjeeling was Mr. Roberts, an ex-army sergeant. The prestigious hotel Woodland founded by Dr. Collins, an assistant surgeon, passed into the possession of Roberts in 1872. Mr. Roberts, the versatile man was installed both as manager of the 'Delaram Tea Estate' and also the proprietor of Clerendon Hotel at Kurseong⁵⁰. Since the latter venture proved more lucrative he moved on with the advance of the line, bought Woodlands, built the three storied Annex attached thereto and bought the Drum Druid Hotel also, all of which were commonly referred to 'Roberts' Hotel'. He bought Clerandon Hotel from John White, the founder of this hotel⁵¹.

Mr. John Lord, the editor proprietor of the newspaper 'The Darjeeling Times', was also attracted to the hotel business. He bought the Dram Druid Hotel and ran it till he breathed last. After his death the hotel passed into the hands of Mr. Piperno Boscolo who was a shrewd man of business. He obtained a lease from the Cooch Behar Raj of a part of the hilltop immediately above and to the north of the old Bandstand on the Chowrasta at a pepper corn rent, which at his demise passed into the hands of the Oakley family. This Oakley family also run another hotel namely the Elgin hotel and prospered by the hotel business in Darjeeling. Madame Nancy Oakley owned Elgin hotel and it also continued after independence⁵². At present it is occupied by Mr. Diomond Oberoi of Oberoi group of hotel merchant.

John William Pavion and his wife Edith Agnes Pavion became interested in the hotel business in the first quarter of the twentieth century. They took the building on rent from the Maharaja of Cooch Behar and ran it as "The Elgin Hotel" from 1911-30. After being run by them the hotel passed into the hands of Mrs. Margaret Walker who ran it for about seventeen years from 1930-47⁵³.

The proprietors of the hotel used to advertise in the reputed journals and newspaper for more publicity. To give an example-David Wilson's Darjeeling Family Hotel's opening day was published in the Statesmen in 1839. Woodland Hotels and its important guest's

remarks were published in Newman's Guide to Darjeeling. All this indicates a good commercial competition among the hoteliers as well as the rapid growth of a prosperous tourism industry under the British merchants.

A list of important hotels and boarding Houses under the British Entrepreneurs in Darjeeling was made by Dozey, which is reproduced below⁵⁴.

Table-3.7

List of Hotels, & Boarding Houses before 1922

Darjeeling		
Hotels		
Name	Location	Manager
Bellevue	Commercial Row	Mrs. Kelly
Garrets	(Central Mount Pleasant Road Manager House)	
Drum Druid	Commercial Row	Mr. Mahoney
L.J. Vado, Ltd.	Ditto	Manager
Park Hotel.	Meadow Band Road	Ditto
Rockville (The Grand)	Harman's Road	Mr. Mahoney
Woodlands	Off Cart Road	Ditto
Boarding Houses		
Ada Villa	Observatory Hill	Mrs. C. T. Kirby
Alice Villa	Mount Pleasant Road	Manager

Annandale	Cart Road	Mrs. Carter
Beechwood House	Mackenzie Road	Mrs. I. Stuart
Caroline Villa	Kutchery Road	Manager
EI Esparanza	Ditto	Mrs. Sells
Fern Cottage	Post Office Road	Mrs. Rowe
Havelock House	Auckland Road	Mrs. Black
La Roche	Kutchery Road	Miss De Souza
Moss Bank	Cart Road	Mr. A. J. Stanton
The Labyrinth	Auckland Road	Manager
Ghum		
Hotels		
Balaclava Hotel	Old Military Road	Manager
Kurseong		
Clarendon Hotel	Cart Road	Mr. H.H Pell
Wood Hill	Club Road	Mrs. Hasell

Source: E. C. Dozey-A concise History of Darjeeling since 1835; p.29-30

3.1.3 British Entrepreneurship in other miscellaneous sectors especially Retailing:-

Retailing was another important profitable sector in which a number of British merchants were engaged from the very early years. While Darjeeling grew as hill station, the elite retail shops of Calcutta began to establish their branches here as well. Most important among them were Whiteaway Laidlaw Ltd., (Drapers) Burlington-Smith (Photographer) Frank and Ross and Co. (Chemistry) Hall and Anderson (Drapers) Mitchell and Co., (Tailors) Mrs. Ottewill's Millinery Establishment Smith

Stanistrat and Co. (Chemists). All of theses were located on Commercial Road, (Presently Nehru Road). J. Freer and Co. (Furniture and Co) Hingun and Sons (Tailors) Sain, M. (photographer) on Mackenzie Road. And F. H. Hathaway and Co. and J.F. Madan's store situated on Mall or Chowrasta Road. However, no accurate census of the British- owned retail businesses are available for the nineteenth century.

Some of the European business houses of Calcutta opened their branch in Darjeeling from the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Among those was F.H Hathaway, the largest drapery establishment of Calcutta. It had established its branch on Mall, Chowrasta, Darjeeling in 1870.⁽⁵⁵⁾ It was an important 'department style' of organization of high class drapers established in Calcutta in 1864 under the partnership of Francis, Harrison and Hathaway. It had a large staff (in Calcutta) of 11 European assistants in 1880. By the end of the century there were at least 40. Such detailed accounts were not available for Darjeeling.

One of the leading assistants in Hathaway's around 1880 was Mr. E. Whiteaway who ten years later became the partner of Robert Laidlaw and founded the White away, Laidlaw Company, Calcutta in 1894. It had also established their firm in Darjeeling towards the end of the nineteenth century.

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Francis, Harrison, Hathaway & Co., the Chowrasta, Darjeeling

Source: The Darjeeling Advertiser and Visitor, 15th January, 1914

The history of this company dated back to 1877 when Sir Robert Laidlaw, (1856- ?) a wholesale textile trader of London landed on the shores of Calcutta and was destined here for 20 years. He started a business in Calcutta which was later to be known as great house Whiteaway Laidlaw and Company in Calcutta in 1882. He made partnership with Mr. Whiteaway in 1894. Soon they opened branches in about twenty cities in India and the Straits Settlements, including Singapore, Penang, Kualalampur, Ipon, Taiping, Seremban, Klang, Malacca and Telok Anson. Whiteaway brought in different types of house hold goods that appealed to the Europeans and wealthy locals. Whiteaway was also into tailoring and importing and selling of household goods. Later on this famous house was purchased by the owner of the present day of Das Studio. Robert Laidlaw had also interested in tea plantation in Darjeeling and rubber estates in the Federated Malay States⁵⁶. He purchased Marrybong and Gumba tea gardens from the Warnick family in the first decade of the twentieth century⁵⁷.

Robert Laidlaw was the son of late William Laidlaw; Member of Parliament for East Renfrewshire, Britain .His father was also a farmer in Bonchester, Roxburghshire. Laidlaw was born on 10th January, 1856. He was educated at Kirkton and Denholm parish schools, and, entering upon a business career. He was also made a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society⁵⁸.

Another important Calcutta based general departmental store 'Hall and Anderson's' company also opened its branch on Commercial Row Darjeeling. In the early 1890s P.N. Hall and William Anderson, two other employees of Hathaway's set up together a modest partnership, selling suiting at bargain prices from a small shop on the Esplanade. Within few years their business became a serious challenge to Hathaway and Company. "Indeed Hall and Anderson's was the first business to call itself a general departmental store" having special departments for furniture, China and glass, cutlery, stationery outfitting and cress making, millinery, drapery and footwear. The firm's famous '*Lal Kitabs*' (Red Catalogue) became practically a house word and was eagerly awaited in the hill stations... of British India⁵⁹.

Smith's and Company of Calcutta (Dalhousie square) was famous for Hatters, Tailors and Outfitters⁶⁰. They also established their branch on Commercial Row Road, where today a drapery shop namely Mangusha is found.

3.2 The Scottish Business Community:

Among the Europeans business communities the Scottish were regarded as the early-comer in India. They migrated to India almost with the British East India Company. They spread all over the great cities of India. As the importance of Darjeeling dramatically increased the Scottish also followed the British to migrate to the region. Unfortunately the exact number of the Scottish living in Darjeeling is unavailable. From the beginning of the tea plantation in Darjeeling a few Scottish were attracted by this lucrative industry. One such early Scottish merchant was Walter Duncan who made a successful bid in tea plantations.

The saga of the Duncan Brothers began with the establishment of the Playfair Duncan Company in Calcutta in 1860s. Walter Duncan, a young Scottish merchant migrated to India in 1859. Later he was joined by his brother Mr. William Duncan and the two brothers set up a company named Duncan Brothers and Company on 1 January 1875 to deal in cotton. Though the Company's involvement in tea came in 1865, its actual stride in tea business began onwards from 1880. By 1923 the Company had a firm grip on tea cultivation by taking in its possession 60 tea estates in Dooars, Darjeeling, Assam and Sylhet encompassing nearly 20,000 hectares of cultivable land and producing a crop of about 14.50 million kilograms a year⁶¹.

In its 130 years history, the garden known as Marybong started by Mandeli, a Scottish ornithologist had been prized possession of a small succession of owners. It was the part of the adjoining Lingia estate as Marybong division. This piece of land was a wedding gift for Mary, the daughter of the owner of Lingia Tea Estate. The merged estate was renamed Marybong(literary Mary's place). A Mr Evandeon and his associates owned and managed Marybong for 75 years from 1880 when, in 1955, Duncan Brothers took control until, another half century later, the Chamong Group acquired the ailing garden and restored it to its earlier "magical" glory⁶². The partition of the Indian subcontinent

in 1947 led to the setting up of Duncan Brothers (Pakistan) Limited, on 20 January 1948 with its office in Chittagong. The newly established company in the then Pakistan assumed its Calcutta-based parent company's interests involving its tea estates in the Sylhet region⁶³.

Louis Mandelli, another Scottish tea planter started his career in India as the manager of the Lebong & Minchu Tea Company in the 1870s. He was born to Jerome, the son of Count Bastel Nuovo, descendent of an ancient Maltese aristocratic family. On joining the forces of Garibaldi he felt out with his family and ever after adopted the maternal name of "Mandelli"⁶⁴. Born in 1833, he was a boy of fifteen when his father, a Garibaldi enthusiast, returned to Italy in 1848. "*Thacker's Bengal Directory*", a variant of the yellow pages in nineteenth century colonial India, however, lists the name of a Louis Mandelli in its "Register of Inhabitants" in 1864. But E.C Dozey referred his first name as William, not Louis. How he got to Darjeeling can be found out in the writing of Dozey "He formed a unit in the force sent by that General to S. America, and as that project ended in fiasco and rather than face the jibes of his family, he worked his way to India where his attainments soon attracted the attention of the leading scientist, including the famous Dr. Jerdon. Soon "he had landed a contract with the Lebong & Minchu Tea Company as manager of the garden (350 acres) of the same name"⁶⁵. The R. C. Church records show him getting married promptly soon after to an Ann Jones, in all likelihood a Calcutta "girl" (since there is no entry on "Jones" in the Darjeeling resident directory at the time), this on 21st January, 1865.

Around the year 1870 he became Superintendent of Land Mortgage Bank's garden, which on the one hand covered whole of the east slope of the Lebong Spur and on the other extended up to Dewaipani (Mineral Spring)⁶⁶. In 1872, the Chongtong Tea Estate came under his management. While the supervision of 1350 acres of tea gardens was financially rewarding, he was not very happy with planter's life in Darjeeling. In his letter to his close friend, Anderson, in June 1876, he wrote: "I can assure you. the life of a Tea Planter is by far from a pleasant one, especially this year: drought at first, incessant rain afterwards, and to crown all, cholera among coolies, beside the commission from home to inspect the gardens, all these combined are enough to drive

any one mad"⁶⁷. While he was superintending Land Mortgage he must have experienced lucrative tea trading. By 1871, he had become part-owner of Patterson and Mr. Martin and owned a tea-garden at Manja near Panighatta⁶⁸ which a few years ago produced the world's most expensive tea. Mandelli sold this one soon after, and bought the picturesque Kyel Tea Estate, which is now known as Marybong Tea Estate, a fact that its present owners highlighted on their tea-tourism web link. Mandelligunge", the tea garden-residential quarters set up by the Chomong group of Company.

3.3 The German Business Community:

History of the German merchants and planters in Darjeeling dated back to 1838, when a Moravian Missionary made his way to India under Mr. Start. "Mr Start was a clergyman of the Church of England, but changed his views and joined the Baptists, and came out to India to preach the Gospel"⁶⁹. They migrated to India with Mr and Mrs Brandin, Mr and Mrs Treutler, Mr Stolzenberg, Messrs Stupnaagel and Maas, Joachim Stolke, Andreas Dannenberg, Mr Heinig and Rebsch, Mr Baumann and Puprot left for India.

The Wernick-Stolke, the famous pioneer-tea planters of Darjeeling arrived in Darjeeling in 1841 with this German Missionaries. Grannie's record states Johann Andreas Wernicke, of Klein Wulkow, near Genthin, Germany, was born in 1815. He married Sophie Elizabeth Stolke who was born at Gloven in 1818. They got married in Hull in 1838, on their way from Germany to India. Johann Wernicke died in Darjeeling in 1861, aged 46 years. His wife, Sophie Elizabeth Stolke(or Grannie Wernicke), died in Darjeeling in 1913, just under 95 years by three days.

Grannie Wernicke and her husband arrived in India (Calcutta) about the month of December, when climatic conditions would be quite tolerable. They remained in the plains of India for the next 2½ to 3 years. Here the eldest, Joachim, was born at Bankipur. He died 6 months later and was buried at Patna. The following year, 1841, James Andrew, was born at Chapra. The remaining eight children were born in the Darjeeling hills.

It is interesting to note, in connection with the Christian names of these children, that, for the first time, English spelling is used (except the first born, Joachim Andreas) instead of German.

They were transferred to Darjeeling in 1841. Frank described their wearisome journey from Calcutta to Darjeeling in the following words. "The journey from Calcutta to Darjeeling of some 350 miles, which as a boy I made in less than 24 hours by rail and steamer, lasted more than a month, and they must have been very wearisome and exhausted at times, transport being by native boats, bullock carts, pony tongas and palkis. Grannie has told how, during the last stages of the climb up the steep hill sides, she carried my father in her arms, using short cuts through the jungle"⁷⁰.

The mission was opened and established in 1841 in the Darjeeling hills at Tukvar, some few miles distant from, and at a lower level than Darjeeling itself, but on the same spur. For the next three years they continued at Tukvar developing the mission and living at close contact with the local people, and it was likely that they were beginning to enjoy the fruits of their early labour, when news reached them that the funds of Mr Start's mission in England were running short, and that the most that could be done was to arrange for the salaries of the missionaries for the next three months to be paid, after which they would have to make their own arrangements for their livelihood. The news must have been bitter indeed to these young married Germans stranded in an alien land, with no means of returning to their own country and the high hopes of their calling so abruptly ended and in 1843 they left the mission.

Wernicke undertook contracting work for the supply of timber, the felling of trees in the forest and sawing it into the required lengths. He also supplied bricks; using his own kiln. It is likely that as he prospered, or anyhow now had the means of supporting his family, he undertook further contracting work. At that time or later the East India Company were ready to make grants of lands to persons who were willing and capable of helping in the development of Darjeeling as a station. Johann Andreas Wernick was given a plot of land in Darjeeling itself, and here he built three houses, "Gloven", "Clover Cot" and "Willow Dale". According to Frank during the later years of his

grandfather's life, when his activities in building and contracting must have been curtailed by progressive invalidism from gout, to supplement the family income, his grandparents might open some kind of general store for the sale of goods to the public. The words "goods", "crockery", "customers" and "our sale is only a little" appeared in his grandfather's letters, and would lend weight to this opinion. A contrary opinion, however, is that "customers" may refer to the business of "building" – materials, sale of timbers etc, in the contracting and building business⁷¹. Johann Andreas Wernicke, died in 1861, after suffering over ten years with gout.

Joachim Stolke, Sophie's eldest brother, was also given land below the bazaar, and here he built two houses, "Peace Valley" and "Steinthal", and opened up a tea garden of 150 acres.

At the demise of his father Andrew abandoned his studies at the age of 23. He took his first step in life as a tea planter in 1864, joining as an assistant to Captain Masson at Tukvar Tea Estate. His brother Fred was already an assistant at Soom Tea Estate. While he was at Tukvar, he had the great misfortune to meet with a gun accident. His arm was amputated below the elbow. In spite of his handicap he used to ride everywhere up and down the hills on his ponies, and he also enjoyed an occasional shot with his old gun, and many a game of billiards, resting the cue at the elbow joint or using a billiard rest.

After serving as an assistant at Tukvar for two years he was given the management of Makaibari Tea Estate near Kurseong, 25 miles from Darjeeling, at the end of 1865. The early days of his life as a tea planter at Tukvar and Makaibari were described in a long column of "appreciations" in 'the Darjeeling newspaper' after his death in January 1904 in the following words "Mr Wernicke commenced his tea-planting career, under the late Captain Masson, the Pioneer Manager of Tukvar Company, fully 40 years ago, and remained there as assistant for nearly three years. While at Tukvar he planted out "the fourth division", which, taken as a whole, yet remains the finest bit of planting done for that Company. On leaving Tukvar, at the end of 1865, he took over the management of Makaibari (Kurseong and Darjeeling Company) which the other Tukvar (now of the Lebong Company) were the first Darjeeling gardens worked to a profit. Thus in 1867,

he with another planter, were the first to demonstrate that tea gardens in the hills would be remunerative if worked with economy and industry, thus leading the forlorn hope of tea, as it were, when such old planters as Mr Halifax and Mr Harold had actually withdrawn for a time, apparently in despair of its success in the hills."

While he was at Makaibari as manager, and Fred as assistant at Soom Tea Estate, the two brothers decided to launch out on their own as independent owners of tea gardens. The Government, at that time, was anxious to develop the tea industry in the hills and was offering lands, at quite a nominal figure to anyone with experience. They purchased 550 acres of land at Lingia for Rs. 600 (£40)⁷². Working in close partnership the two brothers would have supervised the terracing of the hillside and planting of their tea from the nursery already established, building roads and bridges, connecting the mountain streams from nearby jhoras (ravines) by channels to carry water to the large tank, from which the water was conveyed by pipes to the factory to operate the water-wheel, and, at a later date, the turbines. About the same time, the neighbouring spur of Tumsong was also taken over as a free gift from the Government. The plantations at Tumsong covered some 440 acres. Both gardens were some 12 to 15 miles from Darjeeling, the elevation varying from the top to the bottom of the garden by some 2000 to 3000 feet. The temperatures at the foot of the tea gardens made it possible to grow such fruit as bananas, guavas and pineapple.

In 1865 Fred left Soom to conduct and personally control the work at Lingia. About 1873. Andrew left Makaibari, to join his brother Fred at Lingia. Fred continued to live and work at Lingia long after his brother retired.

The growing importance of Darjeeling as a popular hill resort and establishment of the Darjeeling Himalayan Railway attracted the Europeans working in Calcutta and in the plains of Bengal, Bihar and Assam, also rich Indians and Maharajas, to the hills as frequent visitors. They also began sending their wives and children to it during the hot months of the Indian summer. As a result demand for houses increased and investment in real estates became another channel of investment. Entrepreneur like Andrew Wernicke was not slow in taking advantage of this new means of increasing his income.

"Holmdene" and "Midwood" were built, the former as a more commodious residence for the family. In 1892 the family took up residence at "Holmdene," and "Midwood" and "Willowdale" were leased out to suitable tenants. Later other houses were added, and in 1895 the two brothers acquired Glenburn and Bannockburn Tea Estates, and a year or two later, Pandam Tea Estate. These properties were purchased by means of borrowing; such was their credit with local banks and their faith in the future of Darjeeling tea. In this way the Wernicks left a massive legacy to their successors.

After the death of James Andrew Wernick in 1904 and his brother Fred, the management of the tea estates and the house property was largely controlled by Ernest and Derick, representing James' side of the family, and by Charlie Onslow-Graham, representing Fred's heirs. There were a considerable number of shareholders of both families, some of whom were directly concerned in the actual management of the properties, while others, like the story-writer of this Wernick Family Frank, who were occupied in their own professions, simply received whatever was considered to be a reasonable share of any of the annual profits from the sale of tea. With so many persons involved and with greater or less ownership it was inevitable that the existing arrangements could not satisfy everybody, and the majority of those interested decided to form a limited liability company affecting Lingia, Glenburn and Pandam. The other two gardens were disposed of, Tumsong privately, and Bannockburn to Ernest, who continued as owner-manager for several years till he died in the middle of the twentieth century. There are now only two tea gardens in the company, Pandam having been sold a few years ago. The Lingia Tea Company is now controlled by the firm in Calcutta which has been responsible for the sale of teas from the family estates for over 80 years.

For two generations the care and management of these gardens was the personal responsibility and pride of members of the Wernicke family and relations. None of the third generation is employed now, and the Company is regarded by many of the younger generation of shareholders as of no more interest than any other marketable investment, which perhaps is inevitable.

Conclusion:

We find that the European communities held the monopoly in the economic life of Darjeeling. Their economic and political domination largely influenced social set up of Darjeeling. The socio-economic and political supremacy of the Europeans segregated the physical landscapes of Darjeeling between the Europeans and the natives. The upper part of the town, known as elite areas was dominated by the Europeans whereas the indigenous people largely settled down in the lower part of the bazaar. By the turn of the nineteenth century, we see Darjeeling consolidated her position as centres of British social life. With the extension of the Eastern Railway and establishment of the Darjeeling Himalayan Railway, it became convenient for a great many of the British residents of Bengal to take their holidays in the hills and to enroll their children in the educational institutions that clustered here. Schools, social and recreational clubs, and civic organizations were built on metropolitan models of the European lines. They seemed utterly removed from the strange and uncomfortable realities of life in the plains. We have glimpsed in the writings of those visitors who expended their early life (childhood or youth) in Darjeeling, left their memoirs during their trip to Darjeeling in the last decade of the last century in the Windamere Hotel's Memory Book. Now we can partially reconstruct the social life of the Europeans during the colonial period in the light of these memoirs left by them in the Windermere Hotel entitled '*Your Memories of the Raj*'.

We rode ponies wherever we wished, picnicked on the khud-side and roller-skated at the Gymkhana Club." Jody Morris left his memories in the last decade of the twentieth century in Darjeeling. They came to Darjeeling from Calcutta to enjoy the cool temperatures and mountain scenery, and to revel in the stations' social and recreational activities during the colonial Raj.

Elizabeth Barrie wrote about her stay in Darjeeling during Second World War from 1940-44 in the following lines. "We seemed to have innumerable servants who had their own strict hierarchy: cook, kitmagar, bearer, ayah, masaalchi and the sweeper. The sweepers' duties always included looking after the family dogs! Father was driven to the

office every morning, his driver, 'a Pathan', incredibly smart in white drills and a magnificent dark blue 'pugri'. "The cook was a 'Mugh' from what is now Pakistan – he produced food that could rival many a French chef which he prepared in the most primitive conditions." I can remember my father's shout of 'Koi Hai' which brought the bearer running to take off his shoes to replace them with slippers when he got back from the office; or alternatively, a request for a 'chotta-peg' ."The European society had its own very strict social hierarchy – led by the I.C.S. – you knew your place and you kept it". It is true that most of the memoirs were mere the reflection of general daily and personal experiences but it gave some ideas about the inner traits of a European family as well as their social behavior towards the locals. The positions of the servants in a British family, appeared from this memoir, were sharply circumscribed. They were kept only to run their house-hold smoothly and kept away from their socio-cultural world that the British had built to protect themselves.

Mrs. J. Packard, wife of Major J.E.E. Packard of the 2nd Battalion, the King's Own Royal Regiment, left her memory during her stay in Darjeeling from 1928-1931."We had a very social life with dances at the Everest Hotel, Rockville Hotel, visits to St. Joseph and St. Paul schools, riding or motoring to Ghoom and Tiger Hill or down to Rangeet. We played tennis, watched clay pigeon shooting or went down to the races at Lebong. Somehow our two horses Tommy and StinkaKarez arrived from Rawalpindi but we often rode the tat ponies from Chowraster down the steep hills or had coffee at Valdos or the Rendezvous. We used the Gymkhana Club a lot as there was skating, bridge, amateur dramatics, children's parties, dinners and dances. When the General came up there was all the more formal functions held at the Maharaja's palace then called Government House. We often had friends to stay for holidays in the hills, and we enjoyed the company of resident friends like the Mazumdars and their daughter Tara. "This social life was only made possible by the help of our Nepalese and Tibetan servants. The cook came for his orders every day as he did the shopping. I had to give him at least three days' notice if we wanted coffee. There were certain customs to observe to make life run smoothly. For instance turning a blind eye to certain amounts of food disappearing. Some wives gave themselves a lot of trouble by counting the



Figure 3.3Dinner Party at the Windamere-1946

Source:Windamere Hotel



Figure 3.4Easter at the Gymkhana Club -1951

Source: Windamere Hotel

eggs or measuring the tea. My husband's personal servant Bhudrahdin was always with us. He used to be on the station at Karachi in some miraculous manner to meet us after we returned from leave in England.....

This piece of memoir has given a glimpse into the social life of the Europeans in Darjeeling and nature of the servants in dealing the house-hold works. From this writing it is clear that the Bengalese came into the social orbit of the British and established their residents next door to them from the first quarter of the twentieth century. It may be said that their 'sense of themselves' as the agents of Western culture and imperial rule soon began to erode because of the presence of upper- and middle-class Bengalese, Marwaris including the business group of the communities whose own identities and destinies were increasingly bound up in the imperial system. These people sought access to the political power and social privilege that radiated from the highlands. Encroachment of these groups added a far more complex social set up in Darjeeling. They started to seek the same social space that the British themselves occupied. We can trace back the origin of the process of Indianization of the station as early as the first quarter of the twentieth century.

But a very different picture had been drawn by Lt. Col. L. Hannagan, ED., F.R.H.S regarding the relation between tea owners and labourers in his article 'Darjeeling Planting - Then and Now'⁷³. He wrote that racial hatreds and national bigotry were non-existent, and the simple hill-people were quick to realize and appreciate the organizing ability, the integrity and justice of the white man in those early days of Darjeeling planting. Moreover, it was an important feature of British policy, that the planter had to keep up the white man's reputation for justice and fair dealings, which would require hours of patient hearing of a dispute, and then a just and equitable settlement. More often than not, such disputes if complicated were settled by "panchayet," with the planter acting as a neutral chairman.

Perhaps one of the best examples of the good fellowship which existed then between the planters and the hill-people is the following story, which the author was told by the late Ernest Wernicke, son of Andrew Wernick, the owner of the Tumsong tea estate.

