

Chapter- IV

Economic Transformation and Urban Growth of Darjeeling Hills

This chapter analyses the various factors that led to the economic transformation and urban development in Darjeeling hills. The hill region of Darjeeling district was almost entirely under forest before the British annexation. The economic development in Darjeeling depends on the development of tea industry, forestry, Cinchona plantation, trade, tourism etc. But the economic growth and urbanisation of Darjeeling started after the acquisition by the British which is already mentioned in previous chapter. This chapter explain the sequential processes that led to the transformation of economic and urban development of Darjeeling hills. Besides that, the territory before British occupation shifted from one ruler to another. The making of Darjeeling as an urban and economic centre continued after the “Deed of Grant” in 1835. The area of Darjeeling was fully covered by forest land with a population of 22,000 souls in 1869. According to the first Census in 1872, the population had rapidly increased to 94,712 and was 2,49,117 in 1901 after the establishment of tea industry and shifting cultivation.

British policy enabled immigration in Darjeeling from Nepal. These immigrants settled in the area and provided the crucial labour needed to establish the sanatorium town with its cantonment and fledgling commerce and industry. The British officials also encouraged trade between the borders and even fuelled dreams of a Trans-Tibetan trade, the subject of many treaties with Nepal as well as Tibet. The strategic considerations regarding both Nepal and Tibet make it difficult to assume that the Edenic hill sanatoriums were ‘uncontaminated’ spaces in the perspective of the British administrators. At first many Nepalis crossed the border to work for a season and went back to their villages.¹ Campbell actively encouraged the migration of labourers from eastern Nepal for tea plantation. Darjeeling reveals some others motives in the establishment of enclaves for European health, their settlement and occupation.

The indigenous Lepchas were pushed out of the area by the more enterprising Paharia (Nepali) immigrants ‘partly due to their inability to stand Paharia competition for land and partly due to the daily increase in population of the place.’² Large portions of the land in Darjeeling were also taken over by government as ‘reserve forests’, where forest management and the supply of timber and other commodities from the forest provided the government with revenues. It was prohibited to access to forests resources for the local population. In continuation to those arrangements, the entire Darjeeling district became a part

of the colonial economy. Plantation of tea was successfully restored in Darjeeling hills. During the late nineteenth century the Government of India established a cinchona plantation in Mungpoo in the Darjeeling hill area near Kalimpong.³

Darjeeling district were Non-Regulation tracts, where the ordinary laws passed in Bengal were not applicable. Here, the land related special order was passed from the Governor of Bengal. The power was given to the administrative executive who was in charge of the district. But the District Magistrate was in charge in other districts. The Deputy Commissioner invested with greater civil authority than the District Magistrates in the Non-Regulation districts.⁴ The growth and development of Darjeeling started under the British which also become the district headquarter after independence. Most of the government offices are located there, and many people started to settle there.

Agriculture in Darjeeling Hills

To take agrarian policy first the British classified land in Darjeeling into three types. The first type was forests land which were reserved for the Government and in which villagers were not even tenants at will but squatters, plantations of tea subject to privileged Regulations for the proprietors and managers. Historically, it is not correct to say that Darjeeling region was never brought under Permanent Settlement. There was no legacy of Zamindari intermediary rights. Pagla Dewan was one of the Kazi in Sikkim and kidnapped Dr. Campbell and the botanist Joseph Hooker, the punitive measure taken against the Raja of Sikkim in 1850 which has been described in the second chapter. Chebu Lama, who was the Sikkim Raja's own agent at Darjeeling and who had taken the imperialist side got the 115 acre estate first on a three years lease. Then, Rs. 20 annual rental renewed in 1853. This land after his request in 1863 vested in perpetuity in him and his heirs, at an annual rent of Rs. 500 in his lifetime, Rs. 1000 after his death. When this happened in 1866, the estate split up and the two-third share (Relling Estate) consolidated by his son Rechuck Dewan escheating to Government in 1924, another portion initially going to Chebu Lama's nephew, Sonam Sring (Samabong Estate) having been resumed in 1909 due to failure to pay revenue (with 60 acres of land and two rent-free house granted to its previous owners widow, son and heirs); 151/2 square miles called Raja Tenduk Pulger's or the Kurmi Estate (He was Chebu's manager and nephew) passed to his widowed daughters-in-law in different tautis (of which Nos. 951 and 1117, included the hats of Bijanbari and Pulbazar, where an important trade with Western Sikkim from Darjeeling had developed, and was passed to Shri N. C. Goenka of Darjeeling town).

Four *tauzis* remained Permanently Settled till the abolition of zamindari after India's independence. In these circumstances, it is only natural that Khas Mahal new cultivators, and for that matter under tenants of Chebu Lama, Raja Tanduk Pulger and their descendants on the Nepal Border should have been recruited from the enterprising Nepali Migrants.

For instance, the District Census Handbook of 1951 notes about the 172.98 square miles Kalimpong Government Estate, that after annexation under the Sinchula Treaty of 1865 after Bhutan War. Immigration from Nepal and Sikkim was considerable and by 1882 when the first survey and settlement of the most developed portion of the estate was carried out, the receipts from the poll-tax had risen to Rs. 11,800. Most of the immigrants were Nepalese who took the lead in developing agriculture by ploughing, a method which displaced the less efficient use of *jhum* cultivation formerly practiced by the original inhabitants. It would appear that many settlers acted like *Giris* of the plains bringing in poorer farm labour and becoming richer peasants or *mandals* or *sardars* of labour themselves in the process. The increase of income generation led to Government looking on the Nepali migrants with favour. The latter had also begun to supply loyal foot soldiers for the British Raj. First generation settlers might often send remittances or present back to Nepal; if the second or third generations rose in social status within the new and more tax settler community with cross-caste and cross-community intermarriage. Then those who had so risen in social status might seek to signalize this by Sanskritisation.⁵ Along with tea plantation, agriculture played a vital role in encouraging large scale of immigration in the district. On the basis of agriculture, the district of Darjeeling was divided into three tracts. Firstly, the mountainous portion of the west of Tista River, secondly the Kalimpong region and thirdly the Terai.⁶ The economic pattern of Darjeeling District had dualistic structure during the second half of the nineteenth century. The agriculture based economy existed in Kalimpong whereas the plantation in Darjeeling-Kurseong area.

The river Tista lying between these two different types of structure. As mentioned in second chapter that Dr. Campbell gave the early settlers every encouragement to reclaim forest land and settle there. Chebu Lama who helped the British in the Anglo-Sikkim wars in the middle of the 19th century was the only Zamindar in the hills. His Zamindari was not permanent and whole the land was taken away by the British Government after his death. From then, the land was called Relling Estate Khasmahal.⁷ As the area of the district is divisible into three distinct tracts, like the level stretches at the foot of the hills where the soil is alluvial, and the sub-montane and mountainous portions, it follows that the conditions of agriculture in

these regions are varied in the extreme.⁸The economy of Darjeeling had a dualistic structure – plantation in Darjeeling and Kurseong area and agriculture in Kalimpong and Gorubathan area. River Tista is the dividing line between these two types of structural economy.

Agriculture played an important role in encouraging large scale immigration from outside like tea gardens. Dr. Campbell gave the early settlers every encouragement to reclaim forest land and settle there. Kalimpong or ‘Dalingkoti’ had a very nominal population of Bhutia and Lepcha during annexation of Bhutan in 1865. There was a large influx of Nepali peasants settled specially in the Kalimpong area. The eastern side of Tista had a different type of land-tenure system which considered as the ‘Khasmahal’ where the organized sector was represented and the unorganized sector by agriculture. The land of the Kalimong sub-division which is situated eastern part of river Tista was not taken for tea plantation. The policy of East India Company was responsible for that. However, only 13% of the total area of land in the hills of Darjeeling district is offered for cultivation, whereas in Cooch Behar district, for example, more than 70% of the total land is available for cultivation at the same time. Approximately 40% of the hill population was directly involved in agriculture but in Cooch Behar; the percentage was more than 70%

The following table indicates the agricultural statistics of Darjeeling district from 1903 to 1904.

Table 4.1

Agricultural Statistics of Darjeeling Districts 1903-04

Subdivision	Total	Cultivated	Cultivated waste	Forest
Darjeeling	726	116	27	326
Kurseong	438	135	17	107
Total	1,164	251	44	433

[Source: The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vo-XI, Henry Frowde, The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1908, p. 172]

The table no. 4.1 clearly shows the total area of forest land in two sub-divisions of Darjeeling district where Darjeeling sub-division covered an area more than Kurseong. Simultaneously, area under cultivable land and waste land is also high in Darjeeling than Kurseong. The Lepchas, like the Meches of the Terai, practised *jhum* or shifting cultivation, a practice always looked upon with suspicion and disdain by the colonial officials, whose attempt was

to generally settle the land with permanent rent-paying cultivators. But even those Lepchas who tried to cultivate permanent fields were driven out by the Paharia moneylenders who usurped their land by the turn of the century.⁹ The system of cultivation which prevalent in this area is known as 'terrace cultivation', and this type of cultivation in the hills of Darjeeling was introduced under the British. This consisted in selecting an area of virgin soil and clearing it of forest and jungle through burning. Then they scraping this surface with the rudest implements related to cultivation. The land was used according to its productive power which generally became exhausted in a few years. When the new land was chosen and clearing was abandoned, they shifted from the earlier site to the new one and the same agricultural productive activity was started. Meches, the tribe were also lived in this deadly jungle region that also produces cotton, rice and similar categorical crops by the same process.

In terrace cultivation, farming is done at the slopes of the mountains as conventional lands it is easily available. These slopes are 'terraced' and riveted' and to prevent landslides and erosion, protective lands are made wherever possible. Ploughs are used only at the lower altitude by the peasants. When the cattle are not often used and only manual labour is employed with ploughs. The agricultural instrument is the *kodali* and the hoe which also used in the higher altitude. The division of labour was based on sexes whereas in the plains, ploughing is normally done by the males and harvesting by the females. But in agricultural sector where plough cultivation is not widely prevalent, the sex differences in different activities are much less. In terrace cultivation, the difference between man and women activity is not clear. Therefore, the participation rate of the females is very high in Darjeeling hills and this clarifies the higher status of women in both Darjeeling and Kalimpong Nepali society. According to the experiments of the land tenure system, the period of the introduction of agriculture in the Darjeeling hills prevalent during 1835-1881 and the time from 1881 to 1931 may be called the period of 'consolidation. In the hills of Darjeeling, agriculture competes with tea for land and tea competes with agriculture for the plantation and both can increase only at the cost of forest land.

