

ISSN-0033-5800

Vol. LIII

Nos. 1 & 2

April, 2013- September, 2013

The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies



Published by

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

8/1, LOUDON STREET, KOLKATA - 700 017

History of Migration in North Bengal: A Case Study of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling Districts during Colonial and Post-Colonial Period (1869-1971)

Kartick Saha

(Asstt. Professor, Deptt. of History, Bakshihai Mahavidyalaya, Cooch Behar)

And

Ananda Gopal Ghosh

(Professor, Deptt. of History, University of North Bengal)

Human migration is one of the most important aspects of social science. Today in established inter-disciplinary field it has attracted the scholars of History, Geography, Sociology, Demography, Economics and other related disciplines. From this point of view the study of migration in Indian context particularly in context of Bengal and specifically in the context of North Bengal will be of a great significance. The noteworthy contributions of scholars like Everett S. Lee, Samuel A. Shorffer, Kingsley Davis, K.C. Zacharia, C. Chandrasekharan and Asish Bose to name only a select few, have currently highlighted migration in general and internal migration in particular as research enterprise. Except the works of Sri Haraprasad Chattopadhyaya¹ and Narayan Chandra Saha² there is no research work highlighting migration in Bengal in general and North Bengal in particular. So a historical objective analysis of migration in our research area relating with socio-political turmoil is the demand of time. There are many ways of organizing a text on mobility and migration. It is certainly possible to examine the classic questions of who moves, why do they move, where do they move and what are the impacts when they get there. For the privilege of my work on the questions I have chosen two northern most districts of Bengal namely Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling, a geographically and strategically migrant-prone zone with a long historical tradition of witnessing migration. Through the comparative analysis of the demographic phenomenon in the two districts, I shall try to find out how the homogeneous matter of fact led to the homogeneous reactionary but heterogeneous characteristic political instability. I have taken the period from 1869 to 1971. For the year 1869 marked the modernization of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling joining Eastern Duars with Goalpara, Western Duars with Jalpaiguri and Kalimpong with Darjeeling. Thus the year 1869 became a turning point in the process of migration. On the other the year 1971 marked the new phase of migration began after the liberation of East Pakistan.

I

Migration is a geo-historical phenomenon in North Bengal. The geographical location of the region and its historical importance turned it into a migrant-prone zone. For the Himalayan borderland of India has experienced a series of migration from time immemorial³. North Bengal, particularly Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri districts, being the junction between North-Eastern India and the rest of India, its hilly tract being the Himalayan borderland, became attractive for the people from different parts of India and outside India. Up to sixteenth century almost all the political centers of Bengal were within the geographic periphery of North Bengal which encouraged immigration of people. After the sun-set of Gaur the emergence of Koch-Kamta kingdom provoked the process of invited migration. With the establishment of the British rule over this region the modernization of the two districts, growth and development of communication, tea industry, administrative and military necessity led to rapidity of immigration. During the colonial period it was invited in character as the colonial masters induced the process. But the post-colonial period the political disturbances in the hill areas (Like Chinese occupation of Tibet) and partition of India and the later atrocities in East Pakistan, poverty of Eastern Nepal, disturbances in Assam districts created a new character in migration as forced migration, which is called Refugee Migration. This continuous immigration played an important role in political turmoil of the region under our discussion.

II

The nineteenth century India witnessed a massive migration, internal and overseas alike⁴. In this context and respect North Bengal, specifically Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri, basically when they came under British imperial yoke, was a prominent region. This importance may be realized from the report of Hon'ble Sir Richard Temple⁵. Anlan Datta remarked that in case of North Bengal region it is more intricate. For the region has already achieved and still achieving significant experience of steady and continuous flow of migrants from different places of India as well as neighboring border countries⁶.

