Discussion Paper 2/2000

July 2000

The Indian Hill Stations : A Study of Social Space

Aditi Chatterji

Centre for Urban Economic Studies

Department of Economics, University of Calcutta

/2343
S LIBRARY

Discussion Paper 2/2000

July 2000

The Indian Hill Stations : A Study of Social Space

Aditi Chatterji

CENTRE FOR URBAN ECONOMIC STUDIES
C.U.
5/2343

Centre for Urban Economic Studies
Department of Economics
University of Calcutta
1, Reformatory Street
Calcutta 700 027
INDIA
E-mail : cuescu@cal.vsnl.net.in

THE INDIAN HILL STATIONS: A STUDY OF SOCIAL SPACE

Aditi Chatterji
Centre for Urban Economic Studies, University of Calcutta

1.1 Introduction:

The following paper discusses the concept of space, with special reference to social space, in the context of landscape and then proceeds to examine the Indian hill stations as a form of social space that was established as a type of colonial urban development. The paper makes extensive use of Henri Lefebvre's formulation of social space, particularly the 1991 English translation of his The Production of Space (1974).

1.2 Hypothesis and Objectives:

The primary hypothesis is that space is a social construct. Space is constructed by particular societies in accordance with their perceptions of culture and power. One such manifestation of space is the urban settlement. Colonial societies in India created a special sort of what may be called social space with its own characteristics in India. The Indian hill stations were established as a special form of colonial town by the British in India which fulfilled various functions and satisfied their need for an isolated Anglicised social enclave. The case study of Darjeeling proves that the British created the hill station to satisfy various political, economic and social functions which had an impact on the landscape of the town.

The main objectives of this paper are to establish that the hill stations were established by the British as a particular social construction of space and a form of symbolic landscape and to emphasise the significance of the various urban functions that sustained the development of the colonial landscape of Darjeeling as an exotic form of alien superimposition upon the Indian hills.

1.3 Some concepts:

1.3.1 On Space:

Geographers have taken into account two sorts of space - 'absolute' space, which is a 'distinct, physical and eminently real or empirical entity in itself' and 'relative' space, which is 'a relation between events or an aspect of events, and thus bound to time and process', according to Blaut (1961). David Harvey writes in 1973 that the 'proper conceptualisation of space is resolved through human practice with respect to it.' It may be queried how the various human practices create and use the distinct conceptualisation of space. Harvey uses the term 'relational' space where it is in objects which can be said to exist insofar as it 'contains and represents within itself relationships to other objects' (Harvey 1973 see Johnston, Gregory and Smith The Dictionary of Human Geography 1986 444). Space is part of the universe, according to Harvey (1996).

R. D. Dikshit states that contemporary geographers maintain that social construction of space and social implications of space should be grounded not in objective space (or objects in space) but man-made space within which social practice takes place. An analysis of social space today is increasingly focused on relations of class, ethnicity and gender which, according to Gregory, 'are inscribed in (and in part constituted through), its places, regions and landscapes. In this sense, spatial analysis has indeed become social analysis and vice versa' (Dikshit 1997).

Henri Lefebvre writes in 1974 (English translation 1991) that not so many years ago, the word 'space' had a strictly geometrical meaning and evoked an idea of an empty area: it implied a mathematical concept. The thinking of Descartes was viewed as the decisive point in the working-out of the concept of space, and the key to its mature form. With the advent of Cartesian logic, space entered the realm of the absolute. Kant revived and revised the old notion of the category. Kantian space was relative and a tool of knowledge and quite clearly separated, along with time, from the empirical sphere: it belonged to the realm of consciousness, of the 'subject.' There is an indefinite multitude of spaces, each piled upon or contained within the next: geographical, economic, demographic, sociological, ecological, political, commercial, national, continental, global as well as nature's (physical) space, the space of (energy) flows and others. Capital and capitalism 'influence' practical matters relating to space, from the construction of buildings to the distribution of investments and the worldwide division of labour. Capitalism implies both the functioning of money, various markets and social relations of production, as well as the hegemony of one class (see Gramsci). The ruling class seeks to maintain its hegemony by all available means, including knowledge (Lefebvre 1991 1-10).

It is necessary to consider the space of social practice, the space occupied by sensory phenomena, including products of the imagination such as symbols and utopias. Space may be considered as physical space, mental space and social space (Lefebvre 1991 11 14). Terms such as a 'room' in an apartment, a 'marketplace' or the 'corner' of a street signify social space (Lefebvre 1991 16).

(Social) space is a (social) product. Social space is constituted neither by a collection of things or an aggregate of (sensory) data, nor by a void packed like a parcel with various contents, and is irreducible to a 'form' imposed upon phenomena, upon things, upon physical materiality. The first implication of (social) space being a (social) product is that (physical) natural space is disappearing. Natural space was the origin and the original model of the social process and has not vanished purely and simply from the scene. It still forms the background, as decor and persists everywhere: every natural detail and object is valued even more as it assumes symbolic weight and nature obsesses us as source and resource. Yet, it is consistently harmed by humans and natural space will soon be lost to view and thought: nature is now seen as merely the raw material out of which the productive forces of various social systems have forged their particular spaces. A second implication is that every society produces a space, its own space. The ancient city forged its own - appropriated - space. Each society offers up its own peculiar space, as an 'object' for analysis and overall theoretical explication (Lefebvre 1991 26-31).

Social space contains and assigns more or less appropriate places to (1) the social relations of reproduction, that is, the bio-physiological relations between the sexes and between age groups, along with the specific organisation of the family and (2) the relations of production, that is, the division of labour and its organisation in the form of hierarchical social functions. These two sets of relations, production and reproduction, are inextricably bound up with one another: the division of labour has repercussions upon the family and is of a piece with it while conversely the organisation of the family interferes with the division of labour. In precapitalist societies the two interlocking levels of biological reproduction and socio-economic production together constituted social reproduction: the reproduction of society as it perpetuated itself generation after generation, conflict, feud, strife, crisis and war notwithstanding. The advent of capitalism and particularly 'modern' neocapitalism has made the state of affairs more complex. Three interrelated levels must be considered: (1) biological reproduction (the family); (2) the reproduction of labour power (the working class <u>per se</u>) and (3) the reproduction of the social relations of production, that is, of those relations which

are constitutive of capitalism and which are increasingly and effectively sought and imposed as such. Social space also contains specific representations of the double or triple interaction between the social relations of production and reproduction. Thus space may be said to embrace a multitude of intersections, each with its locations. Representations of the relations of production, which subsume power relations, also occur in space: space contains them in the form of buildings, monuments and works of art. A conceptual triad has now emerged from this discussion, namely:

> (1) Spatial practice, which embraces production and reproduction, and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation. Spatial practice ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion. In terms of social space, and of each member of a given society's relationship to that space, this cohesion implies a guaranteed level of competence and a specific level of performance.
>
> (2) Representations of space, which are tied to the relations of production and to the 'order' which those relations impose, and hence to knowledge, to signs, to codes, and to 'frontal' relations.
>
> (3) Representational spaces, embodying complex symbolisms, sometimes coded, sometimes not, linked to the clandestine or underground side of social life, as also to art (which may come eventually to be defined less as a code of space than as a code of representational spaces). (Lefebvre 1991 pp.32-33).

In reality, social space 'incorporates' social actions, the actions of both individual and collective subjects who are born and die, who suffer and act. From the point of view of these subjects, the behaviour of space is at once vital and mortal: within it they develop, give expression to themselves, and encounter prohibitions; they then perish and the same space contains their graves. From the analytic standpoint, the spatial practice of a society is revealed through the deciphering of its space. Representations of space conceptualise space, the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers as well as a type of artist with a scientific bent - all of whom identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived. This is the dominant space in any society (or mode of production). Representational spaces imply spaces as directly lived through their associated images and symbols, and hence the space of 'inhabitants' and 'users' but also of some artists and a few writers and philosophers who describe. This is the dominated and hence passively experienced space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate. It overlies physical space, making symbolic use of its objects (Lefebvre 1991 33-39).

> A remarkable instance of the production of space on the basis of a difference internal to the dominant mode of production is supplied by the current transformation of the perimeter of the Mediterranean into a leisure - oriented space for industrialised Europe. As such, and even in a sense as a 'non-work' space (set aside not just for vacations but also for convalescence, rest, retirement, and so on), this area has acquired a specific role in the social division of labour. Economically and socially, architecturally and urbanistically, it has been subjected to a sort of neo- colonization. At times this space even seems to transcend the constraints imposed by the neocapitalism which governs it: the use to which it has been put calls for 'ecological' virtues such as an immediate access to sun and sea and a close juxtaposition of urban centres and temporary accommodation (hotels, villas, etc.). It has thus attained a

certain qualitative distinctiveness as compared with the major industrial agglomerations, where a pure culture of the quantitative reigns supreme. If...we were to accept this 'distinctiveness' at face value, we would get a mental picture of a space given over completely to unproductive expense, to a vast wastefulness, to an intense and gigantic potlatch of surplus objects, symbols and energies, with the accent on sports, love and reinvigoration rather than on rest and relaxation...The truth is that all this seemingly non-productive expense is planned with the greatest care: centralized, organized, hierarchized, symbolized and programmed to the nth degree, it serves the interests of the tour-operators, bankers and entrepreneurs of places such as London and Hamburg...in the spatial practice of neocapitalism (complete with air transport), representations of space facilitate the manipulation of representational spaces (sun, sea, festival, waste, expense) (Lefebvre 1991 pp. 58-59).

New social relationships call for a new space, and vice versa. (Social) space is not a thing among other things, nor a product among other products: rather, it subsumes things produced, and encompasses their interrelationships in their coexistence and simultaneity - their (relative) order and/or (relative) disorder. It is the outcome of a sequence and set of operations, and thus cannot be reduced to the rank of a simple object. At the same time there is nothing imagined, unreal or 'ideal' about it as compared with science, representations, ideas or dreams. The outcome of past actions, social space is what permits fresh actions to occur, while suggesting others and prohibiting yet others. Among these actions, some serve production, others consumption (that is, the enjoyment of the fruits of production) (Lefebvre 1991 59 73).