The land tenure system which the British Government introduced in the area was different from the plains. They introduced a 'Ryotwari' system in the hills which is prevalent in Madras Presidency when the rest of Bengal had either Zamindari or Jotedary system. Chebu Lama was the only Zaminder in the hills of Darjeeling who helped the British in the Anglo-Sikkim wars in the middle of the nineteenth century. But his zamindari was not 'permanent'

as after his death the land was taken away by the government and it was renamed ‘Relling Estate Khasmahal’. The system that existed was mixture of *mandal* and *rai jatwari* system in this area. During this period, the *mandals* had enough powers in their handsover the rural population. The *mandals* acted as intermediaries between the government and the tillers of the soil and enjoyed some powers as the keeper of law and dispenser of justice. Though, gradually the powers of mandals or the ‘mandal system’ faded away when the government deal with the *rai yots* directly. The raiyotwari system had several evolutionary phases but the main point to note is that between the government and the *rai yot* there was no intermediary. Alienation of land from the Nepali farmers to the plainsmen was prohibited and the government controlled the size of the holdings. The transfers which increased the size above 20 acres or reduced it below 5 acres were not sanctioned. The average size of holding till 1941 was about 5 acres and most of the farmers were owner cultivators. No landless labours were ever recorded in any census before 1951.¹⁰

Table 4.2

The following table shows the land employment in Darjeeling Hills (1944-1945)

Land Employment in Darjeeling Hills (1944-45)

Name of the Crops	Hill Sub-Division of Darjeeling District
Paddy	.....
(a) Aus	10
(b) Aman	12,618
(c) Boro	-----
Gram	-----
Wheat	1,126
Barley	395
Maize	68,020
Sugarcane	-----
Mustard	-----
Potato	1,793
Jute	-----
Mango	-----
Tobacco	-----

Are not available for cultivation	78,436
Cultivable but not cultivated	64,387
Total	5,75,321

[Source: Census 1951, West Bengal, An Account of Land Management in West Bengal 1870-1950, A. Mitra, Bengal Government Press, Alipore, 1953, pp. 219-220]

This table shows the land employment in Darjeeling hills 1944-1945. The cropped area has been gradually increasing. Various types of agricultural crops and land employment data have been mentioned in this table. Though some area was not cultivated and some were not cultivable. Some agricultural crops were not cultivated because of the nature of the soil in hill region.¹¹ There were some peculiarities of the *raiyyotwari* system in the hills, where the settlement of 1902 aimed at stopping any transfer of land without permission of the Government. In this settlement, the government reserved the right to get a steady supply of coolies as per ability of the *raiyyots* and it was for purely administrative purposes. The government needed a large number of labourers for the construction of roads. Therefore, it became obligatory on the part of all *raiyyots* to supply 'two days 'labour' free of charge for each adult male or female members of the households.¹²As regards the practice of sub-letting, the policy be pursued in future in connection with subletting was to 'prevent future growth of large holding'. Therefore, through enquiries were made compulsory, before permitting transactions of landed property. This included collection of information regarding purchasers' family, his homestead, the total area owned by the family and the source of purchase money. Further, the purchasers were required to give an undertaking of self-cultivation. However, Philpot remarked that the above mentioned checks against sub-letting proved inadequate in this part and he was not hopeful on the effectiveness of rules in future, frequent transfer, inefficiency and dishonesty of the officials were mainly responsible for the violation of law against sub-letting. As the system of sub-letting went unchecked the number of sub-tenants increased. There were three types of sub-tenants viz *Phukhuriyas*, *Adhiars* and *Kutdars*. *Phukuriyas* had to pay rent in money terms; *Adhiars* had to pay in kind which was normally the half of the crop produced, the *Kutdars* paid a definite amount of crop produced on the land.¹³Subsequently the government legalized sub-letting in the 1930's on the condition that prior permission had to be obtained from the Deputy Commissioner. However, in the early census reports of 1921, 1931, 1941 and 1951, the category of agricultural labour was virtually nil or insignificant but it assumed importance after independence.¹⁴

System of Agriculture Prevalent Colonial period

The system of agricultural marketing in the hills was different from that in the plains. There were a few notable villages' link roads. For this head-load and pony-loads were the only alternatives to the cultivators to move their produce to the markets. This factor very often compelled the produce to sell their products to village *mahajans* who were mostly from the plains at cheap rates. Further the small and marginal farmers had no storage facilities and were forced to sell their products immediately after the harvest when the price at the local market was low. As a consequence of uneven distribution of market places, rugged terrain, dispersed villages and ill developed transport networks the traders cum shopkeepers exploited the situation to their full advantage. The price spread between the production centres and the wholesale markets was wide. Consequently, the problem of poverty remained in spite of the liberal land policy of the British. It should be mentioned that the Lepchas and Bhutias were the original settlers or inhabitants of Darjeeling hills. But with the development of tea and agricultures the original inhabitants lost their land and were reduced to hopeless minority. The emergence of professional class was the most important social factor in the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁵ However, we find two classes of people-professional classes and labourers and cultivators, not a peasant class.

The most significant features in the hill regions was that the government was the proprietor of the land and there was no private landlord or tenure holder between Government and *Ryots*, who was usually the tiller of the soil. Lepchas used to hold a large proportion of this land in the early period of 1870. The Nepali holdings were insignificant. In colonial era the east of Tista was made for agricultural purposes, while the area of land situated in the west of it was surrounded mostly with tea gardens. Government's policy remained to reserve the Kalimpong area for forest and cultivation. This dualistic feature in the economy was probably due to various reasons such as the nature of land which is not similar with Darjeeling sub-division and the climatic condition which was suitable for cultivation in Kalimpong or the late acquisition of the area. But the situation changed when the British followed a policy of allowing the Nepalis to dominate the hills, the Lepchas call themselves the indigenous people of the hill. The names of the places of the hills show their presence in the past. But things started to change after the British. The British did not believe the pro-Buddhist Bhutias or Lepchas. However, Lepchas, subsequently become Christian in large number in the hills mainly in Kurseong. This is considered to be a Lepcha word, Kurseong means 'the place of white orchids' Lepchus mean stones set up as sign-posts to show the way, Mirik means the

‘burnt hills’ mirik being the Lepcha name for the burning jungle, Sivok means rush of cool air, Sonada means the bears lair. These examples of place names show that Lepchas were once dominant in the area. But the Lepchas become minority after the British followed their policy of development of the hill areas. The settlement report of 1919-1921 showed that within fifty years the Lepcha holdings had reduced to 20.7 percent. The following account of holdings of Nepali, Lepchas and Bhutias in 1921 was computed by A. J. Dash from the above mentioned report

Nepali holdings-71.3%

Lepcha holdings-20.7%

Bhotia holdings-8.0%¹⁶

In 1903, two agricultural farms were started, one above the Homes, the other below the bazar in Kalimpong sub-division. As the results obtained were encouraging, the Government stepped in and established an orchard and experimental farm where demonstrations have ever since been given in the use of up to date appliances, while samples of seeds have been distributed gratis with a view to improving the outturn of the crops. In addition to these benefits; a representative of the Agricultural Department has been stumping the country, his last turn to Kurscong being early in 1915, where a stall was established in connection with the Flower Show which invariably draws crowds of hillmen who love excitement of any description.¹⁷The British prohibited the transfer of holding from Lepcha to Nepalis or to plainsmen. But in spite of all these prohibition, land was transferred from Lepchas to Nepalis.

The demographic and economic pattern of Darjeeling underwent a change after the British occupied the territory. Some reaped the advantages of development and some were victims of development. With the development of Darjeeling as a head quarter, Municipality as well as the summer capital of Bengal, the employment base was expanded. First of all, subordinate administrative posts were created which were opened at the time to the Indians. In the next phase, came the clerical grade. Like elsewhere in India, in Darjeeling too. These too were filled in by the English educated Bengalis. The new judicial system also opened up considerable employment opportunities for the Bengalis to the hill towns. In this way the Bengali educated ‘Baboos’ manned the clerical service in Administration, Courts, Schools, Railways Offices and Tea Gardens, Cinchona Gardens. Among the ancillary profession, the practice of law was the most important one. The introduction of the British land revenue system and application of the British laws opened up expanding opportunities for the legal

practitioners. This employment opportunity like other field was also exploited by the Bengalis. The Bengali legal practitioners dominated the social scene of the hill areas in the beginning of the twentieth century. This eminence of the legal practitioners in the society was a general phenomenon in the districts of Bengal. Civil suits and the settlement cases provided enough opportunity to them to earn a surplus. The eminent Bengali legal practitioners of Darjeeling town were Lal Mohan Chatterjee, B. M. Chatterjee, Jitendra Nath Mitra, M. N. Banerjee, N. Sen and T. K. Pandit. Many of them became the nominated members of Darjeeling Municipality.¹⁸ There emerged an extensive Himalayan frontier of India dotted with Hill-Stations like Simla and Darjeeling and cushioned off from the secretive hinterland of Tibet.¹⁹

Introduction of Tea and change in economy

Campbell's initiative to producing tea was the key factor in the field of plantation economy in Darjeeling. Product of tea would contribute most to the transformation of the economic base and geographical space of the entire Darjeeling hills. He reported his first experiments in tea cultivation to the Agri-Horticultural Society in 1847. He first attempted to grow tea from seeds from the Kumaon, which he procured from Nathaniel Wallich, Director of the Botanical Garden at Calcutta, in November 1841. In 1846 he obtained seeds from Assam, in order to 'give an extended trial to the plant'.²⁰ After some experiments, he distributed seedlings to various settlers in the Darjeeling hill region, and several of them succeeded in growing tea.²¹ So, like agriculture, tea industry as the most potent factor for growth of population in the district. Prior to 1834, a Tea Committee was appointed by the Governor General William Bentinck to 'inquire into and report on the possibility of introducing the cultivation of tea into India'.²² The tea industry in Darjeeling attracted many entrepreneurs, but they were all Europeans or more specifically that they were white came mainly from Western Europe. The British government gave away land first as 'farming leases' in 1858 for a period of fifty years, at a token rent of eight annas per acre after five years.²³ The condition of the peasants of Darjeeling hill was proportionally worse than the Mech and Dhimals. Taxes paid by them were also in low range.²⁴

Lord William Bentinck, the Governor General, "proposed to the Council of the East India Company to set up a 'Tea Committee' to investigate and make recommendations as to the most suitable areas in January 1834. In 1839, the East India Company takes the initiative of experimental tea plantation in Upper Assam and the districts of Kumaon and Garhwal. The

Assam Tea Company was formed in the same year.²⁵ It was Dr. Arthur D. Campbell, a member of the Indian Medical Service, and the Assistant Resident at the Court of Nepal, was appointed the first Superintendent, who brought Chinese tea seeds from Kumaon started the experimental growth of tea plantation in his own garden in Darjeeling. He was also conceptualized the trade of tea with Tibet.²⁶ The main experimental sites being i) the garden of the Superintendent, ii) in a lower valley called Lebong iii) lower sites of Pankhabari and Kurseong. Dr. Brougham started the Dhutaria garden in 1859. Between the year from 1860 to 1864, the Darjeeling Tea Company established four gardens at Ging, Ambutia, Takdah and Phubsering. By the end of 1856, tea had been planted in many places in and around Darjeeling. Most of the tea gardens were located in Darjeeling and Kurseong sub- divisions.