They were the German tea pioneer-planters. "When Lingia first came into being as a tea garden, his uncle, Fred Wernicke, would often, on a warm summer's evening after a long and tiring day in the field and factory, sit on his factory steps and enjoy the last of the sunshine while he pondered on his problems and work. He was a young man then and a bachelor..... On many occasions, he would be joined by his tea-makers, who were having a few minutes rest from his work, and they would sit side-by-side discussing the work or village problems. On one occasion, a friend who suffered from an over-rated sense of his own importance, and never permitted such "liberties," was horrified when a tea-maker came out, sat down by Fred Wernicke, put his arm round his shoulder and gave him an affectionate hug and addressed him as "Daduu" or brother". The laboureres might not be treated oppressively but their relation with the planters was not always as cordial and liberal as Col. Hannagan described⁷⁴.

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This record left by Grannie Wernicke of the voyage to India has been copied from a note book in Frank mother's handwriting, which she entitles:-
'Record of the Stolke Family, dictated to Emma Julia Wernicke by her mother as she translated it out of German into English'.

Copied from the translation by E. B. Wernicke.. great grand son of Andrew Wernick. He himself traced his family history back to India, Darjeeling.

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Chapter -Four

Profile of Major Indian Business Communities

- **4.1 The Marwaris Business Community**
- **4.1.1: Trading Network**
- **Conclusion**
- **4.2 The Biharis Business Community**
- **Conclusion**

Reference

4.1: The Marwaris Business Community

People belonging to the region of Rajasthan and its adjacent areas are generally known as Marwaris. Now a days the term "Marwari" has become synonymous with the commercial community. Known for their business acumen, they are seen in almost all the nooks and corners of the state engaged in all kinds of commercial activities. Darjeeling was not an exception. These people started migrating to this faraway and little known place from the very early days in spite of the fact that communication was not developed and they had to spend months to reach the destination. In this chapter we have tried to capture the story of how some of these Marwaris had started their business in Darjeeling in those days.

There are some social and economic factors explains the emergence of Marwaris as business group of India. This has been discussed by the Marwari expert Timberg¹ who has codified some important factors responsible for their success in this field. The geographical location of Rajasthan at the head of the Ganges and Malwa trade routes undoubtedly influenced the direction of migration and the commodities in which the Marwaris traded. "The existence of vigorous futures markets in Rajasthan undoubtedly prepared the Marwaris for their successful role as speculators. These markets in turn may well be connected with precarious dependence of Rajasthan agriculture and economic well-being on the precise nature of the annual rainfall"².

According to Timberg another crucial factor is that of their traditional joint family system which enabled them to trade more easily. It worked in two ways. This system provided shelter to their wives and children while the male members were travelling for business purpose and provided opportunity to the youngers to train in business. The eldest member of the family could easily teach and train them about how to handle a business enterprise and accumulate capital for big entrepreneurship in the future.

The system of 'basa' or collective mess plays a significant role in encouraging the Marwaris to migrate to unknown, adverse areas. Wherever they go the wandering traders always find support and housing provided them by their common fellows. According to Timberg Marwaris..... first settled in 'basa,' collective messes, run by the 'great' firms or on a corporative basis in the major towns. Sometimes the 'basa' or messes are run by philanthropies. They also provide free board to the new comers.

Perhaps these factors encouraged the Marwaris to migrate frequently in search of a new enterprise and livelihood in different parts of India. This was true in case of Darjeeling as well. Both the push and pull factors were responsible for the Marwari migration in Darjeeling. They not only settled with their business in strange and adverse circumstances of Darjeeling, but also whole heartedly accepted its local dialect, adjusted with its local (Nepali) people. They not only projected their perseverance, patience and potentialities but also held up their own culture in Darjeeling. They adopted themselves to the cool- hilly climate of the region and secured a dominant status in course of time.

The early British attitude towards the indigenous people was sympathetic and liberal. They cooperated with them and provided many facilities to the early migrants to settle down here permanently. They were encouraged to occupy the shops established by the Municipality and loans were given for further expansion of shops³. Therefore, a good number of Marwaris were encouraged by those lucrative proposals of the local authority. This was the period when rapid expansion of tea and tourism industries was changing the demography of Darjeeling. Increase in population opened up a new commercial horizon. There was scope to make profit by providing daily needs to the new comers especially in the tea gardens where the Nepali migrants were employed as labourers. The Marwaris, as shrewd businessmen, rationally took the advantage of this circumstance to build up a trading island in Darjeeling. Their entrepreneurial skill encouraged them to open up new business avenues in almost every nook and corner of the district. We have tried to reconstruct the story of their settlement in Darjeeling through discussion with them. The story is almost the same in all the cases. First the elders of the family migrated along with the other elders of village or region to a very strange place in search of livelihood. After having seen the possibility and potentiality of their livelihood they brought about the other members of their family. At that stage they fought with primary hardships. The female members of the family were brought in only when they were well established and more or less prosperous enough. Hunter also mentioned in 1870s that the Marwari and the Bengali traders lived without their female folk in Darjeeling⁴. Most of the Marwari migrants migrated to Darjeeling in such two or

three stages. The following table (Table No-3.8) gives an idea about the increase of Marwari population in Darjeeling:-

Table-4.1
The Marwari population in Darjeeling:-

1872	1880	1891	1901	1911	1941	1961
62	95*	....	....	2416	2668

Marwari speaking people numbered 95 and on account of the birth place coming from Rajasthan was 493.

The Marwari business community was and still is scattered all over the district. A.J Dash in his Bengal District Gazetteer Darjeeling commented that "Marwaris are by no means entirely confined to the towns"⁵. In Sadar Sub- Division out of 1002 Marwaris only 55 lived in the town of Darjeeling, in the Kurseong Sub- Division 66 resided in tea areas and in the Kalimpong Sub- Division 140 lived outside the urban area. In the Siliguri Sub- Division only 40 lived outside the town area⁶.

The early life of the Marwaris in Darjeeling was not a bed of rose. They did not have any 'basa' as Timberg stated above in Darjeeling. According to Hunter "The well to do shopkeepers generally lives in Darjiling town, where each occupies one or more rooms in a barrack, built with walls and a shingled roof. For each room he pays a rent to the municipality varying from Rs. 3 to Rs. 8 (6s to 16s), according to the situation of the barrack. A well to do shopkeeper in the town has his blanket and bedding, but no furniture in his shop"⁷. At the suburb or rural areas the Marwaris faced a lot of problems. Every primary essential was met by themselves. Rinku Agarwal, of Bijanbari has been residing there for three generations. He stated that his great grandfather Shivprakash Ararwal had come with his fellow villagers at Pankhabari and then moved into the deep jungle on foot. There were no roads, no vehicles and cool climate of hill appeared deadly to them. When they shifted to Bijanbari, around the 1880s, it was nothing but a very small poor village. He had only some basic luggages and Rs. 25. This was by no means an exceptional story.

The Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling estimated around 1870s that the living expenses of a well -to- do shopkeeper- either a Marwari or Bengali trader- in the town

of Darjeeling including municipal house and shop rent varied from about Rs 15 to 25 (\$ 1, 10s od to \$ 2, 10s od) per month. The Marwari and Bengali shopkeepers of the town generally lived by themselves without wife or children, who were usually left at their own village home⁸. Therefore the early migrants had to do everything with their own hands; cooking, cleaning, washing and running the business along with the domestic works.

In 1940's also A.J Dash observed that "the finance of trade and agriculture in the District is mainly in hands of those who control trading i,e Marwaris and to a much smaller extent British"⁹. In the beginning the Marwaris were not in such a state of position. They rose from a very humble position.

The Marwari experts explored the reason behind their success in business. They emphasized on their acumen and the ability to avail of opportunities. The staple industry of Darjeeling was tea and the British planters largely monopolized it. Therefore, the Marwaris engaged themselves more in retailing and whatever they found suitable whether hawking, retailing, wholesaling, initiated as their means of livelihood. They are still enjoying a dominant position in the economy of Darjeeling. At present they are in control of about eighty percent Tea estates in the hills, though in most cases they control business from Kolkata through their managers¹⁰.

4.1.1: Trading Network:

As stated earlier, the geographical location of Darjeeling was suitable as an international trade centre as well as an important distributing centre for local bazaars. The population explosion, mentioned in the second chapter in Darjeeling led the emergence of regular demand for daily needs. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century a good business network was established with the other Himalayan countries. Tibet trade also passed through Darjeeling, though it later shifted to Kalimpong. Darjeeling was regarded as a chief trade centre in North Bengal before the growth of Siliguri. A number of trade routes passed through Darjeeling, especially those of Indo-Nepal Trade, Indo- Sikkim, and Indo- Tibet Trade. While the goods were exported from Calcutta to the Trans- Himalayan countries, Darjeeling served as a halt between them. A good volume of merchandise passed through the district and part of it was distributed here itself.

In this commercial network the Marwaris chose their business according to their capability and capital. In the early years of their arrival they engaged in retailing and after the departure of the British they fulfilled the vacuum in the industrial sector and shifted to tea and tourism. Some of them also remained in the same business. From the second half of the nineteenth century to the first quarter of the twentieth century, they continued to run the retailing. Not a single Marwari was found to be engaged in tea-plantation in Darjeeling hills. It was only in the post independence period that the Marwaris made a successful bid to fill the vacuum left by the British planters in the tea industries. In the second half of the twentieth century this trend was completed and Marwari monopoly was fully established in the commercial life of Darjeeling.

Thus, on the whole it can be said that the Marwaris of the Sadar Sub-Division were classified into three general categories. First the general businessmen i.e buyers and sellers of general merchandisers. They were further categorized either as importers and exporters or wholesalers and petty traders or shopkeepers second, hotel business magnets and thirdly the tea planters.

The chief business concern of the Marwaris in the early period was retail supply of commodities to the tea gardens. They ran shops in the tea plantations, and also ran usury business. They lent money to the coolies and Nepali cultivators and collected the interests on the pay day. According to Dash "in tea gardens the 'Kayah' recovers his debts from coolies on pay- day"¹¹. Here he referred the Marwaris as 'Kayah'

The usury business of the Marwaris was a traditional one. In Darjeeling it was lucrative due to a number of factors. Firstly the Government did not pay much attention to provide credit to the small cultivators and nor were the Nepalese interested to collect loans from the Co-operative Bank partly because – as observed by Dash "the hillman does not want to break away from his mahajan,(read Marwari *Mahajans*) partly because neither party wishes to take recourse to the law and partly because methods of evasion by means of a kind of barter are practiced"¹² Moreover the Marwaris at the same time combined money lending and retail business in the same establishment which provided advantage to the Hillman to do shopping as well as borrowing from same place at the same time. All these factors led the Marwaris to conduct the usury business in Darjeeling. One such usury business firm was 'Jaylall Nursing Dass'. In 1881 the

business house 'Jaylall Nursing Dass' was established under the ownership of Mr. Jaylall Sharma who came from Haryana around the year 1840. After him his successor Jwala Prasad Shrama ran this business successfully¹³. It was corroborated by the then Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling who observed that "Marwari bankers transacted banking business in Darjeeling"¹⁴. At that time there were only two other banks in Darjeeling, namely the Lloyd Bank Ltd, Imperial Bank of India¹⁵.

According to the evidence of the Deputy Commissioner, Marwari bankers transacted banking business in Darjeeling, Kurseong and Kalimpong. The Subdivisional Officer, Kalimpong provided further information by listing the names of some important firms operating in this field, namely (a) Lachmandas Ramchandra, (b) Purukhechnd Lakmichand, (c) Koramal Jethmul, (d) Juteram Ramrikhdas, (e) Siram Mulchand, and (f) Khetsidas Ramlal. Besides banking, they also carried on trade in piece-goods, wool, cardamom, grains etc and invested about 75 per cent of their resources in it. They obtained their funds from the proceeds of business as also from their usury business. They financed agriculture, trade and contract work etc. charging interests varying from 9 to 18 per cent per annum on big loans advanced to respectable persons and up to 73½ per cent per annum on minor loans granted generally for a year. They used two kinds of *hundis*, one paid on presentation and the other after a certain period as stipulated in them. In the case of banks run by Lachmadas Ramchandra and Purukhchand Lakmichand, who had been in the business for long, the interest paid on deposits for one year was 5 per cent for nine months, 4½ per cent for six months, 4 per cent and on current accounts, 3 per cent. Even now the financing of trade and agriculture in the district is mostly in the hands of the Marwaris and Biharis¹⁶. Transactions in cash or kind between the private credit agencies and the agriculturists are now regulated by the Bengal Money-Lenders Act of 1940.

The Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling and the Sub-divisional Officer, Kalimpong stated before the Bengal Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee (1929) that the farmers of the district depended mainly on co-operative banks and *mahajans* (indigenous money-lenders) for agricultural credit. The rate of interest charged by the co-operative banks was 12½ per cent per annum while that by the money-lenders varied between 30 and 60 per cent per annum. The latter further compounded the interest accrued at the

end of each year to the principal. Banks lent on mortgage of ornaments. Paddy loans carried interest ranging from 20 to 50 per cent and was usually secured on the next harvest. The proportion of secured and unsecured loans was 1:3 which encouraged usury as a necessary cover. In case of default, realization of loans was effected through the civil courts which usually ordered the farmer's land or other properties to be sold. In the opinion of the Sub-divisional Officer, Kalimpong agricultural indebtedness was on the increase in his area. The average per capita debt of members of rural co-operative societies to their societies and money-lenders amounted to Rs. 172 in 1929¹⁷. "Large Marwari private banking firms registered under the Money-Lenders Act are more closely concerned with actual trade financing"¹⁸.

"The Marwari dominates most of the exporting trades viz- cardamom, oranges, and potato and practically all the import trade of consumption goods. In addition he has an almost complete control of the retail sale of consumption goods to and of the purchase of produce from the small consumer and producer"¹⁹. The Marwari monopoly of retailing was made possible because the fact that both the retail outlets of tea garden, town and small village shops and the higher level wholesale trade in Calcutta and Siliguri were heavily in the hands of the Marwaris. Actually all the possible channels of exchange were under the Marwari. Therefore, the sense of community development interest of the Marwari played a prominent role to hold such a state of position in Darjeeling. It may be worthwhile to include the profile of some old Marwaris to reconstruct the commercial ventures of the Marwaris in Darjeeling.

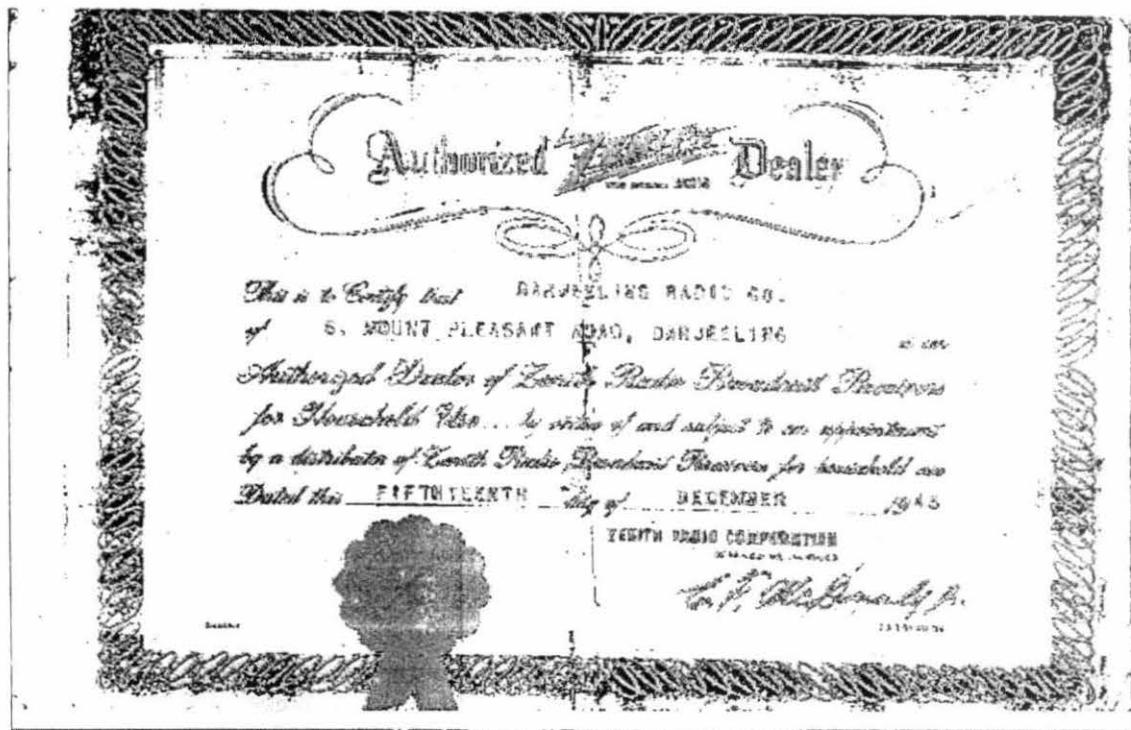
It is interesting to know that the first Marwari firm was established even before the arrival of the British. As E. C. Dozey pointed out, "It certainly existed (the Hindu Mandir) before the year, 1830 when the first Marwari firm named Samboo Ram and Chunilall was established in the market place and like the green bay-tree is flourishing to this day"²⁰. This observation made by Dozey really contradicts the common perception that there were only hundred Lepcha people living in Darjeeling before the arrival of the British. Dozey may be right as there is also the local tradition that before the British, a Muslim commander named Lal Khan had come in Darjeeling on his return journey from Tibet invasion. He lost his way and reached this hill tract with his army. He stayed here for a short time near Laldighi. Even though Dozey pointed out that the

name Laldighi was derived from red stones which were available here, the popular story goes that the name given after Lal Khan. The history of Darjeeling needs further research to dissolve this controversy.

The next important Marwari firm was established by Jetmull Bhojraj in the year 1845 and firms were established in Kalimpong soon after its annexation from Bhutan²¹.

Jaylal Sharma, the banker of Darjeeling mentioned above, had transacted variety of businesses for long time since 1861. He established his permanent base of bazaar type shop on the Mt. Pleasant Road opposite to the Anjuman- i- Islamia. The details of his estates indicated the variety of business activities were undertaken by this Marwari merchant from the late nineteenth century onwards. This included transaction of Coal, Charcoal- making, cloth, hardware, electrics etc. His son Jwala Prasad Sharma was also a reputed business magnet who followed the foot step of his father. He successfully ran and even expanded his parental business. He established a Radio company named 'Darjeeling Radio Company' to broadcast domestic programmes etc in Darjeeling, on 15th December 1945. He became the local dealer of Zenith Radio Corporation, Chicago, 39, Illinois. (A certificate has been discovered from his son Jugal Kishor Sharma). The joint family of the famous Sharma's was divided later on and the property of Jwala Prasad was divided among his two sons. Even after this family feud they continue their prosperity till today and diversify into different types of trading activities. J. K. Sharma and his younger brother A.P Sharma have diversified into cloth (shop- 'Range') and hardware business respectively in the last quarter of the twentieth century.

The census report of 1872 shows that there were only 62 Marwaris in the district. The bulk arrived in the period of 1921-1941. The earlier settlers had a tendency to develop good commercial relation with the British houses. This is in accordance with the general observation made by Timberg that "possessing commercially oriented 'resource groups' with relatives and corresponding firms all over India, the Marwaris became the natural agents to British houses in the port cities"²².



Document (Zenith Radio Corporation Chicago, 39, Illinois) from the personal collection of Jugal Kishor Sharma, a Marwari Merchant, Pleasant Road, Darjeeling

The Marwaris of Darjeeling also became commission agents of the British houses. Nagar Chand Goenka became the managing agents of the Darjeeling Rope way Company Ltd. in the year 1939²³. The Goenka family arrived in Darjeeling from Rajasthan in late nineteenth century. This reputed family of Darjeeling rose to prominence from the middle of the twentieth century. Nagar Chand Goenka emerged as the successful business magnet of Darjeeling. He established Goenka & Company. Even now a Road in the town just near the Judge Bazar is named after him. But this prosperity of this family declined soon after the demise of N.C Goenka in the post-independence period. Once flourishing, this Goenka family however, left Darjeeling town and shifted to Kuseong where they are now running petrol Pumps. N. C. Goenka accumulated huge amount of capital and landed property from a number business transacted by him around 1940s. In Judge Bazar he possessed landed property and transacted different retail tradings in cloth, hardware. He invested his capital in lands as well. He was given the lease of Cheboo Lama's ²⁴lands from his successor Mrs. R.S Pulger on an annual rent of Rs. 2,300. for twenty years. (Tauzi Nos- 951 & 1117).

These two shares contained the two important hats of Pulbazar and Bijanbari, which were also separately leased to Mr. Goenka for a period of 18 years, and four months from September 1940 on an annual rent of Rs 6,300. Bijanbari has since developed into an important trade centre as it was the terminus of a Rope way to Darjeeling which was again looked after by his company²⁵.

In the British period two parallel systems of retailing continued under two groups of business classes; first by the Europeans and second the indigenous. The first group of retailers confined chiefly in the upper portion of the North east of the town and the second group was concentrated in the lower portion of the Western part of the town, on the Cart Road. The Chawk Bazar was dominated chiefly by the native traders especially the Marwaris and the Beharis. Large number of Marwari and Behari traders occupied Municipality shops. The most important Marwari houses were;

- (1) Amarchand Iswardas's groceries shop located at 'G' building.
- (2) Sunil Agarwal's shop 'Kashiram Prahlad Roy' (Groceries),located at Chawkbazaar
- (3) Sri Pawan Kumer Agarwal's shop 'Parasram Iswardas'. (garmants), on the Chowrasta
- (4) Jagadish Lakhani's stationary store located at 'H' building,
- (5) A. K Jain's electric shop located at 'D' building etc,

All these traders came in Darjeeling during the British period 'from Rajasthan and Haryana and adjacent areas. Among these five houses Amarchand Iswardas was more renowned and flourishing. After his death his son carried on the family business and also diversified the business in various other lines. This family also involved in petrol pump, restaurant, and cloth business. Almost all of them live in Darjeeling from the colonial period for more then three or four generations.

Araj Kumar Shettia Jain, traded here from the time of his great grand father Chunilal Jain who first came to Darjeeling from Chura district of Rajasthan around 1840s. At the time of his migration he did not have enough capital with him. Therefore, he could not venture upon those types of trade that neededd substantial capital. At this stage he hawked domestic essentials from door to door. He also connected with the business of

grains like maize, millet which were bought from neighboring villages for the horses. The British used horses for beast of burden and communication. Malchand Jain, his son gradually entered into the wholesale business of rice and groceries. He leased a permanent establishment at Chawk Bazar, 'D' building from the Municipal Corporation of Darjeeling in late nineteenth century. Within a short period of time he made a good deal of money from this business and soon occupied one more shop at the same building. Both the shops were running together and were first known as 'Chunilal Jain' and later on, as 'Mulchand Jain'²⁶. Prior to the emergence of Siliguri they imported their goods from Calcutta. They maintained good commercial relation with the Marwaris of Siliguri and collected vegetables and millet, maize and some local fruits from the neighboring villages. At present they sell goods both on wholesale and retail. Now, Araj Kr. Jain is the owner of the shops and he is carrying on the ancestral business.

In this way many Marwari businessmen diversified into cloth trading and many other local agricultural produces (orange, cardamom, and zinger) and started to draw upon sources from the local productions of Darjeeling. They found excellent channels to export of these goods, establishing halt (depots and, in some cases, offices functioning in conjunction with Darjeeling) at Siliguri, in post independent period in different parts of Bengal as well as India. During the British period the main trade of Darjeeling was transacted with Calcutta. At that time the Marwari business was increasing in Calcutta as well. Having used this community connection, the Marwaris of Darjeeling expanded their commercial network and easily channelized their goods for higher markets in the second half of the twentieth century. Along with this commercial networking, Marwari firms were quick to open new branches and expand their networks from Darjeeling to Siliguri on the one hand and Sukhiapokhuri, Kurseong, Kalimpong etc. on the other. Rinku Agarwal, a petty grocery businessman of Bijanbari, changed his line from grocery to range business. He purchased orange from Bijanbari (it is one of the centre of orange orchid) and exported to Siliguri and other parts of India²⁷.

The typical Mrawari business in Darjeeling was diversified into import of consumer goods, export of local produces and retail outlets in the markets during the British period. They expanded their trade on the main shopping thoroughfare (extended from

the Mall in north to Post Office Road in the south) of the town after the departure of the British. Their shops of the upper part of the town were generally well laid out and the wares arranged in attractive way. The upper part of the town was a luxury tourist market that required central locations and a quality image. Apart from the main shop and business premises, many of them ran smaller secondary shops and carried on peddling. Up to around 1930 Marwari shops in Darjeeling were mostly engaged in consumer goods and distributive retail trade. In the beginning they made big effort to explore the local market rather than catering to the tourists and visitors because of the presence of the European elite shops in the prime area of the town. Recently they have changed their line and catered to both locals and tourists. Most of the Bihari ventures were and still are small local ventures that rely on wholesalers with established import links for their stocks. Marwaris relied on their knowledge and established networks of translocal trade (one should keep in mind that they could draw upon a long history of business²⁸ to supply these small retailers²⁹.

It can be clarified by the exemplification of the Agarwals of the Laden La Road. The first venture of this family was cloth business. It was started by the first migrant of the family Thanaram Agarwal around the 1860s. After long struggle of more than 70 years his son Dulichand Agarwal diversified into new lines of trading and started a more successful venture of millinery business at Daroga Bazar. Later on his elder son Shyam Agarwal expanded the purview of this business and traded various types of merchandises like, paper, exercise book and other stationery goods. The trade was increased steadily. Now, he is assisted by his brother Arun Agarwal and three other assistants³⁰. Sawar Agarwal stated that they not only sell their goods to the common customers but also to retail traders of Marwari, Behari, Nepali.

This family made a good deal of money from these ventures and gradually branched out into many fields. They started their publishing business in 1950. 'Shyam Prakashan,' the publishing house soon gained in steady importance. It began to publish many literary and textbooks for schools. It took the responsibility of publishing renounced Nepali writings since 1960. They also paid their attention towards the promising hotel business of Darjeeling. They bought 'Sun Flower' hotel just after their first two commercial ventures. Now this hotel consists of 14 rooms, of which 10 double and 4

suits. Samir Singhal, the elder son of Shyam Agarwal became the member of the Darjeeling Chamber of Commerce. Sawar Agarwal was a social worker. His contribution will be discussed in the next chapter³¹.

At present, this family is handling altogether four businesses simultaneously. 'Shyam Brothers' paper, books, stationery shop located at B. M. Chatterjee Road, Daroga Market, Systematic Computerized offset Printing, and cloth Business at Laden La Road and Sun flower Hotel at Mall.