There are many social spaces. Social spaces interpenetrate one another and/or superimpose themselves upon one another. The places of social space are very different from those of natural space in that they are not simply juxtaposed: they may be combined, superimposed and sometimes may even collide. Consequently the local does not disappear, for it is never absorbed by the regional, national or even worldwide level. The national and regional levels take in innumerable 'places'; national space embraces the regions; and world space does not merely subsume national spaces, but even, for the time being at least, precipitates the formation of new national spaces through a remarkable process of fission. All these spaces are traversed by myriad currents. The hypercomplexity of social space should be apparent by now, as it embraces individual entities and peculiarities, relatively fixed points, movements, and flows and waves - some interpenetrating, others in conflict, and so on. Space is social morphology: it is to lived experience what form itself is to the living organism, and just as intimately bound up with function and structure (Lefebvre 1991 86 88 94).

The form of social space is another concrete abstraction and has emerged in several stages (in certain philosophies and major scientific theories) from representations of space and representational spaces. The form of social space is encounter, assembly, simultaneity. But what assembles, or what is assembled? The answer is: everything that there is in space, everything that is produced either by nature or by society, either through their co-operation or through their conflicts. Everything means living beings, things, objects, works, signs and symbols. Natural space juxtaposes - and thus disperses: it puts places and that which occupies them side by side and particularises. In contrast, social space implies actual or potential assembly at a single point, or around that point. Therefore, it implies the possibility of accumulation (a possibility that is realised under specific conditions). Evidence in support of this proposition is supplied by the space of the village, the space of the dwelling; it is overwnelmingly confirmed by urban space, which clearly reveals many basic aspects of social space that are still hard to discern in villages.

Urban space gathers crowds, products in the markets, acts and symbols. It concentrates all these and accumulates them. To say 'urban space' is to say centre and centrality, and it does not matter whether these are actual or merely possible, saturated, broken up or under fire (Lefebvre 1991 100-101).

Space is neither a 'subject' nor an 'object' but rather a social reality - that is to say, a set of relations and forms. Activity in space is restricted by that space; space 'decides' what activity may occur, but even this 'decision' has limits placed upon it. Space lays down the law because it implies a certain order - and hence also a certain disorder. Space commands bodies, prescribing or proscribing gestures, routes and distances to be covered. It is produced with this purpose in mind. No 'reading of the space' of Romanesque churches and their surroundings (towns or monasteries), for example, can in any way help us predict the space of so-called Gothic churches or understand their preconditions and prerequisites: the growth of the towns, the revolution of the communes, the activity of the guilds, and so on. This space was produced before being read; nor was it produced in order to be read and grasped, but rather in order to be lived by people with bodies and lives in their own particular urban context. 'Reading' follows production in all cases except those in which space is produced especially in order to be read, some of which are deceptive as seen in the case of monumentality, which always embodies and imposes a clearly intelligible message. It says what it wishes to say - yet it hides a good deal more: being political, military, and ultimately fascist in character, monumental buildings mask the will to power and the arbitrariness of power beneath signs and surfaces which claim to express collective will and collective thought (Lefebvre 1991 116 143).

It is known that in architecture form must express function. Over the centuries the idea contained in the term 'express' has grown narrower and more precise until it has come to mean merely 'readable.' The architect is supposed to construct a signifying space wherein form is to function as signifier is to signified; the form is supposed to enunciate or proclaim the function. According to this principle, the environment can be furnished with or animated by signs in such a way as to appropriate space, in such a way that space becomes readable (that is, 'plausibly' linked) to society as a whole. This tendency has gone so far that some architects have even begun to call either for a return to ambiguity, in the sense of a confused and not immediately interpretable message, or else for a diversification of space which would be consistent with a liberal and pluralistic society (Lefebvre 1991 144-5).

Like any reality, social space is related methodologically and theoretically to three general concepts: form, structure, function. In other words, any social space may be subjected to formal, structural or functional analysis. In a general sense, the term 'form' evokes the description of contours and the demarcation of boundaries, external limits, areas and volumes. Forms, functions and structures are generally given in and through a material realm which at once binds them together and preserves distinctions between them (Lefebvre 1991 147-8).

As a way of approaching the history of space in a more concrete fashion, it is interesting to examine the ideas of the nation and of nationalism. How is the nation to be defined? Most people define it as a sort of substance which has sprung up from nature or from a territory with 'natural' borders and grown to maturity within historical time. The nation is thus endowed with a consistent 'reality' which is perhaps more definitive than well defined. Since this thesis justifies both the bourgeoisie's national state and its general attitude, it certainly suits that class's purposes when it promotes patriotism and even absolute nationalism as 'natural' and hence eternal truths. Some Marxist thought echoes this concept. Other theorists maintain that the nation and nationalism are merely ideological constructs. Rather than a 'substantial reality' or a body corporate, the nation is, according to this view, scarcely more than a fiction projected by the bourgeoisie onto its own historical conditions and origins, to begin with as a way of magnifying these in imaginary fashion, and later on as a way of masking class contradictions and

seducing the working class into an illusory national solidarity. When considered in relationship to space, the nation may be seen to have two moments or conditions. First, nationhood implies the existence of a market gradually built up over a historical period of varying length. Such a market is a complex of commercial relations and communication networks. It subordinates local or regional markets to the national one and therefore has a hierarchy of levels. The social, economic and political development of a national market has been somewhat different in character in places where the towns came to dominate the country from very early on, as compared with places where the towns grew up on a pre-existing peasant, rural and feudal foundation. The outcome is much the same everywhere: a focused space embodying a hierarchy of centres, mostly commercial but also religious, 'cultural' and others, and a main centre - the national capital. Secondly, nationhood implies violence - the violence of a military state, whether feudal, bourgeois, imperialist or other. In other words, it implies a political power controlling and exploiting the resources of the market or the growth of the productive forces in order to maintain and further its rule. 'Spontaneous' economic growth and violence combine to produce a space - the space of the nation state (Lefebvre 1991 111-112).

It is of interest to consider dominated space, or space transformed and mediated by technology and practice. Thanks to technology, the domination of space is becoming completely dominant. Such dominance has very deep roots in history and the historical sphere, for its origins coincide with those of political power itself. Military architecture, fortifications and ramparts, dams and irrigation systems are fine examples of dominated space. Such spaces are works of construction: dominant space is invariably the realisation of a master's project. In order to dominate space, technology introduces a new form into a pre-existing space - generally a rectilinear or rectangular form like a meshwork or chequerwork. A motorway brutalises the countryside and the land, slicing through space like a great knife. Dominated space is usually closed, sterilised, emptied out. The concept attains its full meaning only when it is contrasted with the opposite and inseparable concept of appropriation. The concept of appropriation can be clarified, for example, with reference to a natural space modified in order to serve the needs and possibilities of a group: it may be said to have been appropriated by that group. Such space is often a structure - a monument or building - but may also be a square or street. It is not always easy to decide how, by whom and for whom such space has been appropriated. Peasant houses and villages recount the lives of those who built and inhabited them. An igloo, Oriental straw hut or a Japanese house is as expressive as a Norman dwelling. Dwelling-space may be that of a group such as a large family or that of a community. Private space is distinct from, but always connected with, public space. In the best of circumstances, the outside space of the community is dominated, while the indoor space of family life is appropriated. The dichotomy between dominated and appropriated gives rise to a contradiction or conflictual tendency which holds sway until domination wins a crushing victory and subjugates appropriation. Domination has grown with the part played by armies, war, the state and political power (Lefebvre 1991 164-166).

1.3.2 On Landscape:

Landscape studies have generated much interest among geographers such as Yi-Fu Tuan, writing in the 1970s. Denis Cosgrove writes in 1984 that

> Landscape is a way of seeing that has its own history, but a history that can be understood only as part of a wider history of economy and society; that has its own assumptions and consequences, but assumptions and consequences whose origins and implications extend well beyond the use and perception of land; that

has its own techniques of expression, but techniques which it shares with other areas of cultural practice (Cosgrove 1984 1).

Between 1400 and 1900, Europeans changed markedly in the ways that they saw. One indicator of the change in their vision is the idea of landscape. Landscape has two distinct, but in important ways related, usages. Between the early fifteenth century and the late nineteenth century, at first in Italy and Flanders and then throughout western Europe, the idea of landscape came to denote the artistic and literary representation of the visible world, the scenery (that which is seen) which is viewed by a spectator. Landscape's second usage is in contemporary geography and related environmental studies. It here denotes the integration of natural and human phenomena which can be empirically verified and analysed by the methods of scientific enquiry over a delimited portion of the earth's surface (Cosgrove 1984 9). While landscape obviously refers to the surface of the earth, or a part thereof, and thus to the chosen field of geographical enquiry, it includes far more than merely the visual and functional arrangement of natural and human phenomena which the discipline can identify, classify, map and analyse. Landscape is not merely the world we see, it is a construction, a composition of that world. Landscape is a way of seeing the world. Landscape is a social product and an ideological concept. It represents a way in which certain classes of people have signified themselves and their world through their imagined relationship with nature, and through which they have underlined and communicated their own social role and that of others with respect to external nature (Cosgrove 1984 13-15). All landscapes are symbolic and they undergo change because they are expressions of society, itself making history through time (Cosgrove 1984 35).

Landscape differs from place in a number of ways, the least important of which is that in common usage it implies a larger space. It implies a different kind of relationship between people and location. The fullest relationship one can have with a place is to live in it and be a true insider. For landscape one is always an outsider because landscape is something seen, viewed from beyond it. Landscape has an unshakeable visual connotation, the pictorial sense with which it first enters the English language and which has never been erased. Landscapes are pictorial images and their history is entirely bound up with the inscription of environmental images by various media on various surfaces: painted on canvas, sketched on paper, photographed on film, gardened on to the earth's surface. A geography of landscape is a geography of images, a study of ways of seeing and representing (Cosgrove 1989; Cosgrove and Daniels 1988).