At the time of the Revenue Survey of Rangpur in 1858-59 the population found in the permanently settled part of the Jalpaiguri district was 189,067⁷. But in the first systematic census in 1871-72 the population was found to be 327,983⁸. At the close of the Bhutan war, a survey of the Western Duars (1865-67) roughly estimated the population of Western Duars as 49,620⁹. In the special census of the Deputy Commissioner the population was 100,111¹⁰. After making due allowances for errors in the account, it is clear that migration of the people from the neighboring districts to the fertile waste lands of the Western Duars began as

soon as British rule ensured the safety of life and property. Subsequent censuses showed more remarkable increase of population. In 1881 it had increased to 182,687, in 1891 to 296,348 and in 1901 to 410,606.¹²

The following table gives an idea of decadal variation of population in Jalpaiguri district as a whole and its rural and urban areas separately from 1901 to 1971.

Table - 1

Decadal Variation of Population in Jalpaiguri District			
Year	Population	Decadal Variation	% of Variation
Total	546764	-	-
1901	663222	+116458	+21.30
1921	695946	+32724	+4.93
1931	740993	+45047	+6.47
1941	847841	+106848	+14.42
1951	916747	+68906	+8.13
1961	1359292	+442545	+48.27
1971	1750159	+390867	+28.75
Rural	536475	-	-
1901	651457	+114982	+21.43
1921	681133	+29676	+4.55
1931	7222031	+40898	+6.00
1941	820075	+98044	+13.58
1951	850602	+30527	+3.72
1961	1235478	+384876	+45.25
1971	1582079	+346601	+28.05

Urban	1901	10289	-	-
	1911	11765	+1476	+14.34
	1921	14813	+3048	+25.91
	1931	18962	+4149	+28.01
	1941	27776	+8804	+46.43
	1951	66154	+38379	+138.22
	1961	123814	+57669	+87.19
	1971	168080	+44266	+35.75

Source : Relevant Census Reports

So since the turning of the twentieth century i.e. during the decadal period of 1901-61 the state of West Bengal registered an increase of its population by 106.08%. The district of Jalpaiguri during this period showed an increase of 248.61% over its population of 1901. In the rural sector the growth was a little less, 23.0%. But growth of urban population during these years has been exceptional. During these decadal years Jalpaiguri's town population increased by more than eleven times of what it was in 1901.¹³ This revolutionary growth of population here proves the large scale immigration.

The following statement gives the number of first generation immigrants in Jalpaiguri district between 1901 and 1961.¹⁴

Table - 2

Year	No. of Immigrants	Year	No. of Immigrants
1891	98611	1931	158757
1901	95899	1941	156765
1911	152174	1951	278842
1921	163024	1961	454177

Source : Relevant Census Reports

It is significant that immigration in the district of Jalpaiguri has not been widely fluctuating in any census decade if only migratory movements from other state

of the country outside West Bengal are taken into view. The steadiness of the flow of immigration suggests that the district might have almost reached the saturation point respecting employable labour.

The Darjeeling district offers the most remarkable example of growth of population stemming mainly from immigration from outside.¹⁵ In fact, a proper scrutiny of the growth of population of the area under study would reveal how the process of immigration leads to the phenomenal growth of a community, which, however, did not exist there when the area was in the making. When the British first acquired the hill territory in 1835, it was almost entirely under forest and practically uninhabited.¹⁶ The decision of the Company to develop Darjeeling as a hill resort gave an opportunity to neighbouring peoples to immigrate. The original inhabitants, probably Lepchas were rapidly outnumbered by settlers from Nepal and Sikkim. The Total number of persons in the District and the increase at each of the censuses is shown below:

Table - 3
Population and its Growth in Darjeeling

Census Year	Total Population	Increase	Percentage
1872	94712	-	-
1881	154179	60467	63.84
1891	223314	68135	43.91
1901	265780	42466	19.01
1911	279899	14119	5.31
1921	294237	14338	5.12
1931	332061	37824	12.58
1941	390899	58838	17.12
1951	459617	68718	17.58
1961	624640	165023	35.90
1971	781777	57137	25.16

Source: Compiled from *HS O'Malley, B.D.G. Darjeeling (1992 2nd reprint)*, p. 35 and *District Census Handbook on Darjeeling, Census 1961, Census 1971*.