The Agarwal family migrated from Dhanana, (near Bhiwani) of Haryana around 1855. The first member of this family Thanaram Agarwal migrated from Dhanana to Siliguri with the help of his relative. He started his journey on foot from his village. After reaching Churu he took bullock Cart to Patna and then crossed the river by boat and finally he reached Pankhabari and ultimately reached Darjeeling on foot³². He took almost one and half years to reach his destination.

Another important old Marwari trader is Pareshram Bhikham Chand who has been staying in Darjeeling for six generations. He conducts his family business at Chawrasta Nehru Road. Paran Chand, the great grand father of Bhikham Chand came to Darjeeling with his brother –in- law Jharimall around 1868. They made their journey on foot and reached in Darjeeling after the long journey of 12 months. They rode on bullock Cart, camel and then on foot.

At that time he did nothing special, but struggled for survival. His son Danraj Agarwal went back to his village home at Sadmukh, Churu district of Rajasthan. Later on, he again came back in 1910 and started tailoring and drapery in the town. He accumulated sufficient capital to establish a permanent base on Nehru Road. Danraj further expanded his business from a tailoring shop to a big cloth stores. It was important especially for Kashmiri kulu shawls, carpets, woolen garments, Nepali chadars, and modern dresses. He successfully conducted his business till his death in 1946. Now his son Bhikham Chand Agarwal is managing this business with his three sons- Harikishan, Hemant, and Vidant, and four other Nepali assistants. During his father's time they purchased goods from the East India Company's agents, collected European piece-goods, scurf, cotton cloths, and woolen garments etc and sold their goods both to the indigenous as well as

European customers. Now goods are imported from Ludhiyana, Sri Nagar, Calcutta and Siliguri.

Mr. Himangshu Garg the present chairman of Tele-Communication Committee of Darjeeling Chamber of Commerce also belongs to a very old family and witnesses the towns' growth and changes. His grandfather was a cloth merchant who came to Darjeeling from Barwa village, Hisar of Haryana in the early British period. Chimanlal Garg worked under the East India Company as a cloth agent. He dealt with company's goods in Darjeeling. Later Chimanlal was given an allotment by the Municipality at the 'S' Building at Chawk Bazar shop No- 3. Presently it is possessed by Devi Prasad, another brother of Himangshu Garg. Later on Ganeshlal Garg, the only son of Chimanlal arrived in 1905 to join him in business. Soon they became leading figures of the cloth market of Darjeeling. In due course other family members including the female folk joined them and settled here permanently. He had eight sons and everybody involved family cloth business. Now this family owns six shops in Sadar and one shop in Kalimpong. All these shops continue to operate in the bazaar-type line and cater to tourists as well as an increasing number of Nepali middle class.

During the time of their father they dealt with the cloth agents of Delhi, Bombay, and Calcutta. Goods were imported from Parvatipur in present Bangladesh. Ray Bahadur of Parvati pur, a renounced cloth dealer also dealt with them till Independence³³.

Though, some of the Marwari families continued to operate their family business, few of them diversified into new one to cater for tourists as well as for an increasing number of Nepali people. These new ventures were explorative and innovative, for instance, cheap electronics such as watches, calculators, and games and on the other the heavy modern, scientific business like new house hold equipments, electrical goods, electronic goods, hardware, house building materials etc. It has been possible because of their connections in Siliguri, Calcutta and other mass-production centres of India that placed them in an excellent position to import, retail, and wholesale to other petty shopkeepers.

One such businessmen is Jagadish Lakhani, whose forefather engaged in the business of foodgrains. His grand father Sudash Lakhni hailed from Sardar Sahar, Churu district of Rajasthan around the year 1910. They were Hindu Maheshwari Marwari. Sudash

Lakhani first migrated to Calcutta in early nineteenth century and later on came to Darjeeling in search of better means of livelihood. At that time he started a very small 'Karobar' of groceries that he sold at the Sunday *haat* of Darjeeling. Later on, his son Hira Mohan Lakhani got a shop on lease at 'E' building shop No. 23, Chawk Bazar, around 1930. They also bought green vegetables, potatoes, from local village areas like Bijanbari, Pul Bazar, squash, Munda, from Kaijalia, Kol Bong, ginger, Cardamoms from Reling, Ging and Sukhiapokhori and Kaijalia etc. The business flourished rapidly. H. M. Lakhani collected goods from Siliguri and also from the important export dealers on wholesale rate at Darjeeling town. Now Jagadish Lakhani, his son has switched over to stationery business to sell fashionable, branded cosmetics, toiletries to meet the rising demand for these from among the customers and visitors in Darjeeling³⁴.

³⁴Mr.Janaklal Agarwal, the petroleum distributor, comes from Kurseong. Born on 9th September, 1924 at Kurseong he belongs to the respectable and renowned business family of Padamchand Ramgopal, who had settled in Kurseong in 1875. Ganeshilal and his elder brother Ramgopal first migrated from Haryana before 145 years³⁵. They started their career with hosiery goods, woolen garments, piece goods etc and later in 1875 established a cloth firm Padamchand Ramgopal by name. In course of time this humble beginning of these two brothers developed into prominent business in Kurseong. At present members of the family are spread over Darjeeling. Ganeshilal had four sons and two daughters and Ramgopal had only one son Pratap. Now Pratap got involved in production of Nepali films. Among the many films that he produced 'Safed Hat, Harmonia' etc were important³⁶.

Mr. Janaklal Agarwal the fifth child of the family completed his matriculation from M.E. School (Pushparani), Kurseong in the year 1941. Thereafter he married Srimati Vidya Devi Agarwal from Sirsa (Haryana) in the year 1943. He was blessed with six daughters and two sons.

He was really a versatile genius. In the year 1956, he privately appeared and graduated from the Calcutta University and started practicing as an Income Tax Lawyer in the year 1957 and later in the year 1966 became a law graduate. He even became a fellow of Royal Economic Society (FRES) London in 1962. He was a freelance journalist who wrote for "The Statesman" and was an activist of the Jan Sangh. Hindu Mahasabha. As

an activist of the same, he was arrested during the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi and remained in Darjeeling jail for about ten months during 1948-49.

Thereafter he shifted to Darjeeling in 1967 and established the Ganeshilal & Sons Petrol Pump as an Indian Oil dealer, which his wife ran successfully.

He enrolled himself with the Bar Council of West Bengal and thereafter became the member of Darjeeling Bar Association and was also appointed as the first Notary Public in 1982 by Central Government and finally became Notary public for all India 1993³⁷.

Besides, the Marwaris also associated with jewelry business. A number of jewelry shops in the Chawk Bazar are under the Marwari control.

Though the plantation and processing of tea remained under the monopoly of the Europeans, the retail trade of tea became an important venture of many Marwaris. One such Marwari trader who associated himself with the retail trade of tea was Nathmul Sarda. Gradually his descendants successfully launched a brand of tea which became very popular as 'Nathmul Tea' by name. Nathmul Sarda migrated from Taranagar, Rajasthan in 1910. He became the agent of Hindustan Lever Ltd in Darjeeling. In course of time he wanted to create his own enterprise and began to deal with tea business in retail. Finally a Company was established in 1931 by Mr. Nathmull Sarda to deal with Tea and various other commodities³⁸. The next decade saw his only son Mr. Nandlall Sarda taking interest in the marketing of Tea. Initially, the business in Tea was wholesale supplies to tea buyers in Calcutta and other places. Since at that time, the auction system had not been introduced, most of the buyers used to deal directly with wholesalers or plantations. Mr. Sarda gradually built up a very good relationship with many prominent Tea Plantations. He opened a modest store at a prominent location on Laden La Road in Darjeeling and ventured into retailing of Darjeeling Tea.

The third generation of the family stepped in from 1968. After the premature demise of Mr. Nandlall Sarda, his eldest son, Mr. Vijay Sarda took up the reign. Gradually, the clientele grew and soon; the Nathmulls Tea Room became the most popular outlet selling Darjeeling Tea.

Over the years, Mr. Vijay Sarda, assisted by his then grown up brother Mr. Pravin Sarda and other brothers, diversified into International Mail Order for Darjeeling Teas. This was a unique concept at that time and sheer hard work and dedication to quality enabled

Nathmulls to build up a very big Mail Order Clientale across the world. Today they boast of high profile clients all over Europe , Japan , U.S.A. , Canada and U.K. , growing by the day³⁹.

This company is a pioneer and probably the only one in India which has successfully established the concept and business of Tea by Mail Order at an International scale. Besides Tea, Nathmulls also market exquisite Tea Accessories like Fancy Tea Cosys, Chinese Tea Cups, Ornamental Tea Strainers, Tea Sets and Tea Pots, exclusively designed and sourced from leading manufacturers and suppliers. The Lonely Planet (the most popular tourist guide book) and other high circulation guide books in various languages, unanimously recommend Nathmulls of Darjeeling⁴⁰.

Few Marwaris also came to Darjeeling as small-scale-peddlers but they were quick to diversify and they traded in numerous commodities including foodgrains, spices like cardamom, ginger, local fruits like ranges, and hardware, building construction materials, hotel business etc. Limitations of space here do not permit to discuss each and every merchant in the Sub-Division, but suffice it to mention that many also became involved in the large-scale production of tea and distribution of various goods. At the time of migration, the Marwaris were either petty traders without enough capital or lacked experience to launch industries in Darjeeling. But as years rolled on, the Marwari traders piled up capital and began to invest either in big firms or in new industries. Brij Mohan Gorg, the present president of the Darjeeling Chamber of Commerce started a manufacturing company of Ata, Maida, Suji, Bran etc. He made partnership with Maman Chand Agarwal, another business magnet, in 1989.

Many Marwaris conducted their business from Siliguri. One such businessman was Sanjay Mittal, owner of the Anand Gopal Tea Company Darjeeling Pvt. Ltd. Sevok Road. This company was engaged in the manufacturing of basic peeves and Hand tolls, Hardware, small scale machinery and other industrial components. It also started to manufacture the Orthodox Darjeeling Tea and green tea since 1980.

The story of the Marwaris of Darjeeling is that of their rise from petty traders or peddlers to capitalists with investments in big firms of different types of tea plantations. As for investment in plantations, this was not possible until 1940s due to a number of factors. First the racial discrimination of the British was certainly a factor which played

plantation. The company owns five Gardens in Upper Assam, five in Cachar, four in Dooars & Terai, six gardens in Darjeeling and two in South India. The company also has two tea processing factories which manufacture tea exclusively from tea leaves procured from other gardens. In Darjeeling, it owns Risheehat Tea Estate of 256 01.81 acres, Tukvar Tea Estate of 437 02.32 acres, North Tukvar Tea Estate of 195 00.97 acres, Singbulli Tea Estate of 303 02.22 acres. Balasun Tea Estate of 353 00.88 acres, and Sungma Tea Estate of 273 01.36 acres. The tea production of the company increases steadily under the Birla group and soon the company emerges as the third largest tea producing company in the world.

Conclusion

In this way Marwari control over the commodity trade and industries of the district was practically completed during the sixties of the twentieth century. Some important factors that played significant role to raise this community from a very humble position to a dominant one are as follows: Timberge, the Marwari expert has emphasized on the socio-economic situations of Rajasthan. To him psychological factors also play an important part in the emergence of the Marwari as a great business magnet. He has laid emphasis on their efficiency, hardiness and assiduity. Besides, there are few other local factors that played in favour of the Marwari merchants. I) they were on the spot from the beginning of the commercialization of the district and never faced a serious competitive challenge from other local people like the Nepalese, the dominant community. They maintained more cordial economic relation with the British. They usually got the chances to deal the managers and coolies before the arrival of any other groups in the tea gardens. The Marwari traders not only lent them money but also supplied the daily essentials. It was difficult to break up the system that arose in between them. By the mid-1960s, competition with Tibetan-owned businesses was not as intense as today. The Marwaris were able to combine competitive prices with relatively good quality and managed to hold their ground in these retail sectors very well indeed. The proliferation of Tibetan-owned shops in fact challenged the monopoly of the Marwari in Darjeeling from the last quarter of the last century. All these factors however, became instrumental for their success.

But it is astonishing to observe that the Marwaris inspite of being the leading figure not only in the district but also in North Bengal did not organize any commercial organization or any chamber of commerce during our period of study. This may be explained in the following way; firstly at the time of their migration they were very few in number (1872 census, only 62) and scattered all over the district. They were much busy in acquiring their primary sustenance and, had no time for constituting such organization. Perhaps the political restriction was another cause in this respect.

The first merchant's guild the 'Darjeeling Chamber of Commerce' was established in 1980, and leading role was played by the Marwaris. Almost all the executive bodies of this organization were under their hold.

4.2: The Biharis Business Community

Next to the Marwaris, the Beharis also held a significant position in the retail trade of Darjeeling. Unlike the Marwaris, they did not have any prestigious commercial history in India. But in Darjeeling the Bihari community played an important role in the commercial transaction especially in the retailing in the 1st quarter of the twentieth century. They, gradually, became more dominant after independence. Unlike the Marwaris, the Bihari could never establish monopoly over the tea and tourism industry of Darjeeling and nor could they achieve any industrial success per se.

The Bihari migration to Darjeeling can be traced as early as the second half of the nineteenth century- Shambhu Prasad, a Bihari businessman of Chawkbazar stated that his great grand father Gorakha Shah migrated to Darjeeling in the early 1860's with his fellow villagers Thakur Prasad (sweet shop-keeper) Jagdish Prasad, (jewellery shop-keer), Biswanath Prasad etc. They were among the earliest migrants. However, it is difficult to specifically state who these Bihari were. In the census report, the Bihari were categorized as Hindi-speaking people. It is difficult to find the exact number of those coming from actual Bihar. Generally the migrants from undivided Behar, U.P and its adjacent areas were collectively called Biharis. They spoke Hindi and Bhojpuri (a local dialect of some of the areas of Behar and UP). The 1891 census gives the following information (Table No-3.10) according to the birth place of these Hindi speaking people.

Table-4.3

Hindi speaking people (the Biharis) according to the birth place of 1891 census;

Areas	Males	Females	Total
Shanabad	470	90	500
Patna	247	144	291
Gaya	47	32	69
Saran	3191	272	3463
Monghyre	576	61	627
Dabhanga	846	193	10,38
Mujaffar pur	2045	314	2359
Champaran	223	49	279
Grand Total	7644	1135	8,779

Source: Census of India, 1891

According to the census of 1941 they were categorized as Hindi speaking and numbered 19,996. Dash in 1941 had the following information to give about them "Hindi speaking Hindus are mainly Biharis. They are most numerous in Terai where in tea areas they number 10,711 and in other rural areas 3824, there are also 2968 in Siliguri town. In the Sadar Sub- Division over 1000 out of the 1698 are residents of town. In the Karseong Sub- Division there are 733 in tea areas (probably coolies) and 373 in urban and Semi-urban areas (most probably traders). In the Kalimpong Sub- Division out of 1438, 519 reside in tea areas (probably coolies), 246 in Semi- urban areas and over 500 in the urban area"⁴³. Thus, the Biharis were scattered all over the district in different occupations and trades.

Bihari migration to Darjeeling happened due to the economic backwardness of the state of Bihar. It may be worth giving a brief account of the economic condition of Bihar during the colonial rule. Behar presented a typical case of a rich country inhabited by poor people. Her material and human resources were considerable. Biharis who migrated out of Bihar excelled in the profession they pursued. But, back home it made no dent on the backwardness of the State. The constellation of several interrelated issues namely, poor agricultural growth, deindustrialization during the colonial period, high population growth and migration mutually reinforced each other leading to its long term decline. These were coupled by poor governance, unreliable infrastructure, low energy availability and poor agricultural yields over a long period. All this created a Vicious

Circle or even a Quagmire. The end result has been devastating for the State, its economy, its society and human development.

With the demise of industrial economy of Bihar during the nineteenth century and agrarian crisis becoming acute, significant migration of labour force from the state became a steady phenomenon. The statistics of migration from Bihar are alarming. According to 1921 census, whereas 4,22,000 people came to Bihar, 19,17,000 went out of Bihar.

In none of the early historical documents on Darjeeling, Biharis were not mentioned as traders. Most probably in those days they engaged in different types of occupations other than trade and business. Most of them started their career either as coolies in the tea estates, road buildings or any other constructions or pretty traders who hawked the goods from door to door. Only O' Mally described that " together with these hillmen are found the denizens of the plains, who have been attracted to the hills by the prospect of easily acquired wealth, the Madhesias held in great contempt by the stalwart Nepalese"⁴⁴. The Biharis came to be known as 'Madhesias Kanu' in Darjeeling .O'Malley did not refer the name Bihari separately. He described Marwari as merchants, Bengali as clerks Hindustani as mechanics, (perhaps the Biharis) Punjabi as traders and Chinese as carpenters. In the 1940's A. J. Dash pointed out that "the finance of trade and agriculture in the District is mainly in the hands of these who control trading i,e Marwaris and to a much smaller extent Biharis"⁴⁵. He further added that "while it is probably correct to say that Marwari and Bihari control of the commodity trade of the District is practically complete and that Marwari and Bihari control over retail supply of consumption goods and the lending of money to hillmen is dominating....."⁴⁶.

We have tried to reconstruct the story of Bihari migration to Darjeeling and their position in the local economy from personal observation and discussion with some Bihari businessmen themselves.

The old Markets of Darjeeling town such as Chawk Bazaar, Daroga Bazaar, are mainly dominated by the Bihari traders along with the Marwaris. At present in Daroga Bazaar almost all the tailoring shops belong to the Biharis and at Chawk Bazaar about fifty to sixty percent of shops are occupied by Bihari traders. Some of these traders migrated to Darjeeling along with their counter part Marwari at about the same time. The most

prominent and the oldest among the Bihari is the Ansari family, a wool merchant who traded from the time of the East India Company in Darjeeling. At present this family has divided into about five main branches and together occupies nineteen shops scattered all over the Darjeeling town. All of these are dealing with the business of cloths, woolen garments, shawls, hosiery goods etc. Of this family Ghareeban Mia and Khedaru Mia first came to Darjeeling from Tejpur-Dehma of Gazipur District of Uttar Pradesh around the year 1857. Before their entry into this line they were hawker of groceries and millinery goods. They peddled these goods from door to door and also at the different *haat* all over the district. Majeed Ali stated that his great grandfather regularly went to sell goods at the *haat* of Pulbazar, Ghoom and the Sunday haat of Darjeeling. Mohammad Musa and his brother Rahim Ali, son of Ghareeban Mia established a shop of wool and woolen garments named 'Wool Crafts' at the Municipal building 'A' shop -1 in the year 1927. Jamshed Ansari the proprietor of the shop produced a Draft of Agreement dated 23rd December 1927 given by the Municipal Corporation to reconstruct the history of their family⁴⁷.

Prior to the establishment of the shop they worked as agent of the East India Company. They (agent) sold knitting wools, woolen garments yearn cloth, furs etc. from the municipality Room- 10. This room was allotted to Md. Musa and his brother Rahim Ali. Majeed Ali, the grandson of Md. Musa recollects how he helped his grand father in carrying and selling the goods. Besides East India Company they purchased goods from a number of other small companies such as G. Atherton & Co./ Eastern Limited, Liverpool, Calcutta, and Bombay, Wed, D.S van Schuppen En Zoon, Veenendaal, Holand. Exchange was done through the banks of Lloyd Bank Pvt. Ltd., Imperial Bank of India etc. Payments were done in pound and sterling.



Document (Receipt) from personal collection of Jamshed Ansari, Bihari Trader of Chawk Bazaar, Darjeeling



Document (Receipt) from personal collection of Jamshed Ansari, Bihari Trader of Chawk Bazaar, Darjeeling

No. 3988

MUNICIPAL OFFICE.

Darjeeling the 3rd March 1928.

From

R. H. S. Hutchinson, Esqr., J.P.

Secretary, Darjeeling Municipality.

D a r j e e l i n g .

To

Messrs. Mahomed Musa Kalim Ali,Darjeeling.

Sirs,

With reference to the meeting which took place in the Council Chamber of the Municipal Office on the 19th December 1927 at 11 A.M. at which you were present with your pleader and in continuation of this office Recd No 3183 dated the 23rd December ¹⁹²⁷ I am directed to send herewith the draft agreement which may be returned duly approved and signed by you at an early date so that the same may be engrossed on a non-judicial stamp paper and executed before the possession of the shop No. 1 of the new building is given to you. You will have to bear the entire cost of execution of the agree... which will be communicated to you later on.

I have the honour to be,

Sirs,

Yours most obedient servant,

*R. H. S. Hutchinson*Accomp:- 1 Draft
agreement.

Secretary

Document (Draft of Agreement) from personal collection of Jamshed Ansari, Bihar Trader of Chawk Bazaar, Darjeeling

Among the nineteenth century migrants, Shambhu Prasad, the groceries businessman of Chawkbazar was also important. His forefather traded here for about 140 years. His great grandfather Gorakh Shah migrated to Darjeeling in the year 1868, along with his fellow villagers who were also established traders of Darjeeling namely Jagadish Prasad (jewelry-merchant) Thakur Prasad (sweet-merchant) etc who also became established traders of Darjeeling. They were the inhabitants of Rasulpur Bazar, Mahendrapur, Chhapra District of Bihar. Gorakh Shah was a hawker, peddling sweets and many other items. His son Mahadew Shah established a shop (No- 22) at 'E' building, Chawk Bazar around 1911. At that time both involved in tobacco business. They purchased their tobacco leaves from Jalpaiguri, Coch Behar, Dinhata, Changrabandha etc. Madhav's son Kishore Prasad also continued the family business of tobacco on wholesale and retail. They ran a bidi factory and about 30 years ago they changed their business. Kishor Prasad, the 4th generation of the family, switched over to '*Mudikhana karobar*'. Now it is inherited by his son Shambhu Prasad. Kishore Prasad died in 2006⁴⁸.

Among the other early Bihari traders the name Ghura Mia must come into the purview of this study. He was one of the oldest traders of Darjeeling. According to the old businessman, (Majeed Ali), he migrated from Balia District of Uttar Pradesh before the year 1880. The present owner of the shop Aslam Parvez (son of his wife's brother) informed that he was the inhabitant of Mithuwar village, Phephana, Uttar Pradesh. Ghura Mia's life was very adventurous. He journeyed by river through the Ganges via Raj Mahal and reached Darjeeling on foot. At that time he was a hawker. He was peddling bakery goods in different places of Darjeeling, including the Lebong cantonment, Jalapahar, Takvar etc. Later on, he set up a shop on Hill Cart Road, at 'M' building shop No- 6. He successfully transacted his business for a long time till his death in 1946. He left a huge property to his wife Jaitun Bibi because they were childless. Later on his property was inherited by her (Jaitun's) brothers Md. Hanif and Haji Md. Hadis. Both of them transacted this bakery shop for 28 year together. At that period they further extended this business and produced cakes, biscuits, snacks and other items at their own factory. It dominated the confectionery business of Darjeeling for a long time. Following a family feud in 1974, the Ghura Mia Bakery shop was divided into two parts among them. At present however the business has lost its early

glory and merely sells the bakery goods. The factory has closed and they purchase readymade goods from other dealers of Darjeeling and Siliguri. Md. Jamshed Alam (son of Md. Hanif) and Altaf Hussain (son of Md. Hadis) are the owners of the two shops⁴⁹.

Damodhar Prasad and his brother Thakur Prasad were two other early migrants. They had come to Darjeeling as early as 1882. Rameshwar Prasad, one of the present owners of the business, informed that his great grandfather had started his journey from his village around the year 1884 and reached Darjeeling by rail, boat and finally on foot. They had come through a very dense jungle of unsmooth riddle path along the hills. They hailed from Siwan District of Bihar. They were Hindu Vaishyas, known as Madhesias Kanu. They first stayed in Siliguri for three years without doing anything special and later on moved into the Sadar Sub- Division of Darjeeling. Initially they even worked as coolies in constructing the roads, clearing jungles and bearing goods from here to there etc. For a brief period they also hawked sweet goods. Then Damodhar Prasad along with his brother Thakur Prasad embarked on the sweet-making business after setting up a permanent shop at Municipal Building 'D' shop no - 3 around 1885. They occupied this shop on lease from the British authority for conducting trade. They purchased raw materials from Siliguri and Darjeeling. After their initial success, it was further expanded by their successors Hari Prasad Rambilash and Rameshwar Prasad. After Damodhar and Thakur Prasad it was divided among their successors around 1911. Their descendants still remain with their sweet business.

At present the shop is divided into about fifty family members who run the shop on rotation for one year each. In addition to this family business they have diversified into various other businesses over time. They engage in wholesale and retailing business like stationery shop at Super Market (established around 1997), tailoring at Daroga Bazar and some of them run hotels and restaurants. In this way presently this Bihari family hold an important position in the retailing trade of Darjeeling town⁵⁰.

While Darjeeling became the hunting ground to the planters and other merchants in late nineteenth century, a bulk of new Biharis also flocked around the town in search of better livelihood. Their participation in business increased from the first half of the twentieth century. Perhaps some important factors led them to involve in commercial

activities of the district. First by that time potentialities of Darjeeling as tea industrial area as well an important tourist destination had already been established. All these economic activities opened up various commercial avenues, such as retailing, tailoring etc which seemed to be less risky to the Biharis and could be started with small capital. Second those who were in the district either changed their apparently low profile to venture in trade or encouraged their kinsmen to get this opportunity. In this way a large number of Biharis became involved in trade. Not limited to a particular business, they branched out various trades or whatever profitable enterprise came to hand. Though never as prosperous as the Marwaris, the Biharis could make their presence felt in groceries, bakery goods, and tailoring businesses. The following profile of some of these families reveals these facts;

The Wali bakery was quite famous among the old inhabitants of Darjeeling. At present it is owned by Arsal Asfaque. He has inherited an established, flourishing business started by his forefather. His great grandfather Abdur Rahim had migrated from Balia district by bullock cart, rail and then toy train to Darjeeling in 1913 and started to hawk bakery foods from door to door. He himself produced these bakery foods by his own hands. Around the 1920's his son Wali Mohammad assisted him and gradually they made it lucrative and purchased a permanent base of bakery shop on Pleasant Road (Now renamed H.D. Lama Road). Later on, the business became even more profitable at the time of his son Nurul Huda who established another branch at 'A' building of Chawk Bazar. At present his successor Arshad Ashfaque continues his ancestral business successfully. Another branch of the business was set up on Cart Road in 1950. He left huge capital and prosperity for his successor in 1985.

Md. Anis, a Bihari merchant stated that the history of his family in Darjeeling may be dated back as early as the 1900s. His forefather came from Siwan. Like the other Bihari his grandfather Molbul Hussain also started his career with nothing special but as a petty trader. Over time, they accumulated money and diversified into more lucrative business of shoe. His next generation Shaik Hazrulla established a shoe shop in Gol Ghar on Hill Cart Road. It continued for 100 years. Following a family feud this shoe business was divided in 1977-78. Now this trade is handled by Hazrulla's two sons Md. Anis and Md. Atique separately.

