

**Leisure in Popular Culture in Darjeeling Hills
(1835-1920)**

A Dissertation Submitted

To

Sikkim University



In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for the
Degree of Master of Philosophy

By

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I, Vivek Thapa, hereby declare that the research work embodied in the dissertation title: **“Leisure in Popular Culture in Darjeeling Hills (1835-1920)”** submitted to Sikkim University for the award of the degree of **Masters in Philosophy**, in the Department of History, School of Social Science is my original work. The Dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other University.

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation titled “**Leisure in Popular Culture in Darjeeling Hills (1835-1920)**” submitted to **Sikkim University** in partial fulfillment of the requirement of the degree of **Masters in Philosophy, in the Department of History**, embodies the result of bona fide research work carried out by **Vivek Thapa** under my guidance and supervision. No part of the dissertation has been submitted for any other Degree, Diploma, Association and Fellowship.

All the assistance and help received during course of the investigation has been duly acknowledged by him.

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Chapter I

Introduction

With the establishment of plantation economy, Darjeeling was immediately transformed into the blooming colony and potentially turning it into the urban town. It became the town of 'gold rush' where large scale of people from the neighbouring regions began to experiment their fortune. During the early nineteenth century, it witnessed the boom in the population growth. With the approach of British and their rule, Darjeeling went through the quantum growth in each and every aspect. Besides the blooming of economy, it also experienced the socio-cultural change, which can be clearly seen in the changing perception of leisure and entertainment activities.

With the prelude to early nineteenth century, Darjeeling was metamorphosed into the new cultural space, laying down the distinct cultural identity, mainly formed by Nepali and non Nepali. The concept "Nepali" is to be remembered as an umbrella term for connoting the paharis (hill people) forming the majority to dwell in this vicinity. As per the colonial record, Darjeeling before the prelude of British was inhabited by mostly hundred people, with the few decades after the establishment of colonial power, it underwent a major paradigm shift engulfing socio-political, cultural and economic aspect. This paradigm shift has been shown by many scholars especially socio-economic and political but the notion of culture has been neglected. The present work will be an attempt to analyse the leisure of the people in Darjeeling hills.

Peter Burke defines Culture as a system of shared meanings, attitude and values and the symbolic forms (performance, artefacts) in which they are expressed or embodied (Burke 1978). Therefore it is a human behaviour and their habit, their way of existence of how they live and coexist with each other and giving a room for modification and adaption as far as they are concerned for their needs and survival. Burke (1978: vii), acknowledged the work of Gransci which defines popular culture an unofficial culture or the culture of the non-elite.

Multitude emigration from different state (mostly from Nepal followed by Sikkim) in Darjeeling caused or created the unique cultural condensation whereby

becoming clearly visible in each and every aspects of mediocrity life. British people, in order to maintain their Victorian values and honour conducted various games, functions and leisure activity which demonstrated the cultural variations. It becomes an authoritative figure for ruling class to make mass majority into subordinate class. Demonstrating the functions like Dog show, Tableaux vivants, knight errant, functions at colleges, and club activities by colonial officers created the false consciousness among the indigenous people, giving the British people a position hierarchically higher than the common mass.

By implementing their cultural activity, they became successful in establishing their social status further giving them an advantage to rule the newly emerging town in a peaceful manner. In order to understand how the leisure and popular culture helped the coloniser to maintain their hegemony, it is necessary to understand signs and symbol of British authorities which mentally construct the psychological behaviour in carving their interest of elite class within the consent of common mass.

Statement of the problem

Leisure can be said as the freedom provided by the cessation of activities or as the time when you are not working or doing other duties. Leisure has always been the part of the mundane life. It can define the social structure and hierarchy of society. The concept of leisure was different and was not associated with hierarchal pyramid of socio-economic status. It was with the coming of the Europeans and their establishment of architectural work that gave Darjeeling a new cultural space. The itinerary work of Dozey in Darjeeling gives the visible development and emerging of new social status which was imposed within the ambience of Darjeeling territory. Leisure also played the vital role in displaying the hegemonic consciousness among the people of Darjeeling. This consciousness of hegemony was emblazoned in the form of leisure which was further institutionalised creating the landscape of mini England. Therefore, this research work will display how the leisure became the agent of hegemony to demarcate the hierarchy of socio economic status in the terrain of Darjeeling. It will also examine the emerging factors of leisure in relation with the economic sphere and the role of economy in determining the leisure.

The settlement of English East India Company in Darjeeling gave a silver lining from the feudal system existing in the neighbouring regions of Nepal and Sikkim. A new horizon was established both for the colonial and colonised, giving company and their subordinates a solacement in a newly formed estate. It was a chance both for the company and the newly migrated population to express their opportunity and also for the amelioration of their future. With the encharge of Dr. Campbell in Darjeeling, within a decade population was maximised giving a way to cultural space.

It was believed that autochthons of Darjeeling practised shifting cultivation; using primitive technique hence their livelihood was pretty much archaic. It is to be noticed that prior to 1835 it was sparsely populated but with the establishment of political boundary, and within the decade its population was increased to tenfold. When they established the plantation, it gave a sound economy. As such British with the assurance of constant income had the ample amount of time to engage in versatile leisure activity. On the other hand, coloniser had the firm grip on economy, making Nepali community much more vulnerable and limiting the scope of industrialisation. On this context it can be seen that the development of leisure in Darjeeling was developed by two notions and they were Compulsion and Restriction.

Compulsion and restriction can be seen in the allusion of economic field. In this retrospect, cultural capital developed within the British field plays a significant role in determining the leisure category of people leaving in Darjeeling. Therefore the social field instigated by the mid Victorian norms and values influenced the scope of leisure which particularly subsided the local leisure further giving developmental space(institutionalised) to the Victorian leisure.

This can be clearly visible after the initiation of plantation, Nepal community was just marginalised into a labour, giving them no specific promotions and opportunity, poles apart, civil servants who administered the Darjeeling territory were most of them Bengali babus. Nepali people were entirely engaged in labour work, giving them no time for the leisure activity. With the tiresome labour from morning to evening, their only way to rejuvenate them was in drinking. Due to the economic backwardness and limited juncture of their mundane life, simultaneously transgression of British culture with the Nepali community, they were swiftly

stimulated within the British leisure activity making them engaged or being audience to the part of amusement. To be precise, popular sports like cricket, football and tennis were the outcome of Victorian model, where these Nepali labourers were compelled to participate.

Economy has always been closely related with the leisure. A close nexus drawing the parallels of economy with the leisure gives a proportional ratio of hierarchy directly reflecting the social model of a society. The settlement of the land introduced by the British officers made the most Nepalis to be engaged in labours, further giving limited scope to their production sphere. Such system made the people of Darjeeling economically debased which is perceptible within their cultural zone. As such the leisure of the people of Darjeeling came to be neglected.

Review of literature

Quenny Pradhan in her book (Pradhan 2017) has done the descriptive analysis on the four hill stations of Simla, Darjeeling, Mount Abu and Ootacamund. She has briefly focused on the issue of power to maintain their position in hill areas. She gives much information of leisure and also how it united the Europeans. She also argues that even in Europeans class distinction can be found within them, she limited the scope of leisure as only the tool of social bounding she also draws the comparison between leisure vs. work which became engaging debate within the British officers. Nevertheless, she admits that imperial ideology with the nature of imperial chauvinism of British middle class became the hegemony tool which compelled the Indian princes to bind within in their imperial ambit giving legitimacy to rule in the Hills. However the afro mentioned is only the one aspects of hegemony, Pradhan therefore has given a very little emphasis on the symbolic meaning of leisure restricted only towards the social zoning.

Nandini Bhattacharya (Bhattacharya 2013) revolves her concept under the urban enclave, where the two distinct character namely spatial segregation and its integration with colonial became two prominent ethos of urban feature. The first can be seen with the physical separation, where racism was maintained but with the advent of 20th century it gradually dwindled at least in a physical form. she also

mentions that Darjeeling played the vital role for the health sanatorium giving Darjeeling the zone of medicalized leisure. Darjeeling gradually came to earn the epithet of summer capital where it not just conducted administrative work but also became the economic zone for the neighbouring region. However in her article, leisure was medicalized in reaction to the heat of plains but she gave a very limited scope on origination of leisure. Furthermore she gave a very little emphasis on economy in determining the features of leisure.

Robert Malcolmson (Malcolmson 2013) in his essay describes the cultural transnational phase, where the traditional popular sports and fairs were dissolving in accordance with the coming of new urban culture. He discusses the aspect of urban assimilation and breaking of ruler insularity by dissolving popular tradition carried by newly emerging class. Malcolmson tried to show the leisure being the demarcation in differentiating the hierarchy of currently established society where middle class was secured with their urban culture and working class was forced to assimilate within it. However it is to be remembered that attack on popular recreation was only for common mass and the popular practice of the elite was untouched or has not been mentioned though he gives only the reference of animal hunting of the elite.

John Walton (Walton 2013) in this essay describes that with the dissolving of traditional leisure, which came to be established on seaside resorts giving a comfort to the new morality. Walton describes that the establishment of such enclave, middle class and working class found a new way to spend their holidays. For the middle class, it was for the peace of mind, while for the working class excursionists it was completely for a leisure purpose. Excursionist's thrifty behaviour and a social reckless made the way for social zoning, particularly north of the Blackpool (England) resorts came to be high slandered welcoming middle class while the south of Blackpoll remained the proletarian zone. Walton remarks that with the coming of nineteenth century, number of working class excursionists increased which encouraged popular entertainment and the increase in vendors, hawkers and stalls giving a stable economy to the town. He was able to draw the confronting parallels of working class and the middle class but he failed to give the residential reaction towards the newly developed economic enclave.

Peter Worsley (Worsley 1997) draws the comparison between western knowledge and primitive knowledge. He has done case study of aboriginal tribes of Australia, where he shows that though deprivation of science and technology yet their system of classification, understanding the inhabitants of their surrounding and their knowledge on medicine was remarkable. He was able to present that knowledge varies according to the need of culture. Drawing the scenario of tribes, however he gave very little information about regarding the free time enjoyed by the Australian aborigines.

Stacy Traks in her book (Traks 2015) giving importance to the cultural studies gives a definitive relation between social institution and people where they are interrelated with the culture. Traks also mentions that how the mass cultural production has shaped the society and also shows how a popular culture has intermingled with complex social structure. Though she was also able to show that popular cultural was not a modern phenomenon but her over emphasis on TV programs and access of internet give little space on the developing field of traditional leisure.

Cunningham (Cunningham 1982) suggest that the old culture and tradition was waning even the leisure therefore in order to fulfil this vacuum middle class who had accessed the enormous wealth began to patronise sport and legitimised it according to their needs.. To describe as Cunningham said: “it was compromised, but it was a compromise in which the hegemony was unthreatened. Leisure became legitimate for the mass of the people precisely because it was shorn of their associations and in particular of economic and political association ...over the leisure dominant culture had acquired a degree of control which was stuffiest to enable to legitimise that leisure.

Michel Braurer (Braurer 2015) concept to integrate leisure with politics opens the new dynamic relation in understanding the basic social life of elite especially the relation of kings and his companions and publics. The architectures designed to accommodate the needs and interest of kings, where his concerned matter and the state interest gets involved with such phenomena. Braurer however does not define or is concerned with leisure to be categorised in art section or to leave as it is, but he gives faint glimpse

that leisure becoming the art. May be the concept of leisure to classify as art and to incorporate leisure with politics particularly the first one needs to be researched.

E.P. Thompson (Thompson 1982) The emergence of middle class also came to be mixed within the force of field. He argues that the independent middle class came to be constantly constrained and brought back within the channel of dependency by the powerful control of clientage. The growing number of middle class and its power was checked or tried to restrict its influence by the patricians who diverted their attention away from the crowd. Therefore the new middle class became the main constituent of free market offering an intense competition towards the gentry class. It is to be remembered that it was not until the end of the 18th century that middle class began to disrupt the patricians-plebs equilibrium. Thompson also reminds that socio-political antagonism was growing stronger in the late eighteenth-century. The consciousness of plebeian was increasing so was the bitterness; patricians were busy in accumulating the wealth and creating discrete cultural identity. To sum it up we can say that middle class broke the cultural hegemony of gentry class, they work or united with the plebeians because they were determined to make themselves gentleman and ladies, thereby identifying themselves with upper class.

McKay (McKay 1994) works revolves around the parameter of functional leisure marked within the Himalayan region emphasising mainly on Tibet. This place has was able to attracted the colonial pretension especially British, whose main concern was to make the safety of the British empire by ingraining the national consciousness which was something new to the Tibetan cognition. This was to be done by introducing the modernity in the form of sports. From the understanding of Mckay sports was the one form of modernity to challenge the existing form of holistic cultural structure of Tibet(mainly involving sports)which was armed with the political motif to tackle the existing problem and that for the dwellers of Tibet found something incomprehensible to their extant belief and values. His work also emphasise on the traditional leisure of Himalayan region and modern sport(sports introduced by British) bringing the modernity and amending the persisting value system which then propel the motion of wheel towards the credible future of avant-grade.

Mckay's (Mckay 2001) article shades the light on the first acquaintance of football to the Tibetan culture where it was able to create upheavals' within the Tibetan norms and values. The present essay epitomizes the background of Tibetan sports and leisure activities. He postulates that Tibetan sports was overlooked and was failed to be documented (Tibet was connoted with land of magic and mystics from here his conclusion can be drawn as they prefer spiritual enlightenment rather than athletic enthusiasm). It was only after the visit of Sir Charles Bale that it began to record the sporting activity of Tibetan people. .

Mckay (McKay 2005) talks about sport where Football in the contemporary era has managed to gain the place of mainstream sports in the Himalayan region. The fact that the high Himalayas using sport to convey their gratitude, medium of expressions and friendships centres around political and social relations, reflecting the importance of growing sporting activity. After the creation of exile community, Tibetans acknowledge the necessity of modernity. The modernity which revoked their tradition now became their tool for expressing the feeling of national sentiment and that can be clearly reflected in the sporting scenario between Tibetan and Greenland (2001). This can also be interpreted as football becoming the voice of the exile community expressing their sentiment of national feelings and even opposing the rule of Chinese government. Which is something that the modernity gave them a weapon to rebel their cause, enunciating their voice to be heard by the other world community.

Objectives

The object of the present study are:

- To understand the nature and development of leisure of hills during the colonialera.
- To understand the social and cultural structure of higher class and their methods and implication to maintain
- To critically analyse the evolution of hotels and the formations of clubs and also to critically examine the condition of women

Methodology

This research will be based on archival sources. The literature of memory and travels accounts primarily by men and women will be used to reconstruct the neglected

history of Darjeeling. Both primary as well as secondary sources will be taken into account in order to analyze the event. Primary data such as Census Reports, Along with that, Contemporary Newspapers will also be taken into account for the research. Beside secondary sources such as books written by various scholars, newspaper articles and journals, regional magazines and booklets used will be relied upon.

Tentative Chapterization

Chapter one: Introduction

In this chapter, it will be mainly dealing with the introduction covering the concept of leisure with the notion of hegemony and encompassing the economic aspects of Darjeeling hills along with the statement of problem, objectives, methodology and chapterisation.

Chapter two: Fabricating the Genesis of Leisure in Darjeeling Hills

This chapter will be dealing with traditional leisure enjoyed by the native people before the advent of British officers. It also deals with impact of intervention policy of British and how it affected the social and cultural structure of hill people.

Chapter three: Bourgeoisie Cultural Implication

This chapter focus on the development of leisure initiated by British officers and the factors responsible for limiting the scope of traditional leisure. It also focuses on the practical cultural experience which swayed and influenced the native aristocrat.

Chapter four: Evolution of Hotels and Condition of Women

In this chapter it will show how the British leisure established Victorian norms and values, creating the notion of mini England and traces the development of hotel and bungalows. It also critically examines the structure and forms of women and their condition.

Conclusion

Chapter II

Fabricating the Genesis of Leisure in Darjeeling Hills

The work, leisure, and non-work¹ and its multiple variations and dynamical approach to our cultural understandings have always been synchronized with the humanizing concept of the progress of civilization. This supposition of leisure then enters into the relation of social process or interaction with the other social class to promulgate the harmony or to maintain the amity of social process (social mode). The functions of leisure then demonstrate the consent behavioural pattern adopted by the ruling class towards the subordinate class. As the leisure becomes the consent activity of the class it paves the way for the dual process of (a) inventing the traditions and (b) sub consciousness means to cultivate new cultural identity. It is to be noted that the dual process of social mode where leisure becomes the key agents to maintain the predominance becomes linked with the notions like development and humanising. However, it is to be emphasised that the term humanising and development if applied in historical development of Darjeeling and scrutinised properly then it has a tendency to fall under critical domain were such nomenclature vile the objects of imperial tendency.

The record represented by the Europeans justifies their capitalistic approach by introducing concepts like progress, development and civilisation to the hill people where their main intention was to secure their market and to neutralize the upcoming threat. Therefore the stimulating factor for the progressive development for manifesting the ideal town was the purely consequential interest of the English East India Company. For as much as the development of the newly established Darjeeling town became an appropriate symbolic significant for dispersing the predominance through the package of modernity. This modernity was to engulf the hill spectrum

¹ The work, non-work, and leisure enter into the domain of 21st-century product where it breaks the traditional definition of work and leisure reciprocal relationship. Contemporary definition inculcates the dynamics of time and works in response to the objective and subjective value of an individual. See Steven L. Nock and Paul William Kingston. (1989) "The Division Of Leisure And Work." *Social Science Quarterly* 70.1 : pp24-39. Defining the leisure from the 21st century may give the different cultural understanding which was to be understood during their period of time. This change in the proportion of vocabulary usage has been explained by Raymond Williams. See Raymond Williams. (1960). *Culture and Society 1780-1950*. New York: Colombia University Press. pp. xii-xvi. For further reading see also Raymond Williams. (1985). *Keyword: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*. Revised. New York: Oxford University Press.

with their value system which can be observed in the constructional process of Darjeeling town. This package of modernity brought the system of industrial mode of production. The construction of the sanatorium, roads, and railways, public buildings, created the necessity of Labour which was to be procured from the neighbouring regions. With the progress of such growth, it gave the viability of wage labour and the moulding process of town rendered them the new forms of livelihood, such capitalistic value gave them the access towards the customs of wage labour by the native hills. The initial practice of such customs can be traced in the journals of J.D. Hooker “Dr. Campbell procured me [J.D. Hooker] several active native (Lepcha) lads as collectors (plant collectors), at wage varying from eight to twenty shillings a month; these either accompanied me on my excursion, or went by themselves into the jungle to collect plants...”² this statement represents the first encounter with the modern values where the native people gets swayed by their imperial design.³ Their design challenged the customs of natives and even amended the cultural aspects to a distinct new. Such forms of modification can be viewed in the writings of O’Malley: “The system of forced labour formally in use has been abolished, and labour with all other valuable has been left to find its own price in an open market.”⁴ Similarly, such instances where native people became the part of their design can be seen in a picturesque manner by R.D. O’Brien: “Arrived at Darjeeling...surrounded by the crowds of dirty coolies, anxious to take the charge of him and his baggage, and to demand exorbitant price for doing so.”⁵

The concepts like modernity, development, progress and imperial design are interrelated with each other and having the close nexus with culture, and leisure becoming the part of it. Therefore the change in the superstructure can have the ripple effects in culture. Henceforth to understand the culture and leisure of native people it is necessary to understand the change in the economy or in the mod of production. The production relation and the ideology then become the determining factor in

² J.D. Hooker. (1885). *The Himalayan Journals: Notes of the Naturalists in Bengal, the Sikkim, and Nepal Himalayas, the Khasia Mountains & etc.* Vol. I-II. London: Today and tomorrow's Printers. P.105. After the arrival of Darjeeling (April 1848), Dr. Hooker was to explore the vicinity of Darjeeling and Sikkim were Dr. Campbell was to provide an assistance during his journal.

³ Imperial design refers to the capitalist value where the natives becomes the part of the capitalist product.

⁴ LSS O’Malley. (1985) *Bengal District Gazetteers: Darjeeling*. New Delhi: Logos Press. P.23

⁵ R.D. O’Brien. (1883) *Darjeeling: the Sanatorium of Bengal, and its surroundings*. Calcutta: W. Newman & co.,LD. pp. 8-9

locating or fabricating the culture and leisure activity. The conjecture of this mechanism becomes necessary to understand the growing importance of the town, whether as to call the commercialized town or the medical town. Such speculation can lead to the growing variable and often have the potential to determine the factors of leisure activities practiced by native people. The official records give the written testament of Darjeeling to be medical but then again if scrutinized properly then it was to be the commercial zone and a geostrategic position town. There are instances that can be confronted by such dilemmas to tag the issue of growth of the medical town or stimulating the simultaneous process of both.⁶

As the production relation determines the cultural value then it becomes an important to emphasize the core constituent of town i.e. the labours becoming an active part to materialize the urban town. as said above they were becoming the part of imperial ideology where the British were successful in fabricating the industrial value and the labours were to be managed mostly from Nepal followed by Sikkim and Bhutan, displacing the proto version of the urban town.⁷

If we analyze from the social structure it can be said that British was successful in creating the cultural conglomeration of the surrounding area tracing its parental figure or ascertaining its main traits within Nepal, Sikkim, and Bhutan but relatively varied from those of parental figure. The hill region was the capitalist by-product where the enormous migration (Table 2.1 one shows the increase in population⁸) were submerged in the system of wage labour creating the capitalist culture which came in the form of modern value for the newly emancipated oppressed class.⁹

⁶ Nandini Bhattacharya and Queeny Pradhans tend to believe that Darjeeling was developed under the scope of medical leisure facility but Pradhan goes beyond claiming that it was to be the geostrategic position and most importantly to be the capital of commerce. See. Nandini Bhattacharya. (2013) "Leisure, Economy and colonial Urbanisation: Darjeeling: 1835: 1930". *Urban History*40.: pp 442-461 and Queeny Pradhan.(2017). *Empire in the hill: Simla, Darjeeling, Ottacamund and Mount Abu, 1820- 1920*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press,

⁷ O'Malley. *Bengal District Gazetteers*. p.22. "...no less than 70 European houses have been built, with a bazaar, jail, and building for the accommodation of the sick in the depot."

⁸ Ibid. p . In the year 1849, it was reported that the population rose from 100 in 1839 to 10,000 mainly immigrated from neighboring states of Nepal, Sikkim, and Bhutan. O'Malley.

also, see. Henry Vincent Bayley. *Dorje-ling*. For more information see also A. Mitra. (1945). *Census 1951: West Bengal (District Handbooks Darjeeling)*. Alipore: West Bengal Government Press. p.i

⁹ The newly emancipated oppressed class was to be seen from the developing notion of the capitalist world where the colonization was still in the process and their action was to be justified as them being the breaker of the feudal domain and giving them the consciousness of liberal thought, though it was only the choice to be presented by the coloniser to the colonised.

Table 2.1: Increase population of Darjeeling from 1839 -1911:

Year	Population
1839	100
1849	10,000
1869	22,000
1871	94712
1881	155,179
1891	223,117
1901	249,117
1911	265,550

Source: O'Malley. (1985) *Bengal District Gazetteers: Darjeeling*. New Delhi: Logos Press p. 22. and A. Mitra. (1945). *Census 1951: West Bengal (District Handbooks Darjeeling)*. Alipore: West Bengal Government Press. P.i.

