

# Exploring The Hegemonic Nature Of British Colonial Hill Stations In India: A Case Of Darjeeling

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## **Abstract:**

The British creation of "hill stations" is one of the most successful and strategic projects in colonial India that helped envisage their re-creation of Europe in India. The tranquil weather was just a point of trigger, that acted as a catalyst for the enormous victorious projects in the hills. British concept of "going to the hills" or "retreating to the hills" was beyond the concept of leisure. It was a huge political agenda of "hidden hegemony" to control the hills. The research paper explores the postcolonial concept of "third space," to comprehend the evolution of Darjeeling as a hill station, which sheds light on the colonial intention for the formation of hills. Thus, the paper aims to investigate the idea of hegemony and the creation of a third space anchored in the hills, which the British called "improvement and modernity,". In the area of Urban History, preservation, culture and postcolonial studies, the article will help readers to comprehend the complex history that led to the settlement of the British in the hills. The question that favors my research is Why did the British construct their hegemony in Darjeeling? How did they achieve it? limiting the study only towards the overall physical expansion of the hill station.

**Keywords:** hill stations, colonialism, hegemony, postcolonial studies, Third space/ Third culture

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## **I. Introduction**

E.C.Dozey refers to Darjeeling as "Queens of Hills" in his book "Darjeeling Past and Present" and also writes, "Before the year 1816, the whole of the territory known as British Sikkim belonged to Nepal, which the British won by conquest". (Dozey, 1922, p. 2).

The year 1814 and 1817 marks the turning point in the history of hill station in India. Until then, the Himalayan ranges weren't under the direct control of the British and the concept of 'hill stations' hadn't taken place. By 1870, within an altitude of 4000ft - 8000ft India had more than 80 hill stations near to the four major metropolitan cities i.e. Bombay, Madras, Delhi and Calcutta (King A. D., 1976, p. 147). Delhi catered to Simla and Mussoorie in the 'lower Himalayas'. Darjeeling and Shillong, of the 'northeastern Himalayas' were closest to Calcutta. Kodaikanal, Conoor and Nilgiris were an easier reach from Madras, and the Poona-Mahabaleshwar cluster catered to the Bombay audience (King A. D., 1976, pp. 147, 148) (Refer: Annexure-III). According to Nora Mitchell's study on hills in 1972, hill stations are divided into five typologies i.e. official multifunctional, private multifunctional, satellite, single-purpose and minor hill station (Mitchell, 1972) (Kennedy, 1996, p. 10). Within the mentioned typologies, Darjeeling is classified as a private multipurpose hill station.

The sprawling of British in Darjeeling, and establishing it as a hill station, gave the British officials the most strategic location to control neighboring countries of India, in terms of trade and commerce (Malley, 1907). Before 1833, the British government did not have direct ruling power and rather East India Company was a trading official in India. Lord William Benetick, then the Governor General of Bengal and his intention of taking Darjeeling on lease from the Raja of Sikkim was a purported reason for setting up a sanatorium, a disguise for their calculated land grab, revealing their true ambitions for the 'territorial acquisition' of Darjeeling to include it as part of British India (Malley, 1907). Therefore, the research intends to explore the hegemonic power of British colonialism in the hills with an emphasis on Darjeeling, based on its physical expansion of spatial control by the British.

The method of study is qualitative and is based on the available literature on the hill stations and colonial towns, the archival historical records, and the postcolonial theory. The hypothesis of the research is considering Darjeeling as a "Third Space". Third Space is one of the terms of postcolonial studies mentioned by Homi K Bhabha in Location of Culture. Bhabha says the third space is where "hybridity, mimicry, and ambivalence" take place. Therefore, the research attempts to explore Darjeeling as a third space.

Another theory explored, and referred to in the research paper is the concept of “power” by Michael Foucault, and “Hegemony” by Gramsci to understand the British concept of dominance while writing the research paper.

In-order to assemble the materials for the research paper, secondary sources were referred to. Amongst the historical archival records, Bengal –the “Bengal Gazetteer” in 1907 by O’Malley, and “Concise History of Darjeeling from 1835” by E.C Dozey, provide the overall detailed history of Darjeeling from its inception. These books helped in accessing several original records of the early 19th century that helped in the research, and these records also helped in understanding the vocabulary of the writings. One of the helpful references was Henry Vincent Bayley’s 1838 work "Dorje'-Ling," which consists of the compilation of the ‘reports and memorandum’ furnished by Dr. H. Chapman, Captain Herbert, Col. Lloyd, and Mr. J.W. Grant. These individuals were officials of British East India Company and amongst the first to be appointed by governor general of Bengal to visit Darjeeling. They are also recognized for their contributions to the region’s formation.

The literary books that helped consolidate the research paper are – “The Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power, and Environment” by Anthony D. King (1976) that helped in understanding the overall colonial structure in India and the language of colonial urbanism. “The Indian hill-station: Kodaikanal” by Nora Mitchell (1972) helped in understanding the urbanization of the hills and the social and cultural life specific to Kodaikanal. “Magic Mountains” by Dane Kennedy(1996) gave information on the overall construction of hill station and the motive behind it. The scholarly article by Judith T Kenny’s (1996)“Climate, Race, and Imperial Authority: The Symbolic Landscape of the British Hill Station in India” helped in constructing a research paper, as a critique with the help of evidence, the way the author used in the paper with Ooty as an example. Queeny Pradhan’s “Empire in the Hills” (2017) is the latest book that was referred to understand Darjeeling’s position with other hill stations. The book by Swati Chattopadhyay, “Representing Calcutta”(2005) helped in understanding the city from a postcolonial lens by questioning the perception of modernity, as mentioned in the book with a case of Colonial Calcutta. The ‘Introduction’ part of the book, “Colonial Architecture and Urbanism in Africa” by Fassil Demissie (2012) helped in understanding the hybridity of architecture that occurred in the Global South. Apart from the above-mentioned study sources, a few more research papers were also analyzed that helped to articulate how British cultural norms, settlement patterns and administrative practices helped in the construction of hill stations.