Many Biharis had changed their occupation from time to time. At their migration stage most of them engaged in hawkery, or a very small karobar of groceries. In these initial ventures while they made a good deal of wealth they switched over to other profitable ventures. The brief history of these traders is as follows-

Asrar Ahmad, the owner of 'Darjeeling Medical Store', shop No-3 said that his grand father and his father were engaged in tobacco business in the 1920s. They hailed from Barharia, a remote village of Siwan district, Bihar in 1919. They purchased raw tobacco from Cooch Behar, Changrabandha, Kishanganj and collected *hucca*, *bidi* and some other smoking goods from Calcutta. They continued to run the business from 1919 to 1940. His grand father Shaikh Hussain died in 1939 and his father late Serjul Haque switched over to the business of domestic wares, utensils, collected from Siliguri. In 2004 Asrar again changed the ancestral business from millinery to chemist and pharmaceutical shop as it seemed to be more lucrative. They maintained a close family relation with native home at Barharia, Siwan and visit Bihar on festivals and social occasions.

Shaik Karamat Ali, great grand father of Ali Asraf Attani (present owner) received a shop on Hill Cart Road at 'M' building around 1925. He started a tobacco business. Later he engaged in selling earthen wares that was peddled by Karamat Ali and his son Haji Sayed during the time of their early career in Darjeeling. During the time of Mahibulla, son of Haji Sayed Ali, the business changed from tobacco to glass wares. They began to sell different domestic utensils and other modern and traditional domestic wares. Later on, Ali Asraf added latest domestic cooking utensils, electric rice cooker, pressure cooker, fashionable dinning sets, decorative goods etc. Ali Asraf established another shop on the Dr. Y. E. N. C Road namely 'Asraf Sales Corporation'. They have been residing here for three generations and always held a great position among the Muslim Behari traders. They are from Siwan, North Bihar.

Md. Irfan Hossain said that his elder brother Shahabuddin Hossain first moved from their village of Chhapra around the year 1940 in Siliguri. After the partition of India they were afraid of the impact of the partition and migrated to Darjeeling Sadar. They thought that it would be safer for their life and property. Then he established Novelty Tailors which was one of the important outlets to the customers in B.M Road. At

present his two sons also assist him and on the first floor of their shop they established another extension. Now they run two shops and also possess some landed property in the town.

Likewise Ali Asraf Attani, Iftikhar Ali of Champarar, North Bihar (on Loch Nagar Road Raju Bakery) was also a flourishing trader. He owns two bakery shops- one was established before Independence and another was founded recently. Before they held a small bakery shop, now they establish two shops and sell goods produced by them at their own firm.

Over time, some of the Biharis took Nepali wives and adopted Nepali life style. Munna Khan is such a trader who married a Nepali woman and fluently talks in Nepali along with his mother tongue Urdu. Munna Khan has a mutton shop at 'N' building, Chawk Bazar on the Cart Road. He was a private employee of a cloth shop when he came to Darjeeling in 1941. Later on, he started his own business of selling fish on wholesale and retail on the Eden Road. Around 1989 he established mutton shop at 'N' building. Badruddin, his son occupied another shop in a wooden building at Hospital Road near Chawk Bazar. He engaged in tailoring. His father Munna Khan migrated from Lakhnow, Uttar Pradesh in the early 40's of the twentieth century. Despite his assimilation to Nepalese way of living, Munna Khan retained his ties with the Bihari Community and assisted them in many socio-economic occasions.

A number of Biharis migrated to Darjeeling hills after Independence to grasp the new opportunities opened up by the departure of the Europeans. The famous shop 'Kaventer's' on Commercial Road was purchased by Girish Chandra Jha, the then manager of Edward Kaventer. He was a British trader and agent of Kaventers Co.Ltd, London. The settlement of 1905 report of Darjeeling shows that Mr. Kaventer came from Aligarh to establish a dairy firm at Ghoom near Darjeeling. Rahul Jha⁽⁵¹⁾, the present owner of the firm and grand son of Girish Jha informed that his grandfather worked under Mr. Kaventer from 1954- 1986 and finally at the time of his departure Girish Jha purchased this firm in 1986.

Girish Jha of Sanha village, Begusarai, Bihar came in Darjeeling in early 1954. Prior to his arrival he served the army under the British Government. He made his journey by



Figure4.1Keventers & Planters' Club 1930s

Source: http://www.oldmhs.com/older_darjeeling.htm



Figure4.2 Keventers & Planters' Club 2010s

Personal Collection

train and then by jeep from Fanshi Dawa to Ghoom and from Ghoom to Darjeeling on foot. While he was at the cantonment of Darjeeling, he met Mr. Kaventer who had already established a dairy firm at Ghoom. Mr. Kaventer was impressed by him and appointed him as his manager to look after his firm and other business in Darjeeling. When he returned in 1986, this establishment of Darjeeling was sold out to him. At present his son Rasindranath Jha has further expanded the business. Now they involve in a number of businesses excluding dairy goods.

"Today Kaventer's products are available in Gangtok, Siliguri, Kalimpong, Kurseong, and Shilong. Kaventer's, besides manufacturing pork and chicken products and running a snack bar is also one of the leading retailers of tea and other packed and canned products. Kaventer's is also one of the oldest distributors of Coca Cola products in the country. The association with the Coca Cola Company spans three decades."⁵² They engaged in a number of modern food business like different soft drinks, confectionery items, different ice cream, snacks, etc. This business is now handled by both Rasindranath his son Rahul Jha. They appointed four Bihari and Nepali assistants to help them in the shop. At present they continue to maintain the same prestigious logos clientele as it was under Mr. Kaventers. Kaventers is one of the most important business establishments under the control of a Bihari.

Some of the later migrants also made successful trading venture. One such businessman was Lakhu Prasad who hailed from Mufafferpur of Behar in 1950. Lakhu Prasad occupied a shop in Chawk Bazar 'E' building. He dealt with the business of stationary goods which he purchased from the local businessmen. Now his successor has leased out the shop. Jayllal Prasad, grand son of Lakhu has established a new shop for bags, shoes, umbrellas, and varieties of stationery goods in the Laden La Road. During the time of his father Kapil Dev Prasad their family business was divided among his father and uncle Shayam Dev Prasad .Bindeshwari Prasad, son of Shayam Prasad also involved in that trade. They had a small shop at the Super Market. Their share in the ancestral shop of Chawk Bazar was purchased by Kapil Dev Prasad in 1989.

Bihari businessmen occupied a number of shops in the Municipal buildings. They were dominant in two old markets of Darjeeling, viz- Chawk Bazar and Daroga Bazar. It is already stated above that fifty to sixty percent municipal shops are occupied by them

and rest of it are under the domination of the Marwari. They are dominant in the Commercial Row, now known as Nehru Road, on the upper part of the town including Mount Pleasant Road, Chawrasta, Gandhi Road etc. and Biharis on the other hand are in dominance in the lower part of the town. At Daroga Bazar also almost all (excepting four or six shops belonged to Marwari, Bengali and Newar) the municipal shops are dominated by the Behari. At Chawk Bazar they engage in varieties of trades like, grocery, sweets shop, bakery or confectionery, millinery, utensils, jewelry, stationery, textile, and other wholesale and retail business. In Daroga Bazar there are several tailoring shops under their ownership. The important tailoring establishments under the Biharis are those of - Md. Abbas Tailor, Hafijulla Tailor, Taj Tailor, Good Luck Tailor, M.S. Tailor, Sajaan Tailor, Mauisha Tailor, Sahiya Unique Tailor, Riya, Rex, Pakija, Tialors etc. Almost all of them have come either from Bihar or its adjacent areas around 1940's. Almost all of them have remained in this business for two or three generations. Hafijulla⁵³ a tailor pointed out that their customers came not only from the town, but from neighboring villages as well. Inspite of competition in the business, almost all are doing well.

From my personal observation and interaction with the trades themselves it becomes clear that most of them have initially inherited and then expanded the business originally founded by their forefathers. At Chawk Bazar such fortunate traders are Suvas Gupta (owner of Groceries and stationery shop 'X' building shop No-1) Pradeep Kumar Ojha (groceries shop 'W' building shop No- 3) Bikash Prasad ('N' building shop No-8 Medicine), Surendra Prasad Chowrashi (groceries 'N' building shop No- 7) Ajay Prasad Barnawal (groceries, 'N' building shop No- 4) Govic Gupta (sweet and Restaurant, 'L' building, established in 1877 by Narayan Das), Anil Gupta (Electronic, mobile, computer business) and Abdul Jabbar Brothers (on Pleasant Road, confectioner) Sri Lallan Prasad (Lallan Prasad, Sonam, Wangi Road) Santosh Gupta (Bahadur Prasad & sons, Chawk Bazar). The specific case studies and family histories indicate the same.

Conclusion

Although a few Bihari shops like those of the Marwaris continue to deal in the old line of groceries and tailoring, many of them have started to diversify and explored the possibilities of a wider variety of modern business items including cheap electrical goods, electronic watch, calculator, torch, toys, stationary goods etc in course of time. At the beginning of the twentieth century the Biharis of Darjeeling were mostly in the import, wholesale, and retail of groceries and green vegetables mainly for the local market. To some extent they were also running tailoring shops. It was increasing as Nepali women preferred to use clothes made to measure rather than ready-mades for both general and special occasions throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Moreover many young Nepali women started wearing western dresses like trousers, shirts and skirts from the second half of the twentieth century onwards that went beyond traditional values and experimented with styles of tight and well-fitted dresses. In the first quarter of the twentieth century a sizeable number of middle class emerged in Darjeeling that brought about a great change in taste and styles of dress as well as fashions. The young generation of the Nepali society leaned towards western outfits that greatly influenced the diversification of Marwari and Bihari-owned shops in the late twentieth century. This change in life style was also reflected in the household furnishing. Use of modern domestic house-holds gained steadily in importance by the end of our period of study. Look of kitchens changed and demand for modern utensils and good items were on the rise. The Marwari and Bihari changed their business accordingly. We see the emergence new of markets on the one hand and introduction of new modern businesses on the other hand through out the twentieth century.

The business of toiletry also increased steadily as Nepali women became aware of fashions. Beauty-parlour came up almost every Lane of the town and small bazaars selling beauty products scattered all over the landscape of the Sadar. This trend started with the Nepali society as a result of Anglicization of Darjeeling and remained deeply rooted in the society even after the departure of the British. Therefore, many Bihari shops started specializing in stationary business combined with baby goods and haberdashery in the later part of the twentieth century.

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- ¹³ . Interview with his son Jugal Kishor Sharma, former secretary of the Darjeeling Chamber of Commerce.
- ¹⁴. A. K Banerje and et.al, *West Bengal District Gazetteers, Darjeeling*, 1980. p. 268,
- ¹⁵. A. J Dash, op cit. p. 175.
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- ¹⁷ . Ibid., p. 268-269.
- ¹⁸ . A. J. Dash, op cit. p. 173.
- ¹⁹ . Ibid., p.174.
- ²⁰ . Ibid., pp. 81-82.
- ²¹ . Ibid., p. 174.
- ²² . Timberg, op cit. p. 51.
- ²³ . A. J. Dash, op cit. p. 197.

²⁴. Cheboo Lama,a political agent of the Raja of Sikkim at Darjeeling was a Lepcha priest. He played an important pro- British role in the Eden Mission to Bhutan in 1864 as Tibetan interpreter. An area of 115 square miles in the north-west corner of the District, lying between Nepal, Sikkim and the Little Rangit river was given to Lama as his pro British role in this Mission. Sergeant Rennie, *Bhotan and the Story of the Dooar War*, pp 10-11, 64, 262, London, 1866, W.W Hunter, op cit. pp.104, A.J Dash, op cit. pp. 207.

²⁵. A. J. Dash,op cit. p. 208,197.

²⁶. Interview with Aranj Kr. Shettia Jain.

²⁷. Interview with Rinku Agarwal.

²⁸. Tirnberge, op cit.

²⁹. Personal Observation.

³⁰. Interview with Sawar Agarwal, a family member.

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³⁵. Interview with Vidya Devi Agarwal, wife of late Janaklal and present owner of the petrol pump.

³⁶. Ibid.

³⁷. Interview with Jagal Kishor.

³⁸. Interview with Girish Sarda.

³⁹. <http://www.nathmul.com>.

⁴⁰. Ibid.

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⁴⁷. 3988, Municipal Office, Darjeeling, 3rd March, 1928.

⁴⁸. Interview with Shambhu Prasad.

⁴⁹. Interview with Aslam Pervez, son of Altaf Hussain.

⁵⁰. Interview with Rameshwar Prasad Gupta.

⁵¹. Interview with Rahul Jha.

⁵². Sanjay Biswas, *Fallen Citadels*, p.164.

⁵³. Interview with Hafijulla.

Chapter- Five

Profile of Minor Business Communities

- **Introduction**
- **5.1 The Nepalese Business Community**
- **5.2 The Bengalese Business Community**
- **5.3 The Tibetans Business Community**
- **5.4 The Kashmiris Business Community**
- **5.5 The Punjabis Business Community**
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- **5.7 The Sindhis Business Community**
- **5.8 The Chinese Business Community**

Reference

Introduction

As we have discussed in the previous chapters the major business establishments of Darjeeling were under the control of the Europeans or the British to be more specific and the Marwaris and Biharis who dominated the wholesale and retail trades of Darjeeling. In addition to them there were some other traders and businessmen who came from some other communities. They were few in number no doubt but their role in the commercial life of Darjeeling was not negligible. They were the Nepalis, Bengalis, Kashmiris, Panjabis, Sindhis, Tibetans etc. Excepting the Nepali, these merchants were basically confined to the urban area. Some of these business groups have either woundered up or lost their previous prosperity. The Bengalese, Parsees and Chinese almost lost their commercial predominance of Darjeeling Sadar while few Chinese still trade in Kalimpong Sub-Division and the Parsees, referred only in the account of E.C Dozey are now completely absent from the economic scenario of the Sadar.

As for the Parsees, a very few of them were found in the town in the British period. Referring to them Dozey wrote that "as the community (Parsee) in this station is small, indeed, deaths are few and far between; consequently the upkeep of a sacerdotal establishment is neither necessary nor possible. There are three persons buried in this cemetery, which is situated just below the Lebong Road about one and half miles away from the Market Square,..."¹. We don't find much represent to them after this. A handful of Panjabi and Sindhi businessmen are still there. Special reference must be given to the Bengalese. From the very initial days of Darjeeling's growth a number of Bengalese were involved in trading activities but at present they have lost their numerical as well as commercial hold over Darjeeling. In course of the 1980s Bengalese left Darjeeling due to the Gorkha disturbance.

5.1: Nepali Business Community:

Nepalese are the dominant race of Darjeeling making up more than a half of the population. Nepali migration to Darjeeling has been explained in terms of both 'push and pull' factors. Pull factors was more important than push factors. During the

nineteenth and twentieth centuries permanent emigration from Nepal was encouraged by two major pull factors. One was the colonization of Darjeeling and the subsequent rapid growth of tea- industries and another was the recruitment of Gorkha soldiers into the British Army. Darjeeling had one of the important stations for Gorkha recruitment. The push factors can be explained in terms of historical developments of Nepal. "the Newar kingdom in the Kathmandu Valley was occupied by the Gorhka king rather forcefully, compelling many Newars to flee over to Sikkim and Darjeeling"². Furer Haimendorf brings out the 'push' factors such as pressure on land and resultant impoverishment of the peasants in Nepal being responsible for the migration of the Nepalis. Kansakar adds another important dimension in this regard. To him the conquest of the Kathmandu Valley and later unification of Nepal in 1769 by Prithvi Narayan Shah were responsible for the initial migration of the Nepalese³. S, Dutt considers the following developments as important for coming of the Nepalis to the region in particular: increasing population, fragmented landholding, indebtedness, ecological crisis, and food deficiency in Nepal as indigenous, and the Anglo-Nepalese Friendship Treaty of 1850, the Tripartite Delhi Agreement of 1851, and the revised Indo-Nepal Agreement of 1956 as exogenous factors⁴. The following table (Table No-3.16) shows the rapid growth of Nepalese:

Table-5.1
Demography of Nepalese in Darjeeling district:-

1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
25781 ^r	..	88000	134000	..	..	193016	254608	285009	369130

Source: Census of India

Including Murmis the total Nepali population rose to 32,338 in 1871 C.F Magarth categorized them as tribe separately. The Nepalese formed 34.1% of the total district population in 1872 and 67.6% in 1941 and in the hills 86.8%.

The Nepalese were divided on the basis of caste. The Nepalese inherited a very complex caste system which interrelated with their occupations. But the caste principles

were not strictly adhered to by very many Nepalese in Darjeeling. The traditional occupation of the Bahun (who are at the top in caste hierarchy) for instance, is supposed to be priesthood but as a matter of fact only the Upadhyaya Bahun (who are ritually superior to the Jaisi Bhahuns). The Chhetris are considered as warriors but the British and later the Indian army would not recruit them as soldiers unless they adopted some titles of the Mangars and Gurungs⁵. As such the traditional occupation of the Newars is said to be business but actually they had a wide distribution of occupations. It would certainly be true that all the caste-oriented groups could not have managed their living entirely from the caste-occupations. Inspite of all, there is certainly a loose-connection between caste and occupation. A great number of Newars involvement in commerce among the Nepalese is indicated these facts.

Even though the Nepalis were in numerical majority in Darjeeling Sub-Division but their role in business was insignificant. They were basically agriculturist. They had come to Darjeeling mainly as labourers in the plantations and in other constructions works. It was basically the Newars among them who set up commercial establishments in Darjeeling as part of their traditional occupation. "But actually they had a wide distribution of occupations.... they certainly could not have managed their living entirely from the caste-occupations even before the industrialization began to felt"⁶. In course of time some Nepali started their own business but they were concentrated mainly in the transport sector. Some Nepali traders also dominated the brass work, wooden works, motor driving, pack pony and bullock cart operation business and the execution of building and road construction works.

With the growth of the tourism industry the scope of business in transport sector expanded and the Nepali got involved in this trade in increasing number from the last quarter of the twentieth century. As a result a number of Nepali traders engaged in the lucrative motor business that was only by-passed by the Marwaris and Biharis. Now a days each affluent Newar has occupied four wheelers or at least small car for the visitors. The following section gives a short description of the Nepali involvement in trade and business. A very few Nepali traders also engaged in some general lines during the colonial period. The most prominent among them in Darjeeling Bazaar were the Das

studio, Photo shop, Nepal Curio, (curio) Singh Studio (Photo), Laxmi Bhander (groceries) etc.

One field where the Nepali have done very well is photography. Any discussion about this field has to start with the famous Das Studio which has now become almost synonymous with the history of Darjeeling.

Das Studio of Darjeeling was established by Ratna Pradhan's ⁷ grandfather Thakur Das Pradhan who migrated from Kathmandu Valley of Nepal around 1894-95. Initially, it had started as curio shop in the early 1920s from where post cards and photographs were also sold. Photography was a hobby with Thakurdas and he used to take photographs of beautiful scenarios, historical events and contemporary life style. Later, he established the famous Das studio in 1927 at Mount Pleasant Road, a site near the present day bazaar which shifted to Commercial Row (presently Nehru Road) in 1950. In 1949 he scraped together a down payment to purchase the premises that housed Whiteaway Laidlaw, a haberdashery.

Today it continues to trade from 15 Nehru Road near Chowrasta. Ratna's father Durga Das Pradhan held the helm of the family business during the period when colour photography had just been introduced to the world at large. In course of time, the family members of Ratna –his father, uncles, brothers, cousins and himself all together worked to develop and expand their business. They specially dealt with picture postcards depicting scenes of the Himalayas. In addition, they also sell other stationery and trinkets. The establishment is the biggest photo store of Darjeeling with old, rare collections. Although all the photographs here were in colour, a huge corpus of Ratna's work was in large format black & white, hugely influenced by Ansel Adams and his technique of Zone Control. He is presently working on collating these images to include in his digital portfolio.

According to Ratna Pradhan his exposure to professional photography, as well as a direct hands-on access to a wide variety of professional photographic equipment during his early years, provided a natural platform on which his passion for this art developed. Ratna's other passion was the outdoor life. He loved hiking, camping and exploring in



Figure5.1 Whiteaway Laidlaw Co, Commercial Row, Darjeeling- 1899 (Present location of Das studio below Figure5.2) Source: Das Studio



Figure5.2 Das Studio Commercial Row Darjeeling-2012
Source: Das Studio

the foothills of the Himalayas. After completing his college education, he enrolled in a mountaineering course at the Himalayan Mountaineering Institute (HMI Darjeeling). His instructors included the famous Tenzing Norgay, Nawang Gombu, Dorjee Lhatoo & N.Tashi. Ratna was invited to lecture on Himalayan Photography to all the students attending courses at the HMI, a task he undertook for almost 5 years. He also assisted as the Chief Instructor of the North Point Adventure Courses for a number of years. In 1980 he was invited to join a climbing expedition to Kamet & Abi Gamin in the Garhwal Himalayas as a photographer and was one of the successful summiteers. Ratna has undertaken countless photographic expeditions in the Himalayas which added to his collection of photographs.

Das Studio has become almost synonymous with life in Darjeeling town. It became a familiar meeting place as the visitors strolled along Nehru Road to Chowrasta and a walk along the Mall. Generally the story of Das Studio had been somewhat linked with social history of Darjeeling, in that the business provided a popular social hub for visitors as well as the locals.

Another studio was the Singh Studio under Shashi Singh Chhetri that also provided photographic services to the people of Darjeeling. It was founded by Shashi Singh Chhetri, a wonderer from the Elam district of Nepal who came to Darjeeling in the first decade of the 19th century. He started his career as a servant under a British Burlington-Smith by name who ran a studio on the Commercial Row ⁸. Rajen Singh, grandson of Sashi Singh stated that it was purchased by his grandfather on peppercorn rate in 1935-36 approximately. Sashi's son Shanti Singh Chhetri assisted his father from 1945 and carried on his father's business till his death in 1979. At the demise of his father Rajen Singh became the proprietor of the business. He diversified into book distribution business along with photography from the last decade of the 20th century. Initially, he only dealt with locally published books, but later on, started selling all types of publications both national and international.

Some of the Nepali businessmen are reluctant to reveal their family-history. Some of them even refused to admit any relation to Nepal. One such trader is Kishor Singh Chhetri, owner of the 'Elite Studio' He argued that "I'm Indian and born and bought up here in Darjeeling". Later on after many request he revealed his family story. He said that his grand father Shashi Singh Chhetri was a coolie under the British tea estate in his young days. At the time of his migration from Nepal he was only fourteen years old. During the time of his father the photo store business was initiated. In the last quarter of the twentieth century Kishor Singh expanded this business by engaging in millinery and stationery along with the photo store retailing.

Owner of the 'Bela Shoe, located in Chowrasta Mr. Suresh Pradhan has described the painful struggle of his father Krishna Bahadur Pradhan who established this shoe business. He struggled for a long time in those old days. Initially, he himself made shoes at his house and sold to the customers here and there. In 1934 he became lucky enough to purchase this shop and permanently established his trading network. Presently the whole business is taken care of by his son Mr. Suresh Pradhan who has been assisting his father since 1979. From the very beginning of their business they dealt with the famous shoe company 'Bata'. Goods were chiefly collected from Batanagar. They still produce shoes in their own factory. This family rose from a very humble position. Prosperity changed their fortunes and soon owned home both at Pokhoribong and Darjeeling Town.

Laxmi Bhander in Chawk bazaar is a grocery shop well known to both old and new residents of Darjeeling. It is the only big grocery business in 'G' building conducted by a Nepali Newar that competed with the Marwari grocery shops from the very beginning of its emergence⁹. History of this family may be traced back in Darjeeling in the last decade of the nineteenth century when Hirabir Tuladar, a young Nepali classical singer migrated from Kathmandu Valley in the year 1890. But as he could not survive on music alone he started a small business of spices, like cardamom, ginger etc. He conducted this trade from the municipality allotment. Goods were collected from the neighboring villages of Bijanbari, Sukhiapokhuri Jore-bungalow etc. Buddha Tulader

assisted his father from 1942. In 1930 they established their grocery business at 'G' building. Presently four sons of Buddha are managing this business.

Kukhri-making is an age-old vocation of the Nepalese .E.C Dozey pointed out that in the first quarter of the Nineteenth century..... "Nepalese who deal in curio consisting of turquoise-ware, coral, amber and jade ornaments, kukhris knives and brass-ware...." Birman Vishmakarma who occupied a very small shop made of tin on Mandir Line, Chawkbazar, rose from a very humble economic position. His great grand father Krishna Vishmakarma was a coolie who migrated from Nepal in the last quarter of the nineteenth century along with their fellow villagers. Initially, Manjit Vishmakarma also started his career as coolie. After his marriage with Madhu Devi he changed his livelihood and engaged in kukri- making along with his wife. At the demise of her husband around the year 1950 she carried on this business for sometime and finally established a small shop. Now it is inherited by her son Birman Vishmakarma from 1980.¹⁰

5.2: Bengalese Business Community

The commercial history of Bengal dated back to the ancient era. In the ancient age, Bengal was rich in different small and cottage industries as well as in trade and commerce. With the establishment of Muslim rule in India, the communication system between different regions of India with Bengal developed. As a result local trade and industries flourished. Therefore, involvement of the Bengalese in trade had increased in considerable number. During the first half of British period the Bengal trade was in favour of the Bengalese and they earned billions from trade with the Europeans. Soon the situation was changed in the second half of the eighteenth century due to a number of factors. After the Industrial Revolution in England the situation became worse and was further aggravated by the opening of the Suez Canal enabling sea voyage from Britain to India in twenty-five days instead of one hundred days via the Cape route. British import policy changed from importing finished goods from Bengal to importing raw materials at the cheapest possible price and re-exporting finished goods to Bengal and other parts of India. British traders made high profits by exploiting the local

entrepreneurs through buying raw materials at cheaper prices and also squeezed them out of the market by creating unequal competition from high quality industrial products. In addition, the British government had imposed high taxes on the incomes of local entrepreneurs. During the later half of the nineteenth century, Bengali capital was mostly diverted to land and non-commercial occupations. At the same time, development of transportation, primarily the expansion of railways and shipping as well as expansion of a money economy caused a rise in the price of land, making landed investments more attractive. Most of the salary surpluses of Bengali professionals and officials were invested in land. Such a re-orientation in the pattern of investment adversely impacted on the development of entrepreneurship. All this has earned them the epithet 'land gentry'. It is argued that whatever capital the Bengali Baboos accumulated, they squandered away on occasions like marriage and shradh ceremonies for social climbing¹¹. Despite all these the Bengalese have a great history of achievements as a community and as great contributors to the history of Darjeeling. There would be no history of Darjeeling without mentioning the Bengalese.