In comparison with the growth rate of the state the district of Darjeeling has been showing a higher growth rate, except of course in decades of 1901-11 and

1931-41. However in comparison with the rural areas the urban areas of this district have always shown at a much higher rate of growth than that is observed in the urban West Bengal as a whole. In this context it must be accepted that immigration has been the largest single factor in the growth of population of the district.¹⁷ But emigration from the district has always been relatively negligible. Moreover, the emigres, more often than not, have left the district only temporarily. The table given below gives figures of immigration into and emigration from the district from 1891 to 1961:

Table - 4
Immigration and Emigration in Darjeeling District (1891-1961)

Year	Actual Population	Immigration	Emigration	Natural Population
1891	223314	119670	962	104606
1901	249117	113888	802	136331
1911	265550	111269	6000	160281
1921	282748	101807	6000	186941
1931	319635	100700	3455	222390
1941	376369	95750	4120	284739
1951	445260	100311	6900	351849
1961	624640	169250	N.A	455390

Source: A.K. Banerjee *et al.* *WBDC Darjeeling, Govt of West Bengal*, p.108

Now the question is that who were these migrants and from where they came to this district. Since the formation of the Jalpaiguri district (1869), the Brahman Bengalis, Pandas from Orissa and Kamrupis who were actually from Sylhet as well as a few other higher caste Bengali Hindus began to move into the district including the Duars part as government servants and professionals such as lawyers and doctors. Among the various immigrant population groups, particularly important one was the segment of Muslims which came from the districts of Noakhali and Tripurahi (Comilla) in south-eastern Bengal as service-holders, professionals and traders. The district also came to be traversed by Marwari merchants and traders o Kayas. With the launching of the tea plantations in the Duars large scale migration

of tribal peasants, particularly Oran, Munda and Santal peasants from Chota Nagpur and Santal Perganas and Nepalese and Dhangar Coolies numbering about 6000 immigrated into Jalpaiguri during 1877-78 and were employed on railways, roads and in tea gardens.¹⁸ During the post-independent period a large scale of people came from East Pakistan, Assam and even from Tibet.

The region, Darjeeling-Sikkim, was a single political territory inhabited by a few tribes like the Lepchas, Bhutias, Limbus and Mangars until the annexation of the various parts of Darjeeling by the British around the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁹ The present Siliguri subdivision, then ruled by Sikkim (until 1850) was populated mainly by Rajbansis. With none of these groups having a large population, most of the land was vacant.²⁰ With development of British rule as well as the district led to two large immigrations, Nepalese and plains people. The phenomenon of immigration when compared ethnically amply reveals the fact numerically: the Nepalese were the most dominant group immigrated in the district over the years. The plainsmen, representing mainly the Biharis (from Bihar), Marwaris (from Rajasthan, Haryana etc.) and the Bengalis (mainly from Calcutta and erstwhile East Pakistan) came as migrants in the district. During the post colonial period a very important feature in migratory movement was immigration of Pakistani and Tibetan refugees in West Bengal as well as Darjeeling.

III

The rapid growth of migration, backed by the colonial domination obviously created changes in the traditional socio-economic structure of North Bengal as it was happened in other areas. The Pre-British economy of the region and her people under investigation closely approximates the Asiatic Mode typology.²¹ The village communities developed a character of an enclave, production and consumption being guided by their own ethos and needs had developed a culture of self-sustenance which was not disturbed by any demographic change like the pre-colonial immigration. The transition of the society through the introduction of a quasi-feudalist order by the British disturbed its exclusiveness and gradually, on account of migration of people from the neighboring districts and the region being pushed into the fold of metropolitan economy a new kind of social force was released which developed tension areas of all sorts in a placid atmosphere. Regarding the dynamism, recently, Subhojyoti Roy has emphasized over two aspects- ecology and social organization of the area and time of its annexation.²² But it will be apparent from the subsequent changes that the migration played a major role in this context.