Therefore, reflecting mostly on the postcolonial study of “third space”, the concept of “power” and “hegemony” " the argument is that the ‘British creation of the hill station was a strategic manifestation of hidden hegemony based on power interplay in the ‘Third Space’. However, the Third Space is the hypothetical consideration for Darjeeling.

The paper is broadly divided into two parts i.e. (A) Understanding of the Theoretical Framework and (B) Historical Timeline and Colonization of hills in the case of Darjeeling. Further, Part A; Understanding of Theoretical Framework consists of two subparts i.e. (i) Retrospecting the postcolonial (ii) Power: Hegemony as a subject. These two subtopics help to build a theory on which the ‘Part B’ of the topic is dependent.

Part B; Historical Timeline and Colonization of Hills in case of Darjeeling, it is divided into six subparts wrt “Third Space” (i) Inception (1600-1817) (ii)Recognition (1828-35) (iii) Formation (1828-35) (iv) Expansion (1835-1848) (v) complete control of Third Space (1857-1880s) (v) Hybridity and Third Space. These subtopics help substantiate the argument and answer the research question of why the British constructed their hegemony in Darjeeling. How did they achieve it? The paper ends with the conclusion and discussion.

## **II. Understanding The Theoretical Framework:**

### **Retrospecting the Postcolonial Theory**

Judith D. Kenny’s “Climate, Race, and Imperial Authority: The Symbolic Landscape of the British”, claims that the "improvement of India" appeared to be a "plot against the old cultures of India" (JT, 1995, p. 697).

The “improvement” of India caused racial and ethnic discrimination that covered the hills with a distinctive layer, i.e. the colonial layer, in the 19th century. In the paper, the colonial layer is referred to as the ‘covering of the hills’ with a culture of British European society that overshadowed the pre-existing hill culture.

Swati Chattopadhyay in her book “Representing Calcutta” says -Given that the conquerors “forced European modernity” upon their subjects during colonial rule, the subjects came to view modernity as a system of negotiations between individuals, groups, and the state, between ideational and physical spaces, where norms governing private and public life are worked out and new subjects are created (Chattopadhyay, 2005). However, this modernity was the way to dictate power. Colonialism not only had culture but it was in itself a project of ‘cultural control’.

Edward Said claims that the crucial element of the cultural realm in the "process of imperialism" happens through predisposition, the supremacy of recognizable cultural patterns, and ongoing consolidation within education, literature, and visual and music arts. (Said, 1993, pp. 11-12).

Edward Said, says in his book "Culture and Imperialism" –"Uncertainty about whether the past is past or not, in addition to disagreements about what happened in the past and what the past was, is what drives such appeals" (Said, 1994). Therefore, the paper deals with "this past", a colonial past with a paradigm shift in how we perceive it. The classic nineteenth-century imperial culture is replete with terms and ideas such as "subordinate peoples," "inferior" or "subject races," "dependency," "expansion," and "authority" (Said, 1994).

The Rhetoric used, such as "imperialism culture", "forced European Modernity", "improvement of India", "racial discrimination", "plot against the old cultures of India", "inferior", etc. denies colonialism/eurocentrism which was counter to the colonial perception of admiration of their power.

Towards the end of the colonial era, the year, 1970s saw an era of postcolonial studies that questioned the colonial presence in the Global South, criticizing their intent to be 'selfish'. The term "postcolonialism," which generally refers to the age that followed independence, is a 'counter-narrative' of a long tradition of European Imperial narrative.

Edward Said is considered the most important figure of postcolonial studies through his highly influential work in his book *Orientalism* released in 1978, where he falsifies the conception of the "Orient" created by Western intellectuals as the backward "other" in comparison to the advanced West. The Language and culture of the Oriental peoples have been ignored or were misrepresented, while those of the powerful colonizers have been imposed on colonized. "Orientalism is a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between "the Orient" and "the Occident". Though, Edward Said's work reflects the Middle East, globally he has influenced other prominent postcolonial theorists such as Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak and Homi K. Bhabha to name a few, whose perspectives reflect on Indian geography.

Anthony D King's in "Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power and Environment" 1976, mentions about 'Third culture', which, could be related to the concept of 'Third Space' as used by Bhabha in 1995. While, Bhabha employs the phrase "Third Space" symbolically rather than developing a theory, other theorists such as Edward Soja and Henri Lefebvre have utilized it to promote new approaches to spatial and territorial analysis. Bhabha takes inspiration from them for the creation of a third space in postcolonial studies.

The third culture is the product of the interaction between the chosen first and second cultures in the colonized nation. The colonial third culture is distinct in that it has its system of governance, economic structures, education, knowledge systems, languages, technology, cultural groups, architectural styles, and urban layouts. (King A. D., 1976, pp. 55-71).

The Third Space is a place that exists outside of or between the "conventional binary frameworks" used in cultural analysis. The Third Space, which challenges the theoretical viability of binary structures of analysis as a "third" term, aims to give dimensions to the edges of those locations, where cultures cannot be reconciled or where hybridization occurs within them (Hernández, 2010, p. 11). It is the space and moment between the "accused and the accuser", the violent and the violated, the accusation and the admission. Third Space as "a passage, a space of negotiation, contestation and rearticulation" (Hernández, 2010, p. 94). The third space also had cultural differences. However, within the research paper, the cultural difference is due to different cultures that accumulated in Darjeeling due to its location and migration of the people.