Landscape images play a significant role in social and environmental relationships, whether it be in studying the harsh realities of agrarian change in the eighteenth century English countryside or promoting the Futurist vision of twentieth century urban society. Social relations inevitably incorporate relations of power and authority, and this dimension is present in landscape images, their creation, endurance and meaning. Most landscape images that survive have been produced for the powerful and they articulate social and technical power in some measure. The landscape way of seeing implies authority, at least over space. Landscape images control pictorial space as their patrons in general controlled terrestrial space (Cosgrove 1989 104-105).

Stephen Daniels writes in 1994 that landscapes are signifiers of national identity and pictorial codes expressing the affinity of a colonial power with distant images of home.

Sharon Zukin writes in 1991 that landscape not only denotes the usual geographical meaning of "physical surroundings" but also refers to an ensemble of material and social practices and their social representation. In a broad sense, landscape connotes the entire panorama to be seen: the landscape of the powerful - cathedrals, factories and skyscrapers - and

the subordinate, resistant or expressive vernacular of the powerless - village chapels, shanty towns and tenements (Zukin 1991 16). Today the concept of landscape is almost less likely to refer to a genre of painting than to a sociological image (Zukin 1991 17).

Mike Crang writes in 1998 that landscape implies, above all, a collective shaping of the earth over time. Landscapes are not individual property; they reflect a society's beliefs, practices and technologies. Landscapes reflect the coming together of all these elements just as cultures do, since cultures are also not individual property and can only exist socially. He cites Carl Sauer's 1925 essay entitled 'The Morphology of Landscape', in which Sauer suggested geography had to start not from some idea of spatial laws, derived in some manner from the natural sciences, but from the basic experience of areal differentiation. Landscapes are seen as both a product of cultures and as reproducing them through time (Crang 1998 14-17).

Crang discusses the concept of landscape as a palimpsest. The term 'palimpsest' derives from medieval writing blocks. It refers to where an original inscription would be erased and another written over it, again and again. The earlier inscriptions were never fully erased so that over time the result was a composite - a palimpsest representing the sum of all the erasures and over-writings. Thus it is possible to see an analogy with a culture inscribing itself on an area, to suggest that the landscape is the sum of erasures, accretions, anomalies and redundancies over time. As Sauer (1962 333) put it, "We cannot form an idea of landscape except in terms of its time relations as well as its space relations. It is in continuous process of development or of dissolution and replacement" (Crang 1998 22).

Landscape is a record of change. Diffusion of cultures has led to innovation and the reshaping of the landscape, origins and transformations, and evolution of resulting cultures. For example, the plantation landscape represents the coming together of a web of technology and cultures to form a characteristic pattern based on highly unequal land control, matched with an orientation to export crops, embedded in a global system of extraction, and sustained by an impoverished and often enslaved workforce (Crang 1998 23-24).

Landscape is a symbolic system - how it is shaped reflects the beliefs of the inhabitants and the meanings invested in it. It is a signifying system showing the values through which a society is organised. In this sense, landscapes may be read as texts illustrating the beliefs of the people. The shaping of the landscape is seen as expressing social ideologies, that are then perpetuated and supported through the landscape. For example, the English country house has been used to symbolise the very heart of English national identity (Crang 1998 27-31).

David Harvey writes in 1996 that the contemporary city has many layers as a physical artifact. It forms a palimpsest, a composite landscape made up of different built forms superimposed upon each other with the passing of time. In some cases, the earliest layers are of truly ancient origin, rooted in the oldest civilisations whose imprints can be discerned beneath today's urban fabric. But even cities of relatively recent date comprise distinctive layers accumulated at different phases in the hurly burly of chaotic urban growth engendered by industrialisation, colonial conquest, neocolonial domination, wave after wave of migration, as well as of real-estate speculation and modernisation. Migratory layers that occupy even the rapidly expanding shanty towns of cities in developing countries quickly spawn identifiable physical layers of more and more permanent and solid occupancy (Harvey 1996 417).

1.4 Social space: the Indian hill stations:

The Indian hill stations have been defined as high-altitude settlements established by the British in the Indian hills (Mitchell 1972). According to Anthony King (1976), the development of hill stations can be explained with reference to the three main variables of culture, technology and the dominance-dependence relationship of colonialism. The hill stations are considered

'social places', a culture-specific environment whose social and physical forms both resulted from and contributed to the maintenance of the social structure and social behaviour of the British colonial community in India. Between 1815 and 1947, about eighty urban settlements located at elevations between 4,000 and 8,000 feet were established by representatives of the metropolitan (British) power on the lower mountain ranges of India. The major hill stations were clustered in four regions, each accessible to the major European cities. The largest number, the Simla-Mussoorie group or northern group, were located in the lower Himalayas within reach of Calcutta and Delhi. The eastern and north-eastern group included Darjeeling and Shillong and were within close range of Calcutta. The third group or Poona-Mahabaleshwar group catered mostly to residents of Bombay while the southern group, including hill stations in the Nilgiris such as Ootacamund, were near Madras. These hill stations developed as temporary or transient places where the British and other Europeans could sojourn during the summer months to escape from the heat of the plains (King 1976 156-157).

Nineteenth century British medical opinion considered the hill stations more congenial for the health of British troops and civilians and they thus developed as sanatoria for Europeans. Mitchell (1972) has proved that the hill stations were not always healthy locations and several diseases occurred there. She concludes that they were British social enclaves which were actively developed by the British as places where they could enjoy the maximum social intercourse within the colonial community in congenial cool climates. However, there were several other reasons behind hill station development. Several of them were established as military outposts, to guard rapidly expanding British frontiers, particularly along the Himalayas. In the economic context, the towns formed collection and marketing centres for the produce of the surrounding tea, coffee and cinchona plantations as well as other hill produce such as fruits and timber. In the social context, they were enclaves where the British could converge to enjoy typical British social institutions such as clubs, libraries, churches and botanical gardens in a British climate as well as sporting pastimes such as hunting, riding, golf and racing and enjoy spectacular scenery. Hill schools and colleges were established for European and Eurasian children while Christian missionaries were active there. Some hill stations were 'summer capitals' and seats of administration (Chatterji 1997).

The social aspect of the hill stations was that of a deliberately created white social enclave and a holiday destination eagerly anticipated by members of the colonial community who wished to distance themselves from the 'natives' or Indians to the greatest possible extent. A parallel might therefore be drawn with Lefebvre's account of the Mediterranean perimeter, designated a specific idyllic space. While there were several Indians resident in the hill stations, they were mostly located in the bazaars lower down: the higher reaches were reserved for the Europeans. The exceptions were the Indian servants and nobility, who lived in European areas.

According to King (1976), the hill stations in India were a form of socio-spatial organisation peculiar to colonial urban development. The main reason why the hill stations were developed by a non-indigenous population was the fact that they possessed paramount political power. Moreover, their economic power meant that they had the resources to exploit hitherto undeveloped, little explored and difficult terrain. The construction of roads, railways, bridges and barracks was financed from revenues raised on a national basis. King (1976) states that the rationale for the hill stations, as well as their location and form, results from particular aspects of the culture of the colonial power. The culture of the colonial community was affected by conceptual models of that culture as they originated in the metropolitan society. By the early nineteenth century, there had emerged a large, socially differentiated urban population which included a substantial 'middle class.' There was a new urban, social time - the calendar of events in the pursuit of gentlemanly life, social intercourse, sport, entertainment and dining was

formalised, enlarged and organised into separate activities pursued at specific times. A spatially-differentiated urban system developed containing a range of socially and functionally specialised urban places. One of the most important aspects of these developments was the emergence of an institutionalised form of non-work or 'leisure' activity, increasingly accommodated in a revised temporal calendar (the 'Season') and later the 'week-end', new physical-spatial and urban forms (the 'hotel', 'boarding house' and 'resort') and new forms of economic activity and occupation (the 'holiday' industry and 'entertainment' profession). One of the main forms of urban development that resulted was the 'resort', a development from the 'spas', such as Bath, Brighton and Margate. An elite and those who wished to enter it could meet here and participate in established social rituals at the 'Assembly Rooms' and elsewhere. For a particular social class in the metropolitan society, a model of 'dual residence' emerged, consisting of a permanent, usually winter, residence in the town and a temporary location, ostensibly for health but in reality equally for socio-recreational purposes, in a 'resort.' Such spatial organisation was replicated in British India, as seen in the dual residence model of the 'civil station' and 'colonial city' in 'the plains' and the alternative 'resort' in 'the hills'.

The social relations of production as related to the family organisation in the Indian hill stations was unusual in that the main patrons and beneficiaries apart from European troops were the women and, to a lesser extent, the children of the colonial community. According to Edwardes (1969 91), " a hill station was the only place in India where there were often more women than men." In terms of relations of production and the division of labour, the Indian hill station saw marked distinctions between the colonial army officers, senior government servants, their wives and children; the lesser European and Eurasian troops, clerks and civil servants and the Indians, who ranged in status from nobility to plantation coolies.

The spatial practice of colonialism as witnessed in the Indian hill stations led to the creation of sophisticated forms of urban space due to the notions of power, culture and tradition of the British, which meant that entirely exotic forms of social space could be emplanted on hitherto unexplored terrain, complete with the sustaining infrastructure of transport, roads and railways. The colonial process found its most remarkable form of spatial expression in the Indian hill stations. They were linked to major metropolitan centres: government officials, missions and business houses in the colonial cities directed or formed part of the military, administrative, social and economic activities pursued by the permanent and temporary residents of the Indian hill stations. In terms of representations of space, spatial forms in the Indian hill stations were created by military and civil authorities as well as private individuals in a manner that reflected their home cultures: the space of planners, architects and others saw the demarcation and classification of colonial social space in these towns with the use of new technology. Representational spaces in the hill stations were exemplified by the temperate climates, beautiful views of snowy mountain peaks, hills, dales, glens, forests and other aspects of natural space that were perceived as being part of the hill stations, like the sun and sea of Lefebvre's Mediterranean example. The Indian hill stations were prime examples of dominated space: the dominance of an exotic colonial people over a subjugated Indian majority. While the Indians attempted to appropriate space for themselves, as seen in the control of space in the bazaars and sporadic outbreaks against colonial authority in the plantations, it is evident from their prolonged existence that the dominating authority was supreme in its control over social space.