Here the concept “modern” draws from the Alex Mackey's article giving reference to the Tibetan culture, sites the English officers tampering the traditional norms and customs through the stimulation of modern sports¹⁰. He used the modernity to break the norms and values. Similar such instances can be rooted in Darjeeling. The ripples of capitalism affected the neighbouring region, yielding them an opportunity as thought by Europeans, where most of them were emigrants and immigrant coming towards the Darjeeling, comprising mostly from Nepal followed by Sikkim and Bhutan; others were to be from the plains¹¹. The modern value was first seen in the system of wage labour. Although this new idea provided the opportunity to be free from the oppression of their despotic king, their values attached to the kings gave them the conflicting consciousness often oscillating between the modern and

¹⁰ Alex Mackey. (2001) "Kicking the Buddha's Head: India Tibet and footballing colonialism." *Soccer and Society* 2 . pp 89-104. See also, Alex McKay. (1994) "The other 'Great Games': Politics and Sports in Tibet, 1904-47." *History of Sports* 11. pp. 372-86

¹¹ A. Mitra. *Census 1951*.pp xxxiii-xxxviii

traditional values. Therefore, first, the need of labour for the construction of newly emerging town gave them the chance to liberate themselves from the oppressed class system. Then again Europeans often found complications to mobilize them in labour system. As mentioned by Colonel Lloyd's during the 1830's:

The hill people are not likely to be available to any great degree as workmen and labourers, for they seem to him to have no proper idea of the value of the money, living under the feudal government, where their services when required were forced without any remuneration: they are unaccustomed to the idea of working for her, and perhaps looked upon it as in some degree derogatory to them as soldiers which they all affected to be...¹²

Bayley further mentions that the Raja of Sikkim strictly prohibited providing any assistance [with regard to the labour] to the Europeans and then these officers often view his act as a tyrant rule.¹³ More often British believed that the inhabitants of Sikkim would settle in a tract given by Sikkim raja if they would provide permanent protection from despotic rule.¹⁴ Therefore the annexation of Tarai Sikkim (1850) solves the problem of docking the labour in Darjeeling hills. With the gradual passage of time, flowing the process of an instrument of accession British gain the advantageous position which then acted as a catalyst giving the chain reaction in the field of economy and society displaying the witness in the form of adjustment or the adaption of cultural capital. From the 1830s to 1860s Europeans were able to establish their predominant bourgeois value as O'Malley states that "the year 1866 may be taken as marking an epoch in the history of Darjeeling. Peace was established within its borders, and thenceforward began the march of progress and civilization. The labour procurement for the plantation was successful and gradually they began to embrace the bourgeois value. One such example can be traced from the O'Brien's work, provides an account of 1880's as he mentions:"The servants are expensive and most difficult to manage. A good reliable *sirdar* bearer should always be brought up from the plains...it is hoped that Mr. Macaulay's bill for regulating wages of hill colliers, will have the much-needed effect of clipping their wings."¹⁵

¹² H.V.Baley. *Dorje-Ling*. p.52

¹³ Ibid p.53

¹⁴ Ibid p.54

¹⁵ O'Brian. *Darjeeling: the sanitarium of Bengal*. pp. 26-27

Apparently, the hill people were able to co-opt with the European cultural system, creating the new cultural identity but their homogenizing process failed to counter the cultural predominance of British, which is still to be seen, there residual in leisure activity even in this contemporary era.¹⁶

Secondly, their own cultural system of the newly migrated people was gradually under the influence of modern value juxtaposed by the Europeans. The modernity brought by the Europeans further transgressed the value of traditions, norms, and customs of these people but keeping the thread of continuity of traditions. Such phenomena can be seen in the writing of the contemporary Europeans. However, these writers did not understand fully the culture of the regions of Nepal, Sikkim, and Bhutan. As it is different from the culture of the plain people, the often confused the difference was due to their influence. For instance, O'Malley stated

The caste system is however by no means strict among the Nepalese domiciled in Darjeeling, where the Brahman may be found working as a cultivator, a labourer or even as a *sais*. There is an extraordinary laxity in ceremonial observance; they will eat and drink things which are an abomination to the orthodox Hindu of the plain, and many of them are great flesh-eaters, relishing even beef and pork.¹⁷

Other such changing phenomena developing in Darjeeling can be seen in the occupational zone:

In Nepal, the Gharti or slave caste perform the function of washermen and sweepers, but as soon as they migrated to Darjeeling they refused to follow such degrading occupations. The result is that all the washermen and sweepers are men from the plains...there are several other occupations which the hill people have failed to take up, such as those of barbers and carpenters.¹⁸

¹⁶This recreational activity was to be the borrowed concept or the newly invented form from the given allocation of capitalist product. The best example can be said as picnic enjoyed by native people in contemporary era tracing back its origin in bourgeois value. Eric Hobsbawm. "Inventing Traditions." Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger. (1983) *The Inventions of Traditions*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Pp 8-10

¹⁷ O'Malley. *Bengal District Gazetteers*. p.43

¹⁸ Ibid. p121. Such example does demonstrate the concept of invented traditions, it is to be noted that though belonging to the Hindu society but whence emigrated they develop their value system in response to the novel situation. It is also to be remembered that Europeans had the unanimous view in regarding the matter of Hindoo religion. They had the general understanding of caste system of both Plains and Hills. For further understanding see Eric Hobsbawm. "Inventing Traditions". Pp.1-14

These sources must be scrutinized before jumping up to the conclusion. However, there are other examples of breaking conventionality due to the influence of British as can be seen in the expression of J.D. Hooker's journal:

“Though a high caste Hindoo, and one who assumed Brahmin rank, he had I found, no objection to eat forbidden things in secret; and now that we are traveling amongst Hindoos, his caste obtains him everything... I took him roundly to task for his treachery, which caused him secretly to throw away the leg of mutton he had concealed; I also threatened to expose the Humbug of his pretension to caste.¹⁹

The hill people's first acquaintance with the capitalist culture, loaded with modern value became the arsenal to blow up conformity, personifying the new cultural system but maintaining the thread of continuity with their traditional culture.

The notion of implementing the capitalist cultural value, the shaping of hills incognita with the modern significance, the manifestation of new cultural identity based on the official Europeans records lead to this chapter an exposed to the various critics and open to the interpretation. The allocation of the resource material given to this subject to analyze the structure of leisure of hill people represent the determined allusions. To break the constructed work presented by the colonial writings (prejudiced work with the feelings of racism can be traces but that was the trending period of such epoch) especially in the field of culture creates the misunderstandings if not scrutinized properly. The works of Ranajit Guha to look the facts from the distorted mirror²⁰, to construct the history of leisure of hill people, indeed, presents the good articulation to process the objectivity of the facts. But then again this subject will lose the authenticity becoming vulnerable to trace the domain of its resource. Biases of history created by such prejudicial work forging the conundrum to certify the validity will have the tendency to fall into the abyss of bewilderment and complexity. Therefore to trace the cultural signification of hill people using the

¹⁹ J.D. Hooker. *The Himalayan Journal*. Vol. I. P.263. The notes were taken in December 1848, on a journey to Sikkim from Darjeeling, where he gives the vivid description of breaking the Hindu law code by Ghorka Havildar:

²⁰ Ranajit Guha. (1999). *Elementary Aspects of Peasants Insurgency in Colonial India*. Durham: Duke University Press. P. xii

English record one must be very careful not to be drawn towards nocuous indication in formulating the structural analysis of culture.

The analytical work on the definition of culture with regard to the defining the 19th century culture from the present perspective would lead to the different considerations. Scholars tend to believe culture as a legion term. Giving the cultural definition from the present century and to ascertain the fact that Darjeeling hill region to have the capitalist cultural value is to believe in the fact that culture is a multilinear mechanism having its variations as we have talked in the previous chapter. The developmental process of culture tracing its reference to the Marxist cultural theory simultaneously running the concept of class struggle proceeds to the complexity. To solve the entanglement of this complexity Raymond Williams suggests us that to outlook the cultural process in an isolated manner will be deranged as it will be difficult to trace the pretext of linguistic meanings. Culture cannot be understood simply as ‘noun’ process presented by the 18th centurion definition²¹. It is a modus operandi constantly in linked with the term society and economy, without these concepts to define culture or to presume as it is implied now would be disarray losing its axiom do define the main traits of the social process.

From the above argument build up by the series of testaments provided by the British records and theoretical work conferred by formulated hypothesis, it draws the conclusion that Darjeeling was the product or became the part of bourgeoisie society. To ascertain the fact that it was the product of colonial interest would then be easy to understand the cultural development and even to trace the fundamental aspect of leisure of native hills.

As this chapter has briefly described the fundamental properties of the Darjeeling hill culture, now it will proceed for the further understanding of society and leisure or the process of involvement in fabricating the social structure according to their needs which can be still be traced their residual effects in our present existing society.

²¹ Raymond Williams. *Keywords: A vocabulary of culture and society*.86-93. For further understanding read. Raymond Williams. (1997). *Marxism and Literature*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.pp.1-22

Culture, as we all know, is the social process involving the notion of ideology and ideology as expressed in any given society is the ideology of ruling class. From the statement asserted by Williams as his remark:

A dominant class 'has' this ideology in relatively pure and simple forms. A subordinate class has, in one version, nothing but this ideology as its consciousness (since the production of all ideas is, by axiomatic definition, in the hands of those who controls the primary means of production) or in another version, has his ideology imposed on its otherwise different consciousness, which it must struggle to sustain or develop against the 'ruling-class ideology.'²²

The ideology of the ruling class always tries to find new ideas to impose their values and supremacy, but then again ideology in itself is bound to the factors of determinism and from the Marxist point of view it is an objective condition of the economy, giving the characteristic of determinism as setting the limits (negative determinism, bound to the economy) but then Williams draws the new characteristic of determinism as the exertion of pressure (positive determinism like social act social, formation). The relation of this negative and positive determinism changes the whole structural notions of base and superstructure²³. Therefore to put it in words of Williams:

For they are by no means only pressure against the limits, though these are crucially important. They are at least as often pressures derived from the formation and momentum of a given social mode: in effect a compulsion to act in ways that maintain and renew it. They are also, and vitally, pressures exerted by new formations, with their as yet unrealized intentions and demands...It is always also a constitutive process with very powerful pressures which are both expressed in political, economic, and cultural formations and, to take the full weight of 'constitutive', are internalized and become 'individual wills'.²⁴

The above factors enter into the definitive relationship where base and superstructure insinuate into the complex social mode giving wide scope to the superstructure in formulating the production relation. As reminding the facts Darjeeling hills being the bourgeoisie society and its process of its development was not only limited by

²² Ibid. pp.109

²³ Ibid. pp.83-87

²⁴ Ibid. pp. 87

economic factors but was also the pressure exerted by the formation and momentum of a social mode. Darjeeling, as was governed directly by British officers, came gradually under the influence of ruling ideology, but to maintain their rule it was quintessential to apply constant pressure on the culture, social, political and economy of hill people and was necessary to constantly display their culture and value and which can be seen in every aspects of mediocrity life of the hill people. The first implementation of such momentum can be seen in the form of historical writing or inventing the history of Darjeeling from the European notion of ideas and thinking. Europeans imposing their ideology declared the cultural terrain of Darjeeling as terra-incognita as believed by Pradhan also, and believing in the aspect of unilinear society²⁵, hence Darjeeling was seen as the initial stage of human civilization. The writing of history under the colonial pretext gave the colonial officers an adventitious position to understand the sublime nature of newly discovered terra incognita. References to such work can be found on the first recorded history of Darjeeling by Henry Vincent Baley titled as "*Dorje-Ling*". He states that Darjeeling to be the vicinity of terra incognita, and justified their annexation of Darjeeling. This book throws the detailed information on the developmental issue of communication and urbanization system and further analysis of establishing the sanatorium from the panorama of Europeans.

From the above antecedents, as have mentioned its ideas and values for implementing their rule and to maintain their sovereignty; the inference for the dominant factor to maintain their arbitrariness and rule was displayed in a systematic manner which can be seen as follows: First, it was done by writing the history of natives which justified their every actions and deed and thus presented them as the rational thinker compared to the natives and advocating social services as they believed or portrayed their conducts and act as an emancipator of the oppressed class to the native people. Their action revolving around the welfare of the people can be seen in plenty of books and journals. The second was to understand the nature of native people. The fundamental prospect of this mechanism was totally an oriental layout whereby learning or studying and knowing their culture and language of the native would synthesis and apprehend to impose their cultural values, ethos, and codes and lastly was to manifest

²⁵ Pradhan. *Empire in the Hills*. pp12-57

their ideas and thoughts in signs and symbols giving them the feeling of one-ness to their newly inhabited rule of English tract.

The afro mentioned examples can be said as the process of inventing the history of hill people giving emphasis to second and third. The second process it can be stated that the British occupation of India within a gradual process of time taught them that to rule or to govern one must be acquaintance with their cultural, social and political aspect. Therefore we can find the series of formulation and works done under this banner. The early arrival of British people equipped with their European ideology thought necessary to document the developmental process of hill region. Their subject of study became the hill people and their customs, and traditions and belief. One intriguing aspect of the field study was the constant display of their modern consciousness equipped with the ruling ideology, where they enforced the subjection degree of predominance which can be found while in describing the appearance of hill people. "Sonadha is but a small dirty native bazaar, but two miles below is a Hope town, a settlement of European tea planters, with a very neat church...passing through the village of Jore Bungalow, a collection of filthy tumbledown huts, the station of Ghoom is reached..."²⁶

The conjecture of such treatment was to demarcate the divergence and display their notion of understanding the world in the form of linear development (the inkling of development was to be viewed from the cultural understanding of the Europeans context) showing the importance of development in the field of advanced civilization. The encloser of this subject showed the hill people to be in the initial process of development and Europeans was to map their development.

The terminus of this progressive civilization inherited the concept like discipline, health, and Hygiene which was as they now indicated the features of social norms and was to be constructed based on the advancement of civilization, as culture displays the traits of the multilinear system giving the possibility of discrete habitus, then it can be noticed that in the concept of health and leisure was to be diverse from the perspective of western and oriental notions. Here it is found that the British were closely intoxicated with the idea of maintaining the masculine quality, they appear to believe in maintaining their body muscles, fit and flexible and hence physical recreation was

²⁶ O'brian. Darjeeling: *The Sanitarium of Bengal*.pp.7-8

the ideal mechanism to maintain their good health or an ideal body but an ideal Hill body might have had extra weight that indicated the person was wealthy enough to live on, that ideal was being implied as unhealthy by Europeans. McKay then draws the conclusion where he states that the European physical recreational activity was associated with ideal health where it became necessary to construct the field ground for their physical recreation as to the natives they gave the priority to the demands of subsistence agriculture. Another factor also includes as MacKay states that as hill tracts having the rarity of the flat ground it provides an obstruction for creating such space and comes to the conclusion that physical recreation of natives was swayed by the Europeans games and was to be located most probably in the urban field rather than rural area."²⁷

The notion of such concepts had the diametrical significance which was also to be envisaged in the institutions of religion. Europeans saw the religion of natives in the stage of development and were to be metered on the progress of civilization and Christianity was to be the vehicle of proficiency. The common belief that European withhold towards native was: "... Primitive animistic [though they practiced Hindu or Buddhist religion, it was only practiced in surface] belief persists ... and the cure for disease is not medicine but exorcism."²⁸ These statements showed the power of predominance by comprehending their religious value through their package of modernity and was to be the mode of dispense to optimize their values system.

To note this indication, even religion came under the constant criticism, therefore, it was to be the most potent feature to legislate their dominant character and to establish the consciousness of Europeans values, deeds and codes and conduct. With the constant emphasis on their cultural ethos, they began to draw the stages of development of human civilization. The initial process of development as mentioned above became the adherent feature for the young scholars of Europeans to devote their studies in explaining their cultural value and comparing the cultural diversity, their only intersecting point was their imposition and implementation of their modern thoughts and values towards the hill people. Such field study can be seen in

²⁷ Alex McKay. (2005). "'Playing for the Tibetan People": Football in the Himalayas'. In James Mill, *Subaltern Sports: Politics and Sports in South Asia*. Anthem Press: London. pp 191-204. (The idea of ideal health was drawn from the discussion with McKay via mail exchange and was excluded from this article.

²⁸ O'Malley. P.50.

describing the hill people in a prejudiced manner. One such example was from O'Brien

The Lepchas are gross-feeders... they eat the carcass of cattle which have died of disease; indeed, so fond are they of this Savory (?) morsel that during the epidemic of cattle disease it is extremely difficult to prevent them from digging up, and eating the bodies which have been buried even so long as three days.²⁹

There are ample amount of examples describing the hill peoples to be unhygienic one such was the case study of Limbu as they described them as gross-feeders.³⁰ The most stereotyping portray was done on the study of Tibetans: "In a mixed crowd in a bazaar of a Sunday, if you pick out the very dirtiest man or woman you can find, be sure he or she is a Tibetan trader³¹."

The overall perceiving notion of hill people as believed by Pradhan was based on the relational development of political aspects as such perception was flexible, giving an expression to the momentum and formation of new social mode where they especially believed as from their viewpoint or claiming themselves as civilized and hygienic while the natives to be the bipolar opposite of their reflection.

The western knowledge provided the Europeans the notions of high culture (High Culture as art [art here referred as moral values and to indicate the "Gentlemen"] as Williams believed) which can be visualized in every aspect of mediocrity life, even in describing the leisure of natives:

When traveling, and fatigue of the day are over. The Lepcha will sit for hours, chatting, telling stories, singing in a monotonous tone, or blowing the flute. I have often listened with real pleasure to the simple music of this rude instrument; its low and sweet tones are singularly Eolian, as are the Aries usually played, which fall by octave: the sound seems to harmonise with the solitude of their primeval forest, and he must have a dull ear who cannot draw from it the indication of the content mind, whether he may relish its soft musical notes or not.³²

As art was seen as the form of high culture by the Europeans, so Hooker was constantly imposing or promulgating the European consciousness of high art even in

²⁹ O'Brien. *Darjeeling: the Sanitarium of Bengal*. pp 69-70

³⁰ *Ibid.* pp.73

³¹ *Ibid.* p.77

³² J.D. Hooker. *The Himalayan Journal*. Vol I. P.124

his writing. The writing and description representing their values and conduct invariably dispensing their value judgement can often be seemed which was to be followed by successive British officials who visited the town and hence thus maintaining and steadily reminding their form of sovereignty in a congruent manner and method, continued to produce such work, to a degree was indeed bolstered to shape the consciousness of hill people, where the cultures come to the subjective value judgment: although this subjective value judgement can be seen from the initial stage and it is to be remembered that it was a simultaneous process where the culture encompassing society, economy and even their religious recreation was to be in the constant critic. Such cases can be seen in the writings of Hooker:

Strolling out in the afternoon I saw a dance of Lamas; they were disfigured with black paint, and covered with rags, feathers, and scarlet cloth, and they carried long poles with bells and banners; thus equipped, they marched through the village, every now and then halting, when they danced and gesticulated to the rude music of cymbals and horns, the bystanders applauding with shouts, crackers, and alms.³³

Other such proficient examples can be further being seen in journal:

... they sing, dance (masked and draped like harlequins), beg, bless, curse, and are merry mountebanks... they often to employ to carry messages, and to transact little knaveries. The natives stand in some awe of them and being beside of generous disposition, keep the wallet of the *Bijooa* always full³⁴

The above description was based on the religious ceremony, though it was a religious ceremony it was able to gain the public audience as this ritual was displayed in the civil society where the natives of the hill found the interactive place of amusement, it was their non discretionary (a particularly time where they live for themselves) time where hill people gathered and social interaction took place.³⁵ (see chapter one). The process of the ritual of curing or exorcism or religious ceremony often found the place of amusement by the native hills. The Europeans often saw this ceremonial function especially their rituals of curing the patient and offerings to the evil-doers as seen something as archaic.

³³ Ibid. P.218

³⁴ Ibid. P.126

³⁵ Justin Voss. (1967). "The definition of Leisure." *Journals of Economic Issue*. 1. pp 91-106. To describe the leisure he used the term "definitional Facility." Where his definition was to devise the dimension of time and to show the relational value of time with economy and work.

Europeans believed in the notions that everything which has a value has to yield a productive fruit as for example, sports gave them ideal health and a characteristic of a gentleman,³⁶ their religion provided the morals and ethics while natives' religious practice was based on the obsolete method and was just to enrich shamans. Therefore each and every activity of the hill people came into the value analysis where they passed the discreet judgment based on European ethics. As one can notice in the journals of Hooker:

The Ghorkas were sprightly, combing their raven hair, telling interminably long stories, or singing Hindoo songs through their noses in chorus; and being neater and better dressed, and having a servant to cook their food, they seem quite the gentleman of the party³⁷.

From the afro mentioned statement suggests that the implication of their cultural values of being well cultured; the system of ideas and belief of their cultural ethos juxtaposed to the native people of which Gurkha will be the well-cited example of their cultural influence. Though there were other races and tribe where the idea of westernization to co-opt with them was a troublesome task which we shall deal with the further chapters.

Singing dancing playing the musical instrument was the part and partial of their life other than this the hill people enjoyed the summer weather where hooker mentions in his journal: "...eighty degrees at noon, and that of the stream sixty-nine degree; the latter was an agreeable temperature for the coolies, who plunged, teeming with perspiration, into the water, catching fish with their hands."³⁸

Besides this, when they had the free time, they played the game like quoits...may be in native lexicon it can be termed as *Khoppi*: Brian describes as "They are very fond of sort of Quoits, at which game they play with pieces of slate, and are very expert."³⁹

But then again hooker assumes that hill people to be less industrious:

The river swarms with fish, but they are too lazy to catch them, and they have seldom anything better to give or sell than sticks of sugarcane, which when peeled from the refreshing morsel in these scorching marches. They have few

³⁶ McKay. *Kicking the Head of Buddha*.90-91

³⁷ J.D. Hooker. *The Himalayan Journal*. vol.1. P.179

³⁸ Ibid. P.165

³⁹ O'Brian. *Darjeeling: The sanitarium of Bengal*. P.69

and poor oranges, citrons, and lemons, very bad plantains, and but little else;-
eggs, fowls, and milk are all scare⁴⁰

Other than this Europeans believed those hill people to be the heavy drinker: "In all my dealings with these people, they proved to be scrupulously honest. Except for drunkenness and carelessness, I never had to complain of any of the merry troop..."⁴¹

The heavy drinker was especially tagged to the hill people beside that their love for gambling was also seen as the negative indulgence of leisure activity by O'Malley: "...but their natural love of display and an indoctrinate love of gambling soon dissipate the sums which they can easily earn by labours."⁴²

Similar such cases are to be found plenty where their leisure activity has amounted to the money that they could afford to spend:

The hill people, however, very heavy drinker, and are unfortunately very much addict to spirits... Nepali and Bhotias prefer strong country spirit...while the better class of natives who can afford such a luxury are acquiring a taste for European spirits and indulge in them on festive and ceremonial occasions". He further illustrates that "... but it is noticeable that during the decade ending in 1901 the increase in the receipts from the country spirits was more than ten times as great as the increase in the population, and it appears therefore that the expansion of the excise revenue is largely due to the steady growth of drinking habits."⁴³

The intoxication of heavy drink, the lewdness of the gambling and the financial crisis created the perfect opportunity for the Europeans to proselytize the natives into Christians in the name of moral discipline. But then again it is to be noted that most of the brewage industry was under the supervisions and above mention facts state that it was the proliferating business. Therefore it was the momentum created by the Europeans to impose their bourgeois value of moral conduct by Christian ethic to which they were pretty much success.