Within the Third Space, vocabulary like "ambivalence," "mimicry," "desire", "narcissism" and "hybridity" have evolved to denote specific ideas in the postcolonial discourse. Although, within this research paper the reference to Third Space is the place which comes out as a completely new space with a grafted landscape and contrasting culture under the domain of the British which they annexed by a well built strategy

### **Power: Hegemony as a Subject**

Although the British dominance left India in 1947, the irony here is that Indians see the hill stations from the colonial lens as a colonial heritage or tourist site, etc., which is the "legacy" left by the British and is undeniable. However, if we pay attention, then while visiting any hill station and sharing the location on social media, the hills are referred to as the "Scotland of India" or the "Switzerland of India". The question arises: Why? Were the British influence so prominent after independence that India's hill stations became synonymous with the location of the west? The British legacy that continues till date, from a distance may be coined as neocolonialism. The colonial layer continues to be powerful that the layer beneath the colonial structure does not receive much attention. Even India's "UNESCO recognition of the mountain railways" is a celebrated title and is the product of the colonial legacy left behind.

The concept of the hill station is of British origin in the 19th century, and the term is used everywhere in the Orient. Although, Americans use "mountain resort", and "summer resort" for the hill station (Spencer J.E, 1948, p. 637). The 'sacro-monte.' or the sacred mountain' is a European term of the 15th century, followed by 'spa resort' and mountain resorts in Europe (Kowalczyk, 2009, p. 33).

India also has sacred mountains; the world's largest mountain- the Himalayas, that lies in the northern parts of India. However, the distinction lies as the term 'hill station' was used, not the 'mountain station or mountain resort' in Indian mountains. The nomenclature is deceptive. The majority of the "stations" were situated

a top tall mountains, often between 4,000 and 6,000 feet above sea level, rather than on hills, like the hill stations of Darjeeling, Mussoorie, and Shimla lied on the Himalayas. The term 'binary', is an important term in the postcolonial theory, eg: black town/white town, upper/lower. Therefore, could be in a similar way; binary such as hill/mountain was used to show the dominance of the Occidentals. Though, this might be a small observation, but it illustrates the intensity of their domination or power and its long-lasting effect.

As Thomas R Bates mentions in "Gramsci and the Theory of Hegemony" (1975), Journal of the History of Ideas that -Man is ruled by ideas and not only by force, according to the basic principle of the "hegemony" theory. The most contested word the research paper is drawing upon is "hegemony". As Gramsci says, the only method to show dominance via political rule is 'not' dictatorship alone, there exists another form called "hegemony" which denotes political leadership based on the approval of the leader, an approval guaranteed by the adoption and widespread use of the ruling class's worldview (Bates, 1975). The cultural belief and the dominance of one social group are closely connected, and when one is at peak the other might be starting to decline. The 'powerful influence or strategy' plays an important role in creating hegemony. A similar case in the hills where the cultural and religious dominance of the West was highly instrumental in creating their dominance, through churches, English as a language etc.

In the context of British hill stations in India, Gramsci's hegemony theory is implied to demonstrate, the way, in which the British employed cultural, economic, political, and spatial control to assert and maintain their dominance. Hence, an agenda that is intended to guide the nation as a whole is how hegemony is upheld. It also gives the prevailing culture legitimacy (McCoy, 1988). Therefore, the legitimization of the dominant culture took place in 1835, when the 'East India Company' was diluted and the Imperial British power took the administrative political seat.

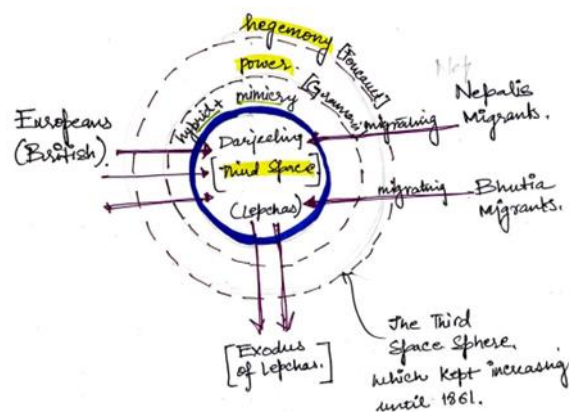
The theory of power is also significant. "Strategy and tactic", not justice, are the real "questions about power, according to Foucault. Education, social life, meaning and discipline, behaviour and attitude are all influenced by power-knowledge relations (McCoy, 1988). The colonial effect that was planted in India left its reminiscence even after its independence in terms of producing the same "mimicking" the Europeans. However, it has become part of our life but was induced due to their influence in the past.

The "power" is not to directly dominate. It is the intricate web of "submission, resistance, and dominance". Power is more than just the strong group using their brutal force to subjugate the weaker group. Foucault's idea of power is widespread management rather than just control, which can be attained by enforcing laws and regulations (Foucault, 1982). This can be seen in the case of the plantation workers in Darjeeling, where the British through their management skills could encourage more labor and the tea estate could yield high benefit to the British that it became one of the major economic generators for them.

Power yields results. Knowledge, subject, truth, identity, and even reality are produced by it. Power is a strategic relationship rather than an institution. Power and resistance are complementary. Without resistance, a power relationship is impossible. Foucault recognizes the mutual relationship that exists between knowledge and power. The powerful use effective strategies to exercise their power, and panopticism is a tactic used to keep someone under observation. (Foucault, 1982). Therefore, from 1828, the British could keep their surveillance all over the Darjeeling to exercise control and power.