The Indian hill stations saw alien superimposition at its height in a manner similar to the other British colonial towns in India. The British analysed, classified and controlled the urban settlements they created or extended. David Harvey commented in 1996 that many eminent scholars believe that space is a social construct. Different societies produce qualitatively different conceptions of space. Hill station spatial development saw the evolution of separate

sections for the British and the Indians - generally, the favoured European residences were higher in altitude while the bazaars lay lower down the hillside. Public space consisted of public architecture, government residences, town halls and other similar buildings as well as race courses, cricket pitches, parks and botanical gardens. Ecclesiastical or sacred space consisted of churches, temples, monasteries, mosques, cemeteries and burning grounds. Private or domestic space included the cottages, villas, bungalows and chalets of private residents as well as the Indian houses. Practical or commercial forms of the built environment were seen in the banks, shops, markets, roads, railways and other such features. Space was constricted and the 'cordon sanitaire' or sanitary gap between the white and black areas was represented by the hillside with most Indians living lower down other than aristocrats and physical distancing was equated with social distancing.

1.5 <u>The Landscapes of the Indian hill stations</u>:

The English landscape formed a model for the Indian hill stations. Aspects of the core culture of Britain are studied in order to understand their cultural landscapes. The creation of the British cultural landscape and tradition of going to the hill stations to enjoy it may be analysed in the light of British culture, taste and design as seen in literature, art and the built environment between 1815 and 1947. In order to study the replication of the British landscape as witnessed in the hill stations, it is necessary to identify the elements which characterise "Englishness"; "English" and "British" may be taken as synonyms. Complex overlapping processes of invention and transformation characterise the remaking of English identity and national culture in the later part of the nineteenth century. Many educational and cultural traditions and institutions were forged in the nineteenth century. Henry Cecil Wyld felt that the dominant English landscape was to be identified with certain institutions - the court, church, bar, older universities and great public schools. Sir John Seeley felt that England would be wherever English people were found and its history would be looked for in whatever places witness the occurrences most important to Englishmen (Colls and Dodd 1987; Chatterji 1997).

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the world of nature aroused reverence and led to the Romantic movement. The poetry of Wordsworth, Scott and Keats recalled beauteous landscapes seen in the light of British nationalism. This was further accentuated during the peak period of British imperialism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by poets such as Henley, Newbolt and Brooke. Scott's novels had picturesque Highland settings. Rudyard Kipling's proclamations of the superiority of the white races and Britain's mission to extend through her imperial policy the benefits of civilisation to the world found an echo in the hearts of many British readers. The paintings of eighteenth and nineteenth century England portray idealised English landscapes, such as Gainsborough's 'Mr. and Mrs. Andrews' and Constable's 'The Haywain.' Rolling downs, fields and hedges were considered typical of the English landscape. Throughout the Victorian Age (1837 to 1901), the state undertook new social functions due to new industrial conditions. New parishes and churches were established. The public school system grew and the old landed gentry, professionals and industrialists were educated together, forming an aristocracy which met the needs of government and leadership in Queen Victoria's England and Empire. The British explored the meadows, mountains, architecture and galleries of Europe and went on the Grand Tour. New railways enabled visits to the Scottish Highlands to experience mountain air and scenery. Wealthy people had deer- forests or grouse-moors where they sojourned with house parties each autumn. The visits of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert to Balmoral Castle from 1848 onwards popularised Highland scenery among all and turned Scott's romances into reality (Trevelyan 1944).

The Indian hill stations were initially replicas of English villages, in consonance with the English aristocratic tradition of living in towns in winter and visiting country estates in summer, demonstrated by the hill station 'Season.' There were three major sorts of English villages, according to Hoskins (1955 1986), of which two are significant. The first was the 'green' village. This type was centred around the traditional village green or meadow which served several uses such as those of a community centre, amusement park or a weekly market with pedlars. Initially, the local public well was located there to serve the entire community. Subsequently, the church and the village school were built on the village green. The houses were grouped around the central green, with lanes radiating outwards or converging upon it. The second type of village was the street village, which developed with houses along either side of a central linear street. While the hill station of Ootacamund resembled the 'green' village, Simla and Darjeeling bore a resemblance to the street village. The various elements that characterise the cultural landscape of the traditional English village are the village green, a public water supply such as a lake, pond or well, a country church, which was often on elevated ground and tastefully decorated, the village school, cottages in the local style, lanes instead of roads, houses with names not numbers and a country house or aristocratic seat. These features were retained in the morphology of the Indian hill stations. However, other architectural styles that were replicated in the Indian hill stations were Tudor (cottages and manors), Scots-Baronial (castles) and Swiss chalets, the latter reflecting the impact of the Grand Tour (Chatterji 1997).

While British cultural landscapes were reproduced in the European sections of the hill stations, Indian and other Asiatic styles of built environment can also be discerned, whether traditional Hindu temples, Buddhist monasteries and stupas, mosques or other places of worship.

1.6 Case Study: The Evolution of Darjeeling:

The hill station of Darjeeling is located at 27 degrees 3' North and 88 degrees 16' East in the Lower Himalayas between 6,500 to 7,500 feet above sea level in the state of West Bengal. The main objectives of this case study are to show that Darjeeling evolved as a form of social space that was shaped by different functions varying in importance.

1.6.1 Historical Overview:

Darjeeling is a creation of the nineteenth century. In 1814 to 1816, the East India Company waged war against the Gurkhas of Nepal and defeated them. The land on which Darjeeling is located belonged to the Raja of Sikkim before it was overrun by the Nepalese. A treaty was signed at Sagauli according to which the Nepalese ceded 4,000 square miles of territory to the British. The lands belonging to the Raja of Sikkim were restored to him under the terms of the Treaty of Titalya in 1817. Under the Treaty of Titalya, the Sikkim Raja was bound to refer to the arbitration of the British Government all disputes between his subjects and those of neighbouring states. Ten years later, disputes arose on the Sikkim-Nepal frontier and were referred to the Governor-General. Two British officers, Captain Lloyd and Mr. Grant, were deputed to deal with the dispute in 1828 and they penetrated into the hills as far as Sikkim. Lloyd spent six days in February 1829 in "the old Goorkha station called Dorjeling" and was attracted by its advantages as a site for a sanatorium and a cantonment (O'Malley 1907). According the West Bengal District Gazetteer of Darjeeling (1980), Darjeeling was then a large village. Lloyd and Grant submitted a highly favourable report to Lord William Bentinck, Governor-General, which led the latter to depute Captain Herbert, the Deputy Surveyor-

General, to survey the area with Grant. Lloyd was directed to open negotiations with the Raja of Sikkim. He succeeded in obtaining a deed of grant from the Raja of Sikkim in February 1835. The deed read as follows:

> The Governor-General having expressed his desire for the possession of the hill of Darjeeling on account of its cool climate, for the purpose of enabling the servants of his Government, suffering from sickness, to avail themselves of its advantages, I, the Sikkimputtee Rajah, out of friendship for the said Governor-General, hereby present Darjeeling to the East India Company, that is, all the lands south of the Great Runjeet river, east of the Balasur, Kahail and Little Runjeet rivers and west of the Rungno and Mahanuddi rivers (O'Malley 1907 21).

From 1836, the station was developed by Lloyd and Chapman and by 1840, a road was constructed from Pankhabari, hotels for early visitors were started at Kurseong and Darjeeling and 30 private houses were built at Darjeeling. In 1839, Dr. Campbell of the Indian Medical Service was appointed Superintendent of Darjeeling. He turned it into an excellent sanatorium and improved the communication system. European houses, a bazaar, jail and accommodation for the sick were built by 1850. Kalimpong was added to the Darjeeling district in 1866 by a treaty of 1865.

The Darjeeling district presents a remarkable example of the growth of population mainly due to immigration from outside. At the time of the cession of the great part of Darjeeling Sadar Subdivision, comprising 357.4 square kms (138 square miles), by the Raja of Sikkim to the British in 1835, the tract was covered with forests and there were barely 20 resident families. Under Dr. Campbell's Superintendentship, the number of inhabitants rose to 10,000. The early settlers were mostly agriculturists. Campbell encouraged them to reclaim forest lands and settle down. The establishment of a sanatorium led to urban development and the corresponding growth of employment opportunities led to an increase in population. By 1852, there were 70 European houses in Darjeeling town. A Hill Corps was stationed there to maintain law and order and the revenue raised from the settlement amounted to Rs. 50,000.

The major factor contributing to the growth of population was the tea industry. Dr. Campbell introduced the cultivation of tea and encouraged other European residents to do so. This led to the establishment of the first tea plantations on a commercial basis in 1856 at Aloobari and Lebong. By 1874, there were 113 tea plantations. According to the Census of 1901, tea garden labourers and their dependents accounted for over two-thirds of the total district population. General agriculture also attracted immigrant settlers.

The Nepalese, among other immigrants, came to this region partly enticed by the British to work on tea plantations and road or building construction, and partly due to the poverty of their birthplaces in Nepal. All the Nepalese immigrants could not be absorbed on tea plantations. Those who could not be so absorbed took to agriculture while many were engaged in the trans- Himalayan trade between Tibet and the East India Company. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, Darjeeling became a great recruiting ground for the British Army and the Chhetris, Mangars, Gurungs and Thakuris, broadly called Gorkhas, were found highly suitable for military careers. With the growth of the Nepalese population in the area, employment opportunities opened up in the tertiary sector by the first decade of the twentieth century. Subsequently, the increased number of government offices, tourism and commerce as well as educational institutions and facilities led to the growth of population in Darjeeling town (Banerji et al 1980) It became the 'summer capital' of the Bengal Government.