The following table shows the increase of Tea Gardens in Darjeeling Hills (1866-1940)

Table 4.3

The Increase of Tea Gardens in Darjeeling Hills

Year	Number of Gardens	Area under cultivation (acres)	Outturn of (in Ibs)
1866	39	10,000	4,33,000
1870	56	11,000	1,7,00,000
1874	113	18,888	3,928,000
1885	175	38,499	9,090,298
1895	186	43,692	11,714,551
1905	148	50,618	12,447,471
1910	148	51,281	1,41,37,500
1915	148	54,024	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	2,10,26,00
1940	142	63,059	2,37,21,500

Sources: Sir Percival Griffiths: *History of the Indian Tea Industry*, 1967, p 88 and L.S.S.S O'Malley: *Darjeeling District Gazetteer*, 1907, Pp 73-84., Barun De & others, *West Bengal District Gazetteers: Darjiling*, 1980, p. 228²⁷

The above table shows that there was a rapid growth of tea industry by the second half of the nineteenth and twentieth Century. The area of cultivation had increased and so did the number of tea gardens which in turn led to increases production. The production and area under cultivation particularly increases and in fact was more than the double during 1874-1885. The Production of tea from 1866 to 1874 had increased by 89%. From 1874 to 1885 it increases to 56.8%, from 1885 to 1895 by 22.4% and from 1895 to 1905, it was increase of 5.9%. With the increase in the area of tea cultivation, this increase was possible and it was doubled from 1866 to 1874 in a period of two decades which also increased by 34.8 %from 1874 to 1895. With the increase in tea gardens the demand for labours grew. Though the English planters initially employed labours from other parts of Bengal but it involved high price and difficulty for them to adjust to the hill environment and climate. Since the tea production made a steady development in the hills of Darjeeling, The British nurtured aims of selling tea to Tibet. On the other hand, Sikkim and Bhutan imported tea from Tibet. This type of commercial activities of tea was existed in Darjeeling and Assam.²⁸

The following table shows the population growth in the district after the establishment of Tea Gardens from 1861 to 1966.

Table 4.4

Tea Industry's impact on population growth in Darjeeling district (1861-1966)

Year	No. of tea estate	Total area in hectares under tea	Approximate yield in kilograms	Average yield in kgs. Per hectares	Total No. of all kinds of tea workers	Total working force	Percentage of col. 6 to col. 7
1861	22	1,317	19,323	15	2,534	-----	-----
1871	56	-----	-----	-----	8,000	94,712(in 1872)	8,45
1881	155	11,489	23,40,719	204	-----	1,55,179	-----
1891	177	18,462	49,48,997	268	-----	1,55,207	-----
1901	170	20,948	61,39,720	293	40,451	1,55,235	26,06
1911	156	20,853	64,64,079	310	39,561	1,51,604	26,09
1921	168	23,897	63,87,117	267	48,710	1,74,167	27,97

1931	169	24,777	92,97,204	375	63,665	1,29,070	43,33
1941	136	25,585	1,12,56,182	440	69,699	1,33,306	52,28
1951	138	25,345	1,32,82,995	524	69,590	1,37,541	50,60
1961	145	27,709	1,80,50,271	651	59,844	2,66,105	22,49
1966	144	28,121	1,73,98,000	619	-----	-----	-----

Source: De, Barun & others, '*West Bengal District Gazetteers: Darjeeling*', Superintendent of Printing, Government of West Bengal, Calcutta, March 1980, 100²⁹

The table 4.4 shows the population growth in the district after the establishment of tea gardens and tea industry impact on population growth in Darjeeling district from 1861 to 1966. The area and engaged labour force in the tea garden of the district are shown the increasing pattern of population growth in the district. It was the direct impact of migration that occurred in the district with the initiatives by the colonial rulers. This was also continued even after independence. The growing number of tea gardens needed more labour and the Nepali migration fulfilled this demand. As already mentioned earlier that the rigid socio-economic as well as political system of Nepal make it necessary those migrated people to searching a easily liberal working field for the survival. The British officials took the opportunity and engaged them in tea cultivation in the district. This was continued even after independence that is shown in the table. The background of historical facts and events related to the whole process is discussed in the next paragraph.

It is necessary to make a brief overview regarding the origin and growth of the tea in the district. By 1845, the British Superintendent of Darjeeling Dr. Campbell reported that tea plantation had attracted 10,000 settlers from Nepal, Sikkim, and Bhutan, who came to work as labourers, porters, woodcutters, builders, and servants for the expanding British hill station. Each plantation provided housing and medical services for resident labourers and set aside land for cultivation and herding. As the plantation economy flourished, education was provided to children of labourers.³⁰ Dr. Campbell saw the trade with Tibet would have the British Colonisers gave the opportunity to export tea of Darjeeling to Tibet. The Bengal Government imagined that, if the articles of the descriptive condition would be procurable at the reasonable rates, then Darjeeling would turn into the main supplier of tea to Tibet, the region where tea considered as a 'national food'.³¹ In order to gain extensive cash for the programme of exporting tea to Tibet, large number of pamphlets were written and extensively spread in Darjeeling for the promotion of tea trade with Tibet. During 1883-84, the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling received samples of brick tea manufactured by Messrs Cresswell

Company and he was directed by the Bengal Government to facilitate its sale in that market of Darjeeling which was most frequent by the traders of Tibet.³²

Darjeeling Planters Association was formed in 1892 with the initiative of the plantation employees in Darjeeling. This Association affiliated itself to the principal body of tea producers in India, the Indian Tea Association, in 1910.³³ Both the planters and physicians employed by the tea estates and they lived within the estates for their working lives. Researches done on the tea plantations in Assam and Bengal writing on the labour movements in the area where labourers had little freedom of mobility and the rule of the planter was sovereign.

The plantation process of Darjeeling marked a break from the existing agrarian policies and practices of the colonial government in India. Land revenues from agrarian sector represented the mainstay of income for the colonial government. Commercialization of Agriculture and the integration of colonial India with the global economy led to the new models of agrarian practice. These new models included the leasing of previously uncultivated land both occupied and unoccupied called as 'wastelands' to mostly British private entrepreneurs, and the introduction of plantation crops and methods. Entrepreneurs introduced plantation crops such as tea and coffee, cinchona by taken land grand from the government.³⁴ In 1874, there were 113 tea gardens in Darjeeling district. The tea industry was almost confined to the hills of Darjeeling and the sub mountain tract of the Dooars. In 1897, there were 186 gardens, with 55822 acres under tea, employing 32897 persons permanently and 14108 persons temporarily. The Plantations Labour Act was passed in 1951 and in next year, the Tea Act was introduced. Tea industry is the mainstay as well as backbone of the hill people of Darjeeling hill economy. With the introduction of the tea industry in 1856 and the induction of European capital investment in the region, rapid growth followed. The Makaibarie and Aloorbarie gardens were planted out in 1857 to be followed two years later by the Takvar Tea Company, Mundakoti, and the Darjeeling Tea Company.³⁵ The process of integrating Darjeeling within the framework of British Indian market thus began from there. Tea industry having created a big demand for plantation labour which became a powerful and important factor for the population growth. The production of tea in Darjeeling exceeded three million pounds in 1871 and tea plantations extended to the foot of the Terai.³⁶

The following table highlights the numbers of actual and migrants' population in the district from 1891 to 1951

Table 4.5

Actual Population and Migrants to District of Darjeeling (1891- 1951)

Year	Actual Population	Number of Migrants	Percentage of migrants to the actual population
1891	2,23,314	1,19,670	53.59
1901	2,49,117	1,13,588	45.60
1911	2,49,550	1,11,269	41.90
1921	2,82,748	1,01,807	36.00
1931	3,19,635	1,00,700	31.50
1941	3,76,361	95,750	25.44
1951	4,45,260	1,00,311	22.53

Source: Cited in M. N. Gupta, (1999), Labour in Tea Gardens, Gyan Saga Publications, Delhi. p. 26³⁷

This table shows the numbers of actual and migrants' population in the district from 1891 to 1951. The total number of outsiders came into the region clearly indicate the increasing rate of percentage. It is mentioned earlier that the reasons behind this migration and its effect on socio-economic sphere of life. The political unrest and identity crisis is also discussed in separate chapter which is interconnected with this migration. However, the table mainly throws light on migrated and original figures of population in this region.

Another potent factor, which also encouraged immigration in the district, has been the general agriculture (this is especially true in case of Kalimpong Sub-division with relatively low altitude and comparatively high potential for agriculture). Besides, immigrations due to political reasons (mainly from Bangladesh, Tibet and Bhutan) have played role in the growth of population in Darjeeling. The British administrators advocated the employment of families rather than individual's in the tea gardens. This policy of the British therefore, absorbing women and children in their labour force since a variety of everyday jobs in the process of tea production can be carried out by them.