In the words of former Lieutenant-Governor "the assistance given by the mission to the work of the civilisation has been considerable... it has co-operated with district officers in keeping order in the village, and in putting

⁴⁰ J.D. Hooker. *The Himalayan Journal*. Vol. I. p.184

⁴¹ Ibid. p.166

⁴² O'Malley. *Bengal District Gazetteers*. p. 46

⁴³ Ibid. p.160

down drunkenness, gambling, and other vices, turning to the more definitely religious side, the missionaries have been usually successful in converting the simple tribe from their animistic or Buddhist belief to the Christian faith”⁴⁴

Europeans portrays Nepali being industrious and crafty people but they remark that the hill people still lack in the skill to utilize the maximum of their capital, where their wage was mostly spent on drinking and performing other social functions and thus imparting them with the debt leading them to the financial dire straits.

In spite of the general prosperity which prevails, the indebtedness of the people is one of the most serious economic problems of the district. This is due to the reckless manner in which they contract debts, owing to the customary obligation to incur the heavy expenditures on marriage, funeral and other ceremonies, to their love of drinking- they drink for more than the inhabitants of any other part of Bengal- to their propensity to gambling, to their improvident habit.⁴⁵

The estimate monetary usage by the hill people was seen by the Europeans as improvident which O’Malley passed down us the descriptive picture:

A cooly earning Rs. 6 a month usually spends Rs. 50 upon his wedding, and occasionally a similar amount upon a funeral, all borrowed money. The cooly looks to the *sardar* for an advance, and the *sardar* to the manager. The latter lends without interest; and if we will not, the cooly and *sardar* turn to the Marwari, the shylock who commonly charges 75 per cent interest. In that case their financial slavery is assured, and they rarely escape the toils of the money lender.”⁴⁶

As above mentioned that culture being the multilinear process and believing this factors it becomes essential to note that the standard of living or the way of their livelihood was to be different from Europeans which they found hard to comprehend. Their way of living style to the fullest was something that gave the clear differences in their ideology and this ideology was to be imposed towards the native people for their capitalist product. Besides drinking and gambling other leisure activities enjoyed by the hill people are going bazaars, visiting fairs and enjoying the festivals and

⁴⁴Ibid. p.52. This book was published in 1907, therefore from O'Malley's view, former could be Lieutenant governor Lancelot, but then again it could also be Ashley Eden, which this book states that during 1887, 600 natives were converted to Christian, which was seen as a success. Therefore it remains the ambiguity to identify the Lieutenant governor.

⁴⁵ Ibid. p.144

⁴⁶ Ibid. p.84

programmes organized by the Europeans. Nevertheless, he does give the hill people to be happy go lucky for instance: hooker

A more ideal people not to be found, except with regard to spinning, which is their constant occupation, every man, and women carrying a bundle of wool in the breast of their garments, which is spun by the hands with the spindle, and wound off on to cross-pieces at its lower end. Spinning, smoking, and tea-drinking are their chief pursuit; and the women take all the active duties of the dairy and houses. They live very happily together, fighting being almost unknown.⁴⁷

The above details also show that art of knitting was usually favored to the women although the woman was also associated with the pottery, therefore, it would be intriguing to draw the parallels among the western women which we shall see in further chapters. O'Malley gives a vivid delineation where the simple past time activities gets modified into the small handicraft industry by the scot missionaries which, to sum up, was again the bourgeois ideology to shape the society to their need.

... the church of Scotland mission has recently started classes to teach improved methods of weaving, and has also introduced crochet work and lace-work. Knitting has for many years past been the occupation of the spare moments of the hill women, and they can everywhere be spinning woollen thread, as they walk along, to be made afterwards into shawls, stockings, etc. Taking advantages of this aptitude, the missionaries are introducing more highly skilled methods, and women show great adaptability in learning and wonderful dexterity in working delicate crochet or fine gossamer-like lace, which is equal to some of the best European work. The government has come to the aid of the infant industry with the substantial grant, and it is hoped that in time it will develop into a large and popular home industry.⁴⁸

From the analysis of the records produced by the European officials became evident that or showed the cultural displacement, the formation of town and its social modes like the creation of bazaar or weekly fair was all to be supervised by the government policies. O'Malley, O'Brien, and Baley produce in their work an excellent developmental process and their proceedings. Therefore one finds the perplexing if one scrutinizes the urban town of Darjeeling to tag them with the medical epithet or the commercial zone. The recent article published by the Nandani Bhattacharya claims Darjeeling town to be based on the medical factors and to authenticate her

⁴⁷ J.D. Hooker. *The Himalayan Journal*. Vol. 1. pp.206- 07

⁴⁸ O'Malley. *Bengal District Gazetteers*. p.128

statement there are ample amounts of facts which makes the possibility to trace the trajectory of her claim. If we study Pradhan's work we can come under the assumption of Darjeeling being the town of medical leisure, it is to be understood that Pradhan goes beyond the possibility of the Darjeeling town to be conditionalized in medical town where she firmly believed that Darjeeling to be the commercial zone although it gained the epithet of medical town she thinks to have the secondary value of medical. Therefore it becomes the necessary study to clarify such dilemmas.

The first concern of study would be to establish the premise of the argument and to stabilize the fact that Darjeeling was the product of capitalist value which the above factors indicates the assertion of this statement, now it is necessary to endorse on what fact was to presuppose such claim? or to construct such concept. The answer can be found in the writing of John Walton, in the nineteenth century, where he saw the rise of working class at an alarming rate, this class spent most of the time in leisure activity and abandoning their work⁴⁹, there are scholars who claim that leisure was categorized or was based now on the expenditure procurement and morality⁵⁰. The aristocrat and middle class now began to enjoy leisure base on the peace of mind, while the working class purely for fun time and enjoyment which we have mentioned above. Now the nineteenth century gave the leisure a dynamics in morality which was to authenticate their hierarchy and to establish their representative image maintaining their sovereignty towards the working class⁵¹. Meanwhile, in Europe, leisure was going under the change, which was now to be defined and sanctioned by the government consent or to precise the leisure now came to be monopolized which was to be seen even in Darjeeling. Most of the leisure of the working class was banned in England; similar such cases happened in Darjeeling but the variation was that it was not banned but was checked and regulated by the Christian missionaries and off course tribes were proselytize to the new religion.(see above) It was requisite for the ruling and bureaucrat to display their leisure and to maintain the morality and discipline, which was essential for them to expose as it displayed the cultural distinction which

⁴⁹ E.P. Thompson. (1993). *Customs in Commons*. New York: New press. pp.354-357

⁵⁰ John Walton. (1982). "Residential Amenity Respectable Morality and the rise of the Entertainment Industry: The case of Blackpool-1860-1914." Bernard Waites, Tony Bennett, and Graham Martin. *Popular Culture Past and Present*. New York: Rutledge. pp.133-45.

⁵¹ Robert Malcolmson. "Popular Recreation Under Attack." Bernard Waites, Tony Bennett, and Graham Martin. *Popular Culture Past and Present*. New York: Rutledge, 1982. 20-26. See also, Hugh Cunningham. (1982). "Class and Leisure in Mid Victorian England." Bernard Waites, Tony Bennett, and Grahm Martin. *Popular Culture Past and Present*. New York: Rutledge. pp.66-91

automatically was then categorized their culture as high culture and natives culture came to be in the form of popular culture (see the previous chapter)

It is to be noted that, change in the European culture, politics or economy was to be seen in the colonized country. England during the 19th century was growing under cultural change, this cultural change was based on the bourgeois concept, where recreational activities, was adapting from the social structure of designated class like hunting becoming the sports of the gentleman (accessed only by the high class at that time), while bullfighting was seen to be savage and was to be ban for morality concern⁵². Similarly during the nineteenth-century aristocrat and middle class practiced the new form of recreation which could be categorized as medical leisure. Such example was given by Walton. To drag this notion in the context of Darjeeling it becomes easy to understand the phenomenal construction of medical town to be enjoyed by the middle and elite class, which was something invented in the hill spatial. Therefore as Hobsbawm remarks of such practice to be invented traditions:

It's taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by the overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which implies continuity with the past... they are the responses to the novel situations which take the form of reference to old situations..⁵³

The novel situation being the establishment of Darjeeling town as the summer capital, giving the value of tourist spots where the designated month gives the ritualistic approach for the visitor of town. Therefore the artistic beauty of the hills and its medical factor become the symbolic values where the bourgeois ideology was constantly implementing their value system. The reading of Hobsbawm now then gives us the new platform to where invented traditions was to be the part of the deterministic factor to formulate the social mode "... the history which became part of the foundation of knowledge or the ideology of the nation, state or movement is not what actually has been preserved in popular memory, but what has been selected, written, pictured, popularised and institutionalised by those function it is to do so."⁵⁴

⁵² Robert Malcolmson. Popular "Recreation Under Attack."pp. 20-26

⁵³ Eric Hobsbawm. " Inventing Traditions." P.1

⁵⁴ Ibid. 13

From analyzing the Pradhan's "Empire in the Hill" she hints us to the theoretical analysis of inventing tradition, wherein her subtopic "reinventing the hill people" gives the necessary description of maintaining their identity; though they were superimposed by the European Value system they maintain continuity with the past⁵⁵.

The newly developed conscious of leisure was to express the demarcation of the values and codes expressing their power of arbitrary to the natives which were to be manifest in the medical town giving them the cultural predominance. To put in the words of Hobsbawm The construction of the medical town in the peripheral area of Sikkim and then an advanced progressing urbanisation and the display of their cultural traits in the form of leisure activities as it was one of many to predominate the surrounding region and became the determinant factor in shaping the cultural development of native people.

Therefore the establishment of fair, the regulation of the market, the construction of towns and, communication and the increase of labour market all these things contributed in creating the new cultural identity, but that cultural process was to be presented a distinct culture particularly assigned with the definitive cultural space.

Value-laden quality endorsed with the modernity ethos and encounter with the paraphernalia of *tara-incognita* drastically brought them within the variations of civilizations granting them their act as a benevolent paternalism as believed by Pradhan and their culture and their social structure, their administrative system was something; ideal gentry would imagine and Darjeeling represented the utopian experiment for the gentleman of English. The ideal town (for medical or for the strategic position) completely manifested from the desire to promulgate their interest and was to be continuously monitored and was to show or to demonstrate by displaying power. Their particular deed and action to justify their cause was simply too vile the means to an end; interfering the political relationship was to check the political unrest of neighbouring region while by demonstrating their cultural value gave them the advantageous position referring themselves as in the phase of modernity in contrast to the hill people as in the initial stage of development. The Europeans were successful in creating their habitual dwelling place; they had their own culture, own administrative system in a foreign land. Moreover the cultural

⁵⁵ Pradhan. "Empire in the Hills." P. 78

displacement like their physical recreation, sports and gaming was loaded with the modernity notion of social interaction and at the same time alienating or to be precise creating the social segregated class displacing the fabricated hierarchy in the newly formed Darjeeling town and where their ideology manifested the cultural hegemony rule in the hill region which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter III

Bourgeoisie Cultural Implication

The cultural prominence of Europeans in Darjeeling was to be developed in a synchronistic manner and the second chapter gave the understanding of the procedure of maintaining the cultural hegemony. One of the key elements in grasping the ruling aspect of the European can also be predicate in the domain of leisure. The mechanism to understand the perspective of native leisure with the help of modernity gave the Europeans to exercise their cultural influence exerting their predominance. Their concept of modernity rationalised the living standard of hill people giving them the proximity to rule and dominate the society or to manipulate the cultural understanding to some extent. Although this mode of system was to be the synthesis of oriental and European ideology which was to be clearly seen in the production of leisure (from the cultural understanding of Gramsci, the bourgeoisie intellectuals was to make the blueprint of the society off course this influence was developed by the novel situation as remarked by the Hobsbawm). The officers as the number of record suggested who visited the vicinity of Darjeeling began to the map their cultural imprint according to their needs and understanding leading the way to smouldering the native ruling class. One of the prominent features to dispense their cultural ideology was through the medium of leisure activities. This activity was the eccentric feature that became the medium to promote the false consciousness which was to elevate their form of ruling identity or was to express their system of cultural value and making them the legitimate authority, responsible only towards the British crown. This was done by moulding the hill environment according to their ends⁵⁶. With the establishment of political conquest was to be followed by the superimposition of their cultural value. The process of familiarizing the town with their terms and conditions gave them or procreated the new cultural significant which was running direct parallel with the British towns. The research study of European writers like Thompson, Malcolmson, Walton and others yields the productive study based on the establishment of leisure town and the dynamics of leisure activity provided the probability of shift in the paradigm and the changing consciousness and ideology and

⁵⁶The political annexation of 1835, proselytizing the natives into christen showing their Victorian and many other values.

this phenomena can be traced among the different classes of multifarious section of society. The wave of such development was not limited only in the European zone such realignment idiosyncrasy was also to be envisage in the colonial hill station also.

The era of nineteenth century procure the opportunity of class conciliation for the working class and represented them in the form of proletarian section of societies which was to become the antithesis of bourgeoisie culture. The divulging point of these thesis and antithesis was also to be seen in the in the emerging practice of recreational activities. The domain of such interference was perceptible in Europe itself where various scholars began to engage in study of changing dynamics of society and the particular sections focused on culture to explain the changing production of society. Again the nineteenth century was the period of great transformation where middle class and working class was making their own cultural system and off course this historical development was determined by the production relation. The growing discontent of working class, and the surveillance of upper class towards the culture of popular, and the new class adapting the circumstantial situation began to quickly accumulate the wealth produced by industrial system. The desire to attain the upper strata of society was accomplished by wealth and as such they (middle class) began to ditto the behavioural pattern of upper class and began to replicate the recreational activity of the associate class. Meanwhile working class came under the discipline of capitalistic production and their cultural system specifically their leisure activities with the paraphernalia of time displacement and that was being distorted by the upper class to suit their interest. the emerging habitat began to face the oddity even in the field of leisure. As the popular past time activities was going under the morality judgement and most of them got banned and by the matter of corollary implication, these class (proletariats) began to suffuse around the leisure activates of higher class. The middle class as to perpetuate the social status began to shift their recreational activity to the sense of aesthetic beauty and began to favour the peace of mind rather than clamouring of people.

The shift in the leisure activity of middle class and working class gave them the new bourgeoisie value in maintaining the socio economic hierarchy which then enters in a complicated relation while discussing the social progress of Darjeeling society of nineteenth century and early twentieth century. While discussing the domain of socio

economic hierarchy focusing the orbit of leisure then enters the multi dimensional field which then encompass the sphere of social and economic field and also making the pathway for the political institution. The multi dimensional functions of leisure if not scrutinised properly may obstruct in creating the historical process as the definition of leisure within the Marxist framework do enters into the relations of productionalbeit and the recent definitions of leisure gave it the characteristic of institution⁵⁷ and the utility factors mentioned by scholars engaged in research gave the value of subjective and objective factors (from the reading of Williams the complex values of subjective and objective is solved by the deterministic theory where the base and superstructure enters into the reciprocal relation and hence it becomes easy to understand the multidimensional features of leisure) in describing the leisure utility. As such utility then enter the subjective domain of individual freedom and at the same time enter into the institution of family inculcating the fabrics of time. Here then interesting phenomena develops the value of time and the freedom of choice. From the Marxist perspective, this development of phenomena was purely the consequential interest of bourgeoisie progress. The value of time utility and the progressive freedom of choice then enters the deterministic theory which this chapter will evaluate keeping in reference with leisure and drawing attention of progressive society of imperial British design.

Leisure and progressive society in maintaining the relation with bourgeoisie and proletariat culture as mentioned above brings the shift in the dynamics of culture. The demonstration of these features can be seen in the writings of European scholars where one can see the cultural shift of these classes through the form of leisure activities (leisure being the one of many to trace the shift). This chapter will also focus the identical development(with regards to the development of leisure town) which simulated the implicit behavioural pattern of the respected class and this was to denote the class identity. The process of development of leisure town when compared with colonial hill then it picks up the trace of European leisure town where it began to make the sharp distinction between seaside holiday and hilly region vacation. Though the fundamental structure and forms of the developing Darjeeling town can be traced as the identical development but one must be careful in drawing the corresponding

⁵⁷John Wilson. (1980). Sociology of leisure. *Annual Reviews of Sociology*, vol. 6. Pp.36-37 and see also. Queeny Pradhan. (2017). *Empire in the hills: Simla, Darjeeling, Ootacamund and Mount Abu, 1820-1920*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press. P. 271

impact. The developmental issue of such holiday resorts needs to be clearly understood by keeping in mind the three issues. One; the development of hill resorts or holidays was on the domain of colonial supervision second as it was the superimposition of imperial designs, therefore, the behavioural nature of working class of Darjeeling was different from the Europeans. Thirdly while mapping the development of leisure town by the colonial officers was off course kept in reference with the newly construction town of Europeans. In other words, it draws the postulation that Darjeeling was a leisure town for the higher echelons constructed on the interest of imperial officers in response to the collision of two classes with respect to the domain of leisure and its ripple effect was the one of many aspects of its design. The third one was the perfect example of the cultural shift that was to be demonstrated in the form of leisure activities and the period of eighteenth and nineteenth century was the period of cultural transmission where the working class was imitating the cultural values of middle class and this phenomena was exposed by many scholars⁵⁸.As the working class of England was occupying the recreational zone of middle class as such the middle class began to procure their new holiday distinct to the working class. In a general manner, culture was in the stage of change and the reaction of this change affected the colonial town of Darjeeling in a subliminal way. The invested interest of colonial officers to develop Darjeeling town was able to create the semblance of their practical culture. Darjeeling or the hill station became the requisite holiday to spend their time in solace and solemnity as it provided what the higher class was seeking.

Commodification of Art

During the nineteenth century art became the proximate feature to align the particular status and occupation and to delineate their hierarchy of status in a society of class. The different features of art like poem, music, theatre were becoming the symbolic meaning for the bourgeoisie class to represent their dominant value in a given

⁵⁸John Walton. (1981). The Demand for Working-Class seaside holiday in Victorian England. *The Economic History Review*, vol.34 (no.2), pp. 249-265. See also his work John Walton. Residential Amenity Respectable Morality and the Rise of the Entertainment Industry: The Case of Blackpool 1860-1914. In B Waites, T. Bennett & G. Martin, *Popular Culture Past And Present* (pp. 133-145). New York: Rutledge. See also David Churchill. (2014). Living in a leisure Town: Residential Reactions to the Growth of Popular Tourism in Southend: 1870-1890. *Urban History*. Vol.41 (no.1), pp. 42-61. For further reference see also. Huge Cunningham (1982). Class and Leisure in Mid Victorian England. In Bernard Waites, Toney Bennett & Graham Martin, *Popular Culture Past and present* (pp.69-91). New York: Rutledge.

progressive society. First bourgeoisie expressed this values in the forms of the poems or in the work of literature and was to incline or ordained the value judgement towards the aesthetic beauty and was now gaining the rapid popularity which soon began to signify their new cultural taste a distinct from working class culture. Language with the help of poetic structure began to amplify the aesthetic beauty which was then this refinement of aesthetic value was commodified. The aesthetic value and the literature were the gleaming aspects of the bourgeoisie class that gain the rapid entrance in their cultural value system. Now the aesthetic beauty of Darjeeling became bourgeoisies' products and interest where bourgeoisie itself began to circularize the beauty of Darjeeling in terms of literature. Such instances can be seen in the early writings of European travellers and officers. The poem or literature became the new form of their expression to express their social value and intellectual creativity. Although the progress of literature was to be seen only in the form of English language during the nineteenth century and this language or the selection of writing was itself the product of selected minority through which they constructed the deterministic history of natives or began to narrate the historical development according to their scientific knowledge.

The reproduction of the art or the literature was now manoeuvred on the value of capitalistic system as was in the condition of Darjeeling. The description of Darjeeling by the travellers often published in books, journals, magazine and newspaper carried the aesthetic meaning, glorying the exquisiteness of Darjeeling hills. The very act of dispensing the cognitive ability in describing their verbal thought of its beauty with the medium of art was itself an expression of commercialisation. Darjeeling with the perfect location, utility of a given resources and the advertisement of its beauty created the summer holiday for the colonial officers. Within a short amount of time, it witnessed the new hub of bourgeoisie class (spending the holiday in Darjeeling). It is to be understood that the turning of literature or art (as it is the reproduction of a given social mode) which then became the monopoly of the selected minority was comparatively used to enhance their capital and also became the symbolic identification for spending their leisure time in exploring the vicinity of Darjeeling which was distinct from of holiday (enjoyed by the elite class) diverse from the holiday of working class and this barrier was to break

with the gradual progress of time and this was accomplished with bourgeoisie itself but this is a separate topic which needs to be researched.

From the nineteenth century, the concept like freedom of choice and the time management was to play a vital role. The introduction of such notions in Europe began to supplant the social relations. As a part of a social mode; working class and bourgeoisie class was transforming in phenomenal rate and this change was seen in cultural value especially in the leisure activities. The transform of such consciousness was also to be seen in colonial hill station where the elite began to display such drastic characteristic different from working class. Naturally, the bourgeoisie class was too associated with art (literature, painting and music) while the working class during their free time was to spend in ale house. These phenomena can also be seen in Darjeeling. Captain J.A. Keble mentions that “to manage a Tea Estate without an assistant, *babu*, or *moonshee*, leaves little spare time; but the evenings, in part, are generally one’s own for private matters.”⁵⁹ The above statements indicate the singularity of time and the freedom of choice (which shall discuss briefly in this chapter) and the choice represented by the elite class during his free time was to be mostly associated with arts and other activities. The habitual condition established by the bourgeoisie culture at Darjeeling gave art the hierarchical value and was also to be associated with middle class and elite culture in a form of high art and began to produce literature in their own fashionable way (although there is a production simulation factor i.e. determining their ideology by their social existence. Therefore ‘own fashionable way’ was a response to the capitalist mode). To put in the words of Raymond Williams:

... in a eighteenth and specially the nineteenth century, a new specializing form of description of the response to ‘art’ (itself newly generalized from skill to ‘imaginative’ skill). What emerged in bourgeois economics as the ‘consumer’- the abstract figure corresponding to the abstraction of (market and commodity) ‘production’- emerged in cultural theory as ‘aesthetics’ and ‘the aesthetic response’.⁶⁰

The subject of art entered into the complex value system where it not only touched the dimensions of subjective/objective and imaginative and creative but also it gave the

⁵⁹ J. A. Keble, (1912). *Darjeeling Ditties and Other Poems: A souvenir* (2nd edition ed.). Calcutta: General Printing Company. P. i.

⁶⁰ Raymond Williams. (1977). *Marxism and Literature*. New York: Oxford University Press. p.150.

author a whole new way to explore the proportions of socialistic value and its tendency. This cultural production relation was off course under the guidance of bourgeoisie ideology. Therefore it can be said that every poem, literature or art work was the representation of class or the situational development. In the words of Williams as he wrote:

Author is the 'representative' of a class or tendency or situation, to which he can then be substantially reduced, and form cultural history in which, against a 'background' of shared facts, ideas and influences, every individual (or in its more common bourgeois form, every *significant* individual) creates his quite separate work, to be subsequently compared other separate lives and works.⁶¹

The very cultural production that the literature or art produced came under the deterministic value where the very act of creation of art or their work represented their class and identity and this given value expressed as what Williams termed as "living experience".⁶² It is the reproduction of reality where the very medium of language express this social existence of individual. In other words, the art became an instrument to convey their sentiment and feelings to a particular section of people. It also becomes the tool for the individual to conjoin with the social aspects especially for Europeans in finding their home in alien land. Therefore the lyrical metric of poem published by Keble was a response to the situation determined by the bourgeoisie tendency and also dispersing the ethical codes and conducts to fit in the society. The writing of such poem gave the author and allegiant towards bourgeois culture and becoming the part of it. Therefore the bourgeois author will be restricted by the viability of the demand that market produced and responding the limit and pressure of social relationship, as a producer he depends on it.⁶³ One such instance can be seen where he response to the reality by giving a tribute to the obit of Lady Curzon. This poem published in his book was under the patronage of Lord Curzon and this audience was particularly the upper class. As he wrote the poem in following manner:

A noble woman passed to rest
Above the skies, among the blest.
Her gentle nature touch the cord,
That won a crown of Heaven's reward.