The development of the landscape of Darjeeling town may be analysed through three stages of power relations - Alien Superimposition by the British, the power of the Indian upper classes other than the hill people, or Anglo-Sanskritocracy, and the power of the local hill people who have assumed control over the physical and social aspects of the landscape in response to changing political, economic and social factors. Since the 1980s, the Gorkha National Liberation Front or GNLF under Subash Ghisingh led a separatist movement in quest of a separate state called 'Gorkhaland' in Darjeeling district. Violent conflict between the GNLF and other residents and officials in Darjeeling took place in the 1980s. Ultimately, the Government of India, the Government of West Bengal and the GNLF reached an accord in 1988 and the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council was established, with some measure of autonomy.

1.6.2 Functions leading to urban development:

An analysis of the historical development of Darjeeling town reveals that various functions have led to its evolution and growth. The initial functions were political, namely, military or defence and health. Darjeeling developed as a sanatorium for British troops as well as civilians and the initial hotels for visitors were built to encourage visits from the plains. The Royal Sanitary Commission Report (1863) included a detailed study of the hill stations and their utility for health purposes. The report on Darjeeling stated that the climate was temperate and damp, beneficial in debility after fever or in ordinary debility but not beneficial for serious organic diseases or rheumatism. Dirty water led to diarrhoea, rain fell incessantly for five months and men were pent up in barrack rooms to the great injury of their health (Royal Sanitary Commission 1863 382 401). The most important medical institution was the Eden Sanatorium, built in 1882 due to the effort of Sir Ashley Eden, then Lieutenant- Governor of Bengal, on a site formed by cutting down the old Post-office hill on which the Bhotia school stood. In 1907, there was accommodation for 70 sick and convalescent patients in the main building and for 18 persons in the contagious wards, while the hospital, which was opened in 1901, contained seven beds and an operating theatre of "the most modern type." It was meant for Europeans. The Lowis Jubilee Sanatorium was erected in 1887 on land given by the Maharaja of Cooch Bihar. It was intended for Indians and provided accommodation for 99 persons apart from a ward for tuberculosis patients. The Victoria Memorial Dispensary contained 45 beds and was used by the poorer Europeans and Indians.

Military and strategic functions were extremely significant. The hill station was located in a frontier zone, adjacent to Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim. There was a constant fear of intrusion. The main object of British assistance to Sikkim in 1817 was to frustrate the possibility of Nepal-Bhutan intrigues against the East India Company. In 1838, Lloyd, then officer on special duty, North East Frontier, informed Fort William about a Nepali mission to Bhutan. Other reports in 1838 mentioned the danger of a Nepali threat. Lloyd was completely without troops at Darjeeling. It was resolved that a local corps of sappers and miners would be formed for Darjeeling. In February 1839, The Asiatic Intelligence wrote:

> we hear sad accounts of the state of affairs at Darjeeling, arising from the neglect of government to furnish the inhabitants with the security expected. The people have got into their heads that the Goorkhas are arming and collecting in great force in the neighbourhood of intended sanatorium: a sort of panic is the result...(quoted in Sen 1989 54).

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

were feared and in 1858, Campbell reported to Captain Byers, Secretary to the Governor-General-in-Council, that Jung Bahadur of Nepal was planning an invasion of Darjeeling. In 1878, the Darjeeling administration received the news that the Nepal Darbar had strengthened garrisons all along the Darjeeling frontier. They had posted 500 men at Ilam near the frontier and sent four guns there. They had 500 men at Dunkottah and 250 at Olangorn on the Sikkim border besides a cordon of officials to prevent all exports of products, oil and grains. The Darbar had a standing army of 18,000 regulars and ample artillery of local manufacture. Their treasury was full. Though the Government of India believed that news regarding an invasion was exaggerated, they felt that a frontier force was necessary for the security of the terai part of the Darjeeling district in the 1880s. One head constable and nine men were sanctioned to improve and strengthen the police on the Nepal frontier from 1 September 1883 to 1 September 1886. There were several robberies on tea gardens in the hills as well as dacoities along the northern frontier. There was a need for a proper chowkidari system to bring all the tea gardens in touch with the district administration. A tentative scheme was brought into effect along the Darjeeling frontier between Toribari and Simanâ Basti. The tea planters co-operated with the administration to make the district more secure by appointing police-chowkidars in these gardens. 'A backbone' was therefore created at no cost to the state or the district administration. Colonel R.M.Skinner, District Superintendent of Police, Darjeeling, suggested that the frontier police scheme which was sanctioned for the terai only should, after a trial of three years, be extended along the entire frontier of the district on the Nepal side. He also suggested that police outposts be established at gates to maintain the main arteries leading from Nepal to Darjeeling and that a chain of patrols be established between these gates to intercept smugglers and thieves who might evade the main thoroughfare. The gates leading to the hills were Toribari (at the foot of the hills), Mirik and Simana Basti. He also proposed that a strong frontier post be placed at Jorpokri, the main gate to Darjeeling from Elam in Nepal, consisting of one head constable and eight men, of whom two would be permanently stationed at Tongloo to cover a flank route to Elam, and that the Pulbazar outpost force be increased (Sen 1989 56-60).

A.W.Paul, Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling, was of the opinion that very little had been done to keep pace with the increasing population and importance of the district. In 1872, there were no tea gardens in the hills or terai west of the Balasan. Mini, Singhia and Tumsong had not been conceived and tea gardens such as Chungtong, Soom and Takvar were unable to pay dividends. According to him, trouble had frequently broken out along this line of the district owing to their unprotected state. Tonglu and Sandakphu had not been discovered. The Singalila range forests were of no value. However, the situation was quite different in 1887. The forests were purchased by the government for the Forest Department. They conserved the forests and put officers in charge. Due to the nature of their work, the officers frequently came in dangerous contact with the frontier people. They therefore needed efficient and prompt protection. The increase in the number of traders also meant that police protection was necessary. The Bengal Government accepted these proposals and directed that necessary provisions should be made in the police budget for 1888 to 1889 (Sen 1989 60-61).

By 1857, the prospect of Darjeeling as a centre for the recruitment of Gurkha soldiers attracted the attention of the government. In a letter dated 10 September 1857, E. Drummond, Officiating Magistrate, Dinajpur, suggested to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal that the Sebundee Corps at Darjeeling should be raised to the strength of ten full companies with British officers, completely similar to the Kumaun and Nepalese battalion. He pointed out that this body could be raised with ease from the hill men and might be called the Darjeeling battalion. According to Drummond, "They would in every way be more efficient, courageous, and trustworthy body of men than any to be had in the plains" (DDR Correspondence Vol. 30 Letter No. 27 see Sen 1989 61). On 24 October 1857, Campbell was informed that he had

been authorised in his capacity of Justice of the Peace to enlist soldiers in Darjeeling into the service of the East India Company (DDR Correspondence Vol. 30 Letter No. 3279 see Sen 1989 61). The significance of Darjeeling as the headquarters of the eastern zone for the recruitment of Gurkha soldiers was considerable. Between 1886 and 1904, 27,428 Gurkha soldiers were recruited by the Darjeeling Recruiting Centre, The Recruiting Officer for the Gurkhas established an office in Darjeeling around 1890. The annual reports of the Deputy Commissioner, Darjeeling contained interesting information about the purpose of recruitment. During 1891 to 1892, 1,000 hill people from Darjeeling were recruited for military transport in Burma and 350 for Chittagong. The Deputy Commissioner wrote in the Annual General Administration Report of Darjeeling for 1892 to 1893 that 500 Nepalese were recruited for the Commissariat Department in Burma and 700 for Chittagong. Some Nepalese were recruited for building work in Assam for the Gurkha Regiment and also for Lakhimpur Battalion, Dibrugarh and Mougong Levy Battalion, Burma. The Annual General Administration Report of the Rajshahi Division for 1897 to 1898 stated that 672 men were recruited in Darjeeling for military service of whom 439 went as muleteers on the Tirah expedition and 233 to the Burma rifles and frontier hills. 200 coolies were supplied to the Lushai Survey party in Silchar for transport activity. The Deputy Commissioner, Darjeeling reported that 292 coolies were recruited during 1898 to 1899 for military service as follows:

For 10th Burma Rifles	46
For Myitkyina Battalion	109
For Ruby Mines Battalion	38
For Lakhimpur Battalion	29
For Naga Hills Battalion	20
For North Lusha Hills Battalion	50
Total	292

These were recruits from east Nepal. Apart from them, 399 coolies from the Darjeeling recruiting office were supplied to the survey party, Lushai for transport service. The Gurkha recruitment therefore provided a durable basis for Anglo-Nepalese and Indo- Nepalese relations. The heroic record of the Gurkha soldiers is a bond between London and Kathmandu and between New Delhi and Kathmandu. Many Nepalese families of Darjeeling district still claim to be part of this military heritage (Sen 1989 61-62).

Anglo-Bhutan relations were not amicable in the nineteenth century. The Superintendent of Police, Lower Provinces, wrote to Campbell in 1841 and stated that he had received orders from the Government of Bengal regarding the establishment of an adequate police force on the Rungpore frontier to protect the people from Bhutanese aggression (DDR Correspondence Vol. 29 Letter No. 99 dated 8 February 1841 see Sen 1989 63). The Government of India also thought it wiser not to sell arms in the vicinity of the Bhutan frontier. The communications system was developed in the Darjeeling area to allow patrols access to the Bhutan frontier (Sen 1989).

Hyde Clarke wrote in 1859 in his article 'On the Organisation of the Army of India with Special Reference to Hill Regions' (Journal of the Royal United Service Institute 3 18-27) that the hill areas should be developed and cantonments should be established as at Darjeeling. He emphasised the strategic value of these cantonments. In his book (1881), he highlighted the development and importance of the hill stations not only as health resorts but also for transfrontier commerce and defence of the northern frontier of India. The strategic importance of Darjeeling was discussed by A. Eden, Secretary to the Government of Bengal in a

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

> Darjeeling needs protection. It is in an exposed position ... Darjeeling has in fact come to be regarded by the inhabitants of the hills of Nepal, of Sikkim, of Bootan, and of Tibet (Lhassa) not only as a centre of British wealth and civilisation, but as a point of which the British Government is most easily assailable unless protected by an adequate Military Force. There are now no Native Troops at Darjeeling. The sappers are no longer maintained as a Military Body or subject to articles of war...The convalescent Depot...is empty in the cold weather, and is not at any time (to) be relied on for other duty. And there can be no doubt that, while the cantonment at Senchal affords an admirable Sanitarium for European troops, the presence of the Detachment there gives a feeling of security to the whole of the scattered European inhabitants of the District, impresses the native population both of British Sikkim and of Foreign countries by which it is surrounded with a wholesome sense of the power of the government, and renders attack from any quarter hopeless and practically impossible (Proceedings of the Bengal Government General Political Department, Nos. 2- 4 dated 11 July 1864 pp 3-5 see Sen 1989 pp 65-66).