### III. Hypothesis

Darjeeling is the "Third Space", where migration, annexure, hybridity and mimicry materialized via powers like administration, language, buildings, urban spaces, economy, concession, and negotiation which all culminate together and form a single body that is hegemony. The focus following the third space in the research paper is based mostly on the annexure, the spatial control that the British could exert to form Darjeeling.



**Figure 1: A theoretical diagram to understand the intent of the study. Source: Author**

#### IV. Historical Timeline And The Colonialization Of Hills Wrt Darjeeling

Investigating the gradual process of control, the hegemony, which is not a dictatorship but a powerful interpretation of “power” which slowly gets the consent of people, suppressing them without their notice, a ‘hybrid environment’ where a space is created based on racial and societal division but yet yield productivity. Referring to Darjeeling as the ‘Third Space’, the subtopics catered within the above heading are (i) inception of Third Space (ii) Recognition of Third Space (iii) Formation of Third Space (iv) Expansion of Third space (v) Expansion and complete control of the Third Space (vi) Hybridity in the Third Space. The timeline taken to explain the subtopics ranges broadly from 1600-1880s. These subtopics will help unveil the step-by-step process, that was adopted by the British in the annexe of Darjeeling and its formation to a bustling Urban Centre.

##### Inception of Third Space, 1600-1817:

*The space which hasn't been discovered, which is still in progress to become powerful through negotiation between the British and Sikkim Raja.*

In the interpretation of the Third Space, it is a transitional space between opposing and contradictory views. It's an area of ongoing negotiation rather than resolution (Bhabha, 2009, p. xiii) (Hernández, 2010, p. 95) :

The above statement can be referred to in the case of Darjeeling which becomes a buffer space between Bhutan and Nepal through the treaties<sup>1</sup> (refer, fig-3).

In Fig-2, the 1652 map of Sikkim demonstrates Darjeeling as part of Sikkim, and Sikkim was an independent state of “The Chogyal Dynasty<sup>2</sup>”. Fig-2 also demonstrates the map of Greater Nepal between 1760-1816, where Sikkim and *Kumaon Garhwal*<sup>3</sup> regions were part of Nepal. In the year, 1780s, the *Gorkhas*<sup>4</sup> made steady progress into Sikkim and by the start of the 1800s, they had taken control of the Sikkim region, extending as far east as the *Teesta*<sup>5</sup> and annexing the *Terai*<sup>6</sup> (Malley, 1907) (Fig-3). Therefore, Nepal and Sikkim were independent state and was not under the rule of the British Empire.

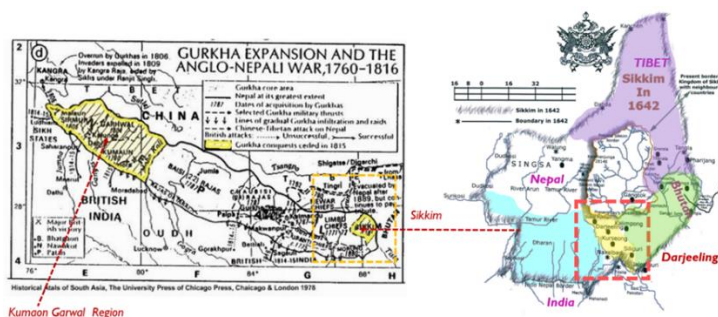


Figure 1: (Right) Map of Sikkim Chogyal Dynasty (Sikkim Info, 2019) and (Left) Map of greater Nepal.

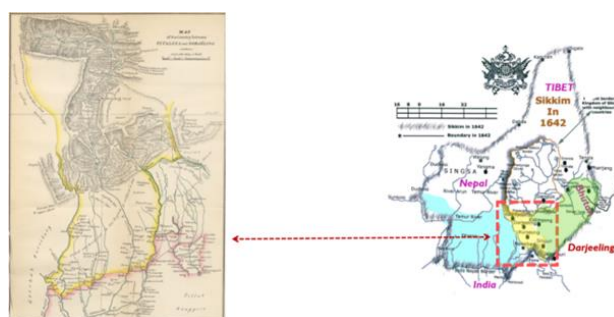


Figure 2: Map of Darjeeling before the Anglo-Nepalese war or ‘Treaty of Sugauli’ 1816. Editing (Source: Author). The map (Left) sourced (Bayley, 1838) shows the Map of Darjeeling in 1816.

<sup>1</sup> In order to attain Darjeeling. East India Company went through three treaties. Treaty of Sugauli 1816, Treaty of Titalya 1817, Treaty of Sinchua 1867.

<sup>2</sup> Chogyal was a ruling monarch of Sikkim of Bhutanese lineage.

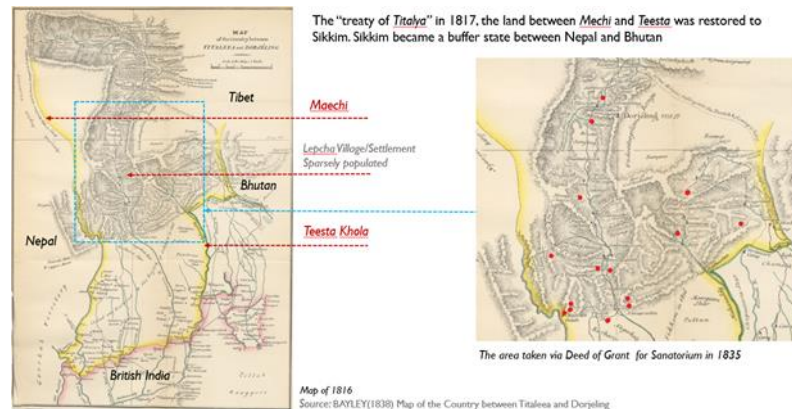
<sup>3</sup> Kumaon Garhwal is part of Western Himalayas. Sikkim forms part of Eastern Himalayas.