The following table indicate the number of immigrants from Nepal to Darjeeling, Sikkim and Jalpaiguri from 1891 to 1921.

Table 4.6

Number of Emigrants from Nepal

Found in	Year			
	1891	1901	1911	1921
Darjeeling	88,021	76,301	70,021	58,026
Sikkim	.....	22,720	25,610	20,876
Jalpaiguri	20,578	18,649	34,015	23,681

Source: Royal Commission of Labour Inquiry (RCIL), 1930, Page- 7.

The above table statistically explains that the increase in the population was due to the immigration from neighbouring Nepal.³⁸The labours in the tea plantations of Darjeeling district were predominantly Nepalese who came as indentured labour. Women constitute the bulk of the labour force in tea gardens. This engagement in the tea garden is due to their skill in plucking the leaves from the tea bush. Tea industry employs constitute more women than any other organized industry. It is mainly because plantation work is only an exceptional kind of agricultural work, which is familiar to women. There also developed a settlement in nineteenth century of small Bengali middle class families for administrative services and clerical jobs. There were Beharis and Marwaris for commercial and professional work but by 1941 it was not more than 5.1 per cent.³⁹From the recorded accounts, it can be concluded that for the Darjeeling Hills plantations there was a steady supply of Nepalese labour for many decades which climbed from about 30,000 in 1871-72 to 75,000 to 1951. However, in 1961 the number went down to 55,000 and in the next decade 1961-71 it further decreased due mainly to the stagnation of tea industry in the region but also due to closure of trade with Tibet.⁴⁰

The local planters and the colonial administrators accordingly imposed policies and measures to recruit labour. Missionaries also played an important role in recruitment and they greatly influenced the migrated people. In the first phase, labour from the Bengal plains was brought to work as a labourer in Darjeeling. But it became difficult and expensive for the planters since the people from the plains found tough to acclimatise to the mountain. Nepal was found to be appropriate in identical the supplies of workforce for the Company as well as for developing the region. In 1892 a Tea District Labour Association was formed to undertake

recruiting. This act encouraged recruitment of garden sardars was the head worker of a garden. This system was later stopped and in 1933 and the Tea District Emigrant Labour Act came into force, subjecting all recruitment. The steady increase of population received a check in 1931 but was resumed in 1941. The town area lies partly in the *Jorebungalow thana* and it includes the cantonments of Katapahar, Jalapahar and Lebong. The population of this urban area were over 7 percent, of the District population and 18 percent of the population of the Sadar Subdivision.⁴¹ The plantations mostly managed and supervised by British planters and doctors, but employing large numbers of tribal and low-caste labourers.

After India achieved independence from the British in 1947, Nepal and India signed the Treaty of Peace and Friendship in 1950. The Anglo-Nepalese Friendship Treaty of 1850, the Tripartite Delhi Arrangement of 1951 and the revised Indo-Nepal Agreement of 1956 were responsible for the emigration of this region. Emigration of Tibetans to India began in 1951 with the annexation of Tibet by China. A large number of them came to Darjeeling Hill area. Development and Communications and trade brought a exploitation by Marwari, Behari and Bengali traders and professional men. Economically these completely dominate the Nepali in spite of his strong numerical position but in numbers they are comparatively few and many of those who do reside here have not made their permanent residence in the district. The result is a very mixed population of Lepchas, Nepalis, Bhutias, Tibetans in the hills.⁴²

The Anglo-Nepalese Friendship Treaty committed not only to keep the border open but also to provide national treatment where the same conditions a country gives to its own citizens to the people of the other country in business, trade and other economic activities. Clause VI of the Treaty also provided the people of one country the right to conduct industrial and other economic activities in the other.⁴³ The Clause VII of the treaty allowed the people of each country the right of residence, ownership of property, participation in trade and commercial activities and other privileges in the other country.⁴⁴

In 1864 the government appointed the first officer to protect and preserve of Forests in Bengal. The office of the forest conservator drew up several plans for the management and consolidation of the forests of Darjeeling for timber and other forest products. The process of regular displacement of the Lepchas and placement of immigrants from eastern Nepal and parts of Bhutan continued in Darjeeling.⁴⁵ The Timber from Darjeeling has disappeared due to magic wand as exercised by the West Bengal Forest Development Corporation. The West Bengal Forest Development Corporation was established by the Government of West Bengal

in 1971 with an objective of securing and developing forest more precisely in the hills and plains portions of the district. But after finishing the forest and its product of the hills, the W.B.F.D.C has disappeared without holding officials accountable for indiscriminate deforestation in the district.⁴⁶

Cinchona

Cinchona, now a broader variety of medicinal plants in which the Government owned the plantation and the factory, these land or Khas Mahal all other cultivated land. The cultivation of cinchona in Darjeeling was started in 1861-62. The seeds of cinchona first received in Bengal were sent by Sir J. Hooker in the same year to Dr. Anderson, the Superintendent of Calcutta Botanic Garden. The first nurseries were tried at Senchal where, however, the place proved too cold for the plants and had to be transferred to a milder climate at Lebong. Some of the seeds of cinchona and its plants were sent to Ootacamund and exchanged for some plants already grown there from the stock obtained from South America. Some of the Java plants died in Calcutta and it was decided early in 1862 to send to Sikkim all the 289 plants from all sources surviving at that time. Dr. Anderson suggested the establishment of a cinchona nursery in Darjeeling and a permanent space was found, 12 miles south-east from Darjeeling, in the Rangjo valley at Rangbi.⁴⁷ The next spot to be chosen was at Lebong at a slightly lower elevation and the stock of plants at Senchal was shifted there in 1863. By the time an area in the Rumbee valley, on the slopes of a spur from the Senchal ridge (including Mungpoo) was selected for planting and the first field planting was made there in 1864 at an elevation of about 4,400 feet. Thus after prolonged trial and error, a cinchona plantation was ultimately established in the Darjeeling Himalayas. The place where it was planted known as the Mungpoo plantation after the name of a village somewhat lower down the spur.⁴⁸ Cinchona characterized the Kalimpong sub-division in two different places at Munsong and Mungpoo. The former place is situated about 10 miles north-east of Kalimpong that comprises Munsong, Kashyem, Burmiak and Sangser, the second spot which is about 12 miles south-east of Darjeeling is composed of the Mungpoo Sittang divisions.

Nowhere in the administrative reports of Darjeeling district Gazetteers or travellers' reports, any mention of the migration pattern of the Nepalese in cinchona plantations of Darjeeling hills, is mentioned. The areas were developing at a very fast pace especially due to the colonial policy of British Government. The introduction of cinchona plantation of Mungpoo mainly attracted a few people of eastern Nepal and Sikkim and they migrated to the

plantation in search of jobs. They were mainly the immigrants from eastern Nepal due to their poverty and exploitation during the Rana regime. The cinchona Plantation workers had peasant background of Nepal and Sikkim. Rest of the working population was enticed from the local people. In Rongo Medicinal Plantation, the workers were mostly consisting of the immigrants from Burma. The migration into the Cinchona plantation was family based and thus their socio-economic life was shaped and moulded by the plantation system. In 1990s the total population of the workers was 6354. Among the plantation workers, there were 586 (47.6%) males, 284 females (23.1 %) and 302 (24.5%) child workers. It was interestingly noted that 57.6 percent of the plantation workers were either women or child workers (Sharma, 1994). Like any other organized industry, cinchona plantation also occupies a unique position due to its agro-industrial features.

Darjeeling Trade

A delegation from the Society of Arts, London, led by A. Campbell, Lt. Col. Gawler, J.D. Hooker and B.H. Hodgson submitted a memorandum to the Duke of Argyle, Secretary of State for India in April 1873. They advocated an additional dynamic commercial policy in Central Asia on commercial and strategic grounds. They also laid stress on the development of existing communications in Sikkim by extending roads to the Tibetan frontier. The railway connection between Darjeeling and Calcutta has also been undertaken in the policy. In the following year the Raja of Sikkim had an interview with Sir John Campbell. The result of this interview was the visit on deputation of J.W. Edgar, Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling to Sikkim and Tibet frontier 'to enquire into the conditions and prospects of trade with Tibet and advisability of making a road through Sikkim to the Tibet frontier.'⁴⁹

It was the British, who made an effort to improve communications. In Tibet, the use of cotton fabrics and of indigo as a dyeing material was very popular. There was a brisk trade in brass and copper and in tobacco. By this period, imports of horses, blankets, musk and yak tails increased. During 1893-1894, the import trade in raw wool amounted to 84.31% of the total imports. The growth and development of the Indo-Tibetan trade was due to an increased feeling of security in the border area. From 1881 to 1882, it was reported that trade with Sikkim was not encouraging, despite the Darjeeling Himalayan Railway and the completion of a good road to Jelep pass. The situation was improved from 1892 to 1893 and a rise in exports was observed. In 1895-1896, the supplies which showed the major rise in exports to Sikkim were silver, tobacco, brass and copper, Indian cotton piece goods, European cotton

twist and yarn, vegetable and mineral oils, horses, ponies and mules. In the case of Nepal, imports from Nepal to Darjeeling included Indian cotton piece goods, food grains, gram and pulses, hides and skins, ghee, wool manufactures, sheep, goats, cattle, poultry, butter, mustard and blankets while exports to Nepal from Darjeeling included European and Indian piece goods, cotton twist and yarn, salt, kerosene oil, tobacco, food grains, brass pots and copper. The present Darjeeling sub-division was not considered as an important center of Indo-Nepal trade. The centres of trade activities in Darjeeling were usually the weekly markets and religious fairs. An 1876 report stated that the weekly markets in the hills were held in Darjeeling, Namsu, Rohini and Kurseong while religious fairs were held at Namsu on the banks of the Balasan river. From 1891, a popular fair was started in the present Kalimpong sub-division. By 1875, official registration of frontier trade at registration posts was sanctioned.⁵⁰ Marwari, Bengali and Bihari bankers generally financed commodity markets and trade. The branches of the Imperial Bank of India which opened its Darjeeling branch in September 1922 and Lloyds Bank opened in 1935 provided general banking facilities. These banks also provided funds for tea gardens and general banking facilities in Darjeeling district. The road system of the district as well as the Darjeeling Himalayan Railway system facilitated trade. It had three categories of trade i.e. with the plains, trade moving over the frontiers of Bhutan, Sikkim and Nepal and local trade within the district.