⁶¹ Ibid. p.196

⁶² Ibid. p.46

⁶³ Ibid. p.192-193

While here, with us, on India's soil;
By sacrifice, and dint of toil.
And giving time, coin, mind and grace.
To benefit the Indian race
Of women, out of sight installed,
By parents' caste and custom thrall'd.
And who, but for the "Dufferin Fund, "
Would still the healing art have shun'd.⁶⁴

The poem is the reflection of gratitude by the poet to the Lord Curzon and this poem was the circumstantial creation that demanded to be acknowledgment and honour her demise and scribing the obit in the form of poem stipulate the tribute among the common mass and it also proffer the message of his influence, power and position in a society. Such instance can also be seen in the case of Amy Gardner⁶⁵ where highlighting her obit in a poetical manner was a typical standard that bourgeois maintained their cultural integrity with the shared living experience.

To scrutinise the progressive feature of art in Darjeeling then its eminence under the bourgeois ideology was rapidly enlisting its authorship in Darjeeling. The influx of visitors in Darjeeling prompted the viability of literary production and their cognitive ability to scribe their shared experience was totally subjective but under the guidance of their shared knowledge and experience of western habitats. The increasing number of visitors and the standard to maintain the status of higher class and the proliferating number of authors in the field of art caused the probability of risk in jeopardizing the structure of art. The reflective action of bourgeois ambience in the vocation of literary was remarked by the Keble as he quote downed the Westminster gazette of London:

A great deal of verse is made by people who do not even suspect the existence of any laws about verse-making...an un instructed writer, though he may, by some happy accident, produce a correct and beautiful lyric, cannot fail to make his ignorance patent any representative collection of his writings.⁶⁶

The trend of late nineteenth and early twentieth century with the maintenance of cultural practice oriented the bourgeois to become the men of pen. This phenomenon

⁶⁴ Keble. *Darjeeling Ditties*.p.150

⁶⁵ Ibid. p. 120. As the news feed of Darjeeling chronicles reported on 16th march 1907 states that she was critically stabbed on the chest by her lover resulting her death.

⁶⁶ Ibid.p.1

was the growing trend to identify and to distinguish them from working class where literature marked the etiquette character that was to be designated attribute to their class. But this growing trend of literary movement to codify their habitual trait by the upper echelons produced the liability of true sense of art or to represent the aesthetic beauty and value in a true sense needed a guiding principle to such a difficult task. If the theoretical work of cultural struggle of Gramsci be considered then Keble knew that to scribe a poem was not just paraphrasing the word or using anagram it was more of a presenting the aesthetic beauty. Therefore then his theoretical approach would shatter the reality of most of the bourgeois who wished to show their intellectual capacity. As he remarked that

Although one cannot artificially create individual artists, this does not mean that the new cultural world for which one is fighting, by stirring up passion and human warmth, does not necessarily stir up ‘new artists’. In other words, one cannot say that that Tom, Dick, and Harry will become artists, but one can say that new artist will be born from the movement.⁶⁷

As culture is a multilinear process, postulation made by Gramsci was based on the historical development of Italy, but if it is to draw the circumstance factors for the progressive history of Darjeeling then the concepts like imperialism and colonialism had impregnated the native hills leading the trajectory towards the domain of capitalistic production, gave an exposure for Tom, Dick and Harry to be the author and to construct their own ideology, but this phenomena of time line was to be complex process that needs to be focused.

From the above mentioned statement reflects the reality where every bourgeoisie tries to conjure their intellectual capacity through the poems or literature but most of them fails to summon the practical of aesthetic reproduction of art. The reproduction of poetry or the writing of poetry is purely the intellectual form of procreation where one needs to have an ample amount of leisure to ponder in a subject matter. As Keble argues “poetry, like divinity, comes by contemplation and exalted thoughts, and, at its grandest, is expressed in nobility of language, with “the best word in the best place””⁶⁸ therefore here it draws the attention towards the definition of leisure produced by Aristotle. Joseph Owens and Willard Sutherland comes to or to be

⁶⁷ Antonio Gramsci. (2015). *Antonio Gramsci: Selection From cultural Writings*. (David Forgacs and Geoffery Nowell-Smith, Eds., & William Boelhower, Trans) New Delhi: Aakr Books. P. 98.

⁶⁸ Keble. Darjeeling ditties. P.iii

precisely believes in that it was to be the means to an end where leisure holds the key element for the progress of human development⁶⁹ as Aristotle in his book metaphysics remarks that man begins to philosophies when the needs of life are provided thus giving them the opportunity to build the great civilisation. Therefore this statement crystallizes the crucial entity as leisure to shape the human progress and development. The theory of Aristotle that is; we work in order to have leisure⁷⁰ then breaks the Marxist theoretical approach but if it is to find the one converging point of Aristotle and Marxism then would be in the conception of freedom of choice; as Aristotle believed “that leisure is the condition in which one is free to do what one wishes”⁷¹ but the freedom of choice as Marxist scholars believed is the conditioned predetermined by the social existence therefore the will of the act to do something was to be materialised in the manifestation of given mode of condition as it is remarked by Marx in critique of political economy that “it is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness.”⁷² Therefore coming back to the vicinity of Darjeeling and the period of late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the existence of social condition in Darjeeling was the model of Europeans especially focused with the attention of medical leisure holiday. As mentioned above the hierarchical differentiation between the social class was gaining new characteristic and the imminent of industrial system gave the new value system to the society and this new value became the variation to indicate the social practice of these class which was to be seen all over the Europe and also can be witnessed in colonial India. Therefore the visitors of Darjeeling or the residents of the upper section of society mainly adopted the bourgeoisie value system and to maintain the social hierarchy or status art became the medium to display their newly intellectual traits and their distinct identity. Within a few decades Darjeeling leapt from virgin forest to flourishing town under the depiction of western model it is remarkable to notice such a growth within a short period of time where Darjeeling was subsequently submerged under the capitalistic value as Marx was right:

⁶⁹ Joseph Owens. (1981, December 4). Aristotle on Leisure. *Canadian Journal of Philosophy*, vol.11 (no.4) pp. 713-723 and Willard C. Southerland. (1957, September). A Philosophy of Leisure. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol.313, pp.1-3.

⁷⁰ Willard C. Southerland. A Philosophy of Leisure. p. 2

⁷¹ Joseph Owens. Aristotle on Leisure. P.718

⁷² Karl Marx. (2000, August23). *A contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Retrieved August 17, 2011, From Mark/Engels/Internet archive: <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1850/pole-con/preface.htm> (1 of 3)

The bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionising the instrument of production, and thereby the relations of production, and with them the whole relations of society ... the need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the entire surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connexion everywhere.⁷³

With the constant search of the profit as a capitalist motto, Darjeeling was wrapped up in capitalist domain producing the capital culture and their practical practice of culture of upper crust was remarked by the patronage of high culture as such art (literature) and other paraphernalia will draw near the constant critique as the true nature of art was being deviated by their practical usage and demand to meet patronage. Although the patronizing the art by the bourgeoisie jeopardizes the true nature of art but it does not mean that it can degenerate the function of art. The poem was the product of bourgeoisie reality, the words inscribing the perfection of Himalaya, comparison with Alps, bestowing the symbolic identity of “Queen of Hills”; this were the bourgeoisie value to describe the beauty of Darjeeling but one cannot deny the glamour that beholds the Darjeeling. Therefore as Williams’ remarks that author has the complicated relationship with the aesthetic and social phenomena as it responded the variable situation and relationships. The case of Indian Alps and the gaining the epithet of queen of hills are the best example to be represented by author. The Indian Alps as she writes directly comes under the influence of aesthetic beauty and as bourgeoisie trait she response with the art of writing as she wrote- “but the stupendous Himalaya- in their great loneliness and vast magnificence, impossible alike to pen and pencil adequately to pourtray, their height, and depth, and length, and breadth of snow appealing to the emotions impress one as nothing else can, and seem to expand one’s very soul.”⁷⁴ The beauty of Himalaya was something that every bourgeoisie admired for instance bequeathing the significant meaning of abstract beauty which bourgeoisie class itself created for their admiration of beauty and scribing the very thought became an act of commercialisation. For instance, the poem presented by Keble gives beautiful description where he bestows the epithet of ‘queen of hills’.

List! Darjeeling’s plain Behest:-
Come! Train-drawn by spur and crest,
Soon above the clouds you’ll be,

⁷³ *Communist Manifesto*. P.10.

⁷⁴ Lady Pioneer. (1876). *The Indian Alps and how we crossed them*. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. Pp. 64-67.

Dazzling Snows to wondering see!
High! Beyond the sway of man;
Come! Their glinting crystals scan.
Gaze, where life has never trod.
View the mighty works of God!

Queen of Hills! Darjeeling glows,
Fronting heaven's eternal snows!
Prodigal of health she stands;
Healing tends with lavish hands:
Tints with bloom the pallid cheek;
Panacea for ills of all!⁷⁵

The exact time for bestowing the epithet is unknown but by the early twentieth century, Darjeeling was able to attract a good numbers of visitors with its mesmerizing charm as the above poetry becomes the symbolic representation of abstract beauty of Himalayas. As numbers of visitors was attracted towards the aesthetic beauty of Darjeeling and as a souvenir, they began to write their memories in the form of poems and other methods this indeed began to publish in newspaper and journals (medium). This progress was itself the dual process. First it encouraged the writer about their intellectual capacity and second, when it was published it became the form of commercial factor which advertises the abstract beauty and thus attracting visitors from every nuke and corner of the world. The work of Keble represents an ample amount of instances where the bourgeoisie class shows their intellectual work in describing the glamour of Darjeeling.⁷⁶

From the work of Gramsci, the above statement if it is scrutinised then the period of nineteenth and twentieth century witnessed the culture as the form of literature and education and bourgeois was the prime benefactor as displayed in their cultural practice and the working class were to make their own culture wresting them from the hands of the bourgeoisie.⁷⁷ The initiation of this process began during the nineteenth century where the labours of England began to educate.⁷⁸ As culture is a multilateral process, therefore, the practice of such trend in Darjeeling was a bit late but there are

⁷⁵ Keble. *Darjeeling Ditties*. P 9

⁷⁶ Ibid. pp. ix-vx. His prefatory gives ample amounts of writers and scholars to describe the aesthetic beauty of Darjeeling.

⁷⁷ Antonio Gramsci. *Antonio Gramsci: selections from cultural writings*. P13

⁷⁸ E.P. Thompson. (1993). *Customs in Commons*. New York: Penguin Groups. pp. 1-15.

other factor that needs to be put on highlight like the art becomes the means of production which was clearly visible in the case of Darjeeling. Art becomes the correspondence of state where the institution of ruling class formulates their ruling ideology. As the writings of Gramsci remarks that:

... It is the regime of traffickers who appreciate genius only when it is converted into monetary value, who have raised the forging of masterpiece to a national industry, who have subjected poetry to their national laws of demand and supply. While they artificially 'launch' the literary adventures, those whom 'posterity will avenge since, sooner or later, real values will prevail' ... one must understand the impetus by which workers feel drawn to the contemplation of art, to the creation of art, how deeply they feel offended in their humanity because the slavery of wages and work cuts them off from a world that integrates man's life, that makes it worth living.⁷⁹

Gramsci's work on theoretical aspects of cultural understanding of nineteenth and twentieth century gave the blueprint of cultural perception of how the working class or why they were imitating the bourgeoisie culture where Thompson in his book presents the initial stage of learning by the proletariat meanwhile the condition of Darjeeling was different as it was established in the imperial design, the working class in Darjeeling had much more to learn. Besidethat, the working class of Darjeeling was directly exposed to the cultural hegemony as explained in previous chapters. Therefore the social condition of hill people was the situational development conditioned by the capitalistic value. The habitual created by the bourgeoisie value governed the working class giving them the very little time for their own amusement. The culture of high arts as this period knew was only accessible by the higher class and thus the concept of art or literature was only accessible means of social mobility and this mobility was based on the skills and education and only the very few fortunate one was to enjoy such a high art or literature. As Williams's remarks:

Yet the ladder is a perfect symbol of the bourgeois idea of society, because, while undoubtedly it offersthe opportunity to climb, it is a device which can only beused individually: you go up the ladder alone. This kindof individual climbing isof course the bourgeois model: aman should be allowed to better himself.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Gramsci. *Selection from cultural Writings*. P.37 -38

⁸⁰ Raymond Williams. (1960). *Culture and Society- 1780-1950*. New York: Colombia University PressP.350

Therefore the progress of urban town modelled the Darjeeling society in the replica of western design. The behavioural pattern of upper class was similar with the upper class of England. As mentioned above the residents and visitors keep themselves occupied with high arts. They became the fundamental aspect in maintaining and displacing hegemony. The recreational activities were to become one of the many features to retain the symbolic representation of imperial design which shall be discussed with the progress of this chapter.

The progress of historical development provided the fertile conditioned for bourgeoisie value to flourish in Darjeeling. While the natives also came under the influence of capitalistic value such instances can be seen in the period of nineteenth and twentieth, folksong which was to be popular among the Lepchas (therefore the questions comes in the general condition of being called popular. When describing the popular folk song of native hill comes under the critical evaluate therefore the concept of popular itself has changed the meaning.⁸¹) As the survey escorts itself declared that Lepcha was to be the dying race and compared to the Nepalese their proportional ratio was much more less and was constantly swayed the entrepreneur Nepalese. As it became the minority ethnic group of diminishing race,⁸² much of the focal studies or researches were done. *Terra incognita* as Queeny Pradhan believed and so the inquisition to acquire the knowledge and experience by the imperial officers created what Williams called the principle of variable situation and bourgeoisie responded to this relation with their scientific instrument and belief in the philosophy of reasoning. They began to explore the history of natives. The construction of native history focused on Lepcha community giving their reassessments on the tendency of their historical development. Some of the Folk Songs prescribed by the colonial officers were, as L. A. Waddle wrote:

A-chu-le

A-chu-le kaltak-bo-ram
Nan ya it-tang sa. Lyang ta-she ramyanan it- tang
Zor-sak dam ku-langming tam a-re – ka sham-man m zon.

⁸¹ Raymond Williams. (1985). *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (Revised ed.). New York: Oxford University Press. pp. 236-238. Popular here refers only within the ethnic group of Lepcha. L. A. Waddell (1900). *Among The Himalaya*. Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co.P. 91-91 and see also. R.D. O'Brien. (1883) *Darjeeling: the Sanatorium of Bengal, and its surroundings*. Calcutta: W. Newman & co. p.67

It-to-tsatka. Gypo-bong po-mkdukkangsa
Mo-tan-chRong-kapka-yu gam O!

A song of thanksgiving

O joy! In the olden time, the Head-Father-Sprit made the earth,
(He) the sky-existing-One made this earth,
He clothed the stony bosom of this tearful earth with fertile fields.
When the men were made and the jointed bamboos and the trees,
At that time were we, the son of the (one) mother-flesh

O joy! The mulberry trees were made with the rice and other vegetables
The running rivers were made with their fleeing fishes,
The fleeing sky-birds were made with the worms and insects,
And the rainbow was made by our old first great-grandfather,
(But) our troubles were made by our old first great grandmother!⁸³

This poem or precisely the folk song represents the mythical history of the Lepcha origin and inhabits and their respect for the bamboo for being part of their life. The colonial officers with their empirical knowledge saw the usage of bamboo in folk song as fetishism. Here the bourgeois tries to reconstruct the value and relationship of Lepcha with their knowledge of reasoning, but their rationalisation fails to apprehend their relation with nature as the natives understood the law of forest and the nature was always supreme among the human life. The other folk songs recorded are as follows:

U-LA-DUNG DUT

U-la-dung dutsa lam lop-la natel nom go lop
La nat el no go nom go nyelblidutsa shell lop la na
T'el nom go lop la nat'el nom go nom go

Its translation done by Waddle and his assistant

A Love-Lament

I (am) a maiden like an unopened bud,
 Like a pretty supple shuttle
 Like a whirling spinning staff.
I am a maiden standing like a twirling spinning thread,

⁸³ L. A. Waddell (1900). *Among The Himalaya*. P. 295. Translation was done with the assistance of DorjeTchering.

Like a bright golden tassel,
Standing (forlorn) behind.
I am a maiden like a tender coiled bud
 Shung like a sorrowing bird,
Loudly lamenting like the *Tak-mok*bird,
I feel very sad, very sad!
And the other poems that are as follows

The Pangs of Love

EhYeh! I feel very sad, very sad.
Lsten! O madensbehnd,
My heart is pierced through and my breath s chill,
Alas! I feel very sad. O great head-father, maker of Fate,
Pray tell me my luck.
I feel very sad.
I am only but a sham-man youth, a mere boy!
Why have you troubled me so?
I feel very sad, very sad!

O fair one with the flowing har!
O far one with the straight-parted locks!
Why have you charmed me so?
O fair one with the neat parted har!
O old great-grandmother Nyezong, the joiner of our breath!
O old great grandfather Fadung, praised be yours names!
But why have you created me
To suffer such heart breaking sorrow?⁸⁴

This folk song represents the ideal life and belief of Lepcha which the traveller often found amusing. They even attempted this song to represent in their European notes as waddle wrote:

The simple melody of this ancient tune shows traces of the very old pentatonic scale, says Sir Sourindro Mohan Tagore, to whom I showed the score; and he adds in regard to this scale, "though it is observable in the Scotch ballads, it is the scale in use amongst Chinese, Japanese, and Siamese".⁸⁵

This folk song was used by colonial officers to record the historical development, but this development was only to be associated with the mythical development of Lepcha

⁸⁴ Ibid. pp 296-297

⁸⁵ Ibid. p. 296.

history. Meanwhile, the cultural development or the understanding of this nomenclature in Europe as mentioned above was drastically changing and the activities like literature, poetry, music was gaining hierarchical symbols and also the folksong was recorded in this process to decipher the social life of working class by bourgeoisie to maintain their discipline for the industrial system. The cultural development or the symbolic value or its representation with the growing passage of historical development the art became the monopoly of higher class. Art became to symbolise their interest. The development of art in Darjeeling was still in initial stage. The stage (the stage of solidarity) of community development where art was the product of every individual but individual production was under the surveillance of state. The cultural differences of two great civilisation European and oriental were classing and European culture with its new invention and empirical knowledge began to sway the hill culture reducing them in a state of submissive.

With the process of forming the high culture and adapting the new traits and skills, that was to be associated with the upper crust of society. Such innovative idea was not just introduced but was made institutionalised. Literature, paintings, music became the symbolic identity of their past time activities representing their interest of class. Therefore the European high class officers were expected to have the basic knowledge of painting. Painting was one of the avocation of upper class society that they frequently displayed while they were in the state of free time. One such example can be found in the writings of lady as she wrote: “I sat one day at my easel, sketching the western peaks, and watching this little white cloud drifting off the flanks of Kinchinjunga, and losing itself in the depths of the azure home.”⁸⁶ As dwelling in the vicinity of Darjeeling their painting was the product of determined environ as it had gained the epithet of queen of hills, paintings began to depict its aesthetic feature. The art exhibition held in Darjeeling on 1906 at town hall gives it productive relations among the painter and audience and the demand of commodity that was to exhibit. It was the programme orchestrated by the state and was held for two days. The participations were mainly the bourgeoisie class. The best art work was to be awarded based on the theme and genre. Keble gives the list of participation that took place in town Hall. As he narrates, The exhibition’s best art was nominated to the paintings of ‘Saint Cecilia drawn by Mrs F.A Thompson (daughter of J.K.A Keble, Planter of

⁸⁶Lady Pioneer. *The Indian Alps*. P 69

Happy Valle Tea Estate). Morning mist of Mrs Newton's (wife of the Rector of St. Pauls School) After that St. Paul's school prize was commenced and it was awarded by St. Paul's rector's itself. Sweet pea and orchid by Miss Dorothy smiths (Scholars in Darjeeling School) followed by Miss Hilliard (Scholars in Darjeeling School) and third by Miss Ager (Scholars in Darjeeling School) with her drawing of puppy and lastly Miss M. Walsh's rose.(Scholars in Darjeeling School) Although there were Indians who presented the paintings of Indian fruit by Hariballa's (considered to the excellent Indian artist) but miss Nora Patridge's (Daughter of a Chemist, Darjeeling) work on flower swayed the audience. The fine art needlework was given to Mrs Earle (wife of the Chief Commissioner of Assam) and the second was won by the Indians (although no name has been provided).⁸⁷

The Patronage of art was sponsored by the state and to promote the fine art exhibition and to ingrain the enthusiasm among the young ones, various competition were held for the excellence of a fine art. The award or prize like the *honourable Carlyze prize* (a portrait group, usually a pair Group: Honour given in the name of Sir Robert Carlyle, Secretary, Financial Department, Government of India), *St.Paul's School Prize* (award usually given to the scholars of Darjeeling School) and other prizes like *HonourabeGorden's Prize* (A planter, Teesta Valley Tea Estate, the Hon'ble LieutenantColonel G. Grant-Gordon, CLE., Commanding Northern BengalMounted Volunteers, A.D.C. to the Governor of Bengal.) and other prizes (needle artwork and other fine crafting).⁸⁸ It was only in this field of Handicraft that the natives were able to success as Keble wrote:

The *Honourable Inglis*(W.A. Inglis, Secretary of Public Works Department: Government of Bengal)gave,

Of these three prizes, two to crave

The Indian workman show his skill,

And send his handicrafts uphill;

Competitors to coax, persuade,

Gave prize for *Ivory fine Inlaid*.

⁸⁷ Keble. *Darjeeling Ditties*. pp. 103-108

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* pp.105-109

It would be the talk of all their lives,
 To win rupees two twenty-fives,
Serving for Bhutia Kummerbund.
 Won praise, no pice! felt moribund.
 But then 'twas sold for ten rupees.
 Perhaps the net result did please.⁸⁹

The reflection of reality as this stanza shows that art was under the monopoly of state officials and the concept of art to the natives was not the excellence of life or to produce what one wishes to produce but the demand to the market and to the audience. As this stanzas show that Bhutia *bearer* From the Happy valley Tea Estate, it was not for the honour or glory that they needed, it was their basic needs for money to sustain their life that they participated in it and so the winning handicraft was sold. To mention the fact in exhibition of fine art that was held on town hall in 1906, the name of the native aristocrat family had gone astray or maybe it was the process and skill that took a considerable amount of time to develop and so their comeback was shown in drama or play where the theatres of hills gained the pretty much liveliness and acceptance even in the family of native aristocrat family.