From the beginning of its growth the Bengalese took part in the construction of Darjeeling in several ways. Many British records also referred to the presence of the Bengali traders in Darjeeling. Initially there were some in hotel business and later they invested in tea. Some of them also engaged in retailing.

The Bengali population of the District was in the main confined to towns although there were 201 in semi-urban areas and in the Kurseong Sub-division and 84 in tea areas in the Kalimpong Subdivision in 1941. In 1941 census shows that there were 1,393 Bengalis lived in Darjeeling town and 3,302 in Siliguri.

The figures of the Bengali-speaking population in the District given in various censuses are confusing. In 1891 Bengali was stated to be the mother tongue of 47,435 persons; in 1901-44,802 in 1911- 45,985 and in 1931-37,444. If the totals of those shown as Rajbanshis and Bengalis in the 1941 census are added a total of 31821 is obtained. This indicates a decline in the Bengali-speaking population ¹². But within two decades, the number of Bengali-speaking population increased as high as (census of 1961) 11,5,172.

The partition of India led hundreds and thousands of Bengalis to migrate from East Pakistan.

In 1931 census report gave the figure of 21,89,35 on the basis of birth place. As many of those whose mother tongue was Bengali were probably born in the Terai, all that can be stated with certainty is that 21,89,35-37444-18,14,91 represents the minimum population which was born in the District and that the correct figure lies between 181491 and 21,89,34¹³.

In those days many Bengali aristocrat families and retired lawyers and general fortune-seekers flocked in Darjeeling. But in the British records they were described as service holders specially posted in clerical posts. Only Dash pointed out that "certain lines of business are more in favour of the Hillman or the Bengali". He further added that "The only three pharmacies are controlled by Bengalis"¹⁴ in Kalimpong; not in Darjeeling Sadar. From the 2nd half of the twentieth century, few Bengalis engaged in hotel business and tea plantation.

Happy Valley Tea Estate, a well-known tea garden in Darjeeling was established in 1854. David Wilson, an Englishman, had named the garden Wilson Tea Estate and around 1860 he had started cultivation of tea. In 1903, the estate was taken over by a Bengali, Tarapada Banerjee, an aristocrat from Hooghly. In 1929, Banerjee bought the Windsor Tea Estate nearby, and merged the two estates under the name of Happy Valley Tea Estate. G.C. Banerjee was the next owner of Happy Valley Tea Estate. He with his wife Annapurna Devi and three daughters (Nonimukhi, Monmaya and Savitri) lived there for some time. Annapurna Devi was related to the Ganguly family of Khandwa; her maternal uncle was Kunjalal Bihari, father of the famous cine Gangulys (Kisor Kumar). The tea produced by Happy Valley was sold by 'Harrods' in UK and 'Mariage Freres' in France¹⁵.

The Bengalis lived mainly in the Siliguri Sub-Division and their number was insignificant in the three hills. They were influential only in the plains of Darjeeling not in Sadar. Accordingly, in the commercial sector they played much less important role

than in the Siliguri Sub- Division. There were only a few who tried to keep up their glory in the hills.

Dr. Dhirendranath Sinha one such Bengali has most interesting history. He came from the undivided Bengal before Independence. He was the inhabitant of Belpuria, Khulna district of Bangldesh. Dr. Dhiren (popularly known) was an engineer of the Municipality in the first decade of the twentieth century. Under his instruction many roads, bridges and buildings were constructed in Darjeeling. During the swadeshi period, like other Bengalis, he was also deeply influenced by the swadeshi thinking and began to use khadi. One day he slapped on the chick of a Firingee who insulted him for his swadeshi dress code. Most probably, he was not treated well by the British and soon resigned from his post. Having resigned from the Municipality he started a small pharmacy. He began to run a restaurant named 'Tripti' located on Laden La Road that he took on rent from a Parsee Mr. Avery. Later on, this Parsee went back to Madras in 1981 by selling his property to Mamun Chand Agarwal, a Marwari and the owner of the Big Bazar (Darjeeling Branch).

In 1954 Dr. Dhiren was a homeopathic practitioner but he established 'The Economic Pharmacy' to deal with all types of medicine. He continued his practice till his death in 1980. Later on, he made partnership with Dr. Sailendranath Chatterjee, popularly known as Dr. Khanti. Presently this pharmacy is run by Urmila Sinha, daughter of Dr. Dhirendranath who is also a homeopathic practitioner herself.

During the 1920s three important hotels under Bengali ownership gained popularity. These were Kalibabu's Central Boarding, Snow View Hotel and Hindu Boarding. Of these Central Boarding and Snow View hotels were historically important because these had given shelter to the revolutionaries who conspired to kill Mr. Anderson in Lebong Spur¹⁶. Ujjala Choudhury and other revolutionaries made an unsuccessful attempt to murder Mr. John Anderson, the then Governor of Bengal on May 8, 1934. As a result of that incident the Bengali youths were ordered to make '*hajira*' everyday to the local *thana*. The Bengalis were terrorized and a great number of them left the hill. In this way

the number of Bengalis decreased further in the subsequent decades and at present only a handful old Bengalis are found in the hill.

There were some Bengalis who left their jobs to start their own business. Among them were Manmoth Choudhury, Biren Mukherjee, Prafulla Chatterjee, B.P Ghosh, Kalidas, A.C Banerjee, K.C Dey, Dr. S.K Paul, Amiya Banerjee (Happy Valley), Barindra Kumar Mitra's father Upendranath Mitra, Direndra Kumar Sinha Dr. Atul Guha etc

Most probably Surya Kanta Basu was the first Bengali who came to Darjeeling in 1865. The Bose Press was established in 1900. A number of important Bengali books, papers, pamphlets etc were regularly published by the Press. A few years later another press was established under the Bengali ownership. Mr. Jiten Mitra launched 'Darjeeling Press'. None of these survive now. Now a days a few roads of the hills named after a very few renowned Benagalis have been witnessing the glorious past of the Bengalis¹⁷.

Snow View Hotel was founded by Sati Prasanna Biswas who was a tea merchant. In 1921 he came from Meherpur, Chuadanga (Bangladesh). The Zamindar of Siliguri Ramapada Chatterjee gave him shelter for the time being. Later on, after passing the railway recruitment examination he became the guard of Darjeeling Himalayan Railway. This was the period when tea industry was flourishing. This lucrative tea business attracted his attention in the first quarter of the twentieth century. And soon he ventured in this new profession and established 'Tea Chamber' 1924-25 and immediately it gained popularity among the Bengalese. He was the first Bengali who introduced V.P to deal the British and other customers of Calcutta. Even Rabindranath Tagore was impressed by his tea sent by Mr. Biswas. Tagore informed him by a letter¹⁸.

While his tea business became lucrative, clash soon arose between Mr. Biswas and his British authority of DHR. He immediately resigned from this post and became a full fledged merchant. In March, 1931 he decided to diversify into hotel business. He made plans to open a budget hotel for middle class Bengalese who had started visiting Darjeeling in increasing number particularly during the pooja vacation.

Santanu Biswas, son of Sati Prasanna Biswas said that a few revolutionaries along with Ujjala Choudhury took shelter in their hotel for killing the Lt. Governor of Bengal John Anderson. That this hotel became popular during the 2nd half of the twentieth century is understood from the fact that a number of renowned persons like singer Devabrata Biswas, Rabi Sankar with Sankarlal Bhattacharya had sheltered in this place. In 1979 Sri Rabi Sankar stayed here for ten days and Sri Bhattacharya wrote a part of 'Raga-Anuraga' a, Biography of Rabi Sankar¹⁹.

Another Bengali sponsored old hotel in Darjeeling was Subodh Mustafi's Hindu Boarding Hotel. It was established on 14 October, 1921. His grand father Kiran Mustafi worked as a manager of Bloomfield Tea estate.

The Bengali Hindu Boarding or Kali Babu's Central Boarding was opened for the public on 1st December, 1928. Gopal, present owner of this hotel said that they served many VIP like Jayprakash Narayan in this hotel.

In course of time several hotels under Bengali ownership were established in Darjeeling. The Bengali hoteliers paid more attention to the middle class visitors than to the aristocrats. Hotel business became lucrative among the Bengalis due to the fact that Bengali visitors flocked in the hills in increasing number from the very beginning. The trend continues even today. There are a number of tour and travel agencies scatter all over Bengal who generally become instrumental in attracting the customers in the Bengali hotels. Emergence of Siliguri on the foot hills provided further opportunity to the Bengali merchants. It is the only important railway junction in the North-Eastern Region of India. Whether they travel by rail road or air all the visitors have to come to Siliguri before going to Darjeeling. Several Bengali owned travel agencies established a good business network from Siliguri to Darjeeling. Moreover the Bengali visitors also prefer Bengali atmosphere and Bengali food in course of their short stay. All these factors played significant role to patronize the Bengali hotel business in Darjeeling.

5.3: Tibetan Business Community

Relationship between Tibet and Darjeeling is traced back before the arrival of the British in Darjeeling. Geographically and historically, by race, religion and language, Bhutan, Sikkim and the district of Darjeeling are very similar to Tibet, though politically they are now distinct. Tibetans Bhutias-a people of Tibetan origin are there, particularly in Sikkim and Darjeeling even though in course of time they were greatly outnumbered by immigrants from Nepal²⁰. The name Darjeeling itself is said to have been derived from the Tibetan words 'dorje' meaning thunderbolt (originally the scepter of Indra) and 'linga' a place or land, hence 'the land of the thunderbolt'. the Presence of the Tibetan mercantile group in Darjeeling was a natural historical fact.

After the establishment of sanatorium in Darjeeling, the relation with Tibet became even more significant in terms of commerce. A number of Tibetans migrated to Darjeeling for better livelihood and the British authorities in India also renewed their interest in Tibet in the late 19th century. A number of Indians and British made their way into Tibet, first as explorers and then as traders. It was not easy because Tibet was still a 'Forbidden' country and not at all open to the idea of entertaining foreigners, particularly the Christian British on its jurisdiction. The British authority in India made futile attempts to open Tibet. Hence, treaties regarding Tibet were concluded between Britain and China in 1886, 1890, and 1893, but the Tibetan government refused to recognize their legitimacy and continued to bar British envoys from its territory. From 1860 onwards commercial interests in Tibet were diverted from Western Tibet to the road to Lhasa through Sikkim. It was the shortest route between Calcutta and Lhasa with Darjeeling as an entrepot for Central Asian trade. During "The Great Game", a period of rivalry between Russia and Britain, the British desired a representative in Lhasa to monitor and offset Russian influence. In 1904-5 the Young Husband Mission became the first 'successful' mission to get some commercial facilities from the Tibetan authority.

The physical geography and climate of Tibet are not suitable for extensive cultivation. The Tibetan economy is dominated by subsistence agriculture. Due to limited arable

land, the primary occupation in the Tibetan Plateau is raising livestock, such as sheep, cattle, goats, camels, yaks, and horses. The main crops grown are barley, wheat, buckwheat, rye, potatoes, and assorted fruits and vegetables. Trading is also taken as an important livelihood. They are endowed with trading instinct. It is said that "Tibetan is a born trader"²¹. They journeyed for long caravan. Many early British records described both the good commercial intercourse between Darjeeling and Tibet and the existence of the Tibetan businessmen in the Sadar: In 1873 J.W Edgar, the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling reported that he met some Tibetan traders who were on their way to Darjeeling where they wanted to exchange coarse blanket for tobacco. This report has already been described in detailed in the previous chapter. In 1880s R.D O'Brien also described that "Tibetan may often be seen in Darjeeling during the cold weather, short description of them may be of interest. In a mixed crowd in the bazaar of a sundry, if you pick out the very dirtiest man or woman you can find, be sure he or she is a Tibetan trader: these people cross the snowy range annually about November bringing with them rock-salt, yaks, tails, sometimes, gold dust, musk, and other commodities of various kinds, besides, ships, goats in large flocks. These they sell, and return laden with tobacco, broad-cloth, piece-goods, and other commodities in February, March. During their stay in Darjeeling they live in small light tents which they bring with them. Their favourite encamping ground is in the Lebong spur. It will be observed that there is only one woman in each tent, with five or six men. This is accounted for by polyandry being extensively practiced by the Tibetans. The young woman would be rather fresh complexioned but for a habit they have a daubing their faces over with a preparation of some sort of gum which looks like brown lacquer²². This description of O'Brien provided an important aspect of commercial picture of Darjeeling. Kalimpong was annexed from Bhutan in 1865 and soon it emerged as an important trade centre especially for Tibet trade. But it does not mean that Tibet trade via Darjeeling was completely abolished. A large proportion of merchandise was imported into Darjeeling as stated by O'Brien in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. And the regular exchange was held between them. This commercial exchange and growing importance of Darjeeling encouraged a number of Tibetans to migrate to the Sadar. In 1891, 1,526 persons were recorded as Tibetan -speaking. As per the census figure of 1901, 1,686

Tibetans resided in Darjeeling which rose to 2,774 in 1931 and 7,679 in 1961. A number of Tibetans had also come over after the Chinese occupation of Tibet. Exodus of Tibetan to India began about the middle of 1951, which gained momentum of assumed fairly large proportions in 1956. But the main exodus of Tibetan refugees began arriving in India from 1959 onwards²³. At that time they did not have any special occupation and embraced any type of livelihoods. Initiatives were taken on behalf of the Government of India and some local philanthropists to provide them with suitable livelihoods. As a result five production centres have come up into being in the district in the last quarter of the twentieth century to attach the Tibetan refugees as trainee-workers, trainer-workers, wage labourers or as self-employed workers. The five production centres with their respective lines of specialization are as follows: (1) Tibetan Central Training (Handicraft) Centre of Lebong, (2) Agricultural Co-operative Farming Society at Sonada (3) Lamhatta Agricultural Co-operative Society, Kalimpong (4) Kalimpong Handicraft Self-help Co-operative society and (5) Sonada Handicraft, Dairy Poultry and Agricultural Self-help Co-operative Society, Sonada. But these units can provide employment only to a fraction of Tibetan refugees and hence a great number of them have worked either as petty traders and peddlers of handicrafts or as labourers²⁴.

In fact, from the last quarter of the last century commercial picture of the Sadar has undergone a significant change because of the presence of the Tibetans in great numbers. Being 'born traders' the Tibetans have opted business as their chief means of livelihood in Darjeeling. They have gradually entrenched in every possible commercial pursuits including wholesale and retail trade of groceries, cloth, house building materials and hotel, restaurant and transport business and so on. At present, their growing commercial encroachment has resulted in an intense competition with the old business communities. The Tibetans are not, as a rule on good terms with the old local business communities. Feelings of dislike and jealousy come into play. As a result socio-economic tension is creeping into the wider arena of Darjeeling.

As befits the Tibetans who were naturally endowed with trading instincts, Darjeeling was developed with many economic activities especially tourism. Hotel and restaurant

business provided a ready market which seemed to be more lucrative to the Tibetans and a number of traders entered in this trading. A few instances may clear this picture. One important old Tibetan business family was the Pulger Family who owned and run the 'Bellevue Hotel', and in every way combined the peace and gentleness of that Tibetan family and its culture. Lawang Pulger (1926 – 2007), former director of the Bellevue Hotel, traced his origin from a Tibetan Lepcha family. The hotel is situated on the Mall, Darjeeling's prime area, and overlooks the Chowrasta, the main square with its magical mix of people from India, Nepal, Tibet, Sikkim and Bhutan. This hotel was established on or around 1872, (it is well documented in survey maps dating back to 1887) and represents the best of colonial "Raj" architecture. It was owned by an English lady until 1942 when it was bought by the present owners' family who have held it now for three generations.

Lawang Pulger was a grandson of Raja Tenduk Pulger, an eminent Lepcha noble during the British Raj. They came to Darjeeling in the early days of the colonial rule. He got involved in import and export trade between Darjeeling and Lhasa in his younger days during the British time and later, worked for His Holiness the Dalai Lama for many years in what were the hardest times in Tibetan history.

To mention a few of his achievements, he was a co-founder of "Tibetan Freedom Press"(the first Tibetan newspaper in exile) of the Tibetan Refugee Self Help Centre in Darjeeling and of the Central School for Tibetans (CST) in Darjeeling and in Kalimpong. For decades, he served as a Tibetan representative at the Buddhagaya Temple Management Committee. He was awarded a Medal for Distinguished Service from the Government of India. This hotel commenced operations in 1897 and featured a heritage building constructed around the year 1872 in the wood and stone masonry work characteristic of the colonial "Raj style" British architecture. They owned and managed it since 1943. The hotel is divided into 2 sections – the old building which houses ten wood paneled suites and the recently constructed new wing which houses ten double rooms and six suites with double bay windows. The Bellevue Hotel has became a landmark of Darjeeling tourism and mentioned in Lonely Planet, National Geographic

Adventure, Let's Go, Rough Guides, Cadogan Guides, and other discriminating travel books, including those published in Japan, Korea and other countries.

Tashi Pulger, the present owner is well educated. Born in 1983, he studied at Mount Hermon School, Darjeeling, and then at Oxford College, Bangalore. Encouraged and assisted by his mother Choedon Pulger, he has taken the steps required to preserve the tradition of the Bellevue Hotel even during the turbulent time of political unrest and harsh competition²⁵.

Many Muslim Tibetan traders are also well-established in hotel business. One such Tibetan Muslim trader is Habibulla Khallu. He started his hotel business by taking the 'Society Hotel' on lease from the Managing Authority of the Anjuman-i-Islamia for thirty years. He migrated to Darjeeling in the early years of the second half of the nineteenth century when the political turmoil just started in Tibet. He stated that he was an Indian as his ancestors were the inhabitants of Kashmir. They migrated to Tibet very long ago and lived at a village near Gyantse, Southern Tibet.

Among the early migrants few Tibetans achieved considerable economic prosperity through hotel business. The Dekeva family made an adventurer bid in this direction. They took the advantage left by the British to establish themselves in the hotel business. This family bought the 'Dekeling Resort and Hotel' constructed in the late 19th century by Sir William Ferguson Ducat. It was named as 'Hawk's Nest Resort'. The mansion is typical of those built by British of the Raj period. Recently it is restored to its original splendour by the Dekeva family. They have tried to combine every comfort and convenience to increase their clienteles. Dekeling Resort and Hotel is run by the members of the family altogether. Many domestic and international guests stay here.

Norbu Dekeva, the present proprietor of Dekeling Resort & Hotel, besides being a hotelier, is actively involved in social activities, in both local and Tibetan Community Social Activities. He is the Founder Member and the General Secretary of Manjushree Centre of Tibetan Culture, Darjeeling. Manjushree Centre of Tibetan Culture is a 20 year old non-profit charitable Institution and has actively contributed towards preservation and promotion of Tibetan language and culture. His Holiness the Dalai Lama is very pleased with the work of Manjushree Institute (MCTC).

Norbu Dekeva is also the board member and first General Secretary of Chagpori Tibetan Medical Institute, Darjeeling, re-established in India in 1992 in commemoration of Chagpori Tibet 1696-1959 by late Dr. S.N. Trogawa Rinpoche.

Norbu had served as the President/General Secretary of Regional Tibetan Youth Congress. Mrs. Norbu has also offered her contribution to her community by serving as President of Regional Tibetan Women's Association, Darjeeling²⁶.

In the heart of Darjeeling, close to the Mall's shopping and entertainment circuit is Hotel Shangri-La and Shangri-La Regency is on the Gandhi Road, are owned by a Tibetan, Ranjan Lama and his English wife, Dawn. They made both the hotels an ideal base for the many local tourist attractions. Originally built by the British, the exterior of the building retains the aura of the British Raj, Shangrila Hotel and restaurant are now run by this family for two generations.

Besides these hotels there are also some restaurants run by the Tibetans such as Kunga, Seven Seventeen,(along with hotel) Dekeva, ,(along with hotel) and so on. In this way, the Tibetans have gradually established their grip in the tourism business.

Many Tibetan traders were engaged in wholesale and retail trade including import and export. Initially, they transacted trade between Tibet and Kalimpong before the Chinese occupation. A few of them also carried on this trade from Darjeeling. The trade was worked on a system of advance. European and Indian buyers advanced loans to the larger Tibetan merchants, though not to the small traders who brought down only two or three hundred maunds. For these advances they charged 1 per cent. monthly. During spring and summer the Tibetan merchants gave advances to the owners of the sheep in Tibet, and arranged to take delivery from the following October. By giving these loans six months or more before taking delivery they were able to buy the wool at a rate per maund three or four rupees lower than would otherwise had been possible²⁷.

Recently the migrant Tibetans have established the 'Dragon Market' on the Post Office Road. They trade almost every important item especially cloth and stationery goods. They import goods from the traders of Sikkim Bhutan and Tibet via Kalimpong and Siliguri. A few words may be worth mentioning regarding the role of the Tibetan

Refugee Self Help Centre in bringing about the displaced, disabled Tibetans in the main stream of the commercial pursuits of Darjeeling. It started on October 2, 1959, the Center undertook multifarious activities ranging from the production of handicrafts and training of artisans and craftsman. To day the Centre has been exporting to 36 countries all over the world. Besides traditional items such as Tibetan carpets, wood, metal and leather works, they have also experimented in testing new production lines incorporating traditional Tibetan motifs, which would find a ready market both here and abroad. Among the successful items are footwear and coats which, while keeping the traditional Tibetan styles, are nevertheless modified for suitable wear with European clothes. During its 40 years of existence the Centre has been able to train 1600 persons in various crafts. Out of this, between 1000 to 1200 persons have left the Centre to set up their own enterprises. All of them are now fully self-supporting and several of them are doing very well²⁸.

5.4: Kashmiri Business Community

Kashmir remained linked with India both culturally and commercially through the ages. Kashmiri traders went almost everywhere in India. They had established their own commercial network in the countries where Kashmiri goods had a great demand. They went out with their merchandise and brought goods from both distant and near places like Kabul, Yakhnad and Samarkhand on the one hand and India, Ladak, Balluchistan, Tibet and China on the other.

In Darjeeling as in other places of India, the Kashmiris came to trade with their merchandise from the very beginning of its growth. Several Kashmiri traders prospered with a good trading network during the British period. Commenting on the nature of their trade E.C Dozey wrote that mild-spoken Kashmiri and Panjabi dealers engaged in silks, skins and furs²⁹. In course of time the Kashmiri merchants changed their business and established their monopoly on the curio trade of Darjeeling. Almost all the curio stores of Darjeeling belong to Kashmiri traders. Unfortunately the Kashmiris who lived in Darjeeling were not separately counted in any census. So it is not possible to

give the exact number of Kashmiris who lived in Darjeeling. At present there are only a few Kashmiri trading establishments in the Bazaar.

The most important among them is Habeeb Mulleck, owner of the most reputed and familiar-old Kashmiri Curio shop ‘Habeeb Mulleck & Sons’. This family has been trading in Darjeeling for four generations. Habeeb Mulleck probably came with his uncle in Darjeeling around the year 1880. At that time he hawked and sold socks and cashmere shawls to the locals. In this way after a painful struggle he managed to found a shop on the Mall that he got from the Municipal Corporation on lease. Then he started his small business of woolen garments in 1890. Haji Ahmad Mulleck assisted his father to transact this business. Over time they switched over to the curio business from the first decade of the twentieth century. This business gradually became very lucrative because the foreign visitors flocked in the shop to collect the Indian and Nepali rare objects. Usually very rich, they didn’t question the price and purchased without bargaining³⁰. This flourishing business of the Mulleck’s sons continued for more than 100 years. This store was visited by a number of reputed persons like Rajiv Gandhi, Sonia Gandhi, etc. Since the shop is located in the heart of the town it attracted most of the visitors. Over time they branched out into cashmere shawls along with curio business and established another shop next door to their old shop. They deal with Kashmiri handi-crafts, Kashmiri Pashmina shawls, silk pashmina shawl, embroidered shawl, Tibetan Thankas, different stones, brass-ware, copper-wares, silver-jewelry and curio goods etc.

According to Parvez Mulleck his great grand father Habeeb Mulleck hailed from their native town Srinagar. He made his journey on foot, train and again on foot to Darjeeling. At that time he collected his stocks from Kashmir, but at present they collect stocks not only from Kashmir, but Calcutta, Kathmandu³¹ as well.

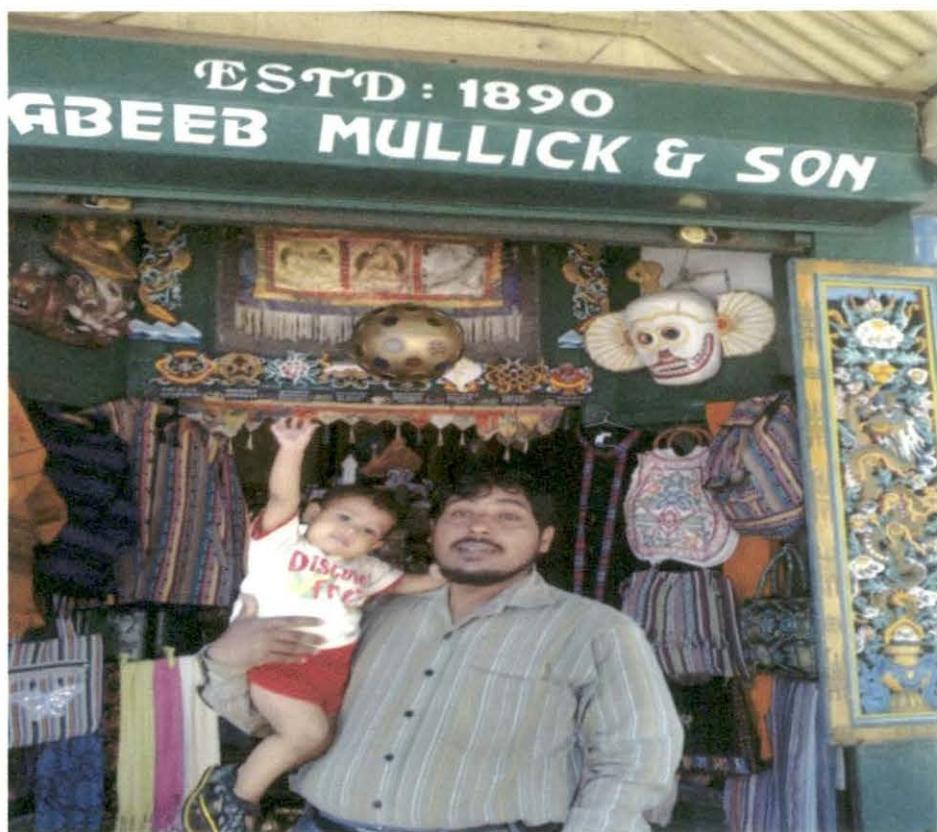


Figure 5.3 Habeeb Mullick & Son, Mall, Darjeeling-2012s

Source: Personal Collection



Figure 5.4 Commercial Row (Mall) Darjeeling-1930s

Source: http://www.oldmhs.com/older_darjeeling.htm

Another flourishing curio business on Laden La Road was transacted by the Kashmiri traders Mr. Abdul Hamid and his brother Abdul Hanif. Around 1940 the two brothers, Ali Mohammad Butt and Gulam Mohammad Butt migrated from Sri Nagar, Kashmir to Darjeeling. Like others, they also undertook a long and adventurous journey. They came from Sri Nagar to Pathankot by bus and from there by train to Lukhnow and finally in Siliguri again by train. Finally both of them moved from Siliguri to Darjeeling by Toy train. Business was the main reason of their migration from Srinagar to Darjeeling in the second half of the twentieth century. Initially, they traded with Kashmiri handcrafts from Judge Bazar and Mt. Peasant Road. This Kashmiri family started to diversify and explore the local market by concentrating on a wider variety of curio goods from 1965 onwards. All good were imported from Sri Nagar. They purchased Kashmiri shawls from the Kashmiri merchant Ali Mohammad Kawsa in those days. Presently goods are collected from Delhi, Ludhiana, Ladak, Kolkata. They import Thankas from Nepal and Ladak, Buddhist, statues from Delhi, Silver Jewelry from Kolkata. Now their business is divided among their sons.