In 1865 there was a proposal to construct a cantonment and barracks for European troops in Darjeeling. The committee appointed to select the site for this purpose recommended 'Brianstone' in order to combine the whole complex in one ring fence with the Convalescent Depot at Jalapahar. However, Cecil Beadon, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, argued in a Minute of 28 December 1865 that the mere civil station of Darjeeling formed only a small part of the British interest to be protected on the Sikkim hills. Numerous tea factories and other private settlements where Englishmen stayed with their families were scattered throughout the district. These were more vulnerable as far as hostile attacks were concerned than the hill station itself. The headquarters of the Darjeeling sappers was located in the hill station and the police Reserve was nearby. The Convalescent Depot occupied a commanding position in Jalapahar. Taking all these facts into account, the hill station of Darjeeling was the very last place to be attacked. Although there was no danger of attacks by the Lepchas, Sikkimese and Nepalis and Bhutan was too far for danger, Beadon suggested that any patrol in Darjeeling would have to be nearer the frontier than Jalapahar. Senchal was considered advantageous as a military position. There were road linkages, accesses to the defence of all points likely to be attacked and good communications with the plains. The land belonged to the government, the climate was healthy and there was abundant space for building, exercise and recreation. Beadon felt that:

> ...as a military position, it is on the whole as good as any other, if not the very best, in the hills, that it affords equal protection to Darjeeling as it stands. - to the extended sanatorium, which, in all probability will be established on the Tukdar spur, to Kurseong, to Hope Town, to the Cinchona Establishment in the valley of Rungbe and to the tea plantation throughout the Province. The barracks of Sinchal command a view of the whole of British Sikkim as much as of Independent Sikkim, of nearly all the newly acquired hill territory of Bootan and of the ridge which divides Darjeeling from Nepal; and there are conspicuous and well-known mark for many miles in every direction. Among barbarous and ignorant tribes the site of a British Cantonment ever present to their view and

ever reminding them of the existence of a power which is irresistible cannot fail to produce - as it undoubtedly does produce - a great moral effect (Beadon see Sen 1989 p. 67).

The Commander-in-Chief recommended the proposal, the Governor- General-in-Council considered the matter and directed the adoption of necessary measures for early and permanent construction of accommodation at Senchal for a wing of British Infantry and a Battery of Garrison Artillery. It was suggested that the Senchal barracks should be arranged so as to be defensible in the event of a crisis so that a portion of the troops could move out for offensive operation (Sen 1989).

Newall wrote in 1873 that his Report of 1872 had pointed merely to a defence of the Town and Station of Darjeeling but as much valuable property was included within the district, he had thought it expedient to acquire a knowledge of the frontiers where it was possible that an enemy might be met with advantage, so as, if possible, to keep the enemy at arm's length and out of the district. There was a belt of dense bamboo forest clothing the crest of the hills bounding the western or Nepal frontier which formed an effectual barrier to any possible invasion from that quarter but there was one weak point: behind the ridge forming the British Indian boundary called Tongloo existed the Fort of Elam in Nepal about eight miles from the frontier, dominating a fertile valley, where the Nepalese government possessed a considerable garrison, with granaries, store-houses and several field guns. The fortress was about eight hours or less from the British Indian frontier pillar or post no. 17, which was situated at the point where the British Indian boundary line of road turns north along the Nepal frontier and was about equidistant from the British position at Jalapahar by an easy, level road. Three roads converged on Pillar 17 from the Fort of Elam and the Nepalese Government could send troops along these roads and in the course of one long night throw a force of 5,000 or 6,000 men, with a couple of mountain batteries, right across British communications with the plains, thereby occupying the ridge from "Lepchajuggut" to "Senchal", the key of Darjeeling, by an army twenty or thirty times the strength of the garrison. He recommended that a block-house which could hold 50 to 100 native levies or police in an emergency should be constructed there. Post no. 17 could be held by police or volunteers placed in telegraphic communication with the main position of Jalapahar and would form a valuable outpost on the line of least resistance into Indian territory (Newall 1873).

Newall (1887) discussed the strategic importance of Darjeeling and strongly advocated the military colonisation of the hills. He referred to the views of Clive, Warren Hastings, Wellington, Munro, Bentinck, Metcalfe, Ellenborough, Dalhousie, Malcolm, Canning, Lawrence and others, all of whom had favoured hill colonisation. According to him, "The occupation of a ridge of mountain forming water parting whence issue the rivers which fertilise the adjacent lowlands must at once strike the eye of the military critic as the true line of domination of the plain country embraced within those rivers" (Newall 1887 pp. 3 16). He therefore argued that the troops in the mountain ranges of Garhwal and Kumaon should command the Doab, through Dehra Dun, as far as Allahabad. The group of hill stations encompassing Almora, Nainital and Ranikhet should command Rohilkhand, Oudh and the area as far as the Ganges. Troops at Darjeeling should command south-east Tirhut and Bengal as far as the Brahmaputra. Moreover, in the event of war with Nepal, Newall believed that Darjeeling would constitute the refuge of the whole district and might find it difficult to maintain itself. There were several splendid plateaus in Darjeeling and across the Tista suitably adopted for this purpose. Newall suggested that an arrangement could be made with the Raja of Sikkim according to which the country up to the frontier might be acquired in return for a pension or money gratuity. Newall hoped that "The country up to the granite walls of Thibet would then

be ours, and available for settlement, and I scarcely know of any country more calculated to form a refuge or "military circle" such as I have suggested. In this fine hill district, then, since Nepal and Valley of Khatmandoo cannot be availed of, I would suggest the establishment of a Grand Southern Military Reserve Circle for Bengal" (Newall 1887 p. 109).

It is evident that Darjeeling occupied a very important strategic location in the British Indian defence perimeter. The cantonments at Jalapahar and Katapahar developed as a spatial response to the need for defending the British Indian Empire.

Economic functions assumed significance from the 1840s. In 1835, the original village of Darjeeling had scarcely 100 inhabitants. The population grew to over ten thousand in 1849. Sir Joseph Dalton Hooker visited Darjeeling in the middle of April 1848 and stated "At the former period there was no trade whatsoever; there is now a considerable one, in musk, salt, gold dust, borax, soda, woollen clothes and especially in ponies." He also reported that many thousands of natives flocked from all quarters to the fair established by Dr. Campbell at the foot of the hills, exercising a beneficial influence throughout the neighbouring territories (Hooker 1854 I 106 256). Trade became a major form of economic activity in Darjeeling. W. B. Jackson of the Bengal Civil Service submitted an encouraging report on the trade between Darjeeling and Tibet, published in 1854. Despite many restrictions and duties, the trade with Tibet on the Sikkim route had a value of Rs. 50,000 annually. The report suggested that British manufactures could be exchanged for Tibetan gold, salt and wool. In 1857, The Calcutta Review published an account of Darjeeling. The market was on the whole well arranged and well stocked. The traders were all from the plains. The shops were erected by and remained the property of the government. Prices were not regulated by the authorities and trade was free. Traders were encouraged to settle at Darjeeling. The value of import from Lhasa to Darjeeling by the Sikkim route was about Rs. 50,000 annually. Imports consisted of salt, gold, silver, precious stones and coarse woollen stuffs. The principal import was wool. The Calcutta Review hoped that Darjeeling was the gateway through which the commerce and culture of the west could reach Central Asia. In the last decade of the nineteenth century, Waddell found Nepali women dressed in 'English broad cloth' with gaudy handkerchieves of European manufacture thrown gracefully over their heads at a Sunday market in Darjeeling. Waddell also saw that Kalimpong was a flourishing trade centre (Waddell 1900 45 248). Charles Bell (1928) also mentioned that half the entire trade between Tibet and India had passed through this thriving town. In the first two decades of the twentieth century, Dozey saw in the Darjeeling market a diverse ethnic mix: Marwaris (engaged in the money lending business), Kashmiris and Punjabis (dealers in silks, skins and furs), Nepalese (dealers in turquoise-ware, coral, amber, jade, ornaments, kukris, knives and brass-ware), Parsis (dealers in Japanese silver-ware and oilmen's stores) as well as grocers from the plains and Bhutia pawn brokers and cheap jacks (Dozey 1922 90).

The work of B. H. Hodgson on the Himalayas, Campbell's paternal anxiety and the findings of the Jackson Report added a new dimension to the importance of Darjeeling as a centre of transfrontier trade. The tea industry was established by 1856. By 1860, commercial interests in Tibet were diverted from Western Tibet to the road to Lhasa through Sikkim. It was the shortest route between Calcutta and Lhasa with Darjeeling as an entrepot for Central Asian trade. Ashley Eden wrote in 1861: "A very considerable trade will spring up between Lhasa and Darjeeling. The Tibetans will only be too glad to exchange gold dust, musk, borax, wool and wait for English cloth, tobacco etc., and the people of Sikkim will gain as carriers of this trade, and their government will raise a considerable revenue from the transit duties" (see Sen 1989 p.23).