The immigration also negatively affected the agrarian structure-cum-relation in this region, particularly in the Jalpaiguri district. The low price of land attracted

the landed gentry in the district. So, in the third Settlement²³ a large number of people who were not born to the soil could obtain lease from the Government as Jotedars in the newly settled areas.²⁴ Some acquired jotes through purchase. Escalation of land price caused by migration furthered transfer of jotes through sale to outsiders. The intrusion of the money-lenders rapished the process of jote-transfer. According to Swaraj Basu²⁵ the large influx of people only led to a growing demand for land and a rise in land prices. The local people tempted by the spiraling process soon began to sell their lands leading to the transformation of local small and middle jotedars into under-tenants, subservient to a new class of immigrant handed gentry.²⁶

Thus in Jalpaiguri while the number of jotes held by the Rajbansis decreased, those held by the Marwaris, the Upper Caste Bengali middle class people, and others increased sharply.²⁷ An important aspect of land alienation was the rapid growth of an unprotected tenancy structure in the form of *adhari* system. Grinning noted, "In some cases the settlers sink to the position of *adharis* and at the mercy of the new jotedars, who can turn them out at any time."²⁸ During the post partition period with the gradual increase of immigration land alienation also increased. This was again aggravated by some Government's steps - the West-Bengal Estates Acquisition Act of 1953, The West Bengal Land Reforms Act, 1955, the West Bengal Land Reforms (Amendment) Act of 1971 etc. Thus the gradual land alienation alienated the aborigines from the emigres and core-periphery equation emerged in this context created discontent among the so called aborigines which obviously provoked them, to some extent, in the separatist movement in the post-colonial period.

The aborigine society that is the Rajbansis Society was somewhat structure-less either in terms of *Varna* differentiations or in terms of economic definitions of classes. The society was more or less egalitarian and it remained to be so in spite of the structural-functional differences between the jotedars, chakandars and *adharis* formalized by the intrusion of a new community of jotedars since 1895 whose background had induced them to plant the new culture of emerging class consciousness.²⁹ It was partly the urbanism of the new jotedars community born of English education that the old society was influenced. The new elitist outlook gradually spread among the Rajbansis jotedars and their caste consciousness slowly spread. An urge gradually was felt among them for school education. This spread of education³⁰ helped the Rajbansis-Jotedars to accommodate new functional-cum-status strata. Absenteeism came to be existence resulting physical and psychological alienation from the community. The caste culture of the migrants provoked towards the definition of the caste status of the Rajbansis. Even untouchability was inflicted within the Rajbansis society. Thus the Rajbansis of Western Duars did never consider their counterparts from Rangpur as equal in ritual and status. This is an

example of the adoption of the culture of the 'primordial' public by those who had been thrown to the regions of social periphery.³¹

The Rajbansis were tied to family profession and were normally disinclined to change professions. But the externals caused some important changes to be introduced in their attitude towards new professions. Consequently, after initial reactions new professional classes gradually began to grow in the society and the most readily identifiable amongst them being middle class. Professional changes in turn developed a sense of class identity. For example, the service class amongst the Rajbansis left the villages for occupational reasons. They imbibed urbanism from their habitation in urban centers and from other urban communities. They might not have been totally absorbed in the new urban culture, but what tormented them more was their failure to identify with their old values. Thus they fell in identity crisis. The upshot of this change brought about some structural imbalances in the Rajbansis society. The newly educated emerging middle class gradually obtained elitist status by replacing the old landlords.

The transfer of jotes had some serious social implications. Many of the Rajbansis jotedars who sold or lost their jotes had turned into the tenants or sub-tenants in the same land which they once owned. This has caused serious social reactions in the Rajbansis society, though there is no record of any serious protest movement amongst the Rajbansis against the immigrant jotedars. However, all the changes related above, affected the life and economy of the Rajbansis people. The process of economic displacement which started in the last decades of the nineteenth century had finally come full circle by pushing out the majority amongst them to dependable subsistence. The flux of the migrants resulting in the minimization of the Rajbansis in terms of percentage in the total Jalpaiguri population brought them under the shade of core-periphery equation in the subsequent period. Identity crisis was an inevitable consequence of this new development.

In the case of land-ownership like Jalpaiguri there was no problem in Darjeeling. But as the agricultural land was limited, so, later, problem emerged. Again a trend of absentee-landlordism also grew. Unlike in other parts of West Bengal, this category of land-owners still control a major amount of village land perhaps due to the fact that this region, still now, has maintained the feudal character to an appreciable extent.³²

The agrarian relations in Darjeeling district are changing in the wake of urbanization, politicization, and spread of education and demographic pressure that is immigration. One of the most significant changes occurred was in agrarian labourers' category.³³ Roy Burman³⁴ on the basis of 1961 census, remarked that the agricultural labourers are not an important category in the hill areas of Darjeeling.