Theatres of Queen of Hills:

The society of Darjeeling as was the product of bourgeoisie class; was persuaded by the imitation or the replica of western society. The progress of town if it is to be metered than the mile stone should be set up from 1835 and when it entered the period of early twentieth century; the social structure of Darjeeling if it is to be focused on the upper echelons than it would not be wrong to say that it was adopting the bourgeoisie standard.⁹⁰ As the bourgeoisie population was proliferating so was the changing structure of society (the early twentieth century replicated the cultural industry of European society) this was to be seen in art also as mentioned above became the trend to display their intellectual capacity. Bourgeoisie not only found an amusement in writings only but was also to be attracted by the theatrical industry. Therefore with the growing demography of upper class of Darjeeling as Gramsci remarked: “there is no

⁸⁹ Ibid. p.106

⁹⁰ Gramsci. *Selection from cultural writings*. P.71. According to Gramsci Bourgeoisie standard means the traditional moral behaviour of high and petty bourgeoisie.

doubt that the large proportion of the public [mostly the bourgeoisie class ignoring the proletariat class] needs to be entertained (to relax by shifting its field of attention) with a pure visual distraction.”⁹¹ This visual distraction was to be the theatre industry where the theatres shows were mostly held in town hall, Gymkhana Club and Rink Theatre.

Theatres in Darjeeling became the amusements for the bourgeoisie class which represented the social aspects of life. Theatres as Marxist cultural theorist believed that it had the power to subdue the people or to ingrain the consciousness in audience as it not only reproduce the social aspects but also showed the flaws of social condition and remedies. The general theme in Darjeeling remained the bourgeoisie standard which can be seen in the play like “The Girl From Kays”⁹² it was the comedian play where the misunderstanding took place between the newly married couple and the drama progresses with new twist and turns. Keble gives the beautiful description of this play in a form of poetry and his poetic description of his works greatly amuses the raja of Cooch Behar. Fascinated by his work Raja of Cooch Behar sends him the *sikar* book with the following letter:

From his Highness the Maharaja of Cooch Behar

Colington (Darjeeling), 29th July, 1909

My Dear Captain Kabl

I have read with peculiar interest stanzas (of ‘creeds’) where you have made reference to certain sects and denominations of the Indian people. The poems are full of thought (‘The Girl from Kays’) and are full of interest to me

I am sending you a copy of my Shikar Book which I hope you will do me the pleasure to accept.

Yours sincerely

Nripendra N. Bhup.⁹³

The play had the successful hits on the western countries and was also followed in Darjeeling hill station which was quite a big hit. After the success of ‘Girl from Kays’, ‘Geisha’ was to become the talk of the town. It was the most spectacular play managed and coordinated by the Maharaja of Cooch Behar. This play was held on 23rd September 1905 at Station Rink. Keble in his book Darjeeling Ditties and other poem gives the vivid descriptions of play:

⁹¹ Ibid.P.55

⁹² Keble. Darjeeling Ditties. pp.25-27. The play was held on 14th October 1904, at Town Hall, it was coordinate by the Maharaja of Cooch Behar; RajkumarJitendro Narayan.

⁹³ Ibid. pp. 26-27

" The Geisha."—Japanese nice play,-
 In coy kimonas' gay array;
 A Story told of Tea House spree,
 On Saturday, we went to see.
 As back the crimson curtains ran.
 One scanned a show in fair Japan;
 A lovely view, with Tea House too,
 And bridge, lit road-lamp, lake, bamboo.
 On mats about the garden-ground,
 Were *Geisha*, *Mousmes*, seated round:
 Behind, the Chorus filled the scene;
 A prettier sight could scarce be seen.⁹⁴

As poems become the social reflection of society, so did the poem of Kabel where the poet was able to portrayed the animated picture of play. The plot of theatrical show was set in Japan, revolving around the Geisha, the beautiful maidens of Japan where the British soldiers felt in love with this pretty girl. To be precise the play was the replica of imperial power to show the dominance of British naval power around the world and the play showed the imperial policy penetrating the Japanese culture.

With the progress of plot it thrilled the audience with emotions and awe as keble represents the lucid graphic of that moment:

Mimosa San, a Geisha fay,
 The centre bright, in gay array.
 Of Tea Girls pretty, who enthral
 Theshippee officers big and small.
 Miss Ella Porter won each heart.
 So sweetly singing every part.
 " The Amorous Goldfish" it that died,
 Made people think ofReggy's side.
 Who came ashore to win light heart,
 Light-heartedly to then depart.
 You genial officer gentlemen.
 You come and win sweet sweethearts, then
 For " Kissing Duo" come again!⁹⁵

⁹⁴ Ibid. p. 29

⁹⁵ Ibid. p.31

The play was not only successful in European countries but the display of such theatrical show managed to get the ovation from the family of Maharaja of Cooch Behar, as Keble remarks in a lyrical manner:

The Maharani clapped them there.,
Choice, sparkling jewels decked her hair.-
Princesses, youthful daughters two,
And prince-Raj Kumar-“Raji” too,
A lauding cheer his Highness give
Who design with us to socially live;
May life with them and his be calm.
To each, we make our best *Salam!*⁹⁶

The play orchestrated by aristocratic family was the act under the hegemonic displacement where Maharaja’s play was just an act to please the bureaucratic officers. Nevertheless, it was successful at the theatres of Darjeeling and after of Geisha was followed by the ‘Eider-Down Quilt’ which was played on 10th October 1905 on Town hall of Darjeeling. Dramatics persona were K. Mackenzie (Secretary of Darjeeling Amusement club), F.C. Daly (Assistant to deputy Inspector-General of police, Bengal), Mrs Bompas (wife of the deputy Commissioners, Darjeeling) and many other bureaucratic officers. The play was good well preformed by the dramatis as Keble remarks:

Mrs.Bompas looked sweet,
Acted nicely, discreet:
Miss Mackenzie (sister of Kenneth Mackenzie) made graceful
display.
These two ladies, we greet
With applause, and praise meet;
Also Mrs.Mackenzies.
In two days, such a part
To acquire and impart,
As *Patricia*. Might well have appalled;
But with exquisite art,
Looking charming and smart,
Mrs.Alce Macmillan intralld.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Ibid.p.32

⁹⁷ Ibid. p. 36

The role of Patricia was contested and finally this role was assigned to Mrs. Alce Macmillan (wife of the accountant, Alliance Bank). The show was successful as he puts in a poetical manner:

The "Down Quilt" when pulled off,
Gave no cause for a cough;
Now out-worn may no longer enchain;
So at plays, we may scoff,
And our Fancy Dress Doff,
Till next year brings amusements again.⁹⁸

The next drama was done by the Diocesan Girls' High school a marvellous play as Keble begins to write:

On Tuesday, Wednesday, Cheered us here.
Young ladies, all the parts easy'd,
And formed a classical parade.
These teachers, scholars deftly trained,
Their acting lessons well maintained,
And merited the praises gained.
The scene, a sculptor's studio,
Showed statuettes, and blooms aglow
The story's classic fancy old,
These lines will briefly now unfold.⁹⁹

This play was different one as it departed away from the normal bourgeoisie standard and had adopted rather the mythical theme. Its plot revolved around the sculptor whose art work was animated by the grace of God (Aphrodite or Venus; the God of beauty). Play was held successively for two days in town hall, Keble and his companion appreciated so much that they continuously came to watch successively for two days as he remarks:

Pure English was the speech we heard;
Enunciation good, each word
Pronounced legitimately right.
The player beaming with delight,
Won nought but praise. 'tis true-A fact!
Real pleasure 'twas to see them act.
The audience clapping loud, were seen,
Well pleased with actresses and scene.-
Who went to First Day's Matinee,

⁹⁸ Ibid. p. 37

⁹⁹ Ibid. p.38

And praised this Mythologic play;
Took seats again the Second Day!
As did¹⁰⁰

The play organised by the Diocesan Girls High school gained the success. The play organised by the students gained the worthy remarks as the command in the flow of language and their dexterity and liveliness of their performance had won the heart of audience especially the poet who visited the programme twice.

The next act was the 'The Girl Behind the Counter' managed and orchestrated by Maharaja of Cooch Behar. As usual this act was done by the Bourgeoisie class and some of the popular artist were Miss Porter played as Winnie Willoughby (also played the role of Mimosa San in Ghesia), Miss Keble played as Suzie (Daughter of Captain Keble now as Lady Macpherson) and other were Mackenzie Kenneth as Wilkie Willoughby, Kumar Jitendra and many more.¹⁰¹ The play which was held in 24th September 1906 t rink theatre had given much of the impetus that column was written by the Englishman newspaper, Calcutta on 22nd October 1912 as remarked by Keble "The Late Maharaja interested himself largely in theatrical productions, the musical comedies staged by him in Darjeeling will always remembered for the beauty of their staging and music and their general excellent all round." As Keble writes:

"The Girl Behind the Counter" Hail!
The orchestra and all regale.
The maharaja Cooch Behar,
His highness, our Transcendent Star,
Who *will* have everything done right;
All Hail! His tact, distraction, might!
which made the play such great success-
Stage Manager; we all express,
*A hope, your pains our thanks may pay.*¹⁰²

From the above theatrical preference, it can be concluded that it was an act of communal solidarity to make a home in a colonial land as remarked by Pradhan in her book....

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. p. 41

¹⁰¹ Ibid. pp. 38-41

¹⁰² Ibid. p.50

Communal solidarity was further strengthened by how theatre came to be used in colonial hill station. Its restriction to armature who were largely state officials helped to affirm their European identity and create culture that sustained those bound in cultural ways. This also articulated aristocratic pretension of the society in the hills. Theatre could thus be seen as the signifier of the culture and coming to watch the performance was an expression of this culture.¹⁰³

The play was usually held on the month of September and October, it was also the season when the influx of visitors was highest. The town was the social hub for the visitors as it served the summer capital. The show was usually shown during the matinee time and the night programme usually would be the dinning and ball dance. It is to be noticed that this theatrical show as expressed by Gramsci reflected the bourgeoisie culture. ‘The girl from Kays’, ‘Geisha’, ‘Eider-own Quilt’ and ‘The Girl Behind the Counter’ represented one simple them that is the cultural notion of western society and the thematic representation had a very deep impact on aristocratic family. The living standard of this bureaucratic class enthralled the maharaja of Cooch Behar and to assimilate in their hierarchy or to make the distinct identity from natives he began to engage in a recreational activities dominantly marked by the bourgeoisie standard. The above mentioned plays had the big hit on European society and this play was adopted by the Maharaja which became usually success. Which off course this play was patronised by the European society as Pradhan writes: “The patronage of the leading personalities of European society enabled the theatre to become a permanent feature of social life.”¹⁰⁴ However it must be noticed that this dramatic play focused on the bourgeoisie audience epically aiming for the visitors. With the significant of such visual distraction they were able to create the myth which indeed helped to display the conscious hegemony of their living standard among the Indian aristocrat. Though Maharaja displayed the theatrical display but the monopoly was on the hand of the state to exhibit. One such instance can be drawn from the work of Dozey where he gives the symbolic personification of imperial might. ‘our Empire in Arms’ patronised by the governor of Bengal, Lord Carmichael; the play laid out the theme of imperial policy where England was depicted as the peace maker among the allies and colonies. The exposition of this play was so intense that it was able to touch

¹⁰³ Queeny Pradhan. *Empire in the Hills*. P.279

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. P.281

the heart of Lady Carmichael that she gave an award to one of the pupils as Dozey remarks:

Her Excellency Lady Carmichael kindly presented Miss Sylvia with a purse of 9 guineas awarded to her by the Trinity College of Music, London, for being the most proficient pupil in the colonies, thus testifying to the excellent and sound instruction imparted at this institution. As a colonising force their act of colonising was shown as saviour Therefore it becomes quite clear why the above plays were promulgated.¹⁰⁵

The show intended to subdue the consciousness of the colonised by imparting the greatness of imperial power and was pretty much successful. The concept of Gramsci as he thought that theatrical show was to awake the conscience of hill people was far from it and the theatrical display was the production of the bourgeoisie class and no proletariat class became the part of it. Moreover the ruling class was swayed by their cultural slandered. Therefore to some extent Gramsci was right in writing that the theatre was under the capitalist clutch as he remarks:

The theatre, as a practical origination of people and tools of trade, has not escaped from the coils of the capitalist maelstrom. But the practical originations of the theatre as a whole is a means of artistic expression. One cannot upset it without upsetting and ruining the expressive process, without sterilizing the 'linguistic' organ of the theatrical performance.¹⁰⁶

The early twentieth century; Darjeeling's upper echelons society had embraced the bourgeoisie ideology and it remains clear that the theoretical approach as Gramsci suggested was far from reach. The native aristocrat was mesmerized by their culture and the proletariat still had many things to learn from the bourgeoisie in order to make their own ruling ideology.

Recreation of the bourgeoisie class

The work and leisure was primarily associated with social hierarchy during the nineteenth twentieth century but this condition was in mobile state in Europe while the situational development in Darjeeling remained static in a proximate manner with

¹⁰⁵ E. C. Dozey. (1889). *A Concise History of Darjeeling since 1835 with a Complete Itinerary of Tours in Sikkim and the District*. Calcutta: Art Press.P. 117

¹⁰⁶ Gramsci. *Selections from the Cultural Writings*. P.68

respect to social ladder. ¹⁰⁷This distinct character of their occupational factor predisposed their social behaviour and was reflected in leisure activities of bourgeoisie class. This occupational factor was subjected to the social zoning and their (bourgeoisie and proletariat) only converge juncture was in the state of production relation or in the interest of bourgeoisie itself. The emerging perquisite condition as provided by the factor of economic necessity and the technological advancement which they often displayed, provoke the hill people to adapt the western culture but must be very careful in deducing the factor that it did not mean that this lead to the free social interactions among this classes. The recreational activities primarily associated with bourgeoisie class like dining, picnic, sports for health issue and may other activities attending theatrical shows and concerts as European proletariat was adopting can be seen in the further generations of hill people.

The recreational activities were the part of their social life and it is to be seen that they were much more fascinated with the aspects of travelling the new places and searching for new adventure. This was something that marked the distinction between the two classes and beside that this interest was something that proletariat would not able to substantiate with the amount money for the expenditure of such travel. The activities like journey to the unknown tract of land were to be accompanied by the sanction of economy and were to maintain the relation of nexus between management of time. The accompanied journey was to take the minimum of three week which on a par was something that proletariat would be in a substantial loss as they were depended on the system of wage labour. The accounts of L.A. Waddell gives the visual description on the journey that they were venturing in Sikkim with the assist of hill potters as he remarks “our party all told, including B and myself, numbered fifty-three persons, of whom forty-one porters, or coolies.”¹⁰⁸ The interest of travel had to invest the huge expenditure as the above mention statement suggest that and beside that they had to incur the rationing system of labours and was assigned with labours to the contract system of wage and thus the expenditure skyrocket it was also to be

¹⁰⁷ Raymond Williams. *Culture and Society*. Pp. 350-351. It refers to the changing paraphernalia of proletariat inhabiting the implications of bourgeoisie class, to some extent remained static in Darjeeling but it is to be noticed that though the social ladder remained to a concentrated few among the working class as decided by the bourgeoisie class but the involvement was to change or challenge the social structure of hill people.

¹⁰⁸ L.A. Waddell. *Among The Himalayas*. P.61

believed that Darjeeling was believed to be the expensive place ¹⁰⁹ (it was also the converging point where the social interaction took place between bourgeoisie and proletariat). This travelling generally include the instrumental apparatus like guns (usually for hunting small birds and animals), field-glasses, survey maps, photographic device, collectors paraphernalia and the rations. The potters and coolies were subordinated by *sirdar* and he was to answer the call and was responsible for the deeds of labours.

As usual, the journey was to be of several weeks and as they proceed through, they used such opportunity in collecting plants and animals of different species. The best example can be traced in the journals of hooker where he collected different species of plants and animals. The interest of such collection gave the rise to the museum where this Himalaya vast tract of unexplored vicinity became the subject of study. This collection was usually exhibited in museums (but E.C. Dozey) had an objection in calling the proper museums. As he remarks that :

It was not provided with the necessary apparatus for the preservation of the specimens, collected by the large staff who scoured the entire district and even Sikkim, with the result that the collection deteriorated quickly and ultimately found their way into the dust heap, thereby leaving the impression on the casual visitor that either little or no effort had been made by those in charge to obtain and maintain specimens of fauna and flora in which Darjeeling abounds, or that adequate care had not been bestowed on their preservation. ¹¹⁰

The institution of museum was in a degrading condition and the fall from its disgrace was saved by Lord Carmichael, as Dozey remarks:

His Excellency Lord Carmichael (Governor of Bengal), who is a keen collector himself, for removing this disgrace and allotting sufficient funds for the erection of a suitable buildings, which was designed by Mr. Crouch, The Architect to the Government of Bengal. The internal arrangements are the care of Dr. Annandadale and Mr. F.H. Gravely the Indian Museum Calcutta ... it is to be understood that the care and management of the fresh specimens will be entrusted to the officers of the zoological and anthropological section of the Indian Museum who will appoint an assistant from Calcutta whose Knowledge of the care and preservation of specimens will prevent loss and delay and so justify the expenditure of public funds on the new structure which, it is understood, cost half a *lakh* of rupees.

¹⁰⁹ E.C. Dozey. *Concise History of Darjeeling*. p.94

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.* P.94

With the proper foundations, Museum began to exhibit the show, beside the collectors (the one who collects the specimen) of museums, even the bourgeoisie women piqued this hobby for their leisure activities as Lady Pioneer remarks “sometimes she [Latto: native girl, she used to accompany her] brought fish, sometimes butterflies and beetles, for like the rest of the world, she knew we were making a collection of them...”¹¹¹ beside the collections of plants and animals they were also hugely interested in hunting. The hunting usually included when they were travelling. Such instances of can be found in the accounts of among the Himalayas. Where he mentions the killing of Kakar deer (commonly found in Himalayas), as he writes “the last mention deer are common here[semi-tropical forest, covering the range of Badamtam, 2,500 feet above the sea level], and I shot one last year with in twenty yards of this very house.”¹¹² Hunting was common among the travellers beside their interest they also hunted on the request of villagers which they accepted in great pleasure but this animal was often big and dangerous and needed the help of natives as Waddell remarks:

Not long ago in these same hills an excited Nepalese came breathless to my tent, with the news that a large bear and its two cubs had mangled two men of his village, and had for several days been chasing others, so that they were afraid to go about; and hearing that a European traveller had arrived, he had come to beseech me to go their aid, promising that if I would go, all the villagers would turn out and assist me in slaying these animal ... I went off to seek the bears. The cave lay about a mile from the village ... I took up a position about a hundred yards of and sent the beaters to throw in stones, but the bears seemed to be not at home. At least they gave no sign, and did not appear even when i approached to the mouth of the cave and fired into it; and we scoured the hillsides for some distance without finding them, though the tree bore fresh marks of their claws.¹¹³

Though Mr. Waddell was able to find the hideout as was also in middle of journey he had to abandon the request marked by villagers. Therefore it is to be noted that every bourgeoisie class while on the account of travelling kept the gun with themselves as for the purpose of hunting. Hunting was the prime recreational activities that were especially assigned with the upper class and this activity was the game of gentleman and to further simplify that Darjeeling was colonised by imperial forces giving them

¹¹¹ Lady Pioneer. *The Indian Alps* P.75

¹¹² L.A. Waddle. *Among The Himalayas*. P. 77

¹¹³ Ibid. P.338-339

the good hunting spot. Hunting the wild animal often signified them in a masculine manner asserting them of being dauntless. With the establishment of commercial zone this game was to secure the hunting pass and ground from the state authority which shall be discussed in how the leisure activity was institutionalised in next chapter.

Adventure was not the only one in Darjeeling that attracted the visitors. Picnic occupied the space for the family holiday spending the time with friends and family in a mesmerising spot became one popular theme in Darjeeling. As such many of such vicinity were to be constructed (the construction of parks and garden that shall be discussed latter).

The account of Florence Donaldson gives an account of picnic becoming the leisure activities enjoyed by the bourgeoisie class. As she wrote: “we had been invited with our hostess to picnic on the banks of the Teesta with the Deputy Commissioner of the district.”¹¹⁴ As Miss. Donaldson on her journey to Sikkim states that as she was to meet Mr. G and she writes down

The next day we started off on another picnic expedition, with the object of meeting Mr. G. on his way home. The place we were bound for was in an exactly opposite direction to the Teesta, Being on the bank of the Rilli, a river on the other side of the Kalimpong ridge ... we made a merry party, stories and anecdotes circulating as freely as the excellent pie our hostess had sent with us...¹¹⁵

To postulate the above mentioned statement then it becomes essential that the picnic was governing the same importance as in Europe. The zoning of the tourist spots led the circumstantial construction of such park which then became the cardinal spot to enthrall the visitors for their recreational sphere. As the park and other recreational ground were gaining the attention of bourgeoisie class, parks like Botanical garden, Birch Hill Park became the prime focus of picnics and other recreational activities as Dozey mentions the growing importance of botanical garden

The garden is divided into two main parts, the upper or indigenous section, and the lower or exotic section. Many of the paths intersecting it are lined with the tea plant, the flowers of which are white with the pale yellow centre, reminding one of the orange blossoms. The whole plot measuring 14 acres

¹¹⁴Florence Donaldson. (1900). *Lepcha Land or six weeks in the Sikkim Himalayas*. London: Sampson Low Marston & Company, P.51

¹¹⁵ Ibid. p.56

land is neatly laid out, and contains specimens of nearly all our flora as well as many exotic plants, including the Australian Blue Gum tree (encalyptus). There is a Pavilion for use by Picnic parties; while the hot-house, which stands in the centre of the grounds, is a beautiful wisteria, a Japanese plant, and many varieties of camellia, a native of china, which when in full bloom are a revelation of colour.¹¹⁶

Dozey's description of this park then led us to the shifting focus and the development of recreational ground, especially focused bourgeoisie interest. As it is known bourgeoisie was focusing their attention on the aesthetic and natural beauty as such parks like botanic garden received much focused as began to pay much more attention to beautify the gardens. Numbers of plants were brought for these project to attract the visitors as he remarks:

In 1916 over 11,500 plants, over 5,173 dozens of annual seedlings, over 908 bulbs and tubers, and over 417 packets of seeds were either exchanged or distributed to other gardens, while in addition special collections of seeds of Himalayan species from both high and low levels were made. Over 52,000 visitors to the garden were counted during that year, nearly 16,000 of whom were Europeans.¹¹⁷

The process of beautification by planting the various specimens magnified the business corporation as now bourgeoisie's new interest was to find the solace in natural beauty which can be visualised in these parks. Such natural beauty as organised by the work force of men can be seen in the construction of Birch Hill Park as mentioned by the Dozey. "The scenery here is certainly the grandest in the station for the trees are old and stately with knarled barks covered with lichen and moss, which imparts to the landscape a russet-brown hue picked out with silvery speaks."¹¹⁸ The development of Darjeeling town and its recreational field was under the state intervention and the capital investment on these parks was not just to decorate the visiting spots of Darjeeling but was to commercialise this beauty in order to thrive their profitable investment. The recreational field was something new to the hill people and it was something that bourgeoisie had given to proletariat class a sense of understanding the aesthetic beauty which through the progress of time working class would value the sense of this beauty which can be seen in the recent contemporary

¹¹⁶ E.C. Dozey. *Concise History of the Darjeeling*. P91

¹¹⁷ *ibid.* P.92

¹¹⁸ *ibid.* P.93

world. The gaining epithet of queen of hills, the spellbound scenery and the construction of recreational field soon led to the commercialisation of such beauty and often be seen in the describing their travel experience. The physical allurements of this constructional site or the natural beauty of this place was often recorded in journals. One such creational work can be seen in the expression of the work of P. Robertson in his work *Darjeeling: route guide*. His and from his account we can deduce that Darjeeling was able to manage the visitors as the number of hotels were increasing (hotel management system will be dealt in the influx of visitors in Darjeeling in separate chapter). Coming to the point as this book asserts that visitors were increasing so when the tourist was to visit Darjeeling he had prepared the routes and guides for the travel and so his book was to save the troubling time in finding such places.