On 20 May 1864, the Bengal Government wrote to the Superintendent of Darjeeling, pointing out that the Indo-Tibetan trade would be greatly promoted if a suitable place near

Darjeeling was assigned to the Tibetan traders where they would find proper accommodation for themselves and their cattle during their stay and suggesting that land at the end of the Lebong spur was a good site. The Government wanted the Superintendent to prepare a report on trade between Darjeeling and Sikkim and Tibet and also wanted details regarding trade with Nepal and Bhutan. The reply of the Superintendent mentioned that the items imported from Sikkim were horses, cattle, sheep, goats, blankets, salt, musk, wax, ghee, oranges, millets, rice, lime and copper. The imports in 1863 were nearly double those in 1860. The money earned during 1860 to 1863 amounted to Rs. 89,535 of which Rs. 19,450 was returned to Sikkim as goods. The articles of export to Sikkim included English cloth, metal utensils, tobacco and coral. It was hoped that improved communications would lead to great quantities of tea being exported to Sikkim and Tibet, replacing brick tea imported from Lhasa and China. Trade with Tibet consisted of the import of horses, blankets, tea, turquoise, wool, musk, ox-tails, musical instruments and shoes. The imports increased greatly during 1860 to 1863. The total price of goods sold amounted to Rs. 64,005, of which Rs. 43,700 was spent in Darjeeling for the purchase of goods for export. The balance of Rs. 20,305 was taken away in cash. Articles exported to Tibet included tobacco and indigo. There was a steady demand for English cotton goods, cloth and luxury items in Sikkim and Tibet, due to improved Anglo-Sikkimese relations. Trade with Nepal did not show a steady annual increase and trade with Bhutan was small though there was a large demand for cloth and cotton goods in Bhutan. The Superintendent reiterated his suggestion for the institution of an annual fair at Darjeeling. This was the first comprehensive report on the transfrontier trade of Darjeeling and it was of great importance. The Bengal Government was convinced that trade could be expanded considerably, especially with Sikkim and Tibet. The Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling was instructed to facilitate the establishment of a serai and bazaar on the Lebong spur and repair important communication links through Sikkim. The Bengal Government was also most interested in the potential of the tea trade. The country beyond Sikkim was one of the greatest tea consuming countries in the world (Sen 1989 24- 27).

Efforts were made to improve communications. Despite these efforts, trade at Darjeeling remained insignificant. In 1876, an approximate estimate of the value of trade through Sikkim with Tibet was as follows: imports worth Rs. 110,626 and exports worth Rs. 185,540. The export of European piece goods to Tibet showed considerable improvement. The value of exports increased from Rs. 45,702 in 1882-1883 to Rs. 71,548 in 1884-1885. The use of cotton fabrics and of indigo as a dyeing material was very popular in Tibet. There was a brisk trade in brass and copper, as well as in tobacco. Imports of horses, blankets, musk and yaktails increased. In 1893-1894 the import trade in raw wool amounted to 84.31 per cent of the total imports. The steady development of the Indo-Tibetan trade was due to an increased feeling of security in the border area. In 1881-1882, 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 improved during 1892-1893 and a rise in exports was noticed. In 1895-1896, the commodities which showed the largest 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, foodgrains, 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. Darjeeling was not considered a very important centre of Indo-Nepal trade (Sen 1989 28-34).

The centres of trade activities in Darjeeling were usually the weekly markets and religious fairs. Hunter reported in 1876 that 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. By 1891, a big fair was started in Kalimpong. By 1875, official registration of frontier trade at registration posts was sanctioned (Sen 1989 34-36).

In June 1861, the Bengal Government wanted the Superintendent of Darjeeling to submit a report on the commercial potentialities of Darjeeling with special reference to tea and coffee cultivation, details regarding existing cultivation, the extent and quality of crops, the number of labourers employed on plantations as well as other related information. The prospects of tea and coffee cultivation in Darjeeling was of particular interest to the Government (Sen 1989 23).

While tea cultivation was started on an experimental basis in Darjeeling in 1840, the industry developed on an extensive scale by 1850 and the year 1856 may be taken as the date from which the industry was established as a commercial enterprise, as the Alubari tea garden was opened by the Kurseong and Darjeeling Tea Company and the Darjeeling Land Mortgage Bank opened another tea garden on the Lebong spur in that year. By the end of 1866, there were 39 gardens with 10,000 acres under cultivation and an outturn of over 433,000 pounds of tea. There were 56 gardens with 11,000 acres under cultivation, employing 8,000 labourers and yielding 1,700,000 pounds of tea in 1870 and by 1874, the number of gardens had increased to 113, the area under cultivation to 18,888 acres, the outturn to 3,928,000 pounds and the labour force to 19,000 (O'Malley 1907 72-75). The tea plantations had their characteristic landscapes, being marked by undulating slopes covered in tea, large bungalows for owners and managers at higher levels and hutments or coolie lines for labour lower down.

Administration became an important function during summer after Darjeeling became the summer seat of the Bengal Government in the 1870s. A large building called 'The Shrubbery' was bought and converted into an imposing Government House in 1877 (Dozey 1922 reprint 1989). Government offices were built, including a Kutcherry (law court) in 1896 and the Bengal Secretariat building in 1898. In 1907, the Deputy Commissioner was the head of the local administration. There were offices for the judicial staff and the District Jail was located in Darjeeling (O'Malley 1907).

Education was an important function from the mid-nineteenth century. The Christian missionaries were pioneers in the field of education. The Government supported the Christian missionaries. The work of the Revd. William Macfarlane from 1869 onwards was particularly noteworthy. The Government had its own Anglo- Vernacular schools at Darjeeling. There was a Darjeeling Zila or High School. The European schools in the town were secondary schools based on the European model, and according to O'Malley (1907 177) were "mainly used by the classes of the community next below the class which sends its children to be educated in England." The schools were St. Paul's School (Church of England), St. Joseph's College (Roman Catholic), the Diocesan Girls' School (Church of England), the Loreto Convent (Roman Catholic) and the Queen's Hill School (American Methodist) in Darjeeling (O'Malley 1907).

Darjeeling became a major social meeting-place for the British. Clubs such as the Darjeeling Planters' Club and the Gymkhana Club were established, while there were numerous activities such as racing at the Lebong race-course, outdoor sports, picnics and parties. The hill people were considered inferior and mostly employed as labour in the town and the adjoining plantations.

1.6.3 The landscape of British Darjeeling: a form of social space:

In 1907, the town of Darjeeling was situated on a iong spur, projecting to the north from the Senchal-Singalila range of mountains. This spur rose abruptly from Ghum to an elevation of

7,886 feet at Katapahar, and then gradually descended to 7,520 feet at Jalapahar and to 7,002 feet at the Chaurasta, which could be regarded as the centre of the station. It rose again to 7,163 feet at Observatory Hill just above the Chaurasta and then divided into two, the Lebong spur and the Takvar spur, which sank down into the valley of the Rangit. Darjeeling town resembled the letter Y, the base being represented by Ghum, the capital or upright portion of the letter by the ridge stretching from Katapahar to the Chaurasta, and the two arms to right and left by the spurs on which stood Lebong (5,970 feet) and Birch Hill, the highest point of which was 6,874 feet above sea level. The total area of the station was nearly 5 square miles, and the difference in height between the highest and lowest points was about 2,000 feet, Katapahar being 7,886 feet and Lebong 5,970 feet high. The ridge was very narrow at the top, along which some of the European houses were perched, while others occupied positions on its flanks. The eastern slope, which looked down into the Rangnu valley was very steep, but the western slope was much gentler, and most of the public buildings and the bazaar were built along the western slope. Below the bazaar lay the jail, the Botanic Gardens and the 'native' town which was chiefly occupied by the poorer classes of 'natives' and consisted of huts built without method or regularity. Still further down were tea gardens, which came up to the limits of the houses (O'Malley 1907 182).

A 1913 road map of Darjeeling included in Robertson (1913) indicates the following features of the landscape. The Calcutta Road was aligned along the eastern flank of the ridge from Jor Bungalow in the south to the Chaurasta in the centre. The Cart Road was aligned along the western flank of the ridge and was connected to the Chaurasta by roads such as Commercial Row. The cantonments of Jalapahar and Katapahar were situated in the southern part of the town, with their parade grounds, indicating the military function. There was a conspicuous concentration of roads in the central area, as well as a number of hotels, such as the Rockville and Drum Druid Hotels while a number of institutions were located there, such as St. Columba's Church, the Union Church and the Darjeeling Club. The area extending from the centre to the north-west near the Cutcherry constituted the Central Business District, including the Darjeeling Bazaar. The Lowis Jubilee Sanatorium and the Botanic Gardens were located lower down the western slope, while below these were the Hindu Burning Ground, Rosebank and the Jail. The main promenade was the Mall, which bifurcated near the Chaurasta. The West Mall Road and the Lebong Cart Road continued to the north-west past Government House and the European Cemetery to Birch Hill and St. Joseph's College at the northern extremity. The East Mall Road continued north and met the West Mall Road near Government House. The Lebong Cart Road wound around the northern part of the town up to the Lebong Parade Ground. Numerous tea estates fringed the town, such as the Happy Valley Tea Estate to the north-west and the Rungneet and Pandam Tea Estates to the north-east.

Dash wrote in 1947 that the town of Darjeeling contained a large number of cheaply constructed and unsightly buildings with very few trees to hide them from view, but the town was located in such a position that views of mountains that could scarcely be rivalled in any other part of the world could be obtained from most parts of it. The Lloyd Botanic Gardens and Birch Hill Park were public spaces. In normal times, Darjeeling had two seasons which were popular with visitors: spring and autumn. The hotel and boarding house business tended to be limited to two somewhat short seasons and many establishments had a precarious and transitory existence. The oldest included the Eden Sanatorium, the Lowis Jubilee Sanatorium, the Mount Everest Hotel, the Bellevue Hotel and the Rockville Hotel: the last was destroyed in the 1934 earthquake. The Darjeeling Club provided residential space and club life for Europeans and the Darjeeling Gymkhana Club provided indoor and outdoor recreation for members of all communities. The latter had an excellent skating rink, half a dozen tennis courts, two squash courts, a ball room and a billiards room. It also provided golf at Senchal and organised race

meetings in the spring and autumn at Lebong. The town was fairly well provided with means of recreation. There were two public cinema halls, of which one was in the Town Hall, and theatrical performances were occasionally held in them. Restaurants, tea shops and eating houses abounded and coolies, rickshaws and ponies could readily be hired by visitors at rates laid down by the Municipality. Motor vehicles could only be used on a few roads in the town while taxis could be obtained at the bazaar and the stand near the Town Hall for journeys to Lebong, Ghum and other parts of the district (Dash 1947 252-256). It is evident that the landscape of British Darjeeling was one of space devoted primarily to the enjoyment of leisure and recreation during the 'Seasons' by 1947.