Actually, until 1951, this category of agrarian society was not significant. But the census after 1951 has shown considerable increase in the volume of this category.

Another change to be noted in the context of the hill areas of Darjeeling is the gradual polarization of the classes. The establishment of the sharecroppers' association or Pakhurey Sangh itself is an indication of it. The association took its birth under the leadership of the Communist Party of India after a few evictions took place. It has not been able to do anything for the Pakhureys but the CPI(M) led Kishan Sabha are active in the villages.

It has been showed that lower castes of Nepalese have immigrated in large numbers than the upper castes and in Darjeeling as the major portion of immigrants were the Nepalese obviously their own social religion and casteism affected the Darjeeling society. Francis Hamilton relates two 'traditions' both of which indicate that there were only 'tribes' in the Nepali society who were gradually brought under the caste system by the Hindus (Rajputs and Brahmins) from India.³⁵ Howsoever the casteism emerged in Nepal but the Nepalese continued it also in their new place though with some changes.

So far as the caste hierarchy is concerned there are three groups- high, middle and low which may also be described as upper, lower and untouchable castes. In the high caste group, the Bahans are at the top, the Thakuris below them and the Chhetries belong to the lowest stratum. However, according to the *Varma* order Thakuri and Chhetri belong to the Kshatriya order only. All the Newars began to be treated as same and they are considered as one of the middle castes having horizontal ritual status with other middle castes like Manjari and Gurung. Among the lower 'untouchable' castes, the Kamnis and Sunnar are at the top, Sarkis below them and Damnis at the bottom. But the ritual superiority of the Kamnis/Sunnars is often challenged by the Sarkis who claim an equal status with the former. The Kamnis are, however, more numerous and even economically more prosperous than the Sarkis or Damnis. This three-tier-caste system in Darjeeling was the creation of the Nepali immigrants among themselves with their tradition.³⁶ There was caste barrier in commensality. In spite of this inter-caste antagonism cannot find expression because of the disharmonious relationship between economic unequal and existence of deeply internalized values.

The social hierarchy is not same from the economic and other point of view. The high castes most of whom are relatively later settlers have, for instance, a higher percentage of people in the lower range of agrarian hierarchy. Their ritual position is still respected. But they themselves have not been able to retain the expected purity after they migrated to this region. This weakness is perhaps due to the fact that they lost their grip in the agrarian class background and had to

absorb mostly as share-croppers and agricultural labourers. The other important reason was the absence of governmental patronage which the high castes enjoyed in Nepal.

The middle castes are by and large in a satisfactory position, both ritually and economically. One sure reason behind this is their early habitation in the region. Some of them like the Limbus and Mangurs are known to be as old as the Lepchas themselves. This has, if nothing, given them scope to own lands and security socially and economically. Among them, the Newars seem to have been the most successful in capitalizing on the new situation. They are, for example, monopolizing floricultural business now while they competed almost equally with the Marwaris and Tibetans during the Indo-Tibetan trade.

The low castes have a different story. Despite the laxity of caste relations in the region they have not been able to come up significantly. Their low ritual status in the traditional Nepal society must be partly responsible for what they are today. Their slave-like status in Nepal over centuries must have made them accept 'marginality' as a way of life.

While this was the picture of the socio-economic condition of the Nepali migrants, then the migrants belonged to plains like the Bengalis, Marwaris etc. occupied most of the professional services. But the situation began to change in the second quarter of the 20th century due to some internal and external forces. As a result we found the emergence of a new class, the middle class among the labour-cultivator-army Gorkhas. This emerging middle class people saw that all types of professional service was occupied by the Bengali baboos. So a conflict began between these two ethnic groups - migrant Bengali professional class and the emerging middle class for securing both the Governmental and non-Governmental professional services.

Though initially it was a conflict between the two professional classes, but subsequently this conflict entirely changed the social and political structure of Darjeeling hill areas. Because, this conflict was not confined only to the field of services, but also extended to the economic and cultural too. Thus in this way, a long-drawn conflict began between the migrant professional class and the emerging middle class.