<sup>4</sup> Nepalese army referred as Gurkhas. The army started from a place named Gurkha in Nepal and hence, the term Gurkhas were given to the warriors. The Gurkhas comprise of the indigenous group of Nepal mostly of the Mongolian race.

<sup>5</sup> Name of a river in Darjeeling

<sup>6</sup> Terai- a region that runs along the lower hills between the Mechi and Teesta rivers and is currently covered in tea gardens owned by Darjeeling plantation owners.





**Figure 3 :** The restored land between Mechi and Teesta and acted as a buffer between Nepal and Bhutan (Bayley, 1838). The (right) map shows the area taken from Deed of Grant and the red dots represent the sparsely scattered Lepcha settlement or the village.

The 1600s was the time when the British were still acquiring power. East India Company<sup>7</sup> did not have a stronghold at that time in India. From 1619 to 1760, the British were primarily restricted to the four coastal regions of Madras, Bombay, Calcutta, and Surat. In the 1760s, the East India Company's influence grew in India, and their settlement in Indian society started taking permanent shape. In 1767, the first Charter Act, "Act of Townshend 1767," made Calcutta and Bombay as trading presidencies. The potential of hill stations weren't discovered. The Charter of 1813- A law known as "The British East India Company Act of 1813" limited the company's trading monopoly (except with China of tea, opium and goods) on the pretext that it was supposed to focus on the more important task of governing India.

Therefore, the year 1813 significantly impacted the strength of the British presence in Bengal (JT, 1995, p. 697). The East India Company agitated by Nepal's approach to control the Northern frontier, called for war in 1814 and defeated the Gorkha Kingdom<sup>8</sup>. Therefore, in 1816, the "treaty of Sugauli"<sup>9</sup> was signed between India and Nepal, and the Western Himalayan tracts were taken from Nepal on which Shimla and Mussoorie were later built. Under the "treaty of Titalya" in 1817, the land between 'Mechi and Teesta' was restored to Sikkim (Malley, 1907).

However, the area between Mechi and Teesta had the early Darjeeling. After the "Treaty of Titalya", the British made Sikkim a buffer state between Nepal and Bhutan (Malley, 1907). However, within the buffer state, lay Darjeeling which later, the British intent to "colonize" and include as part of British India (ref: fig-4).

### Recognition of the Third Space : The period from 1828-1835<sup>10</sup> :

The topic explore the Britishers' urge to get the land on lease for the futuristic purpose

"Third place" could be an attempt to "spatialise" the transitional position it represents, or, to provide the in-between place where "hybridisation happens" and from which "hybrid designations" emerge some tangibility (Hernández, 2010, p. 89).

After, the Treaty of Titalya 1817, the British did not intervene in the matter of Sikkim. The tract Darjeeling was "terra incognita" until a dispute arose again between Nepal and Sikkim in 1828 (fig-4). On the

<sup>7</sup> East india Company was a trading company and had little to indirect power. When East India Company was dissolved, Britis Empire ruled as a governing body.

<sup>8</sup>The *Chaubisi rajya*, a confederation of 24 states on the Indian subcontinent ruled by the Khas people, included the Gorkha Kingdom. The kingdom started a military conquest in 1743 CE, annexing multiple neighbors, and eventually becoming modern-day Nepal. Dravya Shah is the founder of Gorkha Kingdom. With the help of his descendant Prithvi Narayan Shah, the Gurkhas (or Ghurkhas) became a multiethnic military force that helped him subjugate the Malla kingdom and unite the many small principalities into the state of Nepal. Great Britain began actively recruiting these soldiers in the middle of the 1800s, and they have made up a sizable portion of the Indian army's minority since 1947.

<sup>9</sup> Also referred as Anglo-Nepalese war of 1816.

<sup>10</sup> This time frame of 1828-1835 was significant for various reasons. William Bentinck was appointed Governor General of Bengal in 1828 and he faced the challenge of transforming the loss East India Company was making and his concern was the renewal of the company's charter i.e. extension of the Charter Act of 1833s. Discovery of Darjeeling in 1828 was beneficial for the EIC and Governor General William Bentinck instructed Colonel Lloyd to persuade the *Raja* of Sikkim for the cession of Darjeeling at a desirable price .

request of *Rajah* of Sikkim, Lord Benetick<sup>11</sup> ordered Colonel G. S. Lloyd (Lloyd was captain that time) along with J. W. Grant<sup>12</sup> to solve the dispute between Nepal and Darjeeling. During his visit to Darjeeling, GS Lloyd visited the “*Old Gorkha station*” i.e. present-day Ghoom<sup>13</sup> in Darjeeling and immediately urged Lord William Benetick, then governor-general of India to cease the land immediately for two reasons: (i) For the construction of the Sanatorium<sup>14</sup> regarding health. (ii) For the commercial trade because of its strategic location for the neighbouring countries Nepal and Bhutan and the nearest road to Lasha in Tibet from British territory was through Darjeeling (Trans-Tibetian Trade).