1.7 Conclusions:

It is evident that many functions have come into play in the construction of Darjeeling as a form of colonial social space. The desire to distance themselves from the Indians is evident from the landscape of the town described above. While large sections of space in the southern and north-eastern parts of the town were reserved for cantonments, the numerous clubs and schools came up as nodes of British control. The European houses were mostly in the higher parts of the town, while the major public buildings and bazaar were lower down and the Indian town was below them. There were abundant facilities for recreation and the Indian presence increased towards 1947. The demarcation of social space on the basis of colonial domination and power can be clearly seen from the social stratification of the landscape of British Darjeeling.

Table 1: Population variation, Darjeeling 1901 to 1941

Year	Population	Decadal variation
1901	16924	
1911	19005	+12.30
1921	22258	+17.12
1931	21185	- 4.82
1941	27224	+28.51

Source: Census of India, 1991, Series 26, West Bengal, Part XII-A, District Census Handbook, Darjiling Village and Town Directory pp. 92-93.

REFERENCES

Archives:

Darjeeling District Records.

Government Reports and Publications:

Banerji A.K., B. De, D. Majumdar, S.P.Mukherjee, P.Ray, K.S.Sengupta, B.K.Bhattacharya, A.M.Kusari, S.Mukerji,R.N.Nag, N.N.Sen and S.Sengupta, 1980, West Bengal District Gazetteers Darjiling.

Census of India, 1991, Series 26, West Bengal, Part XII-A, District Census Handbook, Darjiling Village and Town Directory.

Dash, Arthur Jules, 1947, Bengal District Gazetteers Darjeeling, Superintendent, Government Printing, Bengal Government Press.

O'Malley, L. S. S., 1907, Darjeeling District Gazetteer, reprint Gyan Publishing House, New Delhi.

Royal Commission on the Sanitary State of the Army in India, 1863, Report of the Commission printed by George Edward Eyre and William Spottiswode For Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Books and Articles:

Bell, Charles, 1928, The People of Tibet, Oxford.

Blaut, J., 1961, Space and Process, Professional Geographer, 13 1-7.

Chatterji, Aditi, 1997, The Changing Landscapes of the Indian Hill Stations - Power, Culture and Tradition, Prabasi, Calcutta.

Clarke, Hyde, 1859, 'On the organisation of the Army of India with Special Reference to Hill Regions', Journal of the Royal United Service Institute, 3, 18-27.

Colls, Robert and Philip Dodd, ed 1987, Englishness - Politics and Culture 1880-1920, Croom Helm, London, New York and Sydney.

Cosgrove, D.E., 1984, Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape, Croom Helm, London, New York and Sydney.

Cosgrove, Denis, 1989, 'Power and place in the Venetian territories' in Agnew, John A. and James S. Duncan, eds 1989, The Power of Place Bringing together geographical and sociological imaginations, Unwin Hyman, Boston, London, Sydney and Wellington.

Cosgrove, D.E. and S. Daniels, ed, 1988, The iconography of landscape, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Crang, Mike, 1998, Cultural Geography, Routledge, London.

Daniels, Stephen, 1994, Fields of Vision Landscape Imagery and National Identity in England and the United States Polity Press.

Dikshit, R.D., 1997, Geographical Thought a Contextual History of Ideas, Prentice-Hall of India, New Delhi.

Dozey, E.C., 1922, reprint 1989, A Concise History of the Darjeeling District since 1835 with a complete itinerary of tours in Sikkim and the District, reprint Jetsun Publishing Co., Calcutta, Darjeeling and Varanasi.

Edwardes, Michael, 1969, Bound to exile, the Victorians in India, Sidgewick and Jackson, London.

Gramsci, A., 1971, Selections from the prison notebooks, International Publishers, New York and London.

Harvey, David, 1973, Social Justice and the City, Edward Arnold.

Harvey, David, 1996, Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford.

Hooker, J.D., 1854, reprint 1969, Himalayan Journals Vol. I and II, J.Murray, London, reprint Today and Tomorrow's Printers and Publishers, New Delhi.

Hoskins, W.G., 1955, 1986, The Making of the English Landscape, Penguin.

Johnston, R.J., Derek Gregory and David M. Smith, ed 1986, The Dictionary of Human Geography, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford, Second edition.

King, Anthony D., 1976, Colonial Urban Development, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Lefebvre, Henri, 1974, English translation 1991, The Production of Space, translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith, Blackwell Publishers Oxford.

Mitchell, Nora, 1972, The Indian Hill-Station: Kodaikanal, University of Chicago, Department of Geography, Research Paper 141, Chicago.

Newall, Colonel D.J.F., 1873, Extracts from Reports on the Military Defences of Darjeeling quoted in Sen 1989.

Newall, Major-General D.J.F., 1887, The Highlands of India strategically considered with special reference to their colonization as Reserve Circles, military, industrial, and sanitary, Harrison and sons, London, 1882-1887.

Robertson, Geo. P., 1913, Darjeeling route guide with directions, plans, a map and a complete index for the instruction and guidance of visitors to the town, Darjeeling, Bose Press, 1913.

Sauer, C.,1962, Land and Life: A Selection from the Writings of Carl Sauer, ed John Leighley, University of California Press, Berkeley.

Sen, Jahar, 1989, Darjeeling a favoured retreat, Indus Publishing Co., New Delhi.

'The Calcutta Review', 1857, Darjeeling, 28.

Trevelyan, G.M., 1944, English Social History, English Language Book Society and Longmans London.

Tuan, Yi-Fu, 1974, Topophilia: a study of environmental perception, attitudes and values, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice- Hall.

Tuan, Yi-Fu, 1977, Space and Place: the perspective of experience, London, Edward Arnold.

Waddell, L.A., 1900, Among The Himalayas, Constable, London, second edition.

Zukin, Sharon, 1991, Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disney World, University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford.

ABBREVIATIONS

DDR Darjeeling District Records.

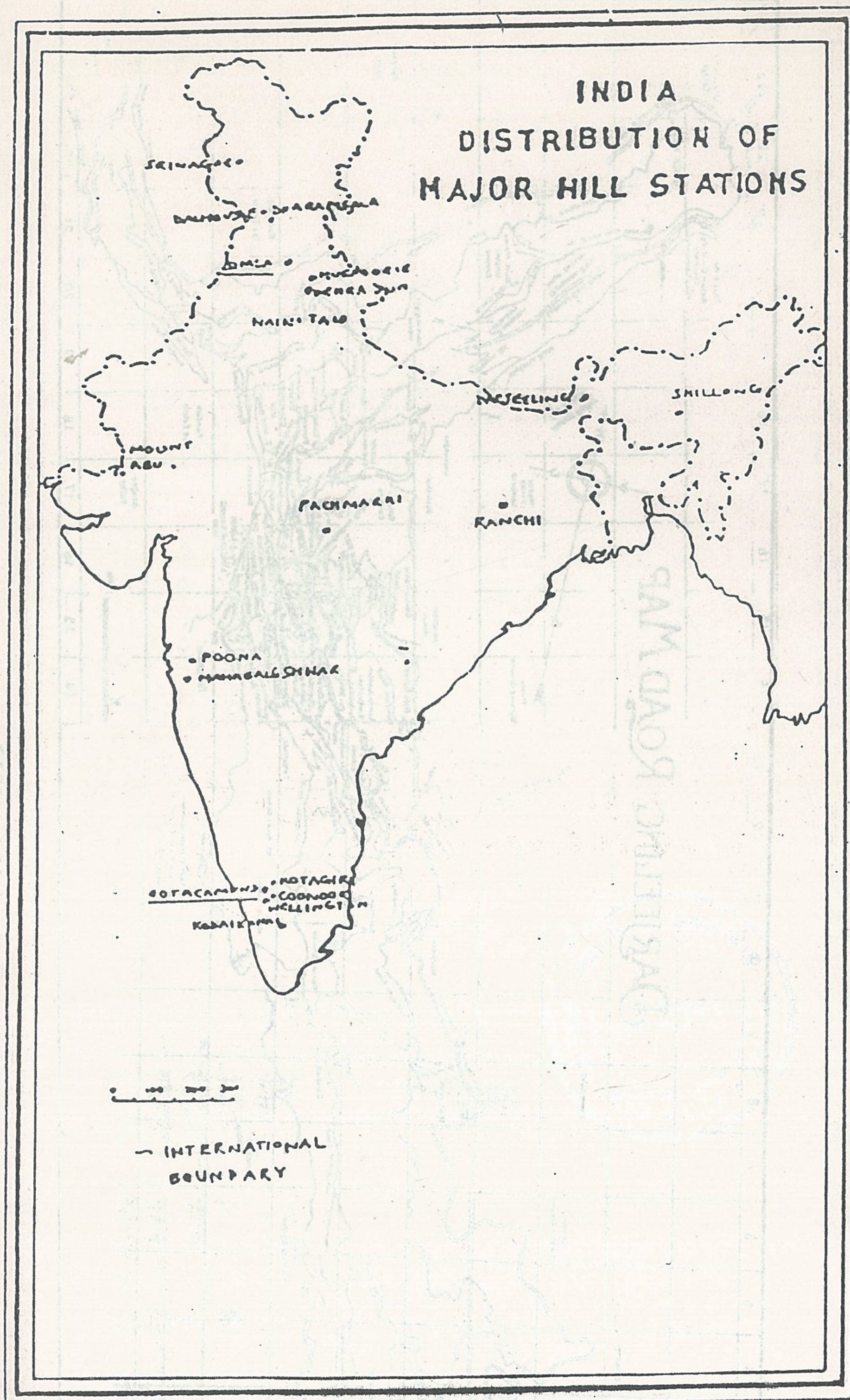

Fig .1: India: Distribution of major hill stations
Source: Chatterji, 1997.

Fig .2: Darjeeling Road Map, 1913
Source: Robertson, 1913.