Ali Mohammad had four sons. All of them engaged in trading in Darjeeling town and altogether owned three shops: 'Art Emporium' is run by Abdul Hamid and Hanif. 'Darjeeling Tea Corner' and 'Curio Corner' are controlled by Mustak Butt and Sahil Butt respectively. All of the shops were specializing in curios and local religious objects that proved to be a wise choice. The post-Independence period in Darjeeling was characterized by expansion of tourism industry. There was increase of tourists on the one hand and affluence and changing expectations of Nepali society on the other. Nepali women generally (as opposed to a small rural areas) became aware of fashions and started adorning themselves with these fashionable breeds, stones etc and decorated their houses with these traditional religious objects (especially the Tibetans) that led their rapid growth in due courses.

Gulam Mohammad Butt had a son, Abdul Rashid Butt who occupied 'Eastern Art', located at Mall.

Another Kashmiri who migrated to Darjeeling for the purpose of trading was Sardar Ahmad Kashmiri's father Sardar Mohammad Kashmiri. He also came from Sri Nagar in

1926. He was a peddler. He hawked Kashmiri handicrafts, pashmina shawls, woolen rugs, carpets, embroidered shawls etc. to the visitors and the locals. The Asian Art Palace was established by Sardar Ahmad around 1947 on the Nehru Road. He switched over to the curio business and it was made farther lucrative by Shakil Ahmad Kashmiri. Shakil Ahmad presently handles the business with two assistants. He imports his curio goods from Himalayan Art & Craft, Kathmandu, Nepal, and some local merchants.

Noor Mohammad, owner of 'Kashmiri Arts' came to Darjeeling much later. He came from Khati- Darwaza, Rainwari along with curio business he also dealt with shawls of different varieties, carpets including Kashmiri carpets, woolen rugs, silk rugs, cushion covers, leather goods, etc. He sold goods on wholesale and retail. Presently it is run by his son Zahoor Ahmad. Noor, a skillful businessman dealing on a very delighted manner was inherited by his son who is also following the same tradition of their family. Now it is very flourishing.

All the Kashmiri traders in Darjeeling maintained close inter-course with their families in Kashmir and also used to visit their native place. Some of them celebrated their religious or other family- festivals together with their family in Sri Nagar. They used to visit Sri Nagar on every family occasion and at the same time observed local festivals. All the Kashmiri traders Muslim and made a kind of religious regional circle among their own community. They did not have any association but maintained their relation with each other in terms of equal status and religion. They bore their own socio-cultural tradition in Darjeeling. But at the same time remained inter connected with the locals. From the very beginning of their arrival in Darjeeling they showed respect to the local culture and participated in socio-economic and political activities. Few in number, they did not have any deep impact on the economy of Darjeeling. But their presence definitely added colour to the socio-economic pursuit of Darjeeling.

5.5: Panjabi Business Community

In the British sources the Panjabis were generally referred to as traders. According to the census of 1891 they numbered 344. It also referred to them as traders and soldiers in the Mountain Battery. In 1941 their number decreased to 320. Presently also a handful old Panjabis are found to engage in trading. Those who were inhabitants of undivided Punjab were in general known as Punjabi in Darjeeling. One such Panjabi trader is Bimal Khanna who still continues to trade in Darjeeling. He inherited this business from his father. His father Bakshilal Khanna was a service holder under the British till Independence. In 1951 he purchased the business ownership from British company's Pioneer Sport Company'. Its headquarter was situated in London. And Mr. Khanna continued to run this same sports businesses till his death. Now his son Bimal Khanna further expanded this retailing. He ventured into some other trading items like toys, fashionable modern millinery and stationery goods like paper, pen, textbooks, (Nursery and secondary). Mr. Khanna remembered that his father hailed from Sialkot of Punjab, now in Pakistan. He brought about goods from Jalandhar, Mireet, and Calcutta. At present, however, they do not have any connection with their ancestral place³².

Another important Punjabi hotel-business tycoon Mr. Mohan Singh Oberoi, popularly known as MS, laid down the foundation of Oberoi Hotel Pvt Ltd. He was attracted by the growing prospect of hotel business in Darjeeling in the second half of the twentieth century. He started his hotel business by taking the lease of the 'Mount Everest Hotel from the descendant of Mr. Stephen Arathoon for hundred years. Mohan Singh was born on 15 August 1900. He grew up in Bhaun, a small city of some 8,000 inhabitants in Punjab, now in Pakistan. After finishing study he started his career as a manager of his uncle's shoe-factory. He first stepped into hotel management in 1927. He was offered a 1 year contract to manage the Delhi Club. Soon after this he started to engage in hotel business and leased one after another great hotels of India and outside India. In course of time a great chain of Oberoi Hotel Empire was established under his leadership. The prominent hotels bought and leased under MS included Clarke's Hotel Delhi and Simla, Grand in Calcutta, the Mount Everest Hotel in Darjeeling, the Swiss Hotel in Calcutta, Kathmandu Soaltee Hotel in Nepal, Imperial Hotel in Singapore,

Mecna Hotel in Egypt, the Lanka Oberoi in Ceylon, the Windsor in Melbourne, the Bali Oberoi, Bali Island. In this way the Oberoi group initiated by Mohan Singh reached its zenith in course of time. MS Oberoi passed away in 2002, leaving a massive legacy to his family and to the world of hospitality.

In 1950, the 'Mount Everest Hotel' was leased out to Mr. Oberoi for a period of 100 years. The Heritage Landmark of Darjeeling is situated on the Gandhi Road just above 'The Swiss Hotel'. It was started in 1914 by Mr.Aratoon Stephen and was named 'The Central Hotel' which at that time can accommodate 40 boarders ³³. The deed was then supervised by Mr.N.C.Bose, a Bengali barrister. In 1951 MS bought the hotel then the hotel popularly known as Oberoi Mount Everest Hotel. Local residents say that the hotel had caught fire and stopped functioning since 1986. .

Diamond Oberoi of Elgin Hotel was then bought by late Kuldip Chand Oberoi of the Oberoi family of hotelier's fame and has been ever since run by his son Diamond Oberoi to the present day. The Oberoi family of Hotelier's fame Mr. Kuldeep Chand Oberoi followed Mr. Mohan Singh Oberoi and bought the heritage hotel of Darjeeling namely 'Elgin Hotel'. Before the partition he lived in Rawalpindi, Pakistan. He came to Darjeeling in 1950 as the Director of Mt. Everest Oberoi Hotel Darjeeling. He had five sons and one daughter all raised and educated in Darjeeling including Diamond Oberoi who at present is the MD of the Oberoi concern in Darjeeling and Sikkim. The climate of Darjeeling suited Mrs. Shanta Devi the wife of Kuldeep Oberoi so Mr. Oberoi bought the entire property of New Elgin in 1965 one of the oldest Hotels in the District established in 1886. A British family used to run the Elgin Hotel on rent before the Oberoi's took over the property; they also ran the Park Hotel now known as the Shangrila near Chowrasta.

Diamond Oberoi took over the management of the New Elgin properties in 1957. He is an enterprising man with a keen sense of business acumen; he has opened up prestigious branches of Elgin Hotels in Kalimpong and Gangtok and has planned every little detail of it himself which are impressive and comfortable. He was educated in St. Joseph's School and College, his colleagues and friends included the Royalty of Nepal and the

relations of H.H. The Dalai Lama the royal family of Sikkim and Bhutan. The New Elgin Hotel is a favourite halting place for the glitterati of India and abroad³⁴. Diamond recollects that there was a small hotel called Park Hotel now St. Robert's School. He was philanthropist and loved to give donations to the poor. He was also a religious man and a regular visitor in the Mahakal Temple. When Mother Teresa came to Darjeeling he was the first man to go and met her and help her in her work and function.

5.6: Armenian Business Community

India maintained a close commercial relation with Armenia from the time immemorial. Presence of the Armenians can be traced back as early as the time of Alexander's invasion. In Bengal, the Armenians had formed some commercial settlements prior to the advent of the English settlers. The Armenians, pioneer of the early foreign traders in India and the most enterprising commercial community from the remotest times, formed their first settlement in Bengal during the halcyon days of the Mughal Supremacy. They established their permanent settlement at Syedabad, the commercial suburb of Murshidabad where they flourished for a considerable time, but finally deserted it, in the natural courses of events when it lost its commercial importance³⁵. Later, they moved to Calcutta where they soon constituted the small 'Armenian Community' which left a considerable influence in the commercial arena of Calcutta for a long time. A number of business tycoons of this community flourished for a considerable time in various business centres in different parts of India. Some of them even made history in some particular branches. Of them, Stephen Arathoon, is still alive in the heart of Calcutta for his prestigious magnificent construct the 'Grand Hotel'. He not only confined this hotel business in Calcutta but also extended its branch in Darjeeling. Realizing the potential of tourism in Darjeeling, he founded the first most popular hotel of Darjeeling 'The Central Hotel' or 'Hotel Mount Everest in 1914, with 40 boarders of accommodation³⁶. This Heritage Landmark of Darjeeling is located at the junction of Post Office and Mt Pleasant Roads. The magnificent building became a centre of attraction as Dozey gave vivid description of this hotel and its development in the following words "The hotel command³⁷ a view of over 100 miles of the snowy range, and stands above the town on the Auckland Road was designed by Mr. Stephen

Wilkins, the architect. At present (1920-25) the building consists of a central block, with a north or right wing attached thereto, and contains 120 rooms furnished with all appliances which go toward making life comfortable. On the ground floor there is a large lounge, which is 85× 50 feet, luxuriously fitted up with arm chairs upholstered in dark green leather and small tables arranged on a highly polished wooden floor which is covered with handsome rugs. The overall ambience of the hotel is that of luxury with such wooden finish ground and staircase, for place and mirrored sideboards.

In praise of this hotel Dozey further added that "This building already possesses a most imposing frontage, but when the scheme has been given full effect to and the left wing added, Darjeeling might well be proud of possessing one of the grandest and most up-to-date hotels in the Orient".³⁸

Mr.Arathoon Stephen was mentioned as the lease-holder for the property at 18A Park Street in the city's civic records dating back to World War I. Born in Iran in 1861; Arathoon Stephen was a member of the Armenian community in Calcutta, which is believed to have spent a huge amount of money in shaping the growth of the city. Stephen was a shareholder and the first managing director of Stephen Court Ltd. Stephen lived at 2 Camac Street and was known as a patron of education and art. He died in May 1927. In 1950, the Mount Everest Hotel in Darjeeling was leased out to Mr. Mohan Singh Oberoi of East India Hotels, Kolkata for a period of 100 years. The deed was then supervised by Mr.N.C.Bose, whose residence can be seen in the site at the end of the abandoned complex of Mt Oberoi Hotel. Local residents say that the hotel had caught fire and stopped functioning since 1986.

5.7: Sindhi Business Community

Among Indian merchants and businessmen dispersed across India as well as the world, the Sindhis are probably the most ubiquitous, if not the most conspicuous. They are found in the main tourist destinations as well as in the major business centres. There are few countries in the world where one does not come across some traders from that community. Their origins as well as the precise nature of their activities remain, however, somewhat mysterious and they generally adopted a low profile. The

expanding literature on South Asian diaspora generally have little to say about them, and yet their business acumen is legendary, and in India they have well established reputation as shrewd operators³⁹

Given their business acumen and widespread commercial connections it is only natural that they would come and settle in Darjeeling as well. In Darjeeling which attract tourists from all over the world, they owned shops and bazaar in which they, sold stationery goods, cloth, curios and books imported from the other parts of Bengal as well as India. At present not many Sindhis are found in the town. One Sindhi family that we have come across is in the business of book. The Oxford Book and Stationery Co. of Darjeeling on the Mall is one of the very old and prominent Book stores. The present owner, Maya H. Primlani is a Sindhi lady. She recounted how her father-in-law came to Darjeeling from Karachi, Sindh of Pakistan. J. H Primlani was a manager of the Departmental shop and in 1941 he himself established this shop. From the very beginning he dealt with books and added stationery items to his collection only later. It was at the Mall and most probably the best book store ran by a Shindhi. They deal with books of publishers from Delhi, Calcutta, Dehradun, and Banaras etc. They were the dealer of Oxford Press Publishing House in Darjeeling besides, 'India Book house', 'Rupa Company' etc. Now Mrs Maya H. Primlani, at the premature demise of her husband, runs the business with the help of six assistants. She has also introduced modern techniques of business, like taking order through mail, over phone, etc. Books are also sent by VP⁴⁰.

5.8: Chinese Business Community

At present, there is not really any Chinese in the Sadar. A few of them would be found in Kalimpong in business of shoe making and saddle. However, there was a time when there were quite a considerable number of Chinese in Darjeeling and about fifty percent trading of shoes and saddlery was controlled by them⁴¹. In addition, as O'Malley described they also worked as carpenters⁴². According to 1891 census, there were 57 who spoke Chinese and 156 on the basis of birth place. It is also said that "the Chinese flourish as carpenters in Darjeeling"⁴³

According to E. C. Dozey "The Chinese population of both Kalimpong and Darjeeling appreciably increased in 1912 when the Chinese rabble, called an army, were repatriated from Tibet through British territory. Many were the deserters who hid in the forest along the Tista Valley Road, seeking employment in the Rinchipong block where extensive sawing was being carried on by a European firm until all fear of arrest had passed away, when they flocked into the two towns. In the forest soldiers were to be seen working as carpenters at wages varying from eight annas to a rupee a day, during which all the military formalities were most strictly observed, for privates stood to attention when addressed by officers of superior rank.

The result of the influx into Darjeeling is to be seen in the erection of a three-storied, concrete structure on the Jail Road, and immediately below the Eden Sanitarium, where Chinamen congregate every night indulging in potations of much chow and a little harmless gambling.

This club stands on a spot which hitherto was noted for anything but sanitation and has accordingly improved that quarter of the native town"⁴⁴.

This above description depicts the impact of certain historical developments of Tibet on Darjeeling in a particular period. But this was perhaps only a passing phase and there is not any trace of presence of the Chinese in Darjeeling at the moment.

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Chapter- Six

Role of the Business Communities in the Development of Darjeeling

- **Introduction**
 - **6.1 Role of the European Business Communities**
 - **6.2 Role of the Indian Business Communities**
 - **Conclusion**
- Reference**

Introduction

Business Communities are the backbone of economy of all nations. They perform most important economic functions to improve the country. Providing daily goods, they keep life moving and prosperous. They play a crucial role in accumulating capital for the purpose of new enterprise or industry. At the same time businessmen play a vital role in the social, economic and cultural networks linking in a variety of interactions. Providing enterprise or industry they create many new facilities of employment. In most cases, the mercantile community of India believes in traditional religious values. Usually they try to maintain and strengthen joint-family system for the purpose of economic improvements.

Therefore, one does not need researches to appreciate that businessmen and business communities play a vital role in the society of which they are constituents. The same is true in case of Darjeeling. As the earlier chapters indicate the very growth and glamour of Darjeeling had taken place simultaneously with the growth of its businessmen and markets and vice versa. To meet the demand of the study some important activities of the business communities left by them in a particular areas (Darjeeling) are discussed. As an integral part of this society, the business community obviously played an important role in the nature and degree of economic growth, satisfaction of wants and creation of jobs. At the same time, they constituted a large part of the foundation for concentration of wealth in small segments of their community or the society at large. A simple functionalist view of Indian business communities would suggest that groups of businessmen arise and engage in social action to protect and promote their own collective socio-economic interests in relation to the wider society whose needs for products and material services are met by them. Therefore, business communities are regarded as social product generated by the existence of demand for various goods and services¹. And they not only respond to existing demand but also create demand in the wider social life. We have seen that the business communities of Darjeeling also responded towards the changing pattern of demand and diversified into different types of enterprises. They also concentrated in accumulating capital for further development

of Darjeeling and commercial enterprises, while other groups of society showed hardly any interest in such economic growth.

The business communities of Darjeeling are not a homogenous group. They can be variously classified on the basis of caste, creed, religion, ethnicity and place of origin. They closely associated with each and every social action with their socio-religious and ethnic identity. It may be clarified in this way that a Muslim Bihari businessman may associate with a business organization to meet his commercial objectives along with other businessmen, but at the same time being a Muslim he may be the member of any Muslim religious organization and moreover, coming from a same region this Bihari merchant may associate with a regional Behari organization. In this way a particular business community intermingled with the other social groups. Hence, it is difficult to identify that distinctive socio-economic contribution of a particular business community in the growth of Darjeeling.

6.1: Role of the European Business Communities:

Even though Darjeeling was annexed for the purpose of sanatorium, in the long run it exceeded its basic function as a result of the successful expansion of plantations. The credit of creation of modern Darjeeling therefore, goes to the British entrepreneurs who took all the risk to launch their enterprises in Darjeeling. It was the British planters who raised the of Darjeeling as the world famous tea producing area. Not only that, they also made Darjeeling one of the important hill resorts in the landscape of a world. Some of them are also remembered for their contribution to the society as well. A few specific and important contributions of the business communities of Darjeeling may be cited here.

There were really some philanthropic men among the Europeans who appreciatively extended their helping hands for the development of Darjeeling. They not only made a significant contribution to the economic improvement of the town but also in the fields of socio-cultural life like establishment of different educational and academic institutions, cultural clubs, organization of different cultural programmes, launching of

literary search and many natural expeditions and many other philanthropic activities at the time of natural calamities.

The colonial investors in Darjeeling were basically business entrepreneurs who had to take many risks, seek out new markets, invent new techniques and skills (especially in tea plantation) oversee a large number of labourers moreover, adjust with the adverse condition of Darjeeling. This would not have been possible without an adventurous mind and risk taking capacity. According to O'Malley "While they had come in Darjeeling, it was completely under dense forests. The light of modern civilization was just sunshined. Early life in Darjeeling suffered from a lot of hardships. The planters had to be prepared to take all risks and responsibilities for the expansion of tea culture in Darjeeling. The great task was completed under the British. In the past the planters has been his own architect and clerk of works, planning, estimating, for, and vigilantly superintending every operation from the sawing of the timber in the forest, to making and burning of the bricks to the completion and full equipment of the edifice."²

It may be said about the planters as well as the entrepreneurs on whom laid the responsibility of management. Their duties were multi-faceted, including the supervision of the cultivation, the control of the manufacture, the management of the large labour force employed, the construction of roads in the estate, and often the erection of the buildings. They must therefore combine, as far as possible, the knowledge and skill of an agriculturist, engineer and architect, and even, to some extent, of a doctor, and above all, they must have firm control over labourers and know the art of management. The planters were, as a rule, considerate masters, anxious to promote the welfare of their employees; and in public life they formed communities prompt to devote their time and energies to the public service and to the development of Darjeeling.

O'Malley aptly said that "In the hills they constitute the agency for the construction and repair of roads, the establishment of schools and the improvement of sanitation; and, in the words of a former Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, they are the backbone of the British government in the district".³ Without the adventurous efforts of the pioneer

planters, the tea industry of Darjeeling would not have seen the light of day. In this way the planter, capitalists directly involved themselves in the development of Darjeeling. They not only provided the job opportunity but also the shelter, and identity to the people those who engaged in tea industries.

According to Dozey - in these days of old times- "in which the planter was looked upon as the protector of the poor and a benefactor although justice was meted out in a rough and ready fashion; and so a community of interest bound the peasant and the planter in a friendly inter course".

"It, accordingly, followed that if a planter was popular he could wield enormous power for in his own person he combined the offices of judge, jury, law-giver and the dispenser of justice".⁴

In this way the first generation planters of Darjeeling established a smooth way of living for the next. While this above description was true for first generation planters it was not so for the next. Afterwards it may be said that "these old bloods have given place to a more sober and sedate generation for the qualities that ensured success in the pioneers are little needed by their successors, who now live under reign of law and order-conditions which 50 year ago would have been scouted both as impossible and improbable- for roads now intersect the District in all directions, schools have been established in every large village, while the education of the coolie has been rounded off by those harpies of society (the vakils), and so the garden coolie and factory (Indigo) had now fully know their legal rights and accordingly are far from disposed to yield these up readily as in the days of old; indeed, they are not slow to assert them under the guidance of their pseudo friends (the Vakil). Indeed all that he now accomplishes for the betterment of the labourers on his garden is no longer considered by them as benefits actuated by goodwill, but as those which from a part of their birthright. So much for making the illiterate, literate, and thus from a contented albeit poor ryot he has been converted into a most litigious individual ever ready to contest his rights, real or imaginary against all and sundry in the courts of law!.⁵

In 1878, the Lloyd Botanic Garden was laid out in the present site. The greater part of the present site was presented by Mr. W. Lloyd, the proprietor of the Lloyd Bank and also an owner of tea estates.. The first Botanic Garden during the time of Sir Ashley Eden's tenure as Lt. Governor of Bengal was laid out in 1876 at Rangiroon, (5,700) six miles away and to the east of Darjeeling. But it was eventually abandoned in favour of the present given by Lloyd, one below the Eden Sanitarium Owing to the frequent hailstorms which denuded that locality of all foliage.⁶ Mr. W.Lloyd started the tonga service for the hills.

Another British hotel business magnet John White left a great contribution in the making of a few public institutions. In his lifetime he donated large sums of money to charities and public institutions such as the Eden Sanitarium and the Colonial Homes at Kalimpong was made by his financial help. At the time of the construction of Colonial Homes he donated Rs. 20,000.⁷

The British business community also patronized education. They gave their physical labour and provided funds for the development of education. In this regard, the name Capt. Sambler and Mr. William Moran are significant. Capt. Sambler played an important pioneering role by providing funds for the establishment of Loreto Convent. This convent was founded in 1846 by Mother T.Teresa Mons, one of the three Irish pioneer ladies who laboured for the spread of education in this distant place. The first home of these sisters was in a littlie cottage named 'snowy view' to the north of Birch Hill while the actual convent was being built by funds provided by Mr. William Moran, the tea broker Mr. R. J. Longnan, J.C.S, the then district judge of Darjeeling and Capt. Sambler one of the pioneers of the tea industry. Their love for education did not only remain confined within the District of Darjeeling but it spread to Calcutta as well. The Calcutta Boys' School was founded by James Mills Thoburn, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and was opened in 1877. The School was endowed by the late Sir Robert Laidlaw (M.P. for East Renfrewshire, UK in 1906-1910 & founder of the great business house Whiteaway, Laidlaw, and Co.) and others interested in the cause of education and philanthropy. Initially located at Motts' Lane, and then housed in a room in the Whiteaway Laidlaw building (presently the Life Insurance Building at

the crossing of the S. N. Bannerjee Road and the Jawaharlal Nehru Road.), the School shifted to its present site on S.N. Bannerjee Road (Corporation Street) in 1893.

The School, a Minority Christian, Anglo-Indian institution presently, is under the control of the Bengal Regional Conference of the Methodist Church in India, and is managed by the Calcutta Christian Schools Society. The Calcutta Girls' High School, The Mount Hermon School, Darjeeling and the Methodist School, Dankuni are also managed by the same Society.

There were some kind -hearted British planters who regarded India as their home. One such planter was Geoffrey Ower Johnston. Being a part of imperial authority Johnston contributed to many philanthropic activities. According to his servant Mahadev Sherpa, he was often seen distributing biscuits and cigarettes among his workers. He was extremely kind and polite to some 20 humble Nepalese who worked in his bungalows and treated them as his family members. HC Taylor and a gentleman called Dr Roberts founded Neej Kaman (re-named The Cedars since) and Rungmook Tea Estate at Sonada respectively. But the man, who devoted his life and energy to the growth of tea industry and the welfare of its workers, was Geoffrey Ower Johnston, who spent his whole life here. For his generosity Geoffrey sahib, as he was fondly called, is still remembered as a demi-god. Geoffrey started managing the factory when he was only 17 years old. As he grew in age and experience he became a role model for other managers. In 1947, the year India became free, most British planters left for their homeland. But Geoffrey sahib decided to stay on. He resolved to devote the rest of his life to Darjeeling, its world famous tea gardens and the people working in these. Geoffrey was as much known for his generosity as his somewhat eccentric ways. He considered gardens his home and workers his own children. Sometimes, he appeared obstinate, but he was an honest, responsible and kind-hearted master. He would go out of his ways to help his workers. He was a workaholic but never lost his sense of humour. Kishor Rawat, who worked for 35 years in Geoffrey's household, recalls "Often, he would return home late at night, but never go to sleep before he spent a couple of hours reading books. The sahib treated his factory as the most treasured place where he would be around working till midnight. He had in all 21 dogs and loved them very much. If any of them fell sick

he would ask me to take it to Dr Mukhia of Singamari for treatment. ‘They can’t speak, but have conscience, he’d say about his pets’⁸. “Almost everyday many a stranger would come to his bungalow asking for aids, whether they were for building schools or temples or monasteries. The sahib never disappointed them. He used to help workers of other tea gardens as well. “I’ve nothing to take back to England. Whatever I earn here is for the people of Darjeeling. I was born here. Maybe, I’ll go to England to meet my mother and sister. But when if I die, do bury me here,”⁹ he once said. He was also the patron of education. In 1962, he donated a hefty sum for building a university perhaps University of North Bengal and also contributed Rs 4,000 to Shantirani High School in 1965. And at his own Rungmook, he founded Cedars Primary School and helped countless children. Geoffrey was among a few people in Darjeeling to plant new tea bushes in Rungmook-Cedars and set up a hydel power project near the Balasun River and bought modern equipment from Kolkata. He was extra careful that his garden had all the updated systems that included automatic spray machines, bulldozers, tractors, etc. He also bought a number of vehicles, including a Land Rover and a Mercedes Benz, from England. On March 1974 Geoffrey was elected president of the Darjeeling Branch Tea Indian Association. He also built a road that ran from Sonada to the Balasun River and made arrangements for its annual maintenance. In 1968, when a massive landslide near Gorabari rendered National Highway 55 absolutely inaccessible, the sahib led his selfless workforce to rebuilding it. He and his men worked tirelessly for three months before the highway was restored. Such a glorious initiative did not go unrewarded as he won the “Friend of Government” recognition. The sahib spoke Nepali fluently and respected the local cultural and its religious traditions¹⁰.