Beside picnics and travelling adventure, there were other entertainment programmes for the visitors in Darjeeling, like attending the functions, programme, watching horse racing playing golf, cricket, dining and ball dance and other activities. The period of early twentieth century if it is to be surmounted on the basis of bourgeoisie culture and the social style of upper echelons then one would certainly infer the descriptive lifestyle of Victorian values. The programmes, attending the functions, enjoying the golf course and off course other leisure activities were certainly the imitation of social act. One such impersonate can be seen in advertising the dog show, where Dozey shades the ideal growing bourgeois culture penetrating the social hub just like in big metropolitan. As Dozey spot in his book

The Dog Show

“Dear Friends, we wish to interest and let all the people know that in the poojhas will be held. The first Darjeeling show. As we parade the streets and Mall we note with pitying eyes a lot of really first class dogs all yearning for a prize. You may regard your faithful pet as not of the *Haut ton*; there may be a surprise in store, your duck may prove a swan.

Perhaps you do not own a dog or innocent young pup, but you can help the show along by giving us a cup. Calcutta, Simla and Bombay hold a good show each year; Darjeeling it must ne'er be said is lagging in the rear. Nay, put your shoulder to the wheel, and hear our plaintive song:- bring forth your dogs, your cups, your cash, and help the show along”.

The Darjeeling Times -1912¹¹⁹

The new cultural entertainment, late night parties and the leisure entertainment represented the upper crust of society and their life of luxury that they could ever utilize and on the other hand hill peoples recreational activities was seen as unhealthiness and unproductive. These European people and the bureaucrats as to call them gentleman, saw natives as unrefined in cultural terms and their medium (generosity displayed by the natives) of hospitality was seen as in a circumference of reciprocity.¹²⁰ To begin with, Europeans never considered the hill people of the same footing and as mentioned their unintentional generosity was seen in a suspicious manner. The hill people was never considered the gentleman, only the people with aristocratic blood was seen in the same manner and off course natives kings had the lowest position among Europeans.

Gentlemen of the show

Within the six or seven decades after its establishment, Darjeeling was stimulated in a western cultural style and was still adapting the metropolitan trait especially focused on the commercial ends and this not just led a way out to prioritize the summer capital but also mark the holiday spot giving the mutual feelings of oneness which was something bureaucrats was missing and its stimulated functions was to fill the vagueness on their busy life in an alien land. Therefore such shows were to replicate the mental image of living standard endowing them the cultural tangibility. The manifestation of said social liveliness can be discern in the functional parties held in the clubs like Gymkhana. Dozey gives the vivid description of costume party where everybody was to dressed up in white attire gathered in a ballroom to dance and often associated with ghost dance and to suit the ambience even the surrounding was filled with as he remarks with novel and uncanny idea where in walls hung snakes, lizards, owls, bats and all other unusual things.¹²¹

The functions and parties followed by dining and ball dance would be the usual theme of social gatherings. Such social gathering would generally lead to the gossips as a form of social interactions; one such noticeable feature can be seen in the gymkhana

¹¹⁹ E.C. Dozey. *Concise History of Darjeeling*. P.115-116

¹²⁰ J. D. Hooker. (1885, Reprint 2013). *The Himalayan Journals: notes on Naturalists in Bengal, The Sikkim, and Nepal Himalayas, the Khasia Mountains, & etc.* New Delhi: Today and Tomorrow's printers. P. 173. As he sates; if he (natives) brings a present he expects a return on the spot, and goes on begging till satisfied.

¹²¹ E. C. Dozey. *Concise history of Darjeeling*. P.117

club epically in the field of ball dance. As Keble gives the vivid picture of such scandalous scene held in gymkhana in the event of civil service ball:

The Gymkhana Club *hops*, and the Medical ball,
Civil Services swell dances, and others, most all
Bower *kala (black) jagahse*'enunder the stair!
"shameful, hidden, dark places," screened off for found pairs.
Should officaldom's wives not prohibit such places,
So disfavour gross scandal's concocted disgraces?¹²²

As Keble and even Dozey remarks that *kala jagahs*(cosy corners arranged for sitters-out during dances) also known as virtue traps had earned so much scandalous reputation that even the leading newspaper 'The Englishman' did not hesitate to publish such gossips.¹²³ The act of such calumny was often associated with the ball givers especially affiliated with Gymkhana club, civil service and other ball-givers. As Kable writes:

The Gymkhana Club, Civil service, and other ball-gives have gloried in a number of these screened in dark, *kala jagha*"virtue traps!" fixed up here and there, in-out-of-the-way corners, etc., for sitters-out. Such are never seen in the greatest House balls in the station; where for years a wholesome examples has been set, which however has appealed in vain to Darjeeling's frivolous, holiday-making *bon ton!* For couples have been seen going outside "heated, flushed, and champagne," on a cold night, and getting into hooded, closed rickshaws, this even at a Government House State Ball.¹²⁴

From the above mentioned statement, it becomes clear that such entertaining function was under the strict raider of vigilante and was ready to spared the hearsay of not just the bureaucrats officers but also their wife's and the young ones. Therefore one can say that virtue trap had enough gunpowder to blow up the reputed name that they took years to build and it was also something which goes against the Christian values of moral and ethic. Such scandalous event would certainly tarnish the name and it would take a lifetime to purify it.¹²⁵ As Cunningham remark that at the late of nineteenth century women was gaining more autonomy than in the Victorian era but it does not comply to say that they were independent from the men's world. Women were still

¹²²Keble. *Darjeeling Ditties*. p.14

¹²³ Ibid. P. 11

¹²⁴ Ibid. P.15

¹²⁵ Ibid 15

the object of leisure rather than the subject¹²⁶ and therefore as in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, western or the society of England was still clinging on Victorian value though it was eroding through the gradual process of time. To say, as they were the visitors and had inherited the western culture and had become the residential civilians of Darjeeling were the citizens of western hemisphere. *Kala jaghs* or virtue trap for the women of upper class to tag with such reputation was to degrade the family name in the society.

The social functions or the attribute of the western culture was becoming more and more visible in the Darjeeling hemisphere. It becomes evident that even the Maharaja of Cooch Behar organised the costume ball on October 1905. It was the social gathering where high ranking officers and aristocrat attended the function. The entire guests as Keble note down were dressed in a splendid fancy costume making the glittering image of kaleidoscopic ballroom. Their attire of women became the special focused as Keble scribes in a poetical manner

The Maharani, "Ind. Princess,"

In India dress, a great success,
Was just, exactly as she seemed,
From countless jewels, sparkles gleamed.
Princess Kumari Protiva,
Princess Sudhira, younger star,
Prince Victor "Jap" in silk galore.
Prince "Raji" smart, a "toreador"
In crimson cloth, excelsior!¹²⁷

This ball dance was not just the fashion show to display the elegance of dress but as Cunningham remarks in his article that it represented the power, position and wealth of their husbands and their success. The glittering of jewellery and the glamorous fancy dress of Indian princess was to represent the wealth and power of native aristocrats' family. It was not only the natives to display their wealth and success through the attire but English women were the most typical in displaying such

¹²⁶ Hugh Cunningham. (1982). *Class and Leisure in Mid Victorian England*. In B. Waites, T. Bennett & G. Martin, *Popular Culture Past and Present*. New York: Rutledge. Pp. 81-83

¹²⁷ Keble. *Darjeeling Ditties*. p. 57

grandeur. The functional programme held at government house represents the most etiquette display of their dress.¹²⁸ As Cunningham remarks “Dress for women, therefore has to be both expensive and impractical for productive labour, designedly uncomfortable, it testified in a general way to women’s economic dependence of man, and specially to the status of particular man.”¹²⁹

The dress, the elegance lifestyle, attending the ball became the normal social life of higher upper class. At one time the social nightlife struck on them so much that they danced almost till the dawn of the day as Dozey remarks: it was the state ball held on government house as he scribes

Two hundred and fifty guest attended the state ball given last night ... The white ball room, which was picked with decoration in red, formed a background of great beauty to the dancer whose sombre dress was relieved by the gay and gorgeous uniforms of His Excellency’s Staff and Military officers. At midnight the dancers passed through banks of scarlet runners, thrown into relief by trusses of eucharis like whose dazzling witness contrasted with the deep red of the roses, to the supper room from the walls and ceiling of which for the nonce a vine laden with bunches of grapes hung from trellis-work, while 17 tables shone with candelabra and silverware. Dancing was resumed after supper and continued till 3a.m.¹³⁰

The state ball was something that every upper-class man and women looks forward for their pastime leisure. It was so entwined in their social life that even in the exhibition show, the ball was organised. It was to be held before the preceding of art exhibition in government house where different guest arrived and the most mesmerising fine art exhibition was set out by Mrs. M Thompson’s “St. Cecilia”, daughter of Captain Keble, Manager of happy valley Tea Estate and the second was the “Morning Mists” by Mrs. Newton, wife of Rev. Newton Rector, St Paul’s school and was followed by the art of Robert Dunbar’s (editor of Darjeeling chronicles) displaying the graphic of “Sunset on the Snows”¹³¹

To draw the inference it was the social process to reproduce the image of commonality representing the cultural crust of Europe. It was not only affiliate to bring into being the newly social system of their kind but it was also to be implied in demonstrating the predominance of hegemonic rule. One such precedent can be seen

¹²⁸ Ibid. p. 62-67

¹²⁹ Huge Cunningham. *Class and Leisure in Mid Victorian England*. P.82

¹³⁰ E. C. Dozey. *Concise history of Darjeeling*. P.85-86

¹³¹ Keble. *Darjeeling Ditties*. P.64

in the celebration of queen's birthday in an alien land. This juncture of event celebrating the late queen's birthday showed their unquestionable rule of authority and symbolising them as the arbiter rule of colonial land. The queen's birthday celebration and declaring this auspicious day as government holiday was to mark their prime sovereign in this land. Displaying of such power can be seen in the testament of kebles writing

Her health was drank in *effervesce*.
Salutes from thundering men-o'-war,
With *feu de joie* and cannon's roar,
For sixty years and three years more,
Impressed the world from shore to shore

The date, although no state decree
Has said it should remembered be
Is kept up still, in memory yet,
By King, State, People, Court Gazette
Our Ruler and her Ladyship,
Desired so, their guest should trip
In Durbar splendid, specious hall,
And keep the day with grand State Ball.¹³²

To imply such behaviour of state was necessary as they felt them to show their power relation in each aspects of their life. One such feature can be seen in the newly appointed of governor of Bengal, where salutes and musical band was displayed as Keble writes:

Bengal's New Government has come!
With sound of bugle, roll of drum,
And Guard-of-Honour's flashing steel,
Presenting Arms, respect's ideal.

¹³² Ibid. P. 60

The captain gives the sword salute,
Which bring its point beside his boot.
The Regiment's Colour, staff and crown,
Is drooped, and near the ground brought down¹³³

The act of such elegance and grandeur show was necessary to symbolise their power of command and influence over their subordinates and also to map their hierarchical status. According to Pradhan, she believed that this hierarchy was sustained in a number of ways, one such feature was the giving of gun salute and the highest degree of this honour was given to the king or queen of Britain and she claims that the Indian princes was placed in the lowest position even lower than the viceroy.¹³⁴ The invitation to the party and other ceremonial functions became the conciliation zone of native aristocrat and the imperial officers. Its example can be seen in the writings of Kable, the welcoming party or the ceremonial function was given on the arrival of governor of Bengal in government house (also known as shrubbery) as he wrote:

Such Garden Party, all must know,
Could only *from* His Honor flow.
Without observing, one perceived,
Each guest was cordially received.
The Maharaja Cooch Behar,
Had sent State Band to give *éclat*;
Its playing always charms the ear,
With dulcet intonations clear.¹³⁵

During the early twentieth century, social reunion among the upper class was common theme one such example can be seen where at the government house musical programme was hosted and many European theme songs were played like *am genfer see, good bye* of Tosti's masterpiece and many more like *the Persian Garden*.¹³⁶

¹³³ Ibid. P24

¹³⁴ Queeny pradhan. *Empire in the Hills*. P.289

¹³⁵ Keble. *Darjeeling Ditties*. P.76

¹³⁶ Ibid. p. 77

The colonial officers threw many functions and parties as did the native aristocrat family where the exchange of guest party system was common but there is still the missing lacuna that needs to be fulfilled. The colonial writings do represent the class conciliation among them where these officers were the guest of honour in the natives' residency. To synopsise, natives welcomed their hospitality and treated them as a guest of honour to the fullest regard but the European culture and their cultural agencies made sure to mark the class distinction among the natives and them.

Commemoration of birthday, declaring the state holiday, and welcoming ceremony of upper echelons and their entourage was the hegemonic process to maintain their sovereign rule in colonial land. The like of such accomplishment would be justified if it is to believe what Pradhan wrote:

All the minutiae of daily rituals was extremely important in the British mind, for the nature of the colonial state in India was based upon winning a psychological battle more than the actual use of force. Hegemonic control over the mind of the subject populace was essential. Appropriation of every inch of the space, whether political, cultural, physical, or mental was essential to inspire awe and admiration as well as fear in the hearts of the colonized.¹³⁷

The pioneer effort by the state to simulate the living standard of their home country can be envisage in every materialistic social production. Such effort became more frequent with the beginning of early twentieth century. It can be noticed that as Nandani remarks that it represented the identity of two different social zoning¹³⁸ as one mentioned in the previous chapter, and the other as proclaiming themselves having high cultural value and displaying those social bounds through the medium of organised institutions. Therefore the functions like ball dance, dinning or some special programmes celebration or birthday party became their capital network to dispense not only their gossips but also their status to maintain and the most important to discusses on the matter of burning issues.

Usually, the social gathering (by means only the bourgeoisie class was to attain) was to be held in clubs like Gymkhana Club, Rink Hall and other places. These places were to be built on the replica of European style and such had the same functions

¹³⁷Queeny pradhan. *Empire in the Hills*. P.289

¹³⁸Nandin Pradhan. (2013). *Leisure, Economy and Colonial Urbanism (1835-1930)*. Urban History, vol.40 (n0.3). pp. 442-461

(shall be discussed with inference to the institutionalisation of leisure on next chapter). The term same functions as used in connoting the European theme if then scrutinised properly then this leisure activity was not just only the recreational space that is to be enjoyed but also served another function, the function of political ends. Michael Brauer, in his article ‘politics or leisure’ came to believe that politics and leisure go hand in hand as he remarks that ““political science, supreme among the arts (by arts he means the living standard of people where one is disciplined by the specific time.) Teaches man to govern himself, his family and subjects and all other matters according to just and appropriate order.””¹³⁹ He ascertain the fact that recreational and leisure activities becomes evident for the political ends so in paraphrasing the word it can be said that the recreational activities which the state introduced consigned two different ends, first it swayed the natives with their cultural fascination and second was meet the political ends.

Past Times and Sports of Gentleman and Ladies

Spending the time in a friendly ambience where the visitors and resident are welcomed in the clubs and parties where usually sponsored by the colonial officers. Dining, ball dance, theatre shows and public exhibition were some of the feature that usually displayed the particular bourgeoisie field of interest. Beside such recreational activities sports were also given the main importance for the character building. As such public funds were spent in the construction of recreational grounds. Some of the famous recreational grounds were the Birch Hill park, Lebong race course and the Senchal Golf Course. Birch Hill park was acquired by the government in 1877 at the cost of Rs 30,000. It has a large pavilion and a grotto in the grounds. Beside that governor summer residency i.e. shrubbery was used as the recreational field. Physical display such as Horse racing was among the popular followed by spear-stabbing, crickets were often played. The list of games played in Shrubbery on 6th may 1905 as represented by the given table

Table.3.1: : Games played at Shrubbery

name of the game	Winner
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¹³⁹Michel Braurer. (2015). Politics or Leisure? A Day in the life of King Charles V of France (1364-80). The Medieval History Journal. Vol. 18(no.1). P.60

Horse and Kerchief	Mr. And Mrs. Maddox, Military Accounts Dept.
Round a circle, Balls on the Top of Posts	Miss McNamara (visitor)
Spear-Stabbing	Harold Edwards, Esqre, Solicitor
Ladies' Pigsticking	
Dandywallahas race	
Jumping competition	Kenneth Mackenzie

Source: J. A. Keble, (1912). *Darjeeling Ditties and Other Poems: A souvenir* (2nd edition ed.). Calcutta: General Printing Company. Pp. 68-71

Among this the most brutal game displayed in Shrubbery was the “ladies Pig Sticking” as Keble wrote:

fifth number, " Ladies' Pigsticking." No more
The Programme told.—Beware! Here comes the boar!
Well-mounted, Captain P. Q. spurred his horse,
And gave the ladies lead around the course;
But piggy glib, made most the horses jib,
Afraid of *swine-o*, as of blazing squib;
The ladies followed keen, the brute around,
That jumped, careered, and bumped along the ground.

Brave Mrs. R. S. nearest spurring goes;
But piggy-wiggy 'scaped from all his foes.
At last, she reached and gave a spearing-bound,
But overbalancing, impinged the ground!
But quickly rose and smiled away our fears,
Unhurt in limb: no cause for grief or tears.
Then calmly walked her husband's aiding arm,
Her stay and shield from further risk or harm.¹⁴⁰

The game was simple as the name suggested while riding on a horse. The decisive victory for this game remains ambiguous, though there were two parties to be nominated, among them were Captain Rennie and Mrs Madox. The second stanza clearly provides the vague result. The other point if it is to be focused then it shows the changing structure and forms of women in European society. The changing association can be traced in this game. From the moral sense, it is often cruel to chase

¹⁴⁰ P.69

a pig by the horse to meet just a satisfactory end. Though in Europe's animal cruelty like bull baiting, cock fights were banned but hunting still had the provisional. For European ladies this game represented the act of dauntless and Cunningham remarks the nineteenth century Victorian era was changing. As bourgeoisie followed the patriarchal society but the transformation can be seen in the autonomy gained by the European women. May be this game represented the autonomy as Cunningham remarked.

The other game held in shrubbery were the race among the dandy as he quotes.

"Your Dandy wallahs, ladies, each send one"—
 To get them fixed in line was rather fun.
 Off went the race, which circumscribed the hill;
 The racers' clothes in flying *deshabille*.
 We saw no more, till minutes five had past.
 When three enthusiasts, reeling, came aghast;
 Dead-beat, or nearly so, and all awry ;
 Rupees though, soon their pains' indemnify.

This race among the *dandy bearers* was *representing* their *memsahib*. If it is to be seen from the forms and structure of the society then this labour class was just the commodity for their entertainment purpose. The situational environment shaped by the interest of colonial officers monitored the livelihood of labour class. The existing relationship was just the responded to the variables of situation.

Darjeeling Sky Race

Darjeeling sky race was to held for constructively for three days. The participation for this game was mostly residential officers with the countable natives. As the name suggest sky race, many of the cups and prizes were associated with these race. The table given below will list the number of races organised on May 1906

Table.3.2: Darjeeling Sky Race

No.	Race
1.	Novice Stakes
2	Kakina Scurry
3	Lieutenant-Governor's Cup
4	Lhassa Plate

- 5 The (late) Fred. Archer Plate
- 6 The Stewards' Plate
- 7 Cooch Behar Cup
- 8 Selling Race

Day 2 (11th May
1906)

- 1 Chowrasta Handicap
- 2 Hurlingham Vase
- 3 A Himalayan Purse
- 4 The Regimental Plate
- 5 Tibet Stakes
- 6
- 7 The Curio cup
- 8 Commissioner's Cup

Day 3 (12th May
1906)

- 1 The Carlton Cup
- 2 The Garrison Stakes
- 3 The Everest Stakes
- 4 The Railway Stakes
- 5 The Consolation Race
- 6 Darjeeling derby

Source: J. A. Keble, (1912). *Darjeeling Ditties and Other Poems: A souvenir* (2nd edition ed.). Calcutta: General Printing Company.. Pp. 79-86

The first day of the race was initiated by the two laps horse race or as it was called 'Novice Stakes' and was won by J. G. Wish. The noticeable race was to be seen on the first day of third race as he wrote.

" Lieutenant-Governor's Cup."—Third Race
Australians, Arabs, C.-B.'s, brace
And show a fine exciting chase.
Miss Shillingford, equestrian brave.

Her pet "Gazelle" did well behave.
 And came in romping like a boy,
 To prance to scales, the lady's joy,
 "Mignon," " Bell'donna," "Nelly Ray,"
 And " Fairyland," bestirred the fray;
 Their owners, *Galstaun*, G. B. *Cresswell*,
 Jonesy, Thomas, all are known to guess well,

The interesting feature was that the women were participating, expressing their changing autonomy in the structural position in Darjeeling hill.

Seventh Race.—A weight for inches run
 McCains smart start the race begun ;
 And keeping close beside the course.
 Brought " Dolly " round, the winning horse!
 Swift " Playful " tried his best to pass.
 But failed, though better horse, alas!
 An excellently ridden race;
 And one that would Tom. Cannon grace.
 'Twas sheer good riding saved being passed
 For surely " Dolly " ran out-classed;
 " Blue Bell," dear girl, though hard to say,
 No match was she for " Nelly Ray ; "
 And " Paradox " could not so spin.
 This "COOCH BEHAR Cup " prize to win.

This cup was to express the consent of Maharaja of Cooch Behar. The very act of organising the cup prize for horse racing was the evident fact that the native aristocrat were being assimilated in the cultural practice of western society.

The third day of the race was started by the Carlton race giving the debut by the Darjeeling Derby where almost fourteen sportsmen were to participated

Now came the grand " Darjeeling Derby. "
 All owners up, to make them hardy:
 No less than fourteen made the start!
 Some close and others wide apart.
 The terms were framed at dread midnight,
 Within the Club, without a light I—
 Regardless as to age or height,
No jostling, hustling, flying start.
Nor spurs or whips to torture, smart ;
Advantage-starters all go back.
And make a second better tack.
 The fourteen ups, in rolled shirt-sleeves,
 A motley throng, our throng perceives.

A. *Price* on eager big " Grand Slam,"
Went off with speed, like telegram.
And he and horse romped in, *real jam!*

Regarding Riders, all were good ;
And some had nerves like fibrous wood.
McCall, fresh, wiry, thin and tall,
Was jockey, head of nearly all ;
But best was he who never joggles.
Spare *Mr. Galstaun*, using goggles.
Lithe *Metcalf*^ wearing helmet gray,
As rider made a good display.
Young *Manley*, manly every inch,
A light-weight fine, at urgent pinch.
These four above; as good as pros.,
This every one could see and kno's ;
But *Captain Wilson's* scarlet cap.
For real close winning, got best clap ;
And *Captain J. G. Whisky*, 'tis true.
As rider, made a grand *debut*.
Skilled *Mr. Shillingford*, the Starter,
No one could be more sound, or smarter.
Misfortunate, he made no win,
A most surprising, striking thing.
Mackenzie, always active, well,
Sped-up the riders, rang the bell

The second stanza highlights the liveliness of horse racing sport, the thrill, the excitement given by the poet and sudden annunciation of winner as Kenneth Mackenzie, he was able to create the live action from just the words.