In 1835 and with the approval of Captain J.D. Herbert, Deputy Surveyor General of British India, “*Deed*”<sup>15</sup> Darjeeling was taken on lease from the Raja of Sikkim on 1st of Feb 1835 (Bayley, 1838). According to the deed, “The only thing that made the British Government want Darjeeling was its superior climate and its subsequent suitability as a sanitarium”. (Bayley, 1838, p. 4).

The strategy here was that the “*deed was written in Lepcha*”<sup>16</sup> language” and the Raja of Sikkim signed without reading (ref-fig-6)

Therefore, it can be referred that -“*power represses truth; power does this by establishing an ideological framework that causes the world to be understood in terms of a single, naturalized set of meanings*” (McCoy, 1988). Therefore, the remark which is pertinent to mention here that through the exercise of ‘silent power’ with ‘negotiation’ and a ‘well-built’ strategy Darjeeling was taken on lease from Sikkim.

The annexure of Darjeeling was just the starting point to carry out the ‘spatialization’, which later resulted in the hybridization of various cultures that emerged from the neighbouring countries.

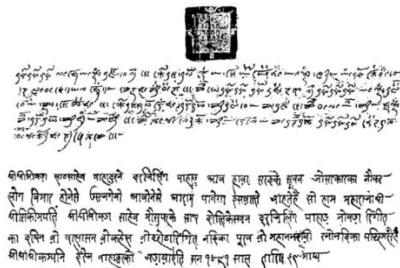


Figure 4: Deed of Grant in Lepcha language (Grant of Darjeeling 1835, 2010).

“The annexure of Darjeeling” on lease was between two important legislative Act i.e. charter of 1813-1833<sup>17</sup>. In the year 1833, the charter needed revision by the British Government. The Charter of 1833 ended the trade, and was a step towards the legalization of the British colonization of India<sup>18</sup>. The Act transformed the company from a trading entity to an administrative body under the control of and authority of the British Crown.

Therefore, the transition of the company from trading to administration shows deliberate strategies and policies employed by the British to expand their territorial and administrative control, significantly affecting the course of Indian history. In addition, Darjeeling directly opened trade routes to neighbouring countries under the British Raj and not the East India Company. On becoming the governing body, the British could impose direct power.

<sup>11</sup> Lord William Henry Cavendish-Bentinck was Governor General of British India from 1828-1834. He and Macaulay introduced English as a language for communication in India.

<sup>12</sup> Commercial resident of *Malda* in Bengal.

<sup>13</sup> The Ghoom railway station part of Himalayan railways is the highest railway station in India.

<sup>14</sup> Sanatorium is a built establishment that provides therapy typically involving specific regimens (such as special diet, fresh air, or daily exercise) for treatment or rehabilitation. In the case of hill stations it was meant for the recuperation of the soldiers and the officers who could not tolerate the hot tropical climate of the plains.

<sup>15</sup> DEED - "The Sikkim Puttee Raja, out of friendship for the said Governor-General, hereby present Darjeeling to the East India Co. that is, the land between “South of the Great *Rangheet* River”, “East of the *Balason, Kahail,* and *Little Rangheet* rivers”, and “West of the *Rungno* and *Mahanadi* Rivers.” The Governor General had expressed his desire to possess the Hill of Darjeeling because of its cool climate, with the intention of allowing the government servants who were ill to benefit from its advantages. (Malley, 1907).

<sup>16</sup> The tribal group, considered to be the indigenous people of the Darjeeling and Sikkim.

<sup>17</sup> East India company was running in a loss and the charter of 1813 ended the monopoly of EIC restricting its exclusive rights to trade with China and in tea. The act extended EIC’s rule for 20 more years till 1833, after which the company’s monopoly completely ended. From 1834 it was a managing agency for the British government of India. Ater the mutiny of 1857 the East India Company lost the managerial role and and in 1873 it ceased to exist as a legal entity (Britannica, 2023).

<sup>18</sup> The final legalization happened in 1858, in the name of ‘crown’.

Parallel to Darjeeling, the other important hills discovered around the 1830s, apart from the Himalayas, there are Western Ghats hill stations Nilgiris and Mahabaleshwar in Sahyadris which were formed a decade after 1818 and 1799 (Kennedy, *The Pinnacle of Power*, 1996, p. 12). After the establishment of British imperial power, by 1838, Simla was also recognized as India's government and military summer headquarters (Spencer J.E, 1948, p. 641). It was in 1864 Darjeeling was completely annexed as part of British India.

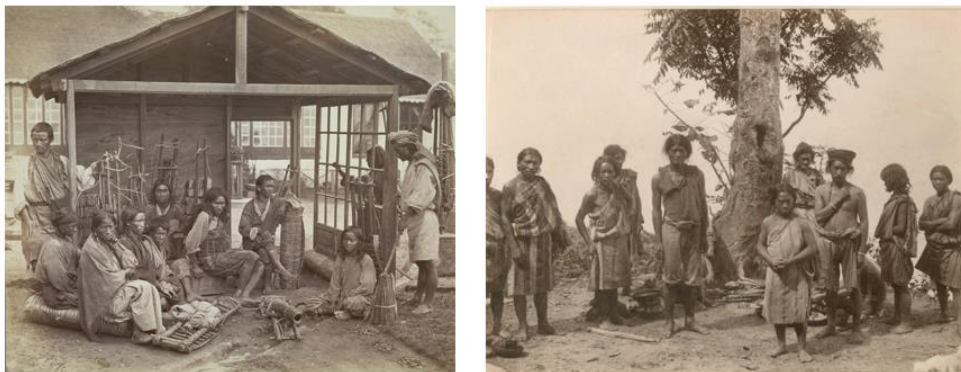
### **Formation of the Third Space 1828-1835:**

The Third space starts taking shape with administration a need for new settlement as there had been the exodus of Lepchas.