IV

The demographic phenomenon of migration not only affected, even changed, their people and immigrants themselves, it also affected the political situation or condition creating turmoil in the regions of emigration. It may be seen from the following discussion that how the large influx of immigration can develop the

political troubles. It also may be seen that the migration may bring varying political outcome in various regions as it happened in the case of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling.

The Rajbansis of Jalpaiguri district and plain tract of the Darjeeling district became overlapped by the immigrants and their socio-economic impulses. In fact, with the formation of Jalpaiguri district Bengali Bhadrakos and others occupied the 'white collar' steel-frame of the Colonial Government service. Gradually middle-cum-elite class people started to emerge from that immigrants group and they started to dominate over society and economy. Even the upper class immigrant people began to look the Rajbansis as lower caste people. It has been shown that now the transfer of land occurred to the immigrants from the local people. Thus the Rajbansis became marginalized socially and economically.

Meanwhile with the growth of British administrative development and British educational system a group of people emerged among the Rajbansis, who, as the emerging middle class, could realize their marginal condition. So they started to move for their upliftment which was streamlined in their 'Kshatriyabson Movement'. Their search for Kshatriya identity was only a symbolic cultural expression of the emergent collective self-consciousness.⁷⁷ Interestingly enough, they constantly changed their identity and for that matter asked for different names in different censuses: from Koch to Rajbansis (1872), Rajbansis to Bratya Kshatriya (1911, 1921) and Bratya Kshatriya to only Kshatriya (1931).

As the Rajbansis numerically became marginalized, overlapped by the numerical growth of the immigrants particularly in the post-independent period, they also became marginalized linguistically. Bengali being the official language and Kamtapuri, the Rajbansi language being not incorporated in the VIIIth Schedule more alienated them culturally. This led them to form a linguistic movement. During post-partition period large influx of East Pakistani Bengalis happened. The new comers being advanced in agricultural technology became a prosperous class. Even the Namasudras among the refugees started to dominate in the 'SC' reserved services. Its reaction, to some extent, was reflected in the later UTIAS(Uttaranga Tapashhi Jani O Advyasi Sangram).

Thus a total marginalization happened among the Rajbansis - socially, economically, politically, culturally even now they became marginalized in reserved service section. Thus the colonial periodic immigration, post-partition periodic refugee migration led to the total marginalization of the Rajbansis which led to their total alienation ultimately leading them in separatist movement.

Whereas in the case of Jalpaiguri the previously settled people were raising their voice for the demand of a separate state for their own against their marginalization by the immigrants, in the case of Darjeeling, very distinguishably,

though same kind of demand but was raised by the migrants themselves. It is very astonishing that though in the Darjeeling district there were different groups of migrants linguistically, religiously, racially and also culturally, all of them overwhelming by the major group of immigrants, the Nepalese, became under the unitary banner of 'Gorkha Identity' moving for a separate state or province called Gorkhaland.

The movement in Darjeeling is explained by socio-cultural-economic interpretation. However, though the migrants themselves began the movement, the phenomenon of migration bi-producing various conditions also triggered the movement. Suchit Sur, Reader in the Department of Geography, N.B.U., contends that the main reason behind its emergence was the "steady and calculated colonization by the Gorkhas in Darjeeling, which led to scarcity of land employment, which in turn resulted in the Gorkhaland Movement"¹⁹. T.B. Subba, a sociologist, has described the fact highlighting the anti-non-hillmen inclination in the movement. As the Gorkhas served the British colonizers so there was an antagonism among the non-hill-men. This antagonism led to the dissociation among the hill-men which triggered the movement.²⁰

But this anti-hillmen trend may be seen from another angle. With the foundation of British domination there was an influx of great number of planters who either occupied most of the white collar services or became dominated in the economic sector forming the middle class group of the region. Meanwhile for the spread of British education system and other causes an 'emerging middle class' emerged among the hills men. These middle class hillsmen began to lead agitation. Thus the Gorkhaland movement was structured, though not in full extent, by a migrant group against the domination of the other migrants.