The Other sport enjoyed by the European officers were golf. Dozey even remarks that the golfers were almost welcomed to the Planter's Club for the application of Secretary.¹⁴¹ It was first started by as he quotes:

The idea of forming a Golf link originated with the Hon'ble Mr. Stevenson-Moore, C.V.O., I.C.S., and a meeting of golfers was called on May 20th, 1905, at which the following were present:-Mr. (now Sir) Robert Carlyle, Messrs W. A. Inglis, H. H. Green, J. H. E. Garrett, R. D. 'Murray, the Hon'ble Mr. Stevenson-Moore and Col. Sir W. J. Buchanan, K.C.I.E. It was then decided to prepare the ground on which these links stand at Senchal, which prior to the days of golf was visited on the way to Tiger Hill by tourists for a view, if possible, of Mount Everest.

¹⁴¹ E.C. Dozey. Concise History of Darjeeling. p.115

With the space of nine good holes but usually planning to make the thirteen holes but with the geographical difficulty had to adjust with the earlier one.¹⁴² Golf being the prestigious game had organised the cups like ‘the Himalayan Challenge cup’ usually played during October and the Bogie cup recently established usually May and June.¹⁴³

The other recreation were cricket, lawn tennis but they are just the recreational activities and the lacuna to establish as the popular sports i.e. to say the tournament hosted by the imperial design is still missing. Skating was common among the Europeans and was to use the rink (there are two rinks 1. Gymkhana club Rink and the second the Station Public Rink)¹⁴⁴

The recreational and the leisure activities were the means to an end for the bourgeoisie to maintain the hegemonic policy. The cultural practice of bourgeoisie value created the ideal place for the higher class and it promoted the circumstantial situation for the further imitations of western society giving the practical rise to clubs and also securing the field of tourism which shall be discussed in next Chapter

¹⁴² Ibid. 120

¹⁴³ Ibid.120

¹⁴⁴ Keble. Darjeeling Ditties and other poems. Pp.110-111

Chapter IV

Evolution of Hotels and Women of Hills.

The favourable condition to visit Darjeeling usually begins with the month of April and May and September and October, sunny day with the clear sky and weather with a friendly ambience makes the perfect day for the tours and travels. During this season the influx of visitors can be seen in the greatest numbers. With the growing numbers of tourism, the early nineteenth century was the increase in the enumeration of hotel. The fact that the growing tourism and increase in the boarding house and the creation of parks and hills with the appropriate communication and services, the town of Darjeeling was slowly moulding in the urban town retaining its character of aesthetic beauty with the feature of medical benefit and i and the With the growing of commercialisation supported by the state and its policy. It was the interest of the imperial people to give the Darjeeling the attribute of medical function and with the knowledge of commercialisation, with the cultural practice as explained in the third chapter and to suit the friendly ambience among the visitors they created the clubs. With the condition created by the imperial officers, such situational development often was respondent in a positive way. The travellers especially from Europe, to spend their holidays, private entrepreneur with the responsible state was able to create friendly environment. The admission to the clubs gave them the quick access to the social structure giving them the opportunity of social interactions among their class.

This chapter also deals with the questions of women, although the previous chapters had highlighted the some of the spots on regard to the issue of women but was not able to concentrate on the social and economic position. A woman in the field of study, especially in constructing the history in the sphere of socio- economic and culture and politics, for the most part, remains untouched. The question of labour history with reference to the women can hardly be seen. Women during the late nineteenth century, with the British intervention, were changing in a drastic manner. Their life style, their habitual and their ideology was the respondent to the situation manifested by the British officers.

Developments of Hotel

The beauty of hill station and the process to describe its grandeur and the medium of expression to the audience gave the commercialisation and hence attracting tourist to the vicinity. The state was able to make the guide route in correspondence with the private entrepreneur. Before entering to the vicinity of Darjeeling, they were able to book a hotel from the Calcutta. From Calcutta to Darjeeling their journey was to be marked by the train. With the growing numbers of visitors and the trouble of accessing the motor line vehicle, D.H.R. (Darjeeling Himalayan Railway) was able to solve the problem by arranging the motor but starting earlier than train and also giving the panorama scenery of Darjeeling hills. As Dozey Remarks:

Mr. R. B. Addiss, the Enterprising Manager of the D. H. Railway, has called for quotations from Home for the supply of motors which will run on the present lines and land passengers at either terminus quicker than by the mail train. Leaving Siliguri a little before the train starts, passengers, it is expected, will be landed at Darjeeling about 11 a.m. ; and also enable them to leave about 4 p.m. in order to entrain into the E. B. Railway on scheduled time.¹⁴⁵

By the time of the early twentieth century, the communication of tourism had become the complex phenomena and with the managements of hotel and with the corporation of state and D.H.R. made an easy travel for the visitors. Therefore as Dozey remarks:

Mr. A. Stephen, of the Grand Hotel, Calcutta, meets passengers on arrival of the mail train at Siliguri at six o'clock in the morning. Then follows a 3½ hours' glide through the most charming scenery. In many places, the motor road-the going is wonderfully good & all the way-shoots off from alongside the rail track, thus allowing travellers a chance of peeps at many glorious and little-known valleys.¹⁴⁶

The system of network connection was increasing and with the construction of new roads and building made easy for the travellers to get the means of transportation. Still, there were other areas that British were still yet to venture. Therefore with the arriving of tourist in Darjeeling at station, they are usually welcomed by the coolies of Darjeeling to carry their luggage to their destination.

¹⁴⁵ E.C. Dozey. (1889). *A concise History of Darjeeling since 1835 with a complete itinerary of Tours in Sikkim and the District*. Calcutta: Art Press. P.26

¹⁴⁶ Ibid. p.26

If it is to follow the time line of development of hotel, it almost began with the acquisition of Darjeeling. 'The Darjeeling Family Hotel' was to be the first one to be constructed on the year 1839 with just only containing twelve rooms subsequently followed by Wilson Hotel. It had two –storied accompanied by eighteen rooms. Within a short span of time Woodlands was to be on the list followed by Drum Druid, Rockville, Bellevue and the Central Hotel containing forty rooms.¹⁴⁷

Among the Hotels of Darjeeling, Hotel Mount Everest was to be the best and was constructed on 12th October 1915. Its architecture blue print was designed by Mr. A. Stephen Wilkinson. It was the most elegant and grand hotel containing one hundred and twenty rooms.¹⁴⁸ As he wrote:

Seated round such a table one can truly say with 'Punch':-
"How good to sit at twilight's close
In a warm Inn and feel
That marvellous smell caress the nose
With promise of a meal!
How good when bell for breakfast rings
To pause, while tripping down,
And snuff and snuff till Fancy brings
All Arcady to Town."¹⁴⁹

The Mount Everest Hotel contained 120 rooms declaring to be the one of the largest and hotel with the system of continental services. It has a polish wooden floor and a arm chair with the polished dark green leathers. It has a four fire-place to heat the room and a balcony to view the snowy mountain range. This hotel provided everything for a tourist to make their living easy, standard and comfort.

Most of the hotels are as table. 4.1 shows were under the European management and equipped with electric light. The rate of rooms varies in accordance with positions and furnishing of rooms and this principle applies to every hotel in Darjeeling. These hotels are equipped with recreational facilities like billiard, Lawn tennis and badminton court, having most of them to offers the balcony with the panoramic view of Himalayas.

Table.4.1: The list of Hotels during 1910s and their location with manager.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid. p.27-28

¹⁴⁸ Ibid. p. 28

¹⁴⁹ Ibid. p.29

Name	Location	Manager
Bellevue	Commercial Row	Mrs. Kelly
Garrets (central House)	Mount Pleasant Road	Manager
Central Hotel	Post office Road	Mr. Daroga
Drum Druid	Commercial Row	Mr. Mahoney
L.J. Vado, Ltd.	Ditto	Manager
Hotel Mount Everest	Auckland Road	Manager
Park Hotel	Meadow Bank Road	Ditto
Rockville (The Grand)	Harman's Road	Mr. Mahoney
Woodlands	Off Cart Road	Ditto
Ada Villa	Observatory Hill	Mrs. C. T. Kirby
Alice Villa	Mount Pleasant Road	Manager
Annandale	Cart Road	Mrs. Carter
Beechwood House	Mackenzie Road	Mrs. I. Stuart
Caroline Villa	Kutchery Road	Manager
El Esparanza	Ditto	Mrs. Sells
Fern Cottage	Post office Road	Mrs. Rowe
Havelock House	Auckland Road	Mrs. Black
La Roche	Kutchery Road	Miss Billon
May Cottage	Lloyd's Park	Miss De Souza
The Labyrinth	Auckland Road	Manager
Balacava Hotel	Old Military Road	Manager
Clarendon Hotel	Cart Road	Mr. H.H. Pell
Sorabjee's Hotel	Ditto	Manage
Wood Hill	Club Road	Mrs. Hasell

Source: E.C. Dozey. (1889). A concise History of Darjeeling since 1835 with a complete itinerary of Tours in Sikkim and the District. Calcutta: Art Press. pp. 29-30

From the table 4.1, it is to be noted that the commercial line of hotel were managed mostly the Europeans and most of them were to be the women excising their power of autonomy. Mr Robertson in his book Darjeeling tours and travels has given the spotlight the guiding feature for the tourist in Darjeeling. His descriptive account mainly deals with the management of hotels and their location and routes. This book also gives about the popular places and hotels for the stay and also provides the rate of

rooms giving the tourist the multiplicity of choice. The rate of the room varies according to the position and the luxury provided the room as table 4.2 had shown.

Table 4.2. Accommodation and Rate of Room.

Boarding House	Prize	Room	Accommodation
Central Hotel	Rs. 6	1	First floor
	Rs. 5	1	Second floor
	Rs. 4	1	Third floor
Jones' Hotel	Rs.4	1	Normal day
	Rs.5	1	Pooja festival
Ada Villa	Rs.10	1	From 31 st March to 1 st November
	Special arrangement is made	1	1 st November to 31 st March
Labyrinth	Rs.5	1	
Sunny Bank (Established for Ladies only.)	Rs.4	1	Board
	Rs.5	1	Residence
	Rs.50	1	Children under 14 per month
	Rs.2	1	Children under 14 per day

Source: P. Robertson. (1913). Darjeeling Route Guide with Directions, Plan, a map and a complex index for the instruction and guidance of visitor to the town. Darjeeling: Bose pres. pp .8-10 and 19-21

Table 4.1 shows that the Rs.5/ to be the average rate of the room and has their own season to raise the rate of room. Beside that some hotels like the Woodland, Rockville and Drum Druid provided the ponies on hire. The Hotels like Alice Villa is well known for the cuisine. The rate of the hotel depended on seasonal. The winter season i.e. December to February the rate of tourist dwindled as for the cold and shifting the interest of visitors in the interest of plain. Therefore the influx of variation can be seen as such spring and autumn seasons were the best for the tourist to visit Darjeeling.

Darjeeling was a small flourishing town and with the predominate of Bourgeoisie culture and the institution established according to their interest was there to maintain

their flow of continuity. It created the safe zone for the invested to invest their capital as table. 4.1 show the list of hotels emerged within the short span of time. Hotels not just became the commodity market for their investment but it also provided the location for social gathering but was to be limited to the upper echelons. It became the field for the cultural practice like concerts, carol and etc. Hotel wood land and Drum Druid this twin sister¹⁵⁰ became the field of practice to support their cause. Darjeeling choral union started by the residents of Darjeeling and consisting of thirty member at the most, practiced their choral on the drawing-room of Woodland's Branch hotel. Therefore hotels often promoted social gatherings, such instances can be seen concert organised in drum druid hotel on 22nd December 1906 and the list of programme played during the violin concert were as he wrote. *Romance in G* major key of Beethoven followed by *Chanson Paroles* of Tchaikovsky's. The third one *perpetuum mobile* composed by Ries and after that it was by Wieniawski's performance of *legend: Mazurka*. The next was the Davorak's *Humoresque* creating the ambience of quaint air after that it was successively followed by Chopin's *Nocturne* and lastly by Sarastate's *Zig'weisen* with that the programme was concluded.¹⁵¹ The friendly environment with the affable amiability constructed by the bourgeoisie practice gave them the psychological assurance of Darjeeling to be their practical home town.

Emergence of Club

After procuring the accommodation in boarding house, the best way for the visitors to see the beauty of Darjeeling and to fraternize within the social group of European was to associate with clubs. The easiest way for the admission was through the known relatives and acquaintance. For the gentleman interested in nature of sports were more than welcomed in the clubs. There were two clubs in Darjeeling. Planters being associated as the name suggest and the Gymkhana club. Being in the club provided the visitors with recreational facilities, entertainment, programmes and many other leisure activates as discussed in the third chapter.

The planters club: It was first registered as Darjeeling Club Ltd. The club was mainly attained by the planters. The building had the luxurious room with four billiards with a reading room and a library. The admission for the club as Robertson highlights, to be paid by the members were as follows:

¹⁵⁰ Ibid, P. 27-28

¹⁵¹ J.A. Keble. (1912). *Darjeeling Ditties and Other Poems: A Souvenir* (2nd Edition ed.) Calcutta: General Printing Company. P.117

- Entrance fee Rs. 70
- Annual subscription Rs. 12
- Monthly Subscription for the members residing within Municipal or cantonment, Rs.6/-
- Monthly subscription for members within 20 miles, Rs. 4
- Monthly subscription for member residing outside twenty miles, Rs 2
- Monthly subscription for temporary member, Rs. 16/-
- Monthly subscription for Army and Navy officers above the rank of 2nd Lieutenant who wish to become temporary member, Rs.10/-
- Monthly subscription for army and navy for under the rank of 2nd Lieutenant, Rs 5/-

Gymkhana club: The gymkhana club was established around 1870s. It was usually called the Amusement Club in 1909 it was changed into the Darjeeling Gymkhana Club ltd. The club had their own threats displaying the shows on matinee time. It also organised the ball and threw programmes and parties. For the visitors of Darjeeling Gymkhana was for their best interest to suit their recreation activity.

The entree fees structure of the permanent members given by Robertson is as follows.

For single member Rs 20 was charged for admission and Rs 10 for the following month. Rs 30 for the two family member and Rs 15 for the following month.

Table. 4.3. Subscription for the members of Gymkhana Club

Numbers of members	Time allocation	Rate of charge
Single	one month (permanent)	Rs. 10
Family of two person	Ditto	Rs. 15
Family of more than two person	Ditto	+ 5(for every additional members)
Single member	Twelve month permanent	Rs 15

Family of two person	Ditto	Rs 18
Family of more than two person	Ditto	+Rs6(for every additional member)
Single member	Fifteen days (temporary)	Rs15
Family of two person	Ditto	Rs20
Family of more than two person	Ditto	+Rs(for every additional member)
Single member	One month (temporary)	Rs 25
Family of two persons	Ditto	Rs 30
Family of more than two person	Ditto	+Rs5 (for every additional members)
Single member	Longer than one month (temporary)	Rs20
Family of two members	Ditto	Rs25
Family of more than two persons	Ditto	+Rs5 (for every additional member)

Source. : P. Robertson. (1913). Darjeeling Route Guide with Directions, Plan, a map and a complex index for the instruction and guidance of visitor to the town. Darjeeling: Bose pres P.63-64

Club offered the best place for socialising the visitors of Darjeeling and being the members of club they were able to allocate their leisure activity even in the state organised functions. Therefore the programmes held by state or the events and sports, visitors actively took place. It can be said that club was means to an end for the visitors to spend the leisure holiday.

The Ambience of Tours and Travels

The clubs and hotels as designed and works in the principle of western concepts and it becomes easier for the visitors to adapt the new geographical terrain. Beside the factors provided by the institutions of leisure, Darjeeling still has more possessions to grant. The records of colonial officers and visitors often give an insight of travels. The travels often includes as propelled by the desire to witness the glamour and beauty of hill and their place of interest is often vested in visiting the neighbouring vicinity of Darjeeling

The travelling expenditure is expensive and had to carry everything except beds, chairs and tables and the rest should be managed by itself. Best time for expedition usually starts from middle of October to middle of November and from March to May. For the safety of the travels as there is always the political tension and to save the heavy expenditure application should be made to executive engineer, P.W.D or to the Deputy Commissioner.

Table 4.4. Passes issued by the Deputy Commissioner, Darjeeling

No.	Place	Distance in Miles	Height in feet above sea level	Number of rooms number of Bed Mattress				
				Bed	Dinning	Sitting	Beds	Mattresses
1	Senchal (old)	6 from Darjeeling	8,000	4	1	0	4	4
	Senchal (new)	6 from Darjeeling	8,000	2	1	0	0	0
2	Rangoon	6 ½ from Darjeeling	5,700	2	2	2	0	0
3	Badamtam	7 ½ from Darjeeling	2,500	2	0	0	0	0
4	Mirik	20 from Darjeeling 12 from Jorepokri	5,000	2	0	0	2	2
5	Lopchu	14 from Darjeeling 4 ½ from Pashoke	5,300	2	0	0	5	1
6	Kalimpong	28 from darjeeling via Pashoke and Bridle Path and 23 via Runget and Bridle path	4100	4	1	1	8	8
7	Jorepokri	12 ½ from Darjeeling	7,400	2	1	0	7	6
8	Tonglu	10 from Jorepokri, 14 from Sandakphu	10074	2	1	0	7	6

9	Sandakphu	14 from Tunglu, 12 ½ from Phalut	11,929	2	1	0	6	6
10	Phalut	12 from Sandakphu, 17 from dentham	11,811	2	1	0	7	5
11	Melli	11 from Badamtm and 11 from Rungpo, 3 from Tista Bridge, 5 from Kalimpong	800	2	1	1	4	0
12	Rungpo	11 from Melhi, 10 from Pakyong, 5 from Sankokhola	1,200	4	1	1	1	0
13	Sankokhola	5 from Rangpo, 18 from Kalimpong	1,400	3	2	1	4	0

Source: W.J. Buchanan. (1916). Notes on tours in Darjeeling and Sikkim. Darjeeling improvident fund. P.2

Table. 4.5.Passes issued by the Executive Engineer, P.W.D., Darjeeling.

Number	Place	Distance in Miles from darjeeling	Distance in miles from next Bunglow	Height in feet above sea-level
1	Pedong	43	12 from kalimpong	4760
2	Pashoke	17 (26 from Pedang)	11 from Rangaroon	3,300
3	Teesta Bridge	19 (via Rungeet)	3 ½	710
4	Riang	25 Or27	6	625
5	Kalijhora	32 (via Teesta Bridge)	7	550

Source. Newman guide. Newan's Guide to Darjeeling and its surroundings, Historical and Descriptive, with some Account of the Manners and Customs of the Neighbouring Hill Tribe, and a Chapter on Thibet and the Thibetans, (1900). Calcutta: W. Newan.Co. P. 42.

The journey was usually to be of one weeks but can be prolonged for proximately six weeks as in the case of Florence Donaldson where their journey was from to be from

Darjeeling via Kalimpong to Sikkim and it took three weeks for them¹⁵². Other courses of Path were Mount Everest, Tibet and many others.¹⁵³ The expense for the journey was every much expensive and everything was to be carried as such numbers of divisions of labours were needed. As Dozey wrote:

When touring, the charge should not exceed Rs. 10/- per head per day; and, obviously, the larger the party the cost should proportionately be less. Thus: - Kit Re. 1/- to 1/8 per clay, *Khamsamathe* the same, Sweeper annas twelve to Re. 1/-; the remainder on coolies, who demand annas twelve each day, although the tariff fixed by the municipality is annas eight. The above, of course, does not include the hire of ponies or horses which varies from Rs.3 / - to Rs. 5/ - per day according to the season in which engaged, that is, the latter amount is demanded during the poojahs.¹⁵⁴

The accommodation on bungalow was provided but everything was to be managed by them. Here O'brian makes the list of labours wage to be served on bungalows

Table.4.6. Wages of labour in a proximate figure

Bearer	Rs 10-12
Khitmutgar	Rs 12-14
Cook	Rs 16 upward
Ayah	Rs 10-14
Dhai (with food)	Rs 30-50
Syce	Rs 8
Leaf cutter	Rs 7
Dhobi (according to households)	Rs 10 upwards
Bhisti (who serves several houses)	Rs 6-10
Mehter	Rs 12-14
Dandy-bearers	Rs 8-10 each
Tailor	Rs 10-18

Source: R.D. O'Brien. (1883) *Darjeeling: the Sanatorium of Bengal, and its surroundings*. Calcutta: W. Newman & co. P.26.

According to O'Brian, the servants in Darjeeling were expensive but were very excellent in their work. Beside the management of servants, there were great numbers

¹⁵²¹⁵² Florence Donaldson. (1900). *Lepcha Land or six weeks in the Sikkim Himalayas*. London: Sampson Low Marston & Company. P. 213

¹⁵³ For the travelling passages and routes see. W.J.Buchanan (1916) *Notes on tours in Darjeeling and Sikkim*. Darjeeling improvident fund.pp. 2-5 and 17-28.

¹⁵⁴ E.C. Dozey. *Concise history of Darjeeling* P. 246.

of bungalows that shelters the visitors while on they way for their excursion. Dozey provides the list of bungalows situated in Darjeeling.

Table. 4.7. Location of Bungalows in Darjeeling Hills

Bungalows	Altitude	Miles	From
Battassai	6,958	5	North-West of Jorapukri
Debripani	6000	2 ½	South of Jorapukri
Lepchajagat	7000	5	West of Ghum
Palmajua	5,900	4	North of Tonglu
Rambi	6,250	5	South East of Ghoom
Ramman	7,500	7	South East of Phalut
Rimbic	7,980	6 ½	North of Palmajua

Source: E.C. Dozey. (1889). A concise History of Darjeeling since 1835 with a complete itinerary of Tours in Sikkim and the District. Calcutta:Art Press.p. 244

The number of bungalows erected as shown in the table. 4.7 and the increasing figure of building with cooperation of state and the investment of the capital entrepreneur were able to create the tourist spot specially aimed for the higher section of society. It became the perfect holiday resort for the colonial officers to spend their holiday. It gave the simulated feature of mini England but with the different location. They were able to enjoy solace and peace free from the heat of plains and dirt and often gave the reminiscing pleasure of their home country.

Condition of Women

Women have always been attracted the dim spotlight. The understanding of cultural or social change without the focus on issue on of women may lead to the formation of lacuna. From the accounts specified by the colonial officers postulate the structural form of society. From the general understanding provided by the records, it stipulates that women and men in the hill region covering the labour class and if it is to be hypothesised then their society were pretty much equal. The displacement of physical labour was common among the women or even showed the grate sturdy then men as remark by William H. Rau. “one one occasion, one of these sturdy women actually

carried a grand piano on her back from Kurseong to the station, a work that an English or American railway Porter would not think of attempting.”¹⁵⁵ When the British officers provided the wage system they became swayed by this system. They were far more hard labourers than the men of hills as many of the records can be found in glorifying their labour skill in carrying the load. They were not just the commodity tools for the physical pleasure to offer but were also the part of the social system displaying their integral role of family in the aspects of earning the economy. Women of Darjeeling were not just bound in the limited field space of family institution but they were also the work force of Darjeeling. In the field of labour men and women cooperated jointly as a partner as Waddell remarks “many of them (coolies) have brought their wives, great sturdy good-natured women who carry even heavier loads than the man. If it is to consider the autonomy of women then compared to the rest of the classes women in Darjeeling had much more share in liberty than the other part of the country. The reason for this can be traced in the access of economy as they were actively involved in earnings for living.