Throughout his life, Andrew Wernicke, (1841-1904) the German planter, maintained an unsectarian enthusiasm for church and chapel, and a keen interest and a warm enthusiasm for education. During his life, he was a handsome donor to St. Paul’s School, Darjeeling.

Tea planting in those early days in the second half of the nineteenth century was a particularly arduous job, entailing long hours in the field beginning at dawn and ending with dusk, and during the hours of working all meals, whether in rainy or in fine

weather, were taken on the job. In those early days of Darjeeling planting, it was men like Andrew and Fred Wernicke and George Watt Christinson, who learnt the hard way, and later set the standard and the duties of future generations of Darjeeling Planters.

The local government officials were quick to appreciate Andrew Wernicke's calm, judicial mind and public spirit by making him an Honorary Magistrate, a position he held for nearly thirty-five years, much of the time with first-class powers, and at one time he was the sole Honorary Magistrate and Municipal authority at Kurseong, besides being a Municipal Commissioner of Darjeeling Town.

His interest in the communications of the District also received recognition, and for many years, and until his death in 1904, he was Vice-Chairman of the District Road Cess Committee. In fact he was responsible for the original survey and alignment of many of the existing District Board Roads. Andrew Wernicke, patiently supervised the alignment and construction of a District Board Road in the Kurseong Sub-Division. These public services were voluntary and unpaid.

There is no doubt that, through his free Public Service, he sought to make some return to the district and the people in gratitude for the opportunities they had allowed him to make good in his own private affairs. Yet he once generously offered Rs.50,000 to the Darjeeling Municipality on condition that the grand central location should be secured as a public park for the town, and had this offer been accepted and backed, the miniature park below St. Andrew's Church would have extended from Government House to the Chowrasta, and given Darjeeling a coronet more worthy of the "Queen of Hill Stations" than the present ugly conglomeration of roof tops.

His love for trees made Andrew Wernicke a lifelong enemy of deforestation. Their policy was "live and let live" and the extraction of forest produce was always on a selective basis. They were always drumming it into their Assistants and Staffs that one should copy Nature in dealing with Nature and that one could destroy in a few minutes what it took Nature ten, fifteen or twenty years to grow. The gaping scars and wastes of scrub land which now disfigure the mountain sides of Darjeeling are ample vindication of the soundness of forest treatment by men such as the Wernickes, G. W. Christison,

and J. G. D. Cruickshank, and bear silent though tortured witness to the folly of clear felling which so many planters have thoughtlessly followed through the years¹¹.

Andrew Wernicke also worked hard to check the abuses of native cultivation on his properties, land he encouraged his workers to maintain the terraces and drains of their "khetland" in good order, and strengthen them with fodder and fruit trees.

The merchant community of Darjeeling not only hankered after money but also many merchants devoted their life for preserving the fauna and flora of the District. One such business tycoon of this hill was Mr. Mandeli.

Mr. William Mandeli, the tea planter of a number of estates was the famous ornithologist. In his leisure time he devoted to preserve the specimen of fauna of the district "While superintendent of the Land Mortgage Bank's gardens, which on the one hand covered the whole of the east slope of the Lebong Spur and on the other extended up to Dewaipani (mineral springs) he found the time to devote to his pet hobby and established in a short time a museum containing specimens of the fauna of the district so unique that it attracted world -wide reputation; and after his demise drew purchasers from England and even Europe. Some of the specimens, notably a very rare snow-pheasant, named *ornithocous Mandeli* after him, were bought by the 'Crystal Palace' where they are to be seen to this day".¹²

6.2: Role of the Indian Business Communities:

Community of Marwari businessmen has a great history of achievements and they too with the European planters contributed to the growth of Darjeeling in their own way. There would be no history of Darjeeling without mentioning the role of the Marwaris. All the business magnets among the Marwaris were grouped in terms of the quality and quantity of trade and their contribution in the growth of Darjeeling was variable on account of their socio-economic capabilities.

It is generally said that the Marwaris always hanker after wealth. Their philanthropic activities in Darjeeling do not support this age old concept. Their philanthropic activities were much more influential in Darjeeling. Here the social works included the

spread of education, town building, construction of Dahrmasala, donations to various social welfare institutions, formation of sporting and cultural clubs, organization of relief camps, publication of magazines, participation in literary activities, taking part in local and national politics and so on.

The role of the Marwari business community in the socio-economic life of Darjeeling would be explained in two ways; their role in the development of their own community and their role in the growth of Darjeeling District. Both contributions of the Marwaris were largely interrelated in relation to the wider society. Their contribution has been recognized by Dash in his Gazetteer - "it cannot be denied the Marwari has played an important part in the development of the District"¹³. The part they played in the development of the District can be understood from the following comment on their early activities in Kalimpong:- "With the advent of the Marwari traders who started large scale buying of cardamoms and the impetus derived from the larger demand for agricultural products, with increased pressure on land caused by an influx of Nepali cultivators after the tract became ceded to British India and with the introduction by the Nepalese of new methods of intensive cultivation by means of the plough, the need arose for agricultural capital and the Marwari was ready to provide it. In the beginning, this was more in kind than in cash, the loan in kind being invariably computed in money value to the advantage of lender. Gradually the system developed into regular money-lending in cash at definite rates of interest"¹⁴. The Marwari in the hills played a very useful and important part in the pioneering work of developing the district. They still play an important role in the economic life of Darjeeling and their dominant position is due to their efficiency, hardiness and assiduity.

It is argued that the 'merchant society' generally exists as a part of several family, caste, religion, language, region market and polity. The Marwaris are typically traditional in many respects; they were more keen to strengthen the traditional values like joint family bonds which helped them in retaining a tight control over their resources and management. It became almost common for Marwari business magnets to consolidate their family strength by matrimonial relation with other Marwari business houses. This inward-looking traditional character of the Marwaris made them a closed group in

relation to the wider aspects. According to the Marwari expert, Timberg this particularistic value of the Marwari led them to adopt several measures of mutual social help and economic support as well as educational, recreational and other facilities for their fellow-businessmen and community. These measures earned the Marwari houses considerable support and good will among their community members. We have already discussed in the previous chapters that how such community bonds of the Marwari helped them to emerge as dominant business group in Darjeeling. The fellow- feelings of the Marwari community encouraged them to migrate to an unknown distant place. In the initial days of Darjeeling, those Marwari families who migrated first to this hilly tract and settled here permanently, encouraged the migration of their fellow-businessmen by providing food, shelters and even funds and employments. Jhari Mall, an early Marwari migrant stated that a number of Marwari families migrated to Darjeeling with his direct assistance. He also said that they were not only provided with free food and lodging at his gaddis, but also with temporary employment and business- guidance in this distant place. In this way the Marwari business community in Darjeeling played an invaluable part to constitute a 'Marwari Empire'. They were not large in number but their community strength helped them to occupy a unique position in Darjeeling. On the other hand such community bond and particularistic value of the Marwari helped to honour the social value of the other hill people also and maintained a social harmony in Darjeeling. From the British period they lived side by side harmoniously with other communities and this naturally contributed to the promotion of a pluralistic socio-cultural environment in the district.

The Marwari businessmen also served their own community as well as those outside that through their associations. They constituted the 'Marwari Samaj' for their material progress in the second half of the twentieth century. Having migrated from Rajasthan, they united under the umbrella of this association in Darjeeling. They not only shared their day to day problems but also organized many socio- religious and cultural programmes. Different philanthropic activities were collectively undertaken thorough this association. It also organized donation camps to help the poor and sufferers. The Marwari Samaj played constructive role at the time of natural calamities. It provided financial assistance to construct roads, bridges which were damaged by land slide

almost every year. The sufferers were provided food and lodging in such situations. The Marwaris ran Dharmasala in Darjeeling to provide food and lodging facilities to the tourists. In the field of education also, the association helped the poor students and provided financial helps to construct schools, colleges etc.¹⁵

The Marwari business community conducted many philanthropic activities in Darjeeling. Medical camps were arranged by them for free treatment of the poor irrespective of caste and community. They also organized blood donation camp to collect blood. In this way the Marwari Samaj not only served their own community but also extended its social services to all the other communities in Darjeeling.

In politics they left an important contribution especially in the local level. In this context mention may be made of the Sharma family of the Pleasant Road. Jwala Prasad Sharma took part in Municipality election in the second half of the twentieth century. He became the commissioner of Darjeeling Municipal Corporation in 1964 (Sunchari 23 June 1996) and served as Commissioner for ten years. His son Jugal Kishor Sharma informed that his father launched many political reforms while he was the Commissioner of the Municipality.

The Darjeeling Municipal Corporation was divided into nine Wards during his commissionership for the purpose of good administration. Viz- (a) Ghoom, (b) Kalindon, (c) Club, (d) Panchmari, (e) Lower Beech wood, (f) Bazar, (g) Birch hill, (h) Bhutia Basti, (i) Cutchari. Among these nine Wards, Jwala Prasad was elected from the Bazar Ward. According to a local newspaper 'Sunchari' he devoted his life for the development of Darjeeling Municipality. During his time many roads, stairs cases (for shoot-cut route) drains etc. were constructed. Many were extended and repaired for public use. He was an important banker and played an important role in keeping the account fair. He prepared annual budget for the Municipality. He returned Rs 30,500 to Government of West Bengal with interest of its debts.

Jwala Prasad maintained an unsectarian enthusiasm for Church and Chapel and a keen interest in spread of education. A Resolution had been passed to establish a University in Darjeeling in the Annual session of the Municipality at his inspiration in 1960. They

also passed an alternative proposal "If the proposed University cannot be possible to establish at Darjeeling my alternative suggestion are as follows- (1) A Veterinary college (2) An Agricultural college (3) Commerce course in the Darjeeling, Government college up to B.Com, standard in addition to both (1) and (2) or at least one of them¹⁶. He was profoundly shocked when the University was established at Siliguri instead of Darjeeling.

He was not only a banker but also a social worker. He was the founding member of the Rotary Club of Darjeeling. He also closely associated with the Luwice Jubilee Sanatorium, Natural History Museum, Lloyd Botanic Garden, Nepali Sahitya Sammelan, Desh Bandhu Maternity and Childcare Society, Gorkha Dukha Nibarak Sammelan, Nripendra Narayan Hindu Public Hall, Jubilee Muslim Institute, Manovinodh Pustakalaya, Kashashree Public Library, Himachal Hindi Bhawan, Hindi M.I School, Sikhsha Pracharini Samity etc. Donations were made by him to these institutions almost every year.

Another Marwari personality who is fondly remembered is Malchand Agarwal ran a Charity homeopathic Dispensary from the time of his fore-father. He freely donated medicine to the poor people for long time.

The Marwaris were also the patron of learning. Their love for education helped them to be active members of the many educational institutions in Darjeeling. Sawar Agarwal, a Marwari businessman associated with the advancement of education. Being Marwari, he patronized Nepali language and attempted to publish all important literary writings of Nepali language from his publishing house.

Sawar Agarwal was not only the patron of education but also a great social worker. Since his college life he got involved in many social welfare activities. He was also an active member of the Lions Club of Darjeeling branch. They organized Relief Committee to serve the poor in difficulties almost every year. They rendered assistance to the disaster victims. While a massive land slide rendered many roads, National Highway of Darjeeling in accessible, they led their workforce and financial assistance

to restore it. The Marwaris in the hills played a very useful and important part in the pioneer work of development of the District.

According to a businessman¹⁷ almost everyday many strangers would come to their shops, stores, houses asking for aids, whether they were for building schools, temples or monasteries, or public functions. And they never disappointed them. They used to help their own kinsman or community. They contributed hefty sums of money for a number of occasions in each year for every festival, natural calamities, and national disastrous like earthquake, land slide and other social works, and helping poor people. In this way the business community as a whole left a multi-facet contribution in Darjeeling. They are still inheriting the tradition of their ancestors and programming an important role in many philanthropic activities.

The tradition is still continuing and even modern businessmen have contributed charity in their own way. Ragesh Garg, the owner of the Darjeeling Shopping Mall and store manager, Big Bazar, supported the MARG(Making in Action in Rural Growth), a N.G.O in igniting smiles of the underprivileged children by granting permission to place a Donation box next to the exit billing counter of Big Bazaar Darjeeling. Mr. Bony Edwards, the owner of the Glenery's and his family members allowed them to keep their donation box at Glenary's Confectionary Shop, Darjeeling. Mr. Rajan Takkar and Dr. Sudhanshu Kansal and Dr. Rupie Kansal supported to keep MARG donation box at their shop and clinic.

Some of the Bengalis too have left their impact in the district. The Pul Bazar- Bijanbari Suspension Bridge was made under guidance of Dr. Dhirendranath a Bengali doctor, while he served the post of engineer in the Darjeeling Municipality during swadeshi period. He was an important social worker. He never took any fees for medical consultation from the patients rather donated medicine to the poor people. He was a patriotic man. He never tolerated the arrogance of the British. He was one of the pioneers to establish Himalayan Nursery school. He donated handsomely to construct the railing of this school. He expended his sums for charitable works on several occasions.

Dr. Dhirendranath's friend Dr. Khanti was also a social worker. He was a close friend of Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy. Dr. Khanti studied in London and Vienna. Impressed by the cool climate of Darjeeling, he permanently settled down in the town. He was a versatile genius. Within a short time he learnt Nepali and Tibetan languages to directly deal with the patients. He used to treat the poor without any fees. Later on, he became interested in politics and involved in the Municipal activities. He became the Municipal Commissioner and denoted his life for the improvement of Darjeeling. Both of these doctors are fondly remembered by the people for their dutiful nature. They are said to have responded to the people even at the night during the coolest season.¹⁸ Dr. Dhirendranath's daughter Smt Urmila Sinha has also continued philanthropic activities since the time of her father.

Diamond Oberoi, the owner of New Elgin Hotel, was philanthropist and loved to give donations to the poor. He was also a religious man and a regular visitor in the Mahakal Temple. When Mother Teresa came to Darjeeling he was the first man to go and met her and help her in her work and function.

The owners of the tea estates in Darjeeling are said to have launched a number of social activities for the betterment of their employees. One such example of the social working of the tea companies may be given here; at Tukvar the garden employed 1476 workers who were provided with all the amenities such as health care, housing and social upliftment. In the last part of the twentieth century a Shiv Gouri temple was built for worship by the local people. In the garden hospital 2025 cases of tubal ligation had been performed. Every year blood donation camp, dental care camp, eye camp, routine immunization were organized. Besides, it also had facility for snake bite treatment.

Jayshree Tea Company's owner provided the following facilities for his workers. These included annual sports & organizing football tournaments, routine immunization programme, periodical laparoscopic camp, health and hygiene awareness programme, afforestation

Apart from their role in the economic growth of Darjeeling, business communities, as a whole evolved an exclusive culture in the hill society. This included their particular

style of speech and writing, styles of dealing with administration and the public and rituals and superstitions relating to business. Usually they acted as a collective body (under Association) to develop the issues like excise, taxation and government control in their own favour. They established their own clubs and hospitals. They are carrying on their community's religious practices and traditions. Usually they worship Ganesh and Laxmi as symbol of wealth and perform some rituals everyday before starting business transactions. They never lent money/ goods at the time of opening of their shop every morning. This system is generally known as '*Bohoni*'. Each businessman was well accounted with this system whether Hindu or Muslim. Good '*Bohoni*' meant to say good luck for whole day. This economic and cultural distinctiveness provided them the identity in the society as a social class whether or not they were bounded by caste, religion or regional background. In this way, the business community in Darjeeling became the champion of the social formation. Thus, while the business groups consistently maintained and strengthened their socio-religious values in this distant place from their native village, they also intermingled with the local society in such a way that helped them to give birth to a multi-cultural society in Darjeeling. They integrated their own native socio-religious values with that of the local traditions of the dominant Nepali community. This sense of conciliation and assimilation of the business communities might in some respects be instrumental in the integration of the hill society and on the other it also helped them considerably in establishing business enterprise. In this way the business communities became an important part of the formation of polity, economy, society, and culture.

Conclusion

There were certainly some difference in the life style of the Indians and the Europeans while some European planters, as we have mentioned were looking after their subordinates and contributing to the development of the town like patriarchs, the Europeans in general and invariably kept distance from the locals. They involved generally in large business whether in trade or commerce or plantation, tended to occupy an exclusive status in the social, political and economic hierarchy in Darjeeling. They carried several symbols of social exclusiveness such as luxurious houses in the

upper part of the town (around Mall) and preference for an exclusive elite residential area. They created their own clubs and maintained distinctive food and recreation habits; their dress code was also distinctive. As such in Sonada, at Cedars and Rungmook Tea Gardens had a great influence on the social lives of the British before Indias Independence. Before 'The Darjeeling Club' or 'The Planters Club' came to exist, Rungmook was the only place for club activities. The gardens surrounding the place were Ringtong, Margaret's Hope, Balasun, Moondakote, Cedars, Oaks that served as wonderful backdrops to myriad of activities — partying, dancing, polo, tennis, horse riding, etc — a perfect canvas of British ways of life. After the establishment of the 'Planter's Club' and Gymkhana Resort the British made it their sole place of social gatherings where the natives were strictly restricted to enter.

In spite of this, their activities in Darjeeling left an immense influence on the migrants in relation to the socio-economic formation of Darjeeling. They played a pioneering role in the construction of Darjeeling. The socio-economic set up of Darjeeling had been constituted on their own European line. They deeply influenced the social traits of Darjeeling.

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Chapter- Seven

Summary and Conclusion

Summary and conclusion:

The emergence of Darjeeling as a modernized district and as colonial economy brought about the revolution in the commercial history of the region from the second half of the nineteenth century. New types of economic settings, new types and characteristics of demand, new methods of production, new sources of supply and new kinds of consumer goods allied with the rapid development of the system of transport in and around Darjeeling. The basically pre-modern commercial framework of Darjeeling was replaced by a completely new structure developed to meet the changing needs of a growing colonial economy. In course of the period under study Darjeeling passed through three phases (i) the period of expansion (1835 to 1880) (ii) the period of consolidation marked by full colonization (1900 to 1947) and post Independence period or the period of Indianisation (1947 to 1962).

By the closing of the nineteenth century the first phase of colonization of Darjeeling was complete. Plantations and other economic activities transformed the face of the region and revolutionized the economic horizon of the district. Tea estates, tea factories, managers' quarters, labourers' 'jhupdhi' (slums), big hotels, market squares, anglicized churches and British style bungalows became familiar sights. The communication networks were spreading rapidly and the population increased from 94,712 in 1872 to by 64% or about 15,5,179 in 1882. The period coincided with the introduction of free trade after the British East India Company lost its monopoly over India by the act of 1858. It opened up the flood gate of trade with India and a number of investors started investing in India. The course for further expansion, for growth and prosperity, was set in motion. In this way the first phase of commercialization was complete in Darjeeling. But Darjeeling was not yet 'full fledged colonized'. Many tea estates were still in a state of 'under-production' and going through the process of trial and error. Many merchants were still in dilemma to establish their enterprises in Darjeeling due to the initial difficulties which were still persisting in those days. Darjeeling was not yet fully integrated with the internal and international markets through efficient communication network and, the Trans-Himalayan trade, particularly with Tibet was yet to be fully developed. The urbanization of Darjeeling had not yet completed its first phase. The

wholesale and retail trades in Darjeeling in those days of late nineteenth century still bore the marks of primary hardships and requirements. During this period people met their needs in the weekly markets or *haats* and in the religious fairs. Markets were neither permanent nor very frequent and they had to depend on Calcutta for the supplies of all types of goods. Some of the businessmen had just completed their first stage of migration and their families were still in their native villages. Taking from their experience, some more were contemplating the pros and cons of migration. The continuous rise of population due to the expansion of the plantations and the rapid rate of urban growth in the closing years of the nineteenth century had increased the urge for expansion of these trades.

This picture changed in the closing decade of the nineteenth century. The changes in agriculture transformed the virgin land into the cultivated plots with the Nepalese as its new owner, the rapid rate of urbanization and advent of the many new professional groups including the traders, increase in the volume of manufactured tea and export in large volume to foreign markets and improvements in the methods of transportation had resulted in the faster and smoother supply of goods. Many joint-stock companies and managing agency houses got involved directly in the plantations by purchasing old estates or raising new ones. Ownership of some tea-gardens changed and many amalgamated with other gardens as a result of which the actual number of tea estates slightly declined after 1900. Above all, the full fledged expansion of the plantations in the closing of the nineteenth century was accompanied by a great rise in number and consolidation of tea labourers. This class, living in and around the tea gardens and factories, dependent entirely upon wages, developing their collective bargaining strength and able to secure regular employment and draw regular pay packets, provided a concentrated and consistent demand for consumer goods. This growing demand enabled the business communities to expand and permitted the development of regular supply-institutions. This attracted more people to get involved in regular trading and this led to the growth of regular-organized trading network by replacing the weekly market into a market on fixed shopping centre on the one hand and the emergence of business communities in Darjeeling on the other in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Another important change that took place during the period was the establishment of European elite shops in Darjeeling. Most of them were based in Calcutta and set up their branches in Darjeeling for further expansion of trading. The establishment of these elite shops diversified the features of retail trading of Darjeeling in terms of capital control and standardisation of demands. They were set up to cater to the Europeans and the aristocrat Indians.

The process of the Indianisation of the economy of Darjeeling may be traced back to as early as 1940s when the anti-British movements were going on in full force. With the departure of the British ended the two hundred years of '*gulami*' and opened up a new era of democratization of politics, socio-economic and cultural set up. Abolition of colonial rule created vacuum in all socio-economic sectors which led to the birth of Indianisation or establishment of indigenous or Indian domination. During this period Darjeeling also underwent a revolutionary change in terms of the power of controlling the resources and dominating the economic spheres. Abolition of the colonial rule transformed the basic tenets of the society. The very concept of the colonial practices the 'rule by the master (colonizer) to the subjects' (colonized) permanently disappeared and equal right was established. The economic vacuum created by the departure of the Europeans was filled up by groups of Indian business communities, the Marwaris in particular and others in general. The period also saw the sale of European tea estates, hotels, shopping centres, houses, bungalows, and other landed and perishable properties to the Indians. Another dimension that was added to the economy of Darjeeling was the advent of the Tibetans in the 1950s and their subsequent emergence as a dominant business community.

In this way we find some basic changes that revolutionized the commercial sector of Darjeeling in our period of study. It can be argued that Indianisation of the hill stations had begun long before Independence in 1947. Its origins can be traced back to the late nineteenth century itself, when the number of prosperous, professional, Westernized Indians began to reach the British that would make them a conscious and influential class within colonial society. These people posed the greatest threat to the insular world that the British had established for themselves in the hills. In case of the commercial

history of Darjeeling however, the process of Indianisation set in later, only after Independence

To analyze the evolutionary growth of Darjeeling town we used the Skinner's model of marketing system. Though, Skinner used this model to analyze the relationships among the rural markets of China, here we have taken help this model with little modification to show the hierarchical evolutionary growth of Darjeeling Sadar from 1835-1962.

The hierarchical theory as developed by Skinner is applicable in case of Darjeeling in following ways; "The minor market, popularly known as a "green-vegetable market," specializes in the horizontal exchange of peasant-produced goods. Many necessities are not regularly available, and virtually no services or imports are offered. It is of negligible importance as an entry point for locally produced goods into the larger marketing system. The minor market what had been defined by Skinner is similar to that of the Darjeeling *haat* or a periodic market held on Sunday. We get reference to this in the beginning from 1835 to 1850.

In ascending order, the other two types are standard and intermediate markets. Standard market, according to him was that type of rural market which met all the normal trade needs of the people. What the household produced but did not consume was normally sold there and what it consumed but did not produce was normally bought there. The standard market, according to Skinner provided for the exchange of goods produced within the market dependent area. More importantly, it was the starting point for the upward flow of agricultural products and crafts items into higher reaches of the marketing system, its another function being the termination of the downward flow of imported items destined for local consumption. Darjeeling Bazaar assumed this character in the last quarter of the nineteenth century when market was regularized, inhabitants of this city increased in number and urbanization completed its first stage.

The central market or the market of the highest rank as per Skinner model is normally situated at a strategic site in the transportation network and has important wholesaling function. Its facilities are so designed so as to receive the imported items and distribute

them within its dependent area and on the other, to collect local products and export them to other central markets or higher- level urban centres.

Skinner's typology of marketing system may be used to explore the evolutionary growth of Darjeeling bazaar. It played a central role in shaping the business as well as the economy of Darjeeling District. Therefore, it is necessary to search the evolutionary growth of Darjeeling bazaar and its relationship with other parts of India as well as in the world especially the Trans- Himalayan zone.

According to this above theory the Darjeeling bazaar passed through a long period of historical evolution. The first phase of the marketing system i.e minor market coincides with the period from 1835 to 1850. Standard and intermediate marketing system covered the period from 1850 to 1860 and 1860 to 1900 respectively. However, Darjeeling town, the central place of attraction took more than six decades to assume the character of central market. Though its location on a strategic site and its political significance led to its rapid growth in last quarter of the nineteenth century, it is difficult to identify its demarcating line from one rung to another of this marketing system. The drastic emergence of Siliguri at the foothill soon overshadowed the importance of Darjeeling in the second half of the twentieth century and it soon assumed the character of central market in North Bengal. The position of Darjeeling was reduced to remain the place of intermediate market.

Commercial activities of Darjeeling may be divided into two broad categories (a) Large Scale-trading consisting of tea and tourism industries and (b) small-scale trading activities consisting of wholesale and retail trades of all goods. This can be discussed in the context of some important characteristic features of tea industry that developed in course of our research period.

The suppliers of capital were regarded as the prime movers in the process of economic growth. The European capitalists played the dominant role in moving the process of commercialization in Darjeeling. The total nominal capital invested only by the joint-stock companies in tea plantation in India was Rs.302.3 million in 1914². Initially, the average investment of the joint-stock companies was £125, 000 each in Darjeeling. A

few important points must be noted here; first, many tea estates were privately raised and worked by the managing agents or private planters. Later, few of them organized joint stock companies. Secondly whether a company was registered in Britain or in India depended primarily on the convenience of the managing agency houses. The sterling companies registered in Britain did not necessarily imply that much of the capital invested in plantation in Darjeeling was earned in Britain. Sometimes a planter might raise a garden and sell it to a joint-stock company or managing houses or sometime he might establish agency house at a profit. The registration of the company was often a mere formality, since most of the capital was held by the partners of the managing agency firm and their close associates. Most of the large managing agency houses involved in the tea plantations in Darjeeling were firms which had grown up with the tea industry in India or which had money in other fields and then entered into the tea business as one of their many ventures. To illustrate the case at the beginning of the twenties, the Duncan Brothers and Company of Calcutta and Williamson and Magor Co. were examples of the first type of concern and James Finlay was the second one³.