However, the Nepalese in Darjeeling hill created a very interesting phenomenon in the modern Indian history. Many of them came as the labourers in plantation area and settled there, while many other were recruited in the British army among whom many ex-soldiers had retired and settled down amongst their own brethren in Darjeeling. By 1850 there were agricultural cultivation and construction works. With their physical efforts Darjeeling became a prosperous district. So they wanted to dominate the region which to a great extent has been achieved by them in the post-independent period. Thus they are playing the role in Darjeeling like which is being played by the Indian migrants in Fiji, Mauritius, Trinidad and Tobago.

So, migration, the multi-disciplinary phenomenon, brings multiplying results in the region of enumeration. Change in demographic composition, cultural fusion, mutual progress, economic development of nations, and adjustment to the new environment and growth of an international co-operation has been regarded as some of the effects of migration. It should be accepted that the districts, Darjeeling and

Jalpaiguri became prosperous economically with the long efforts of the migrants. But, the most significant impact of migration called assimilation has not been happened much particularly in the district of Jalpaiguri. This resulted into the socio-economic tension which, now, has taken political dynamism. To conclude it must be stated that migration, so vast an issue, so dynamic a demographic phenomenon, so variously affective an existential study, required a large space and a large span of time to analyze with its multi-dimensions particularly in the context of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri districts. So it requires more analytical study.

References :

1. Zacharia, K.C. : *A Historical Study of Internal Migration in the Indian sub-continent* (1964)
2. Chatteropadhyaya, Haraprasad : *Internal Migration in India: A Case Study of Bengal* (1987)
3. Saha, Narayan Chandra: *The Migrant Community in Eastern India* (2003)
4. Subba, Tanka B. : Migration and Ethnic Relations in Darjeeling and Sikkim, in *Social Science and Social Concern*, Delhi, 1988(ed.) by S.B. Chakraborty
5. Chatteropadhyaya, Haraprasad : *Op.cit.*, p.17
6. Minute by the Hon'ble Sir Richard Temple, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, dated 31.10.1874, p.82
7. Dana, Anjan : *Human Migration: A Social Phenomenon*, New Delhi, 2003, p.170
8. Mitra, A. : *District Census Handbook*, 1951
9. Jalpaiguri Census Handbook, 1961
10. This is not correct account as during the war there was temporary emigration.
11. Mitra, A. : *Op.cit.*
12. *Ibid.*
13. WBDG, Jalpaiguri, 1961
14. IDHR, p.30
15. WBDG, Darjeeling, A.K. Banerjee (1980), p.98
16. Dash, A.J. : WBDG, Darjeeling (1947), p.49
17. Banerjee, A.K. : WBDG, Darjeeling, p.108
18. Government of Bengal, Gen. Dept. Misc. Annual General Administration Report of the Rajshahi and Cooh Behar for 1877-78
19. Subba, T.B. : *Op.cit.*, p.337
20. This background is essential because the nineteenth and twentieth centuries literature on the region is replete with accounts of 'original' inhabitants and 'later' settlers.
21. For details see Marian Lawer, *Marxism and Question of the Asiatic Mode of Production*, Hegue, 1977, Tokel Petence (ed.) *Essays on the Asiatic Mode of Production*, Baurpeet, 1979
22. Roy, Subhrajyoti: *The Transformation of the Bengal Frontier, Jalpaiguri* (2002), p.62