The intrinsic spatiality of human life, are offered by the Third Space concept: location, place, scenery, atmosphere, dwelling, metropolis, territory, domain, geography (Soja, 1996, p. 1) (Hernández, 2010, p. 96).

Referring to the above statement, and as mentioned in the Gazetteer, "The region surrounding Darjeeling was sparsely populated (fig-5 (right)), even though it was once home to a sizable village and one of the main *Kazis*<sup>19</sup>. The majority of the allegedly one hundred or so residents at the location were the native Lepcha people (ref-fig-7).

Colonel Lloyd, while making a report on his visit to Darjeeling and the plan for acquiring Darjeeling, for settlement purposes was being envisaged. Darjeeling did not have any settlement when Col Lloyd reached the hill. The Gazetteer mentions that in 1828, 1200 *Lepchas* with able bodies—roughly 'two-thirds' of Sikkim's population—were forced to flee Darjeeling and its surrounding area due to the Raja's oppression (Bayley, 1838) (Malley, 1907). However, it is unclear whether all fled, and a few remained.



**Figure 5** Lepcha people indigenous tribe of Sikkim (Academic accelerator)

After the cession of Darjeeling 'on lease' Captain Lloyd's Quote from "*The road of destiny: Darjeeling letters, 1839*" by Fred Pinn mentions

The transformation process was sped up by the application of scientific knowledge from colonialism. The quotation from Colonel Lloyd's declaration dated October 12, 1838, that claims, "the people settled on the Darjeeling tract were now subjects of the Company and the Laws of Sikkim would not apply to them," is appropriate. The following year, 1839, saw the appointment of Dr Cambell as "superintendent of Darjeeling", which not only signaled a "new phase" in the "official British political claims" over the region but also created an "administrative framework" for the beginning of "colonial state-making" and "building institutions" (Pinn, 1987, p. 15).

### **Expansion of the Third Space 1835-1848:**

During the expansion of Darjeeling, there had been migration from the nearby countries esp. Nepal and Bhutan, transportation developed, settlements started and it was starting point for the urban development of Darjeeling.

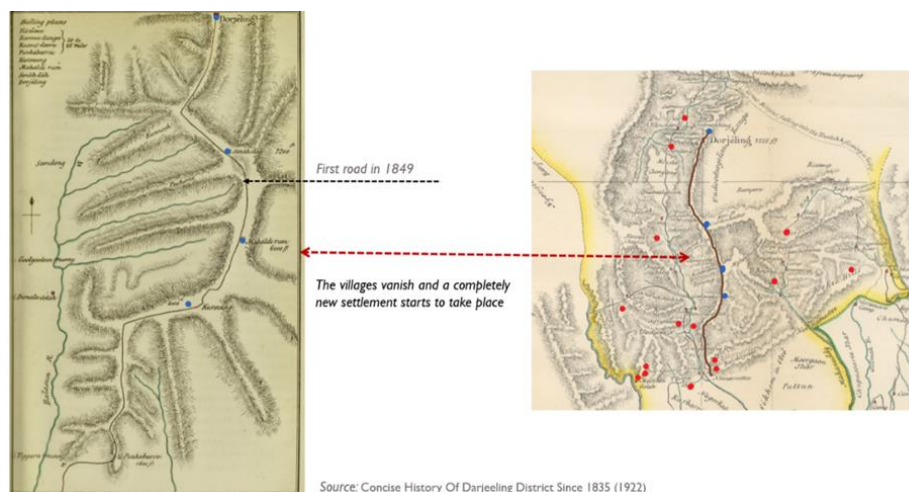
In the year, 1836, Darjeeling was envisaged for the construction of Sanatorium, but firstly, there was need for the road and a few settlement i.e. the labors for working in the Sanatorium (*as Lepchas fled from the region*). In 1839, Surgeon Major Campbell<sup>20</sup> was transferred from Nepal to Darjeeling in 1839, where he

<sup>19</sup> A head of the village

<sup>20</sup> Following his successful lease negotiation and labor organization for the construction of the Darjeeling road, the Lloyd was replaced by another government official, Archibald Campbell (an Edinburgh-based postgraduate surgeon, became a member of the EEIC) and in 1827 he was sent to work in Kathmandu. Campbell worked in Nepal for eight years. Together with Nepal's resident, Brian Hodgson, he was an astute Naturalists and orientalists. Like most veteran Indians, his familiarity with the area

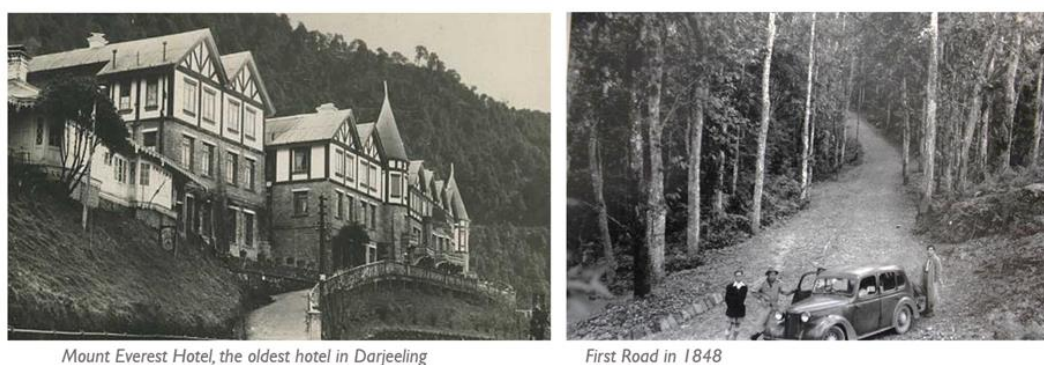


encouraged trade and commerce and drew immigrants to do farming at the mountain slopes. Campbell had previously served at the Residence in Nepal. He was appointed as the district superintendent in Darjeeling.