The period of late nineteenth and early twentieth century especially women in Darjeeling had to bear the burden of social and economic responsibility. The obligation of rearing the children falls under the supervision of young women’s while the mother was to engage for the earnings of living. Waddell remarks while on his journey to Sikkim saw a “women (young one) carrying their children in a basket slung over their back and the men with their loads in baskets similarly strapped over their foreheads”¹⁵⁶ so at the very young age women were capable of displaying their social attribute and responsibility and were often engaged in labour system. The social interaction with the other men of the same class was usually seen as Donaldson remarks. “Women mixed freely with men, and it was easy to see that the art of filtration was not altogether unknown to them.”¹⁵⁷ Therefore the system of restriction or confinement of women by the family as in Northern India was absent. The situational condition may have been the response to the capitalistic value system as they were the elemental aspect of the labour value system and women able to display the brute force of labour may have given the assurance in the field of labour and hence making the structure of Darjeeling a different.

¹⁵⁵ William H. Rau, *A descriptive Reading on Darjeeling*. (1891). Philadelphia. P.9

¹⁵⁶ L. A. Waddell (1900). *Among The Himalaya*. Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co. P17

¹⁵⁷ Florence Donaldson. (1900). *Lepcha Land or six weeks in the Sikkim Himalayas*. London: Sampson Low Marston & Company. P. 74

With the new capitalistic value governing the vicinity of Darjeeling and as exposed by the radiant of bourgeoisie codes and conducts which created the system of wage. This system engulfs the social structure and forms of society and created the systematic conditioned and the practical living experience of labour class was the response to the newly created formation. Therefore women being companion of man in the field of job was again the deterministic factor answered by the change in the production relation. The social institution of labour class and their interaction among them was the phenomena developed by the unconscious effort of British intervention policy. It can also be said that the ideology of the labour class was influenced by the capitalist value pattern. This can be seen in the institution of marriage. The background produced by the capitalistic system of wage labour created the intimacy field among the labour class as women were often the companion in the field of the work. So it can be said the forms of marriage, in such case was often to be decided by the young once but there are case where marriage was to be decided by the parents. One such case was presented by lady pioneer in her book the Indian Alps. The girl with the well to do family was to marry the a man of his father's choice but her desire was to settle with the labour boy whom father refused and as a result, she eloped with him.¹⁵⁸ But of course her situation was different as she worked as governance and she was educated in a sense that she could read and write the basic of English.

The Europeans were able to change the structure and forms of the society and that they were even to influence the life style of hill folks. Their livelihoods were depended on labours or to be precisely it was the structures created by the colonial officers. Nevertheless, the factors responsible for the condition of coolie women in hills lived the life of poverty stricken and the colonial officers and their entourage became the subject to discuss. Europeans often gave the critique on the appearance and behaviour of hill women and were to become the subject of amuse. As William Haul was right in saying that the Nepal coolie women with the hard toil was unable to rise from there poverty while the officers were busy in maintaining their glorious policy.¹⁵⁹

With the change in the structure of a society with the British intervention, hill people quickly adapted the situation created by their policy. New values and codes were adopted by the women of hill region. Just as the clothes of women displayed the

¹⁵⁸Lady Pioneer. (1876). *The Indian Alps and how we crossed them*. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. P. 71- 73

William H. Rau, A descriptive Reading on Darjeeling .P. 12-13

wealth and standard in European society, necklets worn by the women portrayed such feature. As Waddle remarks “the women ... dressed in all the colours in rainbow, and laden with massive gold and silver jewellery, and necklets of rupee, they were their fortune in their neck”¹⁶⁰ the Bhutia women were the most to display it as Waddle wrote: but all are beaming with good temper, and they wear massive amulets and charms like breastplates, of gold and silver filigree work set with turquoises; and their prayer-wheels and rosaries are also be-jewelled. The richer women wear chaplets of large coral beads, costing as much as ten to twenty pounds a set, and many wear, hanging from their girdles, various silver ornaments and Chinese chopsticks.¹⁶¹ He brings to the conclusion that the native hill people as their wives and young girl displayed the expensive jewellery and necklets as he jumps to the conclusion that it was to be extracted from the Europeans.¹⁶² The richness of the hill women was to be portrayed by the amount of necklets they wear.

The women of hill if it is to be seen in the condition of autonomy then they had the liberty to do the labour work force but of course, it was the condition provided by the imperial value. It can be said that the women of the hills had the higher responsibility as they were the part of economy for earning their livelihood and also had the responsibility of domestic household.

¹⁶⁰ L.A. Waddle. *Among the Himalayas*. P. 44

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.* P. 46-17

¹⁶² *Ibid.* P 54

Conclusion

The colonial hill station of Darjeeling, within the very short amount of time, made the quantum leap. The progress for this leap was propelled by the intervention of British policy. The propelling factors that is. to annex the vicinity of Darjeeling were to secure the position of British policy from the threat of Russia and china. Darjeeling was to be marked by the geo strategic position. With the intention to check the future threat, Darjeeling station was constructed. The project gained its success by securing the plot of land from the Raja of Sikkim on the premise to build the summer capital of colonial Bengal.

With the establishment of political boundary, British began to invest their capital, within the gradual process of time; they began to dispense their vested interest. The construction of observatory hills, roads and the residential houses were soon to be seen in flourishing condition. The development from the bourgeoisie sense was rapidly ameliorating, which can be witnessed in the demographic rate as well as progress in the urbanisation. The Darjeeling hill administered by the colonial officers and with their imperial policy began to change the social structure of hill. The fact that colonial record, recorded the natives to live the life of archaic style and was to be changed by the thrust produced by the imperial force. The policy of British introducing the new systems and their behavioural pattern was to change the structure and forms of the society. With the process of urbanisation new thoughts and values began to penetrate the social structure of hill people. The new bourgeoisie value which was introduced as the system of wage labour greatly affected the life of the colonial hill people.it was the new concept ingrained with new ideology and having its dynamic implication, the culture of the native began to respond in a synchronistic manner. The interrelationship with the wage system and accepting the stimulated value, and coexistence of the old value system did created the thrust challenging the old structure of the native hills. The counter resistance of such thrust was managed by the ideological implication of native aristocrat by implying the pressure against the thrust. The thrust created by the bourgeoisie faced the oddity which was then answered by the call of political domination. With the political derivation and the technological refinement, imperial officers proved their capacity or demonstrated their capitalistic power declaring themselves as the legitimate ruler.

The first task that is to secure the political domination was successful. The rupture created by the natives was stabilised by annexing the portion of Sikkim territory. The second task, if it is too categorised was to be the most difficult task. To maintain their dominance, social and cultural integration was necessary. The integration of culture dose not here means the class conciliation process. Here it means the findings of cultural associate of the same class or to be precisely, a class sharing the same cultural living experience. The practical usage of practice culture and their displacement of their social liveliness were to become the elemental procedure in maintaining the continuum of their dominance. The derivative principle in maintaining the cultural practice needed the foundational theme that is. their practice of culture essentialised the ambience of secure social position and this was to be done by the establishment of bourgeoisie value.

The interest of colonial officers was to secure the geo-strategic position and the policy of British Raj was able to secure their interest. As mentioned above, culture becomes the constitutive element for maintaining their policy of dominance and to secure, construction of town was necessary as it provided the intrinsic value for the cultural practice of European officers. With the establishment of sanatorium and the construction of road, it provided an interest for bourgeoisie class and as well as fulfilled the first objective of imperial design.

The viability of bourgeoisie interest produced an opportunity for the native of hill to test their fortune and as such hill people of the surrounding area began to respond the situations created by the imperial force but as afro-mentioned, the response from the Sikkim was incongruity in nature and hence procuring the labour force was to be mostly dependent on the surrounding region of Nepal, Bhutan and Tibet and Sikkim¹⁶³ (as it remained inconsistence with the supply of labour). The bourgeoisie with their new ethics and code began to infiltrate the living experience of hill people. First, they were organised or be précised categorised in the system of wage labour and secondly colonial officers were under the assumption of liberating them from the feudal system as they assured to provide the healthy life style. From their experience, British provided the silver lining for their life in Darjeeling which can often be contradict in nature and lastly, it changed their cultural structural of their lives.

¹⁶³ Due to its political ruckus as Sikkim was against the imperial policy, the raja of Sikkim hesitate to provide the labour for the constructions of roads and other paraphernalia.

The thrust of impact upon Darjeeling Hills by the values and codes of Victorian England began to distort the conscience understandings of hill people. The regulation and implication of their changing structure and forms of social and cultural structure changing. The change of dynamics which British saw in Hindu Nepali often imposed the wrong connotation with the invalid Judgement as the considered Hindu to be dominant religion encompassing the same structure and forms. Of course, there were changing adaptations that can be witnessed but the record provided by the colonial officers and the Hypothesis made on the general assumption of social mobility and status presented by the force of capitalism still needs to be revised.

With the development of capitalistic cultural value, the cultural production of the native hills and their social existence and their interaction with the other class came under the deterministic values and the change in the production was to be reflected in social cultural practice. In other words, the imperial force, equipped with the updated technological apparatus and the knowledge of reasoning displayed their cultural, social, political and economic predominance and this became the significant tool in determining their social existence and their interrelations with the other class. Therefore the factors like their social relationship and their habitat were often the response to the variable relationship of situational condition, manifested by the process of imperialistic policy. It can be said that the leisure time spend by the native hills was the implication of the environment that bourgeoisie had introduced.

With the implication of British Ideology and their cultural practice often maintained their hegemonic predominance. The practical living experience and their social form and the structure created the ideal place. To maintain their position and supremacy they began to construct the native history in their own accord and understanding. As such the work of colonial record, recorded their perspective of their understanding and thus often produced the ambience suited for their interest. Therefore the critique on the leisure of hill peoples their natural habitat and life style often came in the constant judgement. The life style, especially the hill people were under the economic compulsion manifested by the capitalistic production. The capitalistic value in Darjeeling if it is scrutinised properly then it had the immense impact on women. They were becoming the part of the part of the system of wage labour, and infect that the colonial records proves that the women to be more sturdy in lifting the heavy weights. The women in the hills had the higher responsibility or they had the autonomy, of course, it was limited by the liability of resource allocation and the

existence condition provided by the bourgeoisie value. This autonomy or it would be correct to term as compulsive autonomy, because the social existence that the imperial force created, gave the women the subjection of choice. With their deterministic condition and the allocation of resources to be in the hands of upper class and the liberty of compulsive choice and the opportunity created by the imperial force gave the women the position of wage labourers. Thus they had the responsibility of economy as well as the social implication that is they had to manage social and domestic welfare also.

The maintenance or the continuum of their hegemony was to be seen in the form of cultural practice. As the growing trend of bourgeoisie was fashioned by the growing trend of high culture as such the displacement of such culture can also to be seen visible in the ambience of Darjeeling hills. The practice of scribing the poem in describing the aesthetic beauty was the most common feature. The art, in fact, became the tool of monopoly to express their social values and existence. As art in the Darjeeling was to be governed by the bourgeoisie state, therefore it came under the relationship of commodity value. Therefore the literature, paintings and even music had the demand in the market and author had to response the market value. The creation of art, therefore, was the demand in response by the author and their production was determined by their social relation of the respected class and the patronage relation and the demand of the audience.

Art became the specific feature for creating the identity and representing them their status. The recreation and their leisure time gave an assurance of their process of conciliation. Playing the golf or attending the play or the state orchestrated functions and party provided them with the cultural solidarity. As art displayed their distinct identity and leisure created the space for the communal solidarity. Besides that, the displacement of art and leisure gave them the positive response in constructing the ambience of mini England.

The environmental situation created by the bourgeoisie class was successful in replicating the mini England and thus it was able to represent the vibe of the western culture procuring an assurance for the visitors as they were mostly to be the Europeans. The commercial process to advertise the beauty of hill attracted the attention of tourist giving the possible development for the constructions of hotels. With the growing development of Darjeeling and the process of urbanisation and the

growing popularity of summer capital holiday, it was able to gain the epithet of 'Queen of hills'. As aesthetic beauty, Darjeeling represented and attracted the visitors and thus giving the rise to the evolution of hotels and bungalows. It is also to be remembered that the hotels also played the significant role in the conciliation process as the club deed. Club indeed was to be the best for the visitors to see the replica of cultural settings produced by the bourgeoisie values and codes.

Appendix I

Purchasing of Birch Hill Park *

Proceedings under Act X of 1870.

Two declaration were published in the Gazette of the 20th December, 1876 under date of 19th December, to the effect that II locations within the Darjeeling Municipality were required for public purposes, viz.

Sunny Slope, Rose Mary Bank, Strawberry Bank, Birch Hill No. I, Birch Hill No. 11, Birch Hill No. 111, Fern Hill, Prospect Hill, Sunny Hill, Darjeeling Hotel, and Lockinvar Hill.

All the above locations forming part of what is known as the Trust for the family or children of Samuel Smith represented by the Official Trustee of Bengal. By a letter dated 5th May, 1877 the official Trustee expressed his willingness to accept a sum of Rs. 30,000/- in full payment of all compensation under all sections and clauses of the Act.

On the 16th July, notices under section 9 of the Act were issued to the said Official Trustee and to Mr. William Lloyd husband to one of the children of Samuel Smith interested in the above Trust. Notices were also posted on the lands calling on all persons interested in the land to appear personally or by Agent on the 1st August to state the amount of their interests and claims.

On this date Mr. William Lloyd who holds a power of attorney from the Official Trustee appeared before me. It appears from his statements that there are no conflicting claims among the parties interested in the Trust; and that the official Trustee acts in all matters on behalf of the children of Samuel Smith. I consider therefore that the award under Section 14 can be legally made. Mr. Lloyd as representative of one of those interested has expressed personally his willingness to agree to the terms accepted by the Official Trustee in his letter of the 5th May.

*Dozey, E. C. (1922). *A Concise History of Darjeeling since 1835 with a Complete Itinerary of Tours in Sikkim and the Districts*. Calcutta: Art Press. Pp. 341-42.

The amount awarded as market value of the lands under Section 24 is Rs. 26,088/- to which will be added Rs. 3,912/- being 15 per cent. on that amount payable under Section 42 of Act X.

I hereby award the above sum of Rs. 26,088/- on account of the full value of the land described in the notification of the 19th December to the Official Trustee of Bengal on behalf of the Smith's Family Trust.

The total sum of Rs. 30,000/- will be payable to the Official Trustee in Calcutta and will be remitted to him there, on his sending to me the leases and other deeds relating to the Locations referred to in the present award.

(Sd.) J. WARE EDGAR,

Deputy Commissioner

Appendix II

Rates and Wages of Dandywallas, Rickshawallas and Poters *

RATES FOR DANDYWALLAS, RICKSHAWALLAS AND PORTERS EMPOWERED TO WORK BY THE JOB, OR FOR ANY PERIOD NOT EXCEEDING 21 HOURS, AS RECOMMENDED AND CONFIRMED BY A SUB-COMMITTEE HELD ON 10TH JUNE 1911, AND FIXED BY THE COMMISSIONER AT THEIR ORDINARY MEETING HELD ON THE 11TH JULY 1911 AND CONFIRMED BY THE GOVERNMENT IN NOTIFICATION NO. 466M, DATED THE 28TH FEBRUARY 1912, UNDER SECTION 10, ACT V OF 1883.

Rates for Dandywallas, Rickshawallas and Porters

<i>SeRates By Day And By Night</i>	<i>Within Municipal Limits. Darjeeling</i>		<i>Rs.</i>	<i>As</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Remarks. Day</i>
<i>Dandywallas</i>	<i>Dandywala for day, for the first half hour or part of half hour</i>		0	3	0	<i>From 6 A.m to 8 P.M. 8 annas a day</i>
	<i>Dandywala up to two Hours</i>					
	<i>Dandywala for every hour or part of an Hour after two hours</i>					
<i>Porter From or to Darjeeling Railway station</i>	<i>From or two</i>	<i>Grain , salt and articles in bags, oer mund</i>	1 ½ pice			The same rate to apply to carriage to and from Bazar
	<i>Section I- The bazar</i>	<i>Other goods, per mund.....</i>	4 pice per fair coolie's load			
<i>Ditto</i>	Section II- Native Town and all houses between Auckland Road & Victoria Road South of Drum Druid and North of Craigmont		Rs	As	p.	The same rate to apply to carriage to and from Bazar
<i>Ditto</i>	Section III- All houses North & East of section II up to the Government House Gate and South of the Section II upto Eden Falls Road, or below native town		0	1	0	
			0	1	0	

* P. Robertson. (1913). *Darjeeling Route Guide with Directions, Plan, a Map and a Complex Index for the Instruction and Guidance of Visitors to the Town*. Darjeeling: Bose Press. P.138-144

<i>Ditto</i>	Section IV- All Houses North and North west of Section III up to Snowy view and parbut sing's				
<i>Ditto</i>	Grant, or South of Section III up to kaghora	0	2	0	
	Section V- All Houses South Of Kakghora and west cantonment, up to west Point, inculsive	0	3	0	
<i>Ditto</i>	Section VI- All houses within Municipal boundries, not include in above or with Jaliapahar Cantonment	0	3	0	
Ghoom Railway Station or JoreBunglow	Jallapahar Cantonment	0	3	0	
<i>Ditto</i>	Katapahar and Lebong	0	4	0	

OUTSIDE MUNICIPAL LIMITS
FOR MARCH PER DAY.
Dandy Wallas

Rs. As. P.
0 12 0

-
1. N.B.- 1. The above rates are for adult- men or women; children to receive half rates.
 2. Carriage or haulage of machinery, or any package over 4 maunds in weight, to be arranged for by special contract.
 3. Any person engaging coolies through a mandal or sirdar shall pay sirdar at rate of two pice a coolie for one day
 4. A Sirdar engaged to accompany coolies on a march to receive 8 annas a day and for every coolie employed two piece a day
 5. A dandywalla must be engaged as a porter, but a potter shall not be compelled to serve as a dandywalla.
 6. By the Act, the term "coolies" is "limited to potters and to dandywallas, and other person employed in carrying, drawing or propelling any vehicle."
 7. Halts must be arranged for separately, and travellers can take the daily rates as a guide.
- A.T. CHUCKERBUTTY,

Head Cleark

F.A. Moller

chairman

Vice-

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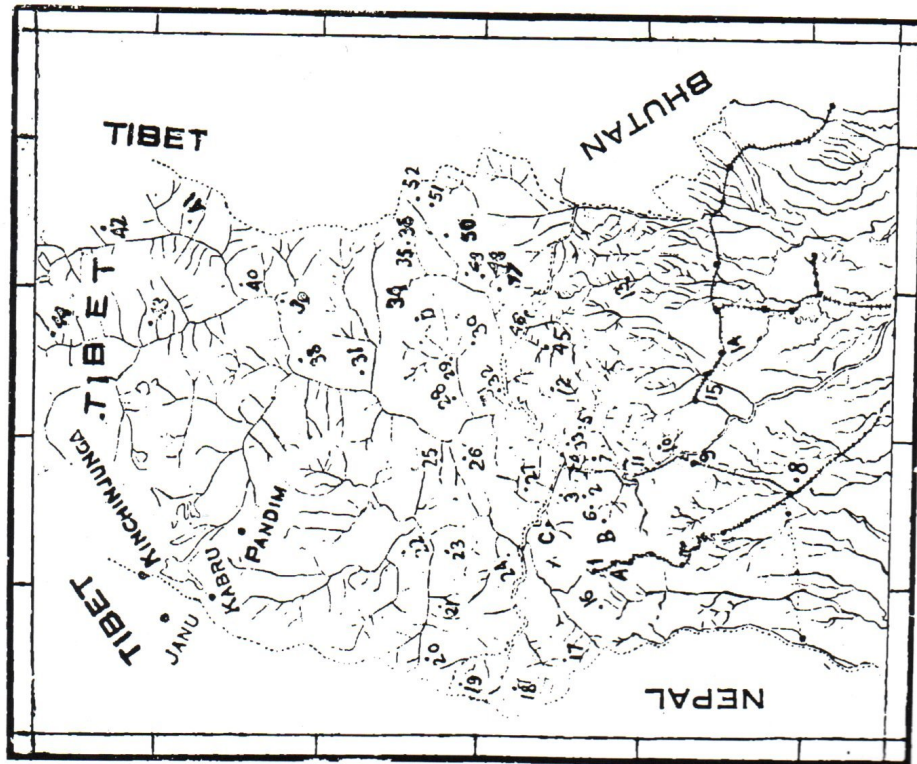
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PLATE—VII.
 MAP OF THE
 TOWN OF DARJEELING.



PLATE XIII.



Key to Map.

Pic-nics.

- A = Senchal
- B = Rangiroon
- C = Badamtam

Tours.

- Darjeeling (x) to Kalimpong (5) via Peshok Road
- 1 = Chum
- B = Rangiroon
- 2 = Lopchu
- via Rangneet River
- C = Badamtam
- Along river
- 4 = Tista Bridge
- 5 = Kalimpong
- Darjeeling (x) to Rieng (7) via 6th. Mile
- B = Rangiroon
- 7 = Reang
- Siliguri to Tista Bridge
- 8 = Siliguri
- 9 = Sivoke
- 10 = Kalijhora
- 4 = Tista Bridge
- Kalimpong to Plains
- 5 = Kalimpong
- or
- 15 = Bagrakote
- 12 = Rissisum
- 9 = Sivoke
- 13 = Daling Fort
- 14 = Dam Dim,
- 8 = Siliguri
- Jalpaiguri,
- Nepal Frontier, and Back
- 1 = Chum
- 16 = Jorepukri
- 17 = Tonglu
- 18 = Sandakphu
- 19 = Phalut
- 20 = Chiabhunjan
- 21 = Dentam
- 22 = Pamionchi—
- 23 = Rinchipong
- 24 = Chakung
- x = Darjeeling.
- 25 = Kewsing
- 26 = Temi
- 27 = Namchi
- C = Badamtam
- x = Darjeeling.

Tours. (Contd.)

- Darjeeling (x) to Gangtok (D)
- C = Badamtam
- D = Gangtok
- 27 = Namchi
- 30 = Pakyong
- 26 = Nemi
- 31 = Sankokhola, or
- 28 = Sond
- 32 = Rangpu
- 29 = Shamdong
- 33 = Melli, and back to Darjeeling by Tista Bridge and Rangneet River, or the Peshok Road.
- Gangtok (D) to Natu Pass (35)
- D = Gangtok
- 34 = Karponang
- 35 = Changu
- 36 = Natu Pass
- Gangtok (D) to Lachen Pass (43)
- D = Gangtok
- 37 = Dichu
- 38 = Singhi
- 39 = Toong
- 40 = Chungtang—
- 41 = Lachung
- 42 = Yeumthang
- 43 = Chungtang—
- Lachen
- 44 = Thangu
- Kalimpong (5) to Gangtok (D)
- 5 = Kalimpong
- 4 = Tista Bridge
- 30 = Pakyong
- 32 = Rangpu
- D = Gangtok
- Kalimpong (5) to Jelap Pass (52)
- 45 = Pedong
- 50 = Gnatong
- 46 = Ari
- 51 = Kuphu
- 47 = Rongli
- 52 = Jelap Pass
- 48 = Sendochon
- 49 = Lingtu
- Darjeeling (x) to Jelap Pass (52) by Rangneet, or Peshok Road
- 4 = Tista Bridge
- 32 = Rangpu
- 47 = Rongli
- 48 = Sendochon
- 49 = Lingtu
- 50 = Gnatong
- 51 = Kuphu
- 52 = Jelap Pass