23. The Third Settlement known as Mr. Sunder's Settlement, first assumed that this was equivalent to the same increase in the rates. It was recognized that a Chikankhara has a heritable and transferable right to his holding subject to the payment of his rent.
24. Roychowdhury, T.K.: *Land Control: Class Structure and Class Revolutions in Western Dhars, 1871-1905*, p.13
25. Basu, Swarni: *Dynamics of a Caste Movement: The Rajbansis of North Bengal, 1910-47*, 2003, p.13
26. Classification of Alienation of Joted in Falakata Tahsil, 1905 may be seen in Gunning's *Jalpaiguri District Gazetteer*, p.99
27. Xera, V.: Evaluation of Agrarian Structure and Relations in Jalpaiguri District (W.B.), *Sociological Bulletin*, Vol.29, no.1, 1980, p.77. Mitra, *Emergence of a Land Market in Jalpaiguri(North Bengal) in the Early Twentieth century*, pp. 10-13
28. *Op.cit.*, p.10
29. It is analyzed by T.K. Roychowdhury, *Op.cit.*, p.12
30. In the Census of 1891 the proportion of population regarded as able to read and one school for every 1929 persons, 17.4% for the males and 1.7% for females residing in 10.1% of the children of school going age being in the schools. But in 1907-08 the number of schools rose to 418 and number of students went up to 12,196, Gunning, *Op.cit.*, pp.139-140
31. Roychowdhury, T.K.: *Op.cit.*, pp.23-24
32. Choudhury, Dr. Buddhadeb: *Migration and Agrarian Relations: A Study on Darjeeling District presented at Seminar on Land, Land Relation and Land Reform in the Plains and Villages of North East India*.
33. Subba, T.B.: *Op.cit.*, p.134
34. Roy Barman, B.K.: *Demographic and Socio-Economic Profiles of the Hill Areas of North East India*, Census of India, New Delhi, Ministry of Home Affairs, 1961
35. Hanilton wrote: "The mountain tribes, which I consider aboriginal, as I have said, have Chinese or Tartar faces, but each spoke a peculiar language. Some used a written character altered from the Nagri, so as it enable to express their utterance; others had not the use of letters. Before the arrival of the Hindu colonists, they had no idea of caste (sic); but most of the tribes confined their marriages to their own community; while other admitted of intermarriages with strangers (1819:24).
36. It is analyzed by Subba, T.B. in "Inter-ethnic Relations in North-East India and the 'Negative Solidarity' Thesis" in All India Sociological Conference, December, 1984, p-86
37. Basu, Swarni: *Op.cit.*
38. Sar, Sachit: *Sub-State Regionalism in North Bengal: An Inquiry*, North Bengal University Review, Vols. 4 & 5, No. 2 & 1, pp.157-77
39. Subba, T.B.: *Ethnicity, State and Development: A Case Study of Gorkhaland Movement in Darjeeling*, 1992, pp.57-61

Civil Disobedience Movement in a Bengal District : Chittagong

Sunil Kanti Dey

(Professor, School of Education, Bangladesh Open University)

The nationalist political organisation had been agitating since 1919 for the establishment of full responsible Government in India. Swarajya Party successfully pursued its policy of obstruction within Legislative Councils and thus exposed the Indian attitude towards the 1919 Act. The British Government, on the other hand, in order to check the political discontent, announced the appointment of a Statutory Commission on 8 November 1927 headed by Sir John Simon for considering the next installment of constitutional reform'. As, there was no Indian among the members of the Commission', the leaders of almost all Indian political parties issued a joint manifesto urging the Indian people not to take any part in the work of the Commission'. Following this declaration series of condemnation meetings were held in Calcutta and other parts of Bengal where it expressed emphatic protest against the method adopted in constituting the Statutory Commission for considering the reforms introduced by Government of India Act and urged the people of India and representative in Legislative Council to refuse cooperation with the Commission, which was a denial of India's right to self-determination'. The nationalist political activists got further stimulation by the decision to boycott the Commission by Madras Congress of 1927. The Congress urged upon the people to observe an all India Hartal on 3 February; the day of the arrival of the Commission in Bombay'. Bengal Provincial Congress urged to organise demonstrations on 20 February, the date of Simon Commission arrival at Calcutta'. Accordingly Hartal was observed on 3 February' and mass meetings and demonstration were took place on 20 February all over Bengal'. Meanwhile, the Indian nationalist politicians, as a counter to the Simon Commission met at an all-Party conference and as per its decision a committee headed by Motilal Nehru formulated a report protesting future constitutional reform'. When the Nehru report was presented before the annual Congress session (1928) at Calcutta, a strong debate arose on the future status of India, dominion or complete independence'. The younger section of the delegates led by Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose moved a resolution in favour of independence to be the goal of the Congress but it was lost'. However in next annual Congress, held in Lahore (December 1929) passed the resolution of complete independence as the goal of the Congress.'. As a first step the Congress working committee decided to observe independence day all over India on 26 January 1930'. In early January the Congress Working Committee decided to boycott councils'