People, who could not be absorbed in the tea plantations involved in agriculture by and large and some of them were engaged in the Trans Himalayan trade between Tibet and the East India Company. The economy of the district has been gradually shifting from self-consumption to the market based, thus enhancing the significance of the market and the businessmen in local economic activities. The cultivation of cash crops like ginger is expanding steadily even in the remote areas without good facilities of communication. This system was practiced in a place where the economy is fully monetized and the need for cash is growing. Tea had its origin in China and can be traced back to around 2737 BC when tea was considered as medicinal properties. It was regarded as "divine healer" by the then Chinese emperor Shen Nung and was grown not on large plantations but on small plots of land. The first reference or book on tea was Chia Ching, or 'Tea Classic' written by Lu Yu in 780 BC.

The Dutch as an eastern traders brought the first consignment of tea to Holland in the early part of the seventeenth century. They brought the first consignment of tea to Europe in 1610 from the China and they began importing tea which thereafter was introduced into England

around 1645. It was first sold publicly in England in 1657. Merchants of the East India Company were primarily responsible for the expansion of the trade and planting of tea in India. The East India Company first built factories at Surat in 1608, Madras in 1639, Bombay in 1668 and Calcutta in 1690. During this period, popularity of tea as a drink developed not only in England but in the American colonies too. The Europeans made efforts to cultivate tea plant in British India in 1780 with an ornamental plant. It is suggested in another source that the East India Company brought a few Chinese plants from Canton to Calcutta in 1793. Some of its seeds were sent by the then Governor General Warren Hastings to Lieutenant Colonel Robert Kyd for planting these in his own botanical garden at Sibpur, near Calcutta.

The East India Company's monopoly over trade was ended in 1833, and this clarifies the high priority Bentinck gave to the committee and the necessity that enhanced the pace of its work. In 1822, Major Robert Bruce, who was then residing in the Province of Assam, have found the existence of tea plants. Another person, Lieutenant Charlton of the Assam Light Infantry of Sadiya also found similar wild tea plants growing in the jungle in 1832. Both of them had sent the samples of the wild plants to the Botanical Gardens at Calcutta.⁵¹ The first experimental tea plantations by the Company were established on the Gabroo Hills in Assam in 1835 and the first Tea Garden was started by C. Bruce in 1836. Bengal Tea Company was opened in Calcutta in 1839 and in the same year a joint stock company was also formed in London. The motive behind this was to purchase the East India Company's plantations and establishments in Assam for the resolve of carrying on the cultivation there.

A new treaty 'guaranteed after the battle with Sikkin in 1860-61 which opening out of the country to trade, and the removal of all restrictions on travellers and merchants ... fixed the minimum rates of transit duties to be levied on goods between British India and Tibet'.⁵² Thereafter, the efforts of Campbell resulted in making the area mainly Kalimpong as the centre of the trans-Tibet trade and also encouraged immigration from Nepal. From 1861 onwards Darjeeling as a commercial centre attracted attention of mercantile community. The centres of trade activities in Darjeeling were usually the weekly markets and the religious fairs. The registration stations were the centres of transit trade. The main commodities of trade are - paddy, gram and pulses, salt, sugar, wool, raw cotton, oranges, raw jute, iron and steel, kerosene, petrol, tobacco, coal, tea, marble stone etc. The merchandize imported from Sikkim consisted of horses, cattle including sheep and goats, blankets, salt, musk, wax, ghee, oranges, millet, rice, lime and copper. There was a steady annual increase of trade. The

imports in 1863 were nearly double of those in 1860. The money earned during the four years under notice amounted to Rs. 89,535 out of which the sum of Rs. 19,450 was returned to Sikkim in the shape of goods. The articles of export to Sikkim included English cloth, metal utensils, tobacco and coral. Among the items of export, only tobacco was grown in the Terai and other items were not manufacture locally. With the improvement of communications, it has been expected that great quantities of tea would be exported to Sikkim and Tibet replacing brick tea imported from Lhasa and China.

The trade with Tibet consisted of the importation of horses, blankets, tea, turquoise, musk, ox-tails, salt, gold, silver, precious stones, musical instruments, shoes and coarse woolen stuffs. The principal import was wool. The imports increased greatly during 1860-63. 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 exports. The balance of Rs. 20,305 was taken away in cash. The articles exported to Tibet were chiefly tobacco, indigo and kutch (catechu). The imports from Nepal to Darjeeling included cotton piece goods (Indian), food grains, gram and pulses, hides and skins, *ghee*, wool (manufactured), sheep, goats, cattle, poultry, butter, mustard. Exports to Nepal from Darjeeling included piece goods (European and Indian), cotton twist and yarn, salt, kerosene oil, tobacco, food grains, brass-pots and copper. Darjeeling depended to a very great extent on Nepal for its supply of animal food.

The Trans frontier trade of Bengal with Sikkim, Nepal, Tibet, and Bhutan is registered at 14 stations during the first half of the nineteenth century of which 8 are located on the frontier of the Darjeeling District. They were Sukiapukri registers the trade with Nepal; Phulbazar, Singla and Rangneet that with both Nepal and Sikkim; 15th mile Rangneet and Mellighat with Sikkim only; and Pedong and Laba with Sikkim arid Bhutan.

The scale of the transactions with the States of Tibet, Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan may be gauged by the figures in the following table.

Table 4.7

Imports (1916-17)

Items	Tibet	Nepal	Sikkim	Bhutan
Horse	167,770	1,250	23,582	54,663
Cattle	.....	311,508	98,002	21,502
Sheep	74,630	143,757	1,90,507	24,183

Animals	.....	1,122,683	1,79,413	69,123
Fruit	10,416	1,048,316	8,02,735	39,745
Hides	.....	32,175	28,970	4,317
Skins	162,071	.....	2,079	298
Musk	4,420	.....	.....	12,649
Butter	.....	1,13,229	1,55,625	13,748
Grease	10,375	89,443	1,69,059	1,662
Spices	.....	9,445	4,08,165	5,191
Wool	2,102,803	.....	2,304	.....
Silver Coins	3,15,083	1,56,519	62,535	2,000

Source: Dozey E. C. A, '*Concise History of the Darjeeling District with a Complete Itinerary of Tours in Sikkim and the District,*' Calcutta: 1922, p.231⁵³

The table 4.7 indicates the import items from the States of Tibet, Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan during 1916-1917. Various types of animals like horse, cattle, sheep were largely imported. Simultaneously, items like spices, wool, grease, butter, musk was also imported from those states. Fruits, skins and hides were imported occasionally in this region. The colonial policy of trade was remarkably developed the hill territory of Darjeeling which is shown by the above table.

The following table mentioned the scale of the transactions with the States of Tibet, Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan during 1916-17

Table 4.8
Exports (1916-17)

Items	Tibet	Nepal	Sikkim	Bhutan
Apparel	1,04,354	230	2,777	630
Yarn	13,952	41,837	79,919	164
Piece-Goods (F)	1,70,240	27,859	29,284	39,028
Fruit	41,465	.....	33,353	416
Piece-Goods (I)	1,32,220	1,26,499	1,64,962	895
Oil	2,545	9,006	41,189	1,587
Lubricants	557	21,857	1,44,591	2,087
Salt	.....	29,365	76,605	2,801

Silks	1,01,872	.....	7,484	2,569
Silver Coins	60,100	87,932	21,302	4,448
Sugar	38,068	12,383	1,01,419	7,512
Tobacco	61,048	4,719	70,239	12,038
Wax	.....	.....	40,054	.....
Woollen Fabrics	81,370	.....	.....	.....

Source: Dozey E. C. A, '*Concise History of the Darjeeling District with a Complete Itinerary of Tours in Sikkim and the District,*' Calcutta: 1922, p.232⁵⁴

The above table mentioned the exported items with the States of Tibet, Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan during 1916-17. The exported items were Tobacco, Silver Coins, Oil, Sugar, Fruits, Apparel, Wax, Woollen Fabrics and so on. Various types of fruits items imported and exported. The geographical location of the district led it to maintain close commercial relations with Nepal, Sikkim, Tibet and Bhutan. The trans-frontier trade with Nepal was registered at Ghum, Kanjilia and Naxalbari during the last quarter of the present century.⁵⁵ The trans-frontier trade was affected by the war during the year 1914-15 to the extent of only 12 per cent. According to the returns only issued by the Department of Statistics, the total value of exports and imports together amounted to 108 lakhs of rupees as compared with 123 lakhs in the previous year. The trade of 1914-15 is still fast of that in 1912-13, when its total value stood at 93 lakhs. The falling off in the traffic as well as that in hides and skins, cotton manufactures and sugar, is hardly more than might have been expected in the first year of the conditions levied by the war on foreign trade through Calcutta. There was a slight increase in the imports of wool from Tibet. The quantity received during the year was 47,224 maunds, which valued at a trifle over 14 lakhs of rupees. The increase in quantity was only 4 per cent, but the increase in value was 10 per cent. Raw wool founds the main staple export from Tibet. As the trade in other merchandises has failed owing to the war, the Tibetans are more than likely to take benefit of the high prices gaining at present and develop the export of wool in the future.⁵⁶

In 1921-22 the value of imports from Nepal registered at the stations of Sukhiapokhri, Singla, Pulbazar and Rangit was Rupees 63,62 lakhs and consisted chiefly of animals worth Rupees 27,80 lakhs, fruits, vegetables and nuts Rupees 27,41 lakhs, *ghi* Rupees 1,19 lakhs and grains and pulses Rupees 0,75 lakhs; while exports valued at Rupees 4,55 lakhs, consisted chiefly of cotton manufactures Rupees 2,11 lakhs, rice Rupees 0,07 lakhs, grains and pulses 0,5 lakhs,

metals and manufactures thereof Rupees 0,46 lakhs.⁵⁷ The trading centre of both Pulbazar and Bijanbari controlled exports of rice, musterd oil, cloth salt, pulses, kerosene oil, copper and brass-sheets, cotton yarn, bar iron, wheat products and sugar which were valued at Rupees 3,15 lakhs in a year.⁵⁸

The following table shows information about the main items of the district's imports during 1960-61.