In course of time tea and tourism industries became the key economic activities of this region. It has already been stated above that they were monopolized by the Europeans from the very beginning. The indigenous merchants were completely out of these orbits. Initially, though plantations were started by "Cashiered Army and Naval officers, Medical men, engineers, veterinary surgeons, steamer captains, chemists, shop-keepers of all kind...."⁴ non-professional group, later on it was taken over both by the joint-stock companies and private entrepreneurs simultaneously. 6th decade of 19th century was the golden period of its growth in Darjeeling. At the beginning many companies emerged independently but later they amalgamated with other firms. The Land Mortgaged Bank became Amalgamation Association in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Both the Sterling (registered in Britain) and Indian (registered in India) companies managed by the managing agents were controlled either from London or Calcutta or from both places. The managing agency houses played a significant role not only in the management but also in the growth of plantations. They directly involved in tea plantation by purchasing old-gardens or establishing new ones. They also continued to hold enterprises other than tea. On the eve of Independence almost all

the British merchants went back to Britain with only a very few who stayed back to continue trading either independently or in-partnership with the natives. For example, after the demise of R B Magor (owner of the Williamson and Magor Co.) in 1933 his grandson, Richard Magor introduced Brij Mohan Khaitan of the Khaitan group of Kolkata who used to supply the estates with fertilizers and tea chests. Later on he was asked to join the Board of the company in 1963 and ultimately became the Managing Director in 1964. On the whole however, we have not found out any practical change in the administration of tea and tourism after Independence. As during the colonial period, when these two industries of Darjeeling were controlled by the Europeans either from London or from Calcutta, after Independence these remained under the control of the Marwaris, Bengalese and others of Kolkata. The huge wealth of Darjeeling was drained off from Darjeeling both during the colonial and post colonial periods. The mercantile class enjoyed the profit earned from Darjeeling and Darjeeling achieved practically nothing in form of return. This badly affected the rate of production and market demands in the long run.

Regarding the retail British shops it may be said that all shops were located in the upper part of the aristocrats' zone of the Town to demarcate a line between the colonizers and colonized while the 'native bazaar' was situated in the lower part. In most cases, the British retailers of Calcutta transacted their business in Darjeeling to cater to the Europeans, including planters, army officials, Government, and indigenous Rajas, aristocrat people etc. Like the Europeans, many elite Indians tended to spend the hot weather of the plains in the hills. By buying up a great deal of property in the early 1880s the Maharaja of Cooch Behar invested part of his huge fortune in the construction of some of Darjeeling's "best and neatest" villas, and by the middle of the decade he was said to hold the titles to nearly half of the homes in the station. (The Bengal Government purchased one of his handsomest estates for use as the Lieutenant-Governor's summer residence). The Maharaja of Burdwan also followed the tradition and established his summer seat in Darjeeling. Therefore, a good number of princes flocked along with the British Governor, I.C.S and other officials. To serve these enlarged clienteles, the European elite retailers established their branches in Darjeeling.

There were a clear demarcated line between the large scale trading and small scale trading in terms of their ownership and location. Almost all the retailing business of provisions, household goods, stationery were under the indigenous merchants and shops were located in the lower part of the town. The local bazaar mainly catered to the middle-class people and the tea labourers, coolies etc. Shops were under the supervision of the Government. They were given on lease for many years. In our period of study we find that there were four major groups of retailers. Firstly there the grocers, the hosiers, the drapers, the haberdashers, the chandlers, the oil and colourmen and the village general dealers who bought their goods from manufacturers, producers, wholesalers and other intermediaries and sold them from fixed shops in the towns and villages. Secondly there was the producer/retailers, skilled tradesmen who made, produced or grew their wares as well as sold them. The leading examples of this class were the boot and shoe makers, tailors, blacksmiths and tinkers, furniture-makers, basket-makers, butchers and dairy farmers. Thirdly there were the markets, usually weekly but sometimes daily or seasonable where the petty traders, farmers and growers displayed their provisions, hens, eggs, vegetables and fruit, cardamoms, and, less important, the melas (fairs) where all types of dealers, producers, wholesalers and importers put up a wide range of goods for sale. Finally, supplementing these sources in all seasons and in all areas were the itinerant tradesmen generally known as hawkers, peddlers etc.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century the indigenous retailers were working for themselves, controlling only one business or owning only one shop. The family tradition of son succeeding father was dominant and familiar rule of the society, and the 'living-in' system for apprentices, very often relatives of the shopkeeper, was accepted as helper or assistant to run the business. The buying and selling methods of the fixed-shop retailers and the producer/retailers were more or less the same. Window displaying few articles and symbols or demo of the trade was familiar method to sell goods. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the merchants exposed their goods in various ways. As photographs of this period show, the goods were laid out on the ground in front of the shops or merchants. Sometime the goods were exposed on planks, boxes etc. The quality of the goods sold by different types of retailers varied tremendously. The standards of quality were individual to each retailer, and accusations

of adulteration and light weight were common. The elite shops of the Europeans paid their attention on standardization of goods.

Retail trade of Darjeeling mainly flourished within the purview of urban centre and trading in the villages in late twentieth century suffered from stagnation because many local communities had limited demands; partly because some goods and cloths were produced at home and partly because their standard of living was low. However, the economy was expanding and with it the numbers and the demand of the well-to-do classes. This rising demand due to growth of tourism was encouraging the production and marketing of a wider range and a greater variety of consumer goods.

There were a number of communities involved in trading from the very beginning of our period of study. The most prominent among them were the Europeans in general and the British in particular and from among the Indians the Marwaris and Beharis. The business communities of Darjeeling had been a heterogeneous group representing a wide range of commercial activities from retailing to highly developed regional and international trading and finance operations. The mercantile communities polarized into two broad groups; the foreigners and the indigenous. There was a clear dividing line between the European and indigenous mercantile groups in terms of quality and quantity of trade, system of operations business, game of power, politics etc. The Europeans further divided into various groups on the basis of nationality, race and character of trading. The Europeans as we have seen, involved in large-scale transactions consisting of tea and tourism industries and a very few in retailing. The Europeans followed a general existing pattern to control their tea industries. Most of the tea companies were largely managed by the managing agency houses. Sometime the private entrepreneurs directly supervised the management of their estates. Being of the same race the Europeans enjoyed a kind of extra-advantages in many various commercial, administrative and political sectors. Above all the Europeans were part of a much broader global economy spanning well over the world. This global connectivity gave them an edge in Darjeeling and increased their exportation of productions. In this way they monopolized the commercial course of Darjeeling and continued till Independence of India.

The native businessmen like the Europeans also divided among themselves into a number of groups on the basis of caste, creed and region as well as nature of trade. In spite of their heterogeneity, there was a general pattern in the operational mechanisms where great importance was given to the family and joint-family system played a predominant role in handling the trade. Unlike the British, the indigenous merchants at their early stage of migration struggled a lot for their primary needs. At that stage they engaged in various works including labouring, peddling, petty trading etc. The expansion of plantation industries in this hilly region facilitated the commercial exchanges with similar administrative structures, communication networks and infrastructural facilities on the one hand and at the same time the indigenous merchants diversified into various trading activities on the other. In course of the diversification, the Marwari businessmen became the most advanced of all the Indian merchants. They rapidly grasped the changing and expanding nature of market and its demands.

At the initial period many Marwari merchants engaged in money lending, petty trading of groceries, house-hold goods, provisions etc. Although a few Marwaris continued to deal in the old line of money lending and groceries, in course of time many of them began to diversify and explore the local market, concentrating on a wider variety of modern transactions on one hand and entered into the tea and tourism industries – once European dominated sector, on the other. However, the Marwaris got the real breakthrough only after the departure of the Europeans in 1947s. They occupied the same place in Darjeeling as it was enjoyed by the British during their rule. Since the 1950s the Marwaris in Darjeeling ventured increasingly into new lines. Throughout the 1940s and 1950s tea estates and hotels came dramatically under their control which made them dominant in Darjeeling.

Besides, the Marwari business community bought shops situated on bazaar's prime shopping street that almost assured brisk business. The central location of their shops also meant that the Marwaris were excellently placed to tap one major economic boom when it came after the British. During this period the readymade cloth and woollen

goods gained steadily in importance as Nepalese, the dominant group generally became aware of fashions and started dressing in fashionable westernized clothes in place of their traditional dress style. In the period between the late 1940s and the mid-1950s Marwari retailers enjoyed a veritable bonanza of business. Through their kinship and trading relations in other parts of India, they had access to affordable and good quality sources of merchandises. During that period they faced little competition from other businessmen and monopolized the retail trading almost completely.

The general trend is that while in the early days of its establishment, Marwari business in Darjeeling was retailing in character, it has moved in the direction of diversification, higher local investment, and embeddedness in the local business world in the 1930s onwards. The various lines they have explored are partly a result of local market conditions and partly a result of their excellent expertise to grasp the changing conditions and universal outlook to adapt to the regional diversities. Yet they are also products of intra-ethnic connectivity with Marwari businessmen living around the district as well as the business assiduity of the Marwaris, which have enabled them to integrate in local economic structures.

The Marwari community maintained its own socio-religious traditions inherited from native home. These traders did not inter-dine with the other communities and made marital relation only with their own Marwari Hindu community. In their daily life however many Marwaris have adopted local food habits and modern dress habits.

Next to the Marwaris, the Behari businessmen held the dominant position in the commercial sphere of Darjeeling. They chiefly engaged in retailing of groceries, bakery, stationery, provisions, tailoring and to some extent small hotel business. It may be argued that the Beharis could not grasp the changing nature of the market as early as the Marwaris could. Therefore they continue to hold the secondary economic status in Darjeeling even today. There were some important points to be noted here for their less economic hold in Darjeeling. Firstly they migrated from a highly poverty-stricken region to Darjeeling and grasped any kind of occupation that they could find. They even worked as labourers in public and construction works, jungle clearing and so on.

They had to send all of their earnings to their family at native village. They could not accumulate sufficient capital to raise even a small petty trading. If any family could do so and raised an enterprise, it was divided among the successors after some period. Sometimes family feud led to financial crisis and final demolition of many successful enterprises. As a result the joint-family venture to raise big enterprise died on their way to flourish. They were not as shrewd as the Marwari businessmen to explore the markets. They lacked community bond to make a close intra-kinship connectivity to compete the merchants like the Marwaris. Those Behari merchants who were domiciled in the region gradually married into the other local communities including Nepalese, Tibetan, and Bengalese etc.

Set in the context of British rule, the history of the Nepalese in Darjeeling is as old as the coming of the British in 1835. Nepali immigration continued throughout the nineteenth century. They were ready to toil on public works, jungles, and plantations. Labour in tea plantations continued to be a major livelihood of the community and even in 1960s about 65% of working Nepalese in the district were tea labourers. In this way they were marginalized in the commercial sector of Darjeeling. In spite of their numerical majority they were commercially minor. A very few Nepalese engaged in business. The Newar among the Nepalese predominantly ventured into trade. However it might be argued that they remained effective in the local transport trade since its growth.

During the colonial rule like the other business communities the Bengalese also migrated to Darjeeling not as traders but as service holders in general. A few Bengalese tried their luck in trading and made a successful bid to enter hotel business and to some less extent tea manufacturing. The latter venture was made possible only after the departure of the Europeans. They had great influence in the town from the very beginning but in commerce, they were not as significant as the Marwaris and Beharis.

There were some other minor business communities from the early period. The Kashmiris, chiefly engaged in curio and Kashmiri handicrafts were confined within the urban areas. They maintained their social exclusiveness and in spite of being Muslim

they did not enter into marital relation with the other Muslim Beharis or Nepalese. The Punjabis, Sindhis, Armenians, Chinese etc almost disappeared from the commercial history of Darjeeling. They were chiefly retail traders and gradually integrated with the local people.

Last but not least are the Tibetans, who have emerged as a dominant business community of Darjeeling. Tibet had a long history of good trading relation in the British Darjeeling. Although, the emergence of Kalimpong reduced the importance of Darjeeling in the Indo-Tibet trading network, a few Tibetans continued to trade here and were even settled here permanently before the Chinese invasion in Tibet. When, after 1959 the refugees arrived in great number, the old Tibetans helped the new comers to enter into the various new lines of business. The Tibetans, as a whole, involved in a great number in hotel and restaurant business, transport and other retailing transactions. Therefore, a commercial rivalry developed between the Tibetans and other old businessmen in general and the Marwaris in particular.

Moreover, the Tibetans in the 1960s maintained a very rigid socio-religious traditions inherited from their native land. Over time they also like the others started integrating with the locals especially with the Nepalese in many ways. The old generations remained traditional and not ready to accept local socio-religious norms.

By way of making some final observations we would like to point out that Darjeeling had initially developed with immigrant communities with distinct socio-cultural manifestations. The indigenous, though immigrant, business communities had gradually firmly embedded themselves in the hilly region through the socio-economic and cultural integrations with the other groups of the society.

Regarding their relationships with the Nepalese, the predominant community, it may be said that the other business communities maintained a very cordial socio-economic relations. Firstly they had large number of customer from the community. Secondly, they employed the young Nepali boys to run their various transactions.

The British on the other never maintained any social relation with the indigenous traders. They built up their own social and cultural world where the natives had no place. The elite residential areas of the upper part of the town were restricted to the natives. They established their own clubs and entertaining centres where the natives could enter only as servants. For example, all the members and directors of the Planters Club in Darjeeling whose names we came across were from the Europeans only.

Therefore, colonial Darjeeling was marked by an economic distinction equated with social position between the Europeans on the higher slopes and ridges and the natives further down. In this way they successfully made an anglicized social enclave in this hill station. The Indian business communities operated outside this colonial economic orbit.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that if the British policies and the monopoly of the European capital inhibited the indigenous enterprise in tea and tourism industries of Darjeeling our observation shows that below the European enclave and above the subsistence economy of the peasants, the bazaar-the intermediate level, was the profitable hunting ground where a number of indigenous business communities continued to operate. The Europeans were more interested to invest in the large scale industries and enterprises under the direct protection of the empire than the small and less profitable spheres. The retail trade in the bazaar of Darjeeling hill station where the returns were too low and risks too high to attract the Europeans who established their sure bets in tea plantation. The Indian business communities were free to operate in the exclusive sphere of 'bazaar' which was free from the colonial economic competition.

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Appendices

Interview

- 1) Full Name & Enterprises
- 2) Address: present
Address: Earlier:
- 3) What is your caste, religion, Community?
- 4) When and why did your forefathers migrate?
- 5) Did your forefather migrate with anybody?
- 6) How did they make their journey?
- 7) Name the First Occupation-Business\enterprise or Shops, year
- 8) Did they diversify into new business over time?
- 9) From where did they import goods?
- 10) Describe the types of merchandises they dealt with
- 11) Do you know the name of those agents who sold goods to your forefather?
- 12) What types of customers did they serve?
- 13) How many assistants were employed?
- 14) When did your business start to develop?
- 15) Have you any other branches?
- 16) In which months /seasons of the year you make more profit?
- 17) Did your forefather engage any usury business?
- 18) Did they have any marital relation with the Nepali overtime?
- 19) How was their relation with other communities?
- 20) When have you (present owner) started to control your family business?
- 21) Why have you opted for this occupation?
- 22) When did your family business divide?
- 23) Why did it divide and into how many parts?
- 24) Have you any local agents to sell your import?
- 25) Customers from which communities regularly buy goods from you?
- 26) Do you have any interest in tea and hotel business?

- 27) Name few commercial competitors.
- 28) Have you any relation with your native place?
- 29) How is your commercial interaction with your own community?
- 30) Have you any association / commercial/ religious/ among own community
- 31) Did your forefather do any important works for the development of Darjeeling?
- 32) What is your contribution to the development of the town?

Signature .

**1. Family tree of the German Tea Planters in Darjeeling : the Wernick and
The Stolke Family 1841-1904**

Born

		<u>Born</u>
		1640 Dietrich Stolke
	m 1663	
		Maria Schonmanns
	/	
		1672 Henning Stolleke
	m 1696	
		? Brocke
	/	
1680 Joachim Wernicke		1701 Michel Stolke
m 1706		m 1725
Gertraut Schmultze		Maria Henke
/		/
1714 Johann Andreas Wernicke		1730 Michael Stolke
m 1742		m 1757
Gertraut Wittenborn		Dorothea Essmans
/		/
1747 Johann Wernicke		1758 Hans Stolke
m 1779		m 1785
Anna Kippen		Eva Regina Drams
/		/
1789 Johann Andreas Wernicke		1786 Joachim Stolke
m 1810		m 1809
Dorothea Elisabeth Gaede		Sophie Elizabeth Herms
/		/
1815 Johann Wernicke(Darjeeling)	Andreas	1818 Sophie Elizabeth Stolke
m 1838		(GRANNIE)

Sophie Elizabeth Stolke

1841 James Andrew Wernicke

m 1867

Elizabeth Bernhardina Niebel

These are Grannie- Johann Wernicke's children born in India and Darjeeling.

<u>Born</u>			<u>Died</u>		<u>Married</u>
1839	Joachim Andreas	Bankipur	1840	Patna	
1841	James Andrew	Chapra	1904	Darjeeling	E. B. Niebel
1843	Frederick Joseph	Tukvar	1911	Darjeeling	H. Lindeman
1845	Mary	Tukvar	1928	London	P. Cowley
1848	Samuel David	Tukvar	1876	Darjeeling	
1850	Sophie Elizabeth	Darjeeling	1874	Dehra Dun	James Low
1852	Emma Julia	Darjeeling	1915	Darjeeling	
1854	August	Darjeeling	1854	Darjeeling	
1858	Augusta Rose	Darjeeling	1938?	America	A. W. Samrt
1861	William Benjamin	Darjeeling	1861	Darjeeling	

Great grandparents

Johann Andreas Wernicke born 1789, a farmer; married at Klein Wulkow, Dorothea Elizabeth Gaede, born 1790 at Nielebock. Date of marriage 1810. He died at Klein Wulkow in 1842 aged 52 years. She died at Klein Wulkow in 1827 aged 37 years.

Children of above. Johann Andreas Wernicke (Grandfather) was born 1815

Dorothea Sophie Wernicke born 1817

Great grandparents

Joachim Stolke, born 1786, countryman; married Sophie Elizabeth Herm in 1809. He died 1863 aged 76 years. His wife died 1872 aged 85 years.

2. Family tree of the Agarwal (Marwar) family on Post office Road in Darjeeling:

Thana Ram (1855 arrived in Darjeeling)



Ramsukh Das 1859(migrated to Darjeeling)

(wife Jhanu)



Swoyo Ram Das

(wife Dristi)



Rameshwar Das (app.1888-1942) Hardev Ram

Parmanand

(wife Chidya)

(wife Dhamkut)

(wife Parvati)



Chandulal

Duli Chand approxi.1909-1958

(wife Nanibai)

(wife Champa Devi)

Present successors of this family

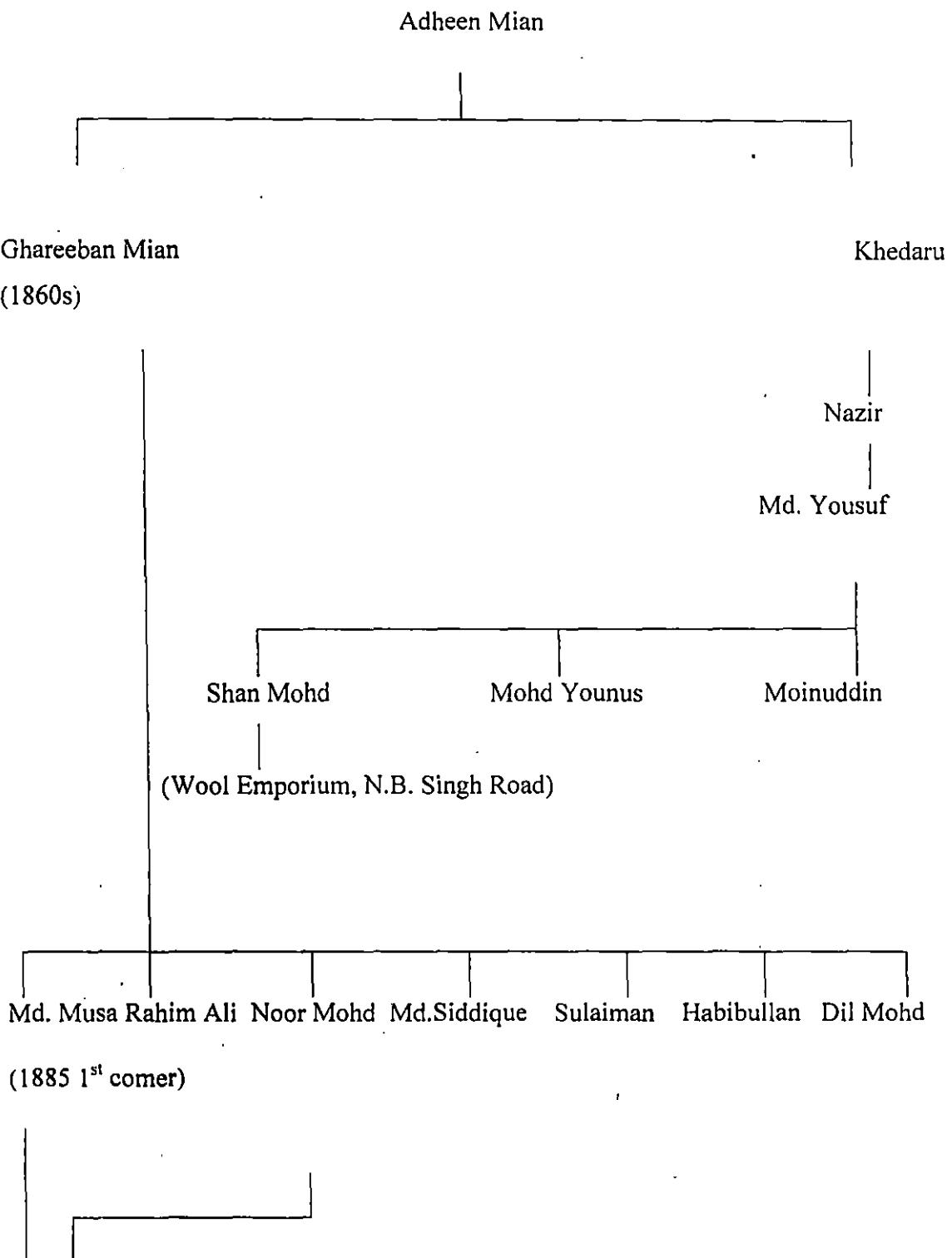


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Shyam Agarwal Sawar Agarwal(Interview) Arun Agarwl Prakash Agarwal
(Stationery business) (Printing Business) (Assisted his brother) (Cloth business)

Sudhir	Samir	Sandeep	Sidhant	Sonu
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3. The Family tree of the Ansari (Bihar) family, cloth merchant, on Cart Road, Chawk Bazaar:



Mohiuddin Abdus Sattar Abdul Rashid Md. Amin Md. Sayeed
 (shop on Hill Cart Road)
 Divided among the 5 brothers

Razi Ahmed Aziz Ahmed Md. Ishaque Md. Ismail

Commissioner Darjeeling Municipality 1948

Abdul Karim

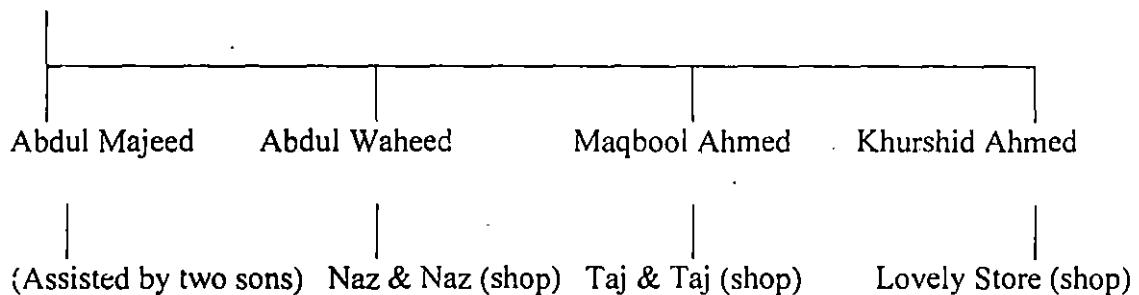
M. Rabbani

Ainul Haque

Anwarul Haque

(Ready made Garments business, N.B. Singh Road, Below Orient (Wool House))

Safat Ahmed



Jamshed Ansari ((Interview))

(Total 19 shops, running by them, all are cloths, woolen goods, shawls, sweaters, etc)

4. Family tree of Md. Anis's Family, the Shoe Merchant, Golghar, Chawk Bazaar:

Makbul Hussain 1905 (approximately)

Shaik Hazratulla 1930

Shami Anwar	Nasim	Md. Anis((Interview))	Md Atique	Nawshad Ali
Went back to Siwan	Shoe business at Gol Ghar	Shoe house at Gol Ghar	Wholesale business in Darjeeling	Look after their ancestral domestic 'karobar'

5. Family Tree of the Tuladar Family (Nepalese) in Darjeeling, Grocery Merchant,Chawk Bazaar:

Hirabir Tuladar (migrated in 1890)

Present generations

Buddu Tuladar	Ram Tuladar	Laxman Tuladar	Triratna Tuladar	Suryavir Tuladar	Bhakta Tuladar (Interview)	Maiyalani Tuladar	Pragya Tuladar
Chandra	Ratan			Mahanra		Bhalata	

6. Family Tree of the Malleck (Kashmiri) family, Curio Merchant, the Mall

Habeeb Malleck(1880 arrived)



Ahmad Malleck(1905 onwards engaged in trade)



Haji Mohammad Siddique Malleck (present owner)



Parvez Malleck(present owner)¹

7. Family Tree of the Butt (Kashimiri) Family, Curio Merchant, the Mall

Muhammed Butt

Ali Mohammad Butt

Gulam Mohammad Butt

Both brother arrived Darjeeling in 1940s

The Present Generations

Abdul Rashid ((interview))

Owner of Eastern Art Mall

A. Hamid Mustak

Sahil

Hanif

Together handling the Darjeeling Tea Corner and Curio Corner at Mall

Together handling the Art Emporium on Laden La Road

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