Table 4.9

Import of agricultural produce into Darjeeling district (1960-61)

Items	Places	Annual quantity (in lakhs of quintals)	Value (in lakhs of rupees)
Rice	Orissa, West Dinajpur 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., Punjab, Nepal and Sikkim	.75	32.00
Mustard oil	Calcutta and Bihar	.75	180.00
Tobacco	Calcutta and Bihar	.037	15.00
Salt	Calcutta	.02	.42
Chillies	Calcutta and Bihar	.019	5.00
Spices	Calcutta	.004	.60
Molasses	Calcutta and Bihar	.004	.40
-----	-----	Total: 19.884	Total: 1.553.42

Source: De, Barun & others, '*West Bengal District Gazetteers: Darjeeling*', Superintendent of Printing, Government of West Bengal, Calcutta, March 1980, p. 276⁵⁹

The following table (4.9) highlighted the agricultural items imported into the district. Wheat and wheat products, Rice, Mustard oil, Potato, Tobacco, Sugar, Spices, Chillies and some others items were imported. Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Nepal, Assam, Orissa, Burdwan, Calcutta were some places from where these items were imported in Darjeeling district during 1960-1961. The total amount or quantity and value of each items is also shown in this table respectively.

The following table highlights information about the main items of the district's exports during 1960-61.

Table 4.10

Export of agricultural produce into Darjeeling district (1960-61)

Items	Places	Annual quantity (in lakhs of quintals)	Value (in lakhs of rupees)
Seed Potato	Bihar, U.P., Orissa, Assam, M.P., and Punjab	.75	80.00
Orange	Calcutta, U.P., and Bihar	.75	7.50
Vegetables	Calcutta	.75	8.80
Cardamom	Calcutta, U.P., and Bihar	.04	13.20
Ginger	Calcutta	.02	1.50
-----	-----	Total: 1.71	Total: 111.00

Source: De, Barun & others, '*West Bengal District Gazetteers: Darjeeling*', Superintendent of Printing, Government of West Bengal, Calcutta, March 1980, p. 277⁶⁰

The table 4.10 mainly provides information about the main items of the district's exports during 1960-61. Some selected types of fruits, vegetables, food grains were exported in the district. Item like Cardamom, Seed Potato, Ginger, Orange, different types of Vegetables were included in this. Bihar, Punjab, Assam, Orissa are the states from where those items exported into this district. Like exported items, this table is also provides the quantity and value of every items during 1960-1961.

The urban growth in Darjeeling town was not similar to that of the towns in other parts of the country. The urbanization was not a uniform process. In the early years the settlements consisted of few indigenous population and the British occupied it for commercial strategic and climate reasons. The growth of town thus began with the establishment of Sanatorium and rest houses in the shape of cottages which were replica of Swiss cottages. The British tried to build resting houses Swiss cottage style for the English. They also imported flowers from England to grow in the garden. The Darjeeling guide mentions of some well-known buildings as Rockvilla, Oak Lodge, Woodlands, the Dell and others where important persons like Captain Bishop, who troops Dr, Griffiths, the then Civil Surgeon had resided.⁶¹ British administrators first noticed the possibilities for a sanatorium town at the site of a Lepcha village (Dorje-ling) in the eastern Himalayas. In 1828, Captain G.A. Lloyd, an army official, and J.W. Grant, the commercial resident at Malda in northern Bengal, arrived at Chongtung near Darjeeling, and found it ideal for a sanatorium town.⁶² Major D. J. P. Newall in his book strongly advocated the Military Colonization of the Hills. In Defence of his contention he profusely referred to the views of Clive, Warren Hastings, Wellington, Dalhousie, Malcom, Canning, Lawrence, all of whom had favoured the policy of hill colonization.⁶³ Darjeeling started gaining prominence politically and by 1879 it became the summer headquarters of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. The conservators of forests of Bengal, the superintendent Engineer, Executive Engineer and the Commissioner of Bhagalpur Division were posted in Darjeeling.⁶⁴ With the political importance and arrival of more European officials of high ranking there developed the necessity of educating the European children. Darjeeling was established around the nucleus of a church, catchery (administrative office), bazaar and a few houses.⁶⁵ Darjeeling in 1836 was a small market of a few mat roofed houses popularly known as Goondri Bazar.⁶⁶

From the mid-nineteenth century, towns like Darjeeling, Shimla etc. were established as a requisite of colonial administration. As its expansion and the glut of seasonal visitors testified, Darjeeling retained its reputation as a sanatorium town where leisure, governance and a healthy lifestyle all appealed to the British and, eventually, to the Indians as well. The 'Eden Sanatorium and Hospital' was founded in 1882 to cater exclusively to Europeans and the Lowis Jubilee Sanitarium for Indians was set up within five years, in 1887.⁶⁷ According to 'The Handbook of Darjeeling,' published in 1863, there were about 70 houses in the Station.⁶⁸ The Darjeeling Municipality was constituted in July 1850 in accordance with the Act. Of 1850, the second Hill Station to have its own town administration, the first being

Simla.⁶⁹The Municipality collected taxes from markets, slaughter houses, rent of old buildings, hydro-electricity and others. One of the most important activities of it electricity energy and the municipality was the generation of its electricity and its supply to the town and to neighbouring tea gardens. The municipality soon developed the amenities required for a town.⁷⁰Soon it developed drainage system in a well systematic way. The records of the town say that, “the drainage of Darjeeling is very good and is being further improved year by year...the arrangement in connection with latrines, of which at are of good number, burial grounds, markets, roads, registration of birth and deaths, vaccination and dispensaries are most satisfactory, ‘testify to the good job the Municipal was doing.’⁷¹The town established other institutions related to the flora and fauna of the Himalayan hills. The first Botanic Garden was established during Sir Ashley Eden’s tenure as Lieut. Governor of Bengal, was laid in 1876 at Rangiroon (5,700) six away and to the east of Darjeeling.⁷²The first Hospital to be started was the Darjeeling Charitable Hospital and Dispensary which came into being in 1864.³⁶ Another hospital, the Lock Hospital was initially located in the Darjeeling Dispensary compound but finally shifted to Jalpahar in 1876.⁷³ There is one Head Post Office in the Town and five sub-offices at Ghum, Jalapahar, Lebong, North Point and Darjeeling Bazar.⁷⁴

The Darjeeling urban area contains the most important medical and health institutions in the District. First, there are two Sanitaria built to accommodate on moderate changes those who desire to recruit their health by rest and change as well as those whose health has been definitely impaired. Besides the Eden Sanatorium, the Lowis Jubilee Sanatorium was started in 187 with a generous gift of the Bryngwyn property by the Maharaja of Cooch Behar and donations of Rs. 90,000 made by the Maharaja of Tajhat and others. The Victoria Hospital is managed by a Committee under the Darjeeling Municipality. Since July 1944 it has been taken over temporarily by Government. A Tuberculosis Hospital was built in 1936 with 11 beds and later enlarged so that it now accommodates 26 beds. The Infectious Diseases Hospital originated in 1920 in a segregation camp for smallpox cases. Two Maternity and Child Welfare Centers have been established in the Darjeeling Urban area, one in Darjeeling itself and the other at Ghum.⁷⁵The first step to introduce modern communication in the Darjeeling district was taken in January 1838 when the trace of the Calcutta Road to the east of the Hill on which Jalapahar Cantonment stands now was completed by Lt. Gen. Llyod. In 1839, Lt. Napier (subsequently Lord Napier of Magdala) of the royal Engineers was deputed to prepare a lay-out of Darjeeling town and to construct a road from Siliguri to Darjeeling. Now, this road is known as Old Military Road, can still be seen winding its way from

Pankhabari to Kurseong and then on the Dow Hill, Senchal and Ghum, having no less than 300 bridges and culverts to cross. Since the Old Military Road was found incapable of meeting the expanding requirements of the district, the Siliguri-Darjeeling Cart Road, averaging 25 feet in width and costing about rupees 6,000 per mile, had to be constructed. It was blessing in more senses than one; it is along this highway mainly that the Darjeeling Himalayan Railway route was subsequently laid out.⁷⁶ In 1869 another road built up which regarded one of the best mountain roads in India, the Hill Cart Road. The Tista bridge served as an important junction where the roads to Darjeeling and Kalimpong met with the Tista Valley Road. Another road, some 11 miles long, on which Hooker travelled and called it 'excellent' was that from Darjeeling to the cane bridge over the Great Rangit river, about 6,000 feet below Darjeeling town. It was only after the First World War that the management of the Grand Hotel, Calcutta, introduced a passenger-automobile service between Siliguri to Darjeeling.⁷⁷ Along with the roadways, there developed the railways which made Communication easier. The Darjeeling Himalayan Railway line from the foothills of the Terai up to the hill town was completed in 1881. This railway communication facilitated the bulk transportation of tea and also reduced the travelling time for seasonal visitors.⁷⁸

The professional classes were mostly composed by the Europeans and the Bengalis. The higher layer of the professional services was dominated by the Europeans, though small in number. The middle layer was absolutely dominated by the Bengalis. This was the structural pattern of the professional class of the hill society of Darjeeling in the second half of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth century. The situation began to change in the second quarter of the twentieth 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-cultivators-army Gorkhas. This transformation of the Gorkhas from labour-cultivators-army to middle class is an interesting example of professional mobility. This emerging middle class people found that all types of professional services were occupied by the Bengali baboos. So, a conflict began between these two ethnic groups of Bengali professional class and the settlers emerging middle class for securing both the Government and non-Government services. Though, initially it was a conflict between the two professional classes but subsequently, this conflict changed the social and political structure of Darjeeling hill areas. Because, this conflict only to the field of services, but also extended to the economic and cultural too. Several hill stations were important trade centres. These were primarily located in the Himalayas. Trade with Tibet formed an important function.

Kalimpong sub-division's society and economy was far more stable than the tiny village settlement of Darjeeling sub-division. It was a traditional centre of Indo-Tibetan trade.

The Treaty of Titlya also won the British important trading rights. They acquired valuable trading privileges, the most important being the right to trade up to the Tibetan frontier through the territory of a subjugated state. Sikkim provided ready communication with Lhasa and China. The main aim of the treaty was to strengthen the position of the East India Company in a Himalayan area which would offer good prospects for opening a route for British trade to reach Tibetan markets. Trade was a major function at Darjeeling, particularly Tibetan trade. One reason for the rapid growth of Darjeeling was that it offered free trade and encouraged merchants from India or the hill states to settle there.⁷⁹ Here we found the existence of a small nucleus of trading community consisted by the Bhutias and the Tibetans. Politically, Kalimpong was a center of meeting place of 'Kalons' or Ministers of Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet.⁸⁰ To run this office, the different Himalayan States employed number of persons from the local stock. Besides, the Bhutan Government had a revenue office at Kalimpong and petty revenue officers and collectors had been employed there. So, Kalimpong had an urban background unlike Darjeeling and here we found the existence of a small number of traditional professional service holders. It is true that functionally these groups were too insignificant and Kalimpong is seems to be noticed. But there was a common similarity between these two sub-divisions, where both represent a typical example of origin and development of frontier society. The hill portion of Darjeeling district was surrounded by Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim and Tibet. Naturally, the society of the hill areas of Darjeeling was an admixture of frontier and settler's society. On the whole, there was little scope for occupational diversity in the pre-annexation society of the hill areas of Darjeeling and the professional group was too small to add on vertical dimension to the society. The composition of the new population of Darjeeling hill urban areas showed a multicolour combination of many ethnic groups.

There were Bengalis, Rajasthanis, Punjabis and Hindusthanis of the North Indian provinces, Nepalis from the Kathmandu valley, Bhutias and Lepchas and few Chinese, Tibetans, Anglo-Indians and Europeans. No other town of Bengal consists of such varieties type of races, languages, and religious as in Darjeeling hill town. Similarly, the economic life was changed. The East India Company encouraged the plantation industry such as tea and cinchona. In order to make it marketable, the Company opened up the Darjeeling hills to the outside world by establishing roads and railways communication.

In 1860 the East Indian Railway was extended up to Sahibganj, 219 miles from Howrah. The Cart Road from Siliguri to Darjeeling was completed in 1869. By 1881, a narrow gauge rail had reached Darjeeling making it the first hill town to become directly linked by rail to the plains. As a result, the residents of Calcutta could reach Darjeeling in 21 hours by the end of the nineteenth century and less than 14 hours in the 1940's with the opening of Darjeeling Himalayan Rail, the numbers of European houses doubled within three years.⁸¹ Before the railways were built in hill stations were restricted almost entirely to residents of nearby districts or to those who were able to leave their permanent posts for six months or more. But, Darjeeling became accessible with the railway construction. The opening of the railway from Calcutta to Raniganj in 1855 reduced the laborious cart journey to Darjeeling by 120 miles and the East Bengal State Railway pushed steadily northward in the following decades. Even so, an 1873 trip to Darjeeling was an eight-day ordeal for the artist Edward Lear, whose cart broke down and whose coolies fled.⁸² Forest Department under the British had constructed a number of roads namely Old Military Cart road, Simkona-Lalkuti Cart road, Sukhiapokhari Cart road, Manaybhanjan Busti Cart road, Dilaram Road from Bagora to Darjeeling Hill Cart road, Sukna-Sevok road, Rissisum-Labha Cart road, Central Cart road, South Boundary Cart road and Dalgaon Cart road. They also constructed 39 small village roads, bridle roads and 42 fair weather roads had been constructed during the British period. The recruiting Office for sepoy in the army attracted the Nepalese population and led to further urbanization of the Darjeeling town. The first Gurkha Recruiting Office appears to have been opened in Darjeeling in 1890 although no definite records of such an Office exist previous of 1893. The Office was situated in the Darjeeling Bazar. In peace time the majority of recruits are obtained from Eastern Nepal and not more than 15 percent of the total intake is obtained from the Darjeeling District and the Sikkim State.⁸³

From the very inception Darjeeling had been a Centre for European education for the education of European and Anglo-Indian boys and girls. A large number of Europeans (mainly British settled in Darjeeling town since its inception and arrangements had to be made for the education of their children. The development of Tea industry, roads and railways brought more European Officials as well as their women and children who required education. St. Paul's School, Darjeeling is one of the oldest school of its type in India and the second oldest in Bengal. Although, the well known school took its name St. Paul's in 1846, its origin and early history dates back as the year 1823. John William Ricketts, a prominent Anglo-Indian leader thought of establishing a public school to meet the needs of the growing

Anglo-Indian population in Calcutta.⁸⁴ The year 1888 is yet another landmark in the history of Anglo-Indian education in Bengal. For in that year was established St. Joseph School at Darjeeling.⁸⁵ These schools were largely for the Europeans and their children. In fact, the advent of Christianity played a significant role in. Thus we find that only after six years of providing education to the natives and as early as 1841 Rev. William Start visited the station and started working among the Lepchas.⁸⁶ The missionaries also played a major role in providing provided education to the indigenous people of Darjeeling owing largely to the work of the church of Scotland Mission. In 1901, 7 per cent of population could read and write the total number of pupil increased in 1903-04, 3,731 boys and 515 girls were at school which was 18.7 per cent.⁸⁷ The earliest of the European schools in the district was the Loreto Convent for girl's founded in 1846. In 1886 Bishop Milman of Calcutta founded the Darjeeling Girl's School. In 1888 Father Henry Depelchin founded a small school named St. Joseph's at the sunny Bank in Darjeeling. Mount Hermon School at North Point, Darjeeling was established in 1895. Darjeeling Government College, catering mainly to the needs of the Hill-people was opened in 1948.⁸⁸ In addition to those institutions, there developed houses for young boys and girls like Miss Twenty mans Darjeeling Home School.⁸⁹ The town contains a number of places of worship for the various communities living in it. The most noteworthy Hindu temple in the town is the Dhirdham temple built in the year 1938 by His Highness the Maharaja Sir Joodha Shamshere Jung Bahadur Rana, Prime Minister of Nepal, and opened by his son His Excellency Commanding General Bahadur Shumsher Jang Bahadur Rana in May 1939.⁹⁰ Almost all the religious institutions of Darjeeling the Hindu Mandir, in the market place seemed to be the oldest one. It existed before 1830, where first Marwari firm, Samboo Ram and Chunulall, was established in the market place.⁹¹

Darjeeling Tourism

Tourism is generally known as the world's largest industry. Darjeeling was a favourite tourist resort from as early as the mid-nineteenth century which was also known for its four Ts like Train, Tea, Timber and specially Tourism which for the people outside of the region. Tourism has produced significant recognition as an activity, making a number of social and economic benefits like upgrade of national integration and international understanding, creation of employment opportunities, removal of provincial imbalances, and increase of foreign exchange earnings and so on. Tourism can be the largest source of income for the Third World Countries or developing nations. It has the potential to give a boost to the

economy and quite possibly be the main thrust behind its development. In India, tourism is now second behind the gem and jewellery business in terms of foreign exchange earnings.

Tourism is one of the valuable characteristics to a good number of developing nations and it can act as the pivot of vehicle for economic development. Tourism in the mountains is principally encouraged for economic reasons, as it promises cash-flows into remote mountain regions having little economic opportunity. It also creates local employment and finally adjusts provincial imbalance. In order to take care of the Tourism in Darjeeling, there are working three parallel bodies namely, West Bengal Tourism Corporation under the Government of West Bengal, Tourism of the Government of India and the Tourism under Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council (DGHC) but the tourism industry running slowly due to its poor infrastructural requirement. The private tour and travel agencies and motor syndicates have short out and listed some beautiful places as worth seeing which visited by the tourists in the month of May-June and October-November. Those months are called as 'Tourist Season'. However, the people of India and abroad have visited Darjeeling anytime during the whole year. The visited places are called Seven Point and Five Point and besides these points, there are other places like the Sunrise from Tiger Hill, the Majestic view of *Kanchanjunga*, breath taking scenic beauty of the hills and mountains, trekking the mountains and enjoyment of divine gorgeousness of the flowering season at Sandakphu and Phalut. It is not only the people but also the Minister of different States and Government Officials make it a point of visiting the queen of the hills during the season. The sales agencies of several companies organise their conferences in Darjeeling during the season.

The important fact is that, keeping in mind the assemblage of people from the different parts of the world during the season in Darjeeling, the Leather Company, Handloom Corporation, the Khadi Board and many other organise expos so as to popularise their products for sale and also earning money and goodwill from the buyers.⁹² Tourism is an important economic activity in this mountain area generating incomes and employment for the local population. Tourism can also spread to the degree of rural infrastructure. Along with commerce it also brought in through the building of roads, telephones, electricity, and other tourist related infrastructure. Entry of foreign tourists into the Darjeeling Hill Areas was decreased during the Indo-China war in 1962.

Darjeeling and its surrounding areas were closed to foreign tourists except few for a pretty long time from 1962 to 1985. The restrictions are there in visiting many parts of that locality

even today. The sub-division of Kalimpong of the district, for example, is permissible to visit for 2 days only. Tiger Hill, Lebong Race Course, Jorebunglow, Ghoom and Kurseong are open for 15 days. Though, the visitors had to take prior permissions from Indian Missions abroad, the foreigners' regional registration officers or Home Departments of the State Government.⁹³

Darjeeling has to thank His Excellency Lord Carmichael, who is a keen collector himself, for removing this disgrace and allotting sufficient funds for the creation of a suitable building, which was designed by Mr. Crouch, the Architect to the Government of Bengal.⁹⁴ There was a spurt of construction of building on the ridges of Darjeeling hill which included churches, schools, bungalows, hospitals and theatre halls for the use of the British and other Europeans of Calcutta. This process of development also gradually encouraged the growth of tourism in Darjeeling.⁹⁵ With the growth of urbanization, a large number of Indians from the neighbouring places started buying property in Darjeeling. The Indian princes displayed their wealth for social status and copied/ by following their political masters started to build some villas in Darjeeling. The Maharaja of Cooch Behar is said to have owned half of the villas in Darjeeling by 1880. The Maharaja of Burdwan too had constructed a mansion at Darjeeling, and similarly a good number of Indians from Calcutta, not so rich but disposed towards a western life-style, bought somewhat unknowingly, the Indianisation of Darjeeling.⁹⁶ Furthermore, the town soon grew as one of the centre of European culture and clubs or association for companies and European officers. The British, Europeans and Anglo-Indians in Calcutta made it a point to visit Darjeeling every year, during April-May to October-November. The Bengali aristocrats from Calcutta and Dhaka also came here as a tourist. With Darjeeling growing fame as the 'Queen of Hill Stations', and European educational centre, more people from the country began to visit here and even settled down there.⁹⁷

The Planters' Club that was founded in 1868 was converted in 1908 into a Limited Liability Co. and styled 'The Darjeeling Club, Ltd.'. Officers attached to the several services and planters were ipso facto entitled to membership. There were four billiard tables, a large and well-appointed reading room and library, stables for members' horses and also a three-storied concrete structure for the accommodation of servants. It is interesting to note that the Club was not only exclusively meant for the Europeans but it was also hierarchically arranged that could be ascertained by the list of fees paid by its members. The fees were Rs. 70/- as entrance fee, Rs. 12/- as annual subscription, Rs. 16/- per month for temporary members, Rs. 10/- per month for Army and Navy officers of and above the rank of 1st

Lieutenant and Rs. 5/-per month for members below that rank.⁹⁸ References of European games like cricket, hockey area are available which were held at Government House ground and drew large crowds. Polo, another British game, drew fairly large crowds to the Race Course at Lebong. The idea of Golf Link originated in 1905 and Golf took its devotees each Sunday right away to the links at Senchal. Apart from European playground Darjeeling gained fame for amusing the Englishman to the fullest possible extent. The novel and uncanny idea of a 'ghost dance' at Gymkhana Club hosted at least 60 guests including a party from Government house. The Knights – Errant each year gave an entertainment under the direction of Grand Master, at which over 200 guests, including Their Excellency's attended.⁹⁹

The Darjeeling Times of 1912 has also reported the unique event of a dog show in Darjeeling hills. These activities further provided attraction to the town for the Europeans and the Anglicized western educated Bengalis who could reach the town easily. The beginning of tourism led to the growth of the hotels and rest houses within Darjeeling. The evolution of hotels in Darjeeling began in 1839, when 'the Darjeeling Family Hotel,' which contained but 12 rooms, was followed by 'Wilson's Hotel' which was established (by the proprietor of the hotel of the same name in Calcutta, now known as 'The Great Eastern Hotel') in a two-storied house containing 18 rooms. A large one –storied building of the same name now stands on the same spot on Hooker road. Then Woodland's came into being, to be followed shortly after by Durum Druid. Rockville, Bellevue, and the Central Hotel, which can accommodate 40 boarders and is, situated at the junction of the Post Office and Mount Pleasant Roads; the transition eventually evolving 'Hotel Mount Everest.'¹⁰⁰ One another hotel was 'Castleton' owned by Mr. Wilson, the proprietor of Wilson's Hotel, Calcutta, now 'The Great Eastern,' but still known as 'Wilson's' by the Indian Jehu of that city.¹⁰¹ The foundation of the new Town Hall was laid by His Excellency Lord Ronaldshay, on the 27th October, 1917, on the site once occupied by the Rhododendron Villas on the Mackenzie Road, the main artery of the town.¹⁰²

Darjeeling was a frontier zone that offered various opportunities to enterprising Europeans. One of these such group were the Wernicke-Stolke family, who had initially arrived in 1841 as Moravian missionaries. Some of these family members established their mission at Tukvar, a few miles below the town. Johann Andreas Wernicke engaged in contract work for the government in Darjeeling after his mission shut down, which involved supplying timber and brick for the construction of public buildings and roads. Two of the three Moravian families found reasons to stay on, and Wernicke went on to build several shops in the town,

having received contracts from the government and acquired land within the town as well. The East India Company was ready to make grants of land to persons who were willing and capable of helping in the development of Darjeeling as a station'.¹⁰³ First ten years after lease, Darjeeling was a fast-growing town with opportunities for enterprise and commerce, ready to receive European convalescents. In 1848, Botanist Joseph Dalton Hooker found it a pleasant hill station with a small resident European population that attracted several seasonal visitors. He could at the end of an eventful two-year visit compare the growth of Darjeeling to an Australian colony, 'not only in amount of building, but in the accession of native families from the surrounding countries'.¹⁰⁴

Many European and Indian aristocratic visitors thronged the place in the Summer months to escape the heat of the plains and enjoy the cool weather and serene, enchanting beauty of Darjeeling. Tourism inevitably led to a flourishing hospitality sector, though it would be difficult to classify it as an 'industry' as the term 'industry' did not assume that magnitude in the nineteenth century. There was a bazaar for supplies, chiefly of native products. When Mr. Wilson opened his hotel, no doubt there were plenty of European articles but then they depended upon Calcutta for them.¹⁰⁵ By the turn of the nineteenth and the beginning of twentieth century Darjeeling had definitely attained maturity as an urban centre by any definition, be it population or political or administrative role or availability of civic amenities or economic or institutional role. This phenomenal increase was made possible by migration; characteristics of urbanization. The immigration definitely played a very important role in the urban growth of the town. The tea industry and the army recruiting offices soon changed the area of 138 square miles of land earlier named '*Dorje-ling*' (the place of *dorje* or the mystic thunderbolt of the Lamaist religion) to Darjeeling an important colonial hold under the guidance of Dr. Campbell, the Superintendent of Darjeeling. Darjeeling also became an educational hub for English education while missionaries also provided the natives education. Moreover, the importance of the town grew due to the climate of the Himalayas. The British officials resided as their summer office to avoid the heat of the plains. The political and strategic importance started to grow giving further urbanization of the town. The cause of this rapid expansion was due to three factors: Darjeeling is the summer seat of the Local Government as also the Sanatorium of both Bengal and Burma, thus drawing many from both places in search of health, while the tea industry, which by this time had practically spread over all the hillsides, employed thousands of operatives.¹⁰⁶ 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.¹⁰⁷

The urbanization was heterogeneous in character of steep slopes because difficult for the buildings. It did not follow the pattern of the urbanization in the plains. The ridge is very narrow at top, in the gentler western slope most of the public building, and has the Terrain restrained vehicular traffic, this main street was known as the 'Mall'. There were lanes intersecting at various plots which were typical to the hills stations of the British Raj. Darjeeling not only attracted the European officers but the Indian princes displayed their wealth for social status and followed their political masters started to build some villas in Darjeeling and visited the place for entertainment and leisure. Partha Chatterjee in his book, *A Princely Imposter? The Kumar of Bhawal & the Secret History of Indian Nationalism* while narrating the health condition of the Kumar of Bhawal was advised by the medical doctor to avoid the heat of the plains and he was taken to Darjeeling. This was a common destination of the wealthy princes. It is very often seen in the Bengali literature of the twentieth century that the Darjeeling was a favourite place of visit for the urban middle class Bengalis for improvement of health and for appreciating the nature's beauty. Therefore, the town grew its importance as a meeting place of different ethnic, linguistic and religious group. The Westernised Indian or Bengali Middle class chose Darjeeling as a holiday resort following the influence of the Raj. Darjeeling also took important in politics as Sarat Bose and Subhas Chandra Bose were frequent visitors to Darjeeling in their youth. Sarat Bose bought a house in Kurseong in 1923.¹⁰⁸ According to census report of 1981, there are- 94633 agricultural families out 10,24,269 total population. The number of marginal farmers is 41,733, according to the list taken by 'District Rural Development Agency (D.R.D.A.).¹⁰⁹ A comparative study on the cropping pattern and its change over time between these two regions revealed that out of 72.77 and 59.82 per cent of the total cropped area under total cereals, rice accounted for 67.56 and 30.44 per cent in West Bengal and the Darjeeling district respectively in 1980-81 and the domination of total cereals vis-à-vis total rice curbed to some extent in both regions in 2004-05 and the percentage allocation area to other crops including vegetables, fruits, total oilseeds, tea, ginger etc. showed an increasing trend signifying a shift in the cropping pattern, particularly in the Darjeeling district.

Again the marginal farmers cultivated more intensively as compared to the other group of farmers and land use intensity was found to be the highest during the pre-kharif season followed by kharif season. The ordering of crop sequences depending on the net return

showed that rice-carrot-maize gave the highest remuneration than the rice-gladiolus combination under a fully irrigated condition, but rice-wheat-fallow yielded the highest return followed by rice-fallow-maize under a purely rainfed situation. Endowed with a unique agro-climatic condition and being a natural habitat of a wide range of rare plant species, the hilly region of the Darjeeling district of West Bengal has tremendous potentiality for economic development through crop diversification. Production and marketing of high value horticultural crops, particularly flowering plants like gladiolus, orchid, cactus and varieties of seasonal flowers with fascinating colours as planting materials as well as cut flowers which have a heavy demand in the domestic and international market could be the take off stage for commercialisation.¹¹⁰ In 2001 total employment in the registered Small Scale Industry (SSI) were 40938 in number in the district when total workers in all the sectors taken together were 569442 in number. Govt. of West Bengal, Dept. of Cottage and Small Scale Industries concludes that in 2005-06, 32 number of Small Scale units were registered. Cinchona plantation area in Mongpoo in Darjeeling district belongs to the state government. Plants like large cardamom, ginger, orange trees are seen in the entire Cinchona plantation area.¹¹¹

During 2011, Darjeeling-Pulbazar block recorded the highest working population i.e. 41.25 per cent of the total working population. Among them 17.39 per cent population was classified as cultivators, while only 1.16 per cent population was household industry workers, followed by, Mirik block, which recorded 29.49 per cent of population as total working population. The highest per cent of cultivators is recorded in Kalimpong-II block with 23.44% of working population and lowest in Rangli-Rangliot with 5.76% only. The number of workers engaged as agricultural labourer is recorded specially in the plains region of the district like Kharibari and Phansidewa blocks with 14.04% and 12.70% respectively. Rural development projects have been initiated to train workers in various household industries. The traditional household industries, mainly the handicrafts for rural consumption, declined with the first impact of modernization. The weaving and woolen blanket manufacturing from raw Tibetan wool had almost died down, particularly with the closure of the trade routes from Tibet. Blankets, knitted woolen goods, handloom fabrics, kukris (choppers), baskets, mats and trinkets remain the most important articles of cottage industry. Almost all the blocks of the District show a steady increase of workers.¹¹² The railway station settlement of Ghoom is the centre of kukris-making, and popularity of the commodity reflects in the increase in the household industrial workers in the Jorebungalow-Sukhiapokhri Block. Kalimpong is one of the most important Block for the development of rural handicrafts.

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