**Figure 6:** The image (left) shows the first road constructed from Pankhabari to Darjeeling (Dozey, 1922). The image (right) shows the overlaying of road on 1816 map. The (left) image shows, the removal or exodus of Lepchas and an initiation to achieve a complete Urban Darjeeling.

The place was essentially uninhabited, and one of the main challenges was to draw native settlers. By 1840 the first settlement starts, road was built from *Pankhabari*. Bungalows had been built at *Mahaldiram and Pankhabari*, a hotel had been established at Kurseong, another at Darjeeling, and about ‘thirty private houses’ had been built in Darjeeling (refer fig-7&8). Despite all of this, the majority of the tract that now makes up Darjeeling was covered in forest, the road from Pankhabari ran through a forest that was still virgin, and a few places where *Lepchas* practised *jhoom*<sup>21</sup> cultivation had been cleared by fire. The population increased from 100 in 1839 to approximately 10,000 in 1849, mostly due to immigrants from the neighbouring states of Nepal, Sikkim, and Bhutan, where slavery was common and Rajas held despotic power (Malley, 1907, p. 21). The settlers were given every encouragement and were granted grants of forest land. This indicates how successfully ‘life met expectations’. Due to its rich natural history, undeveloped resources, and established trading networks, Darjeeling was chosen as the starting point for British exploration of India's eastern Himalayan frontiers.



**Figure 7:** The establishment of hotels (100-year-old Hotel Mount Everest to be dismantled in Darjeeling) and roads as part of initial construction in Darjeeling (Travel Destination, Vintage India: Road to Darjeeling during the British Raj).

comprised familiarity with the regional flora and fauna as well as the local populace locale. There was tension between the British residency in Kathmandu and the Court, but Campbell effectively utilized his local expertise and penned Several articles discussing the nation's social, cultural, and economic aspects of Nepal's citizens throughout his administration (Malley, 1907, p. 22).

<sup>21</sup> *Jhoom* cultivation is a slash burn type agriculture which was seasonal. The British did not support the *jhoom* cultivation as it was not the permanent economy generation source and needed a form of agriculture that could generate income throughout the year. Therefore, tea and cinchona plantations were the better alternate option. The forbidding of *Jhoom* cultivation by Lepchas made them inferior in Darjeeling.

Army surgeon J.T. Pearson, arrived in Darjeeling in 1839, the year, the first buildings were built. He said that the “air in these mountains” is “pleasant and clean”, and gives the same warm glow as an English stroll on a cold morning”. (Bhattacharya, 2012, p. 29) (Pearson, 1939, pp. 11-12)

The mention of Darjeeling by Hooker in 1848

–Botanist Joseph Dalton Hooker found Darjeeling to be a picture-perfect hill station that attracted a few seasonal visitors and had a minimal permanent European population. Hooker visited the region in 1848. He was able to draw parallels between Darjeeling's development and an Australian colony after an exciting two years, pointing out "not only the amount of building, but the accession of native families from the surrounding countries" (Hooker, 1854, pp. 108-9)

Based on the above statement it can be related from “*Communicating in the Third Space*” by Bhabha

–The mention of a worsted, “a yarn” (and the fabric made from it) traditionally made in the “English village” of Worstead in Norfolk, is a fascinating aspect of Bhabha's talk. In the twelfth century, Worstead flourished as a result of the encouragement given to “immigrant weavers” from Flanders to settle in England and start their businesses of spinning and weaving. Therefore, Flemish migrants create a remarkable symbol of Englishness (Bhabha, 2009, p. Xii).

This fact highlights the concept of “third space” as a passage, a space of “negotiation, contestation, and articulation”, in which a yarn made in Norfolk by Flemish migrants becomes a “symbol of Englishness” that takes on new meanings when it is tied around the neck of a man who has become “disoriented and has travelled great distances”. The same thing is discussed in Hooker's statement, where money was given to individuals from Nepal and Bhutan, who settled there primarily to work as tea labourers and grow the local economy. However, this was a trap that led to their unwitting control. However, their promise of a grant served as an incentive for them to move to Darjeeling and establish a home.

### **Expansion and Complete Control of the Third Space 1857 -1880s:**

The space starts having more Settlement. The mutiny of 1857, gives rise to Jalpahar convalescent depot. Tea agriculture starts developing. Through treaty of *Sinchula*, Darjeeling becomes an independent region and the summer capital of the Raj. Railway lines was another revolutionary development that happened in the hills of Darjeeling.

Many Indian towns' urban settings<sup>22</sup> were deliberately divided into two sections during the decades following the uprising of 1857: the native portion and the European enclave or the "white town & black town". In these towns, Indians and Europeans were separated by both architecture and social practices: native bazaars were invariably situated apart and at a “lower altitude” than the European settlements. Social distance was communicated physically. (King A. D., 1976).

The mutiny of 1857<sup>23</sup> saw a dramatic change in the colonial layer that expanded beyond the plains and reached the highlands, establishing a commercial and political seat. Following the “1857 uprising<sup>24</sup>”, the British deployed more troops to India, which made the issue of high European troop mortality in tropical regions even more serious. The purpose of building the new towns in the Indian hills was to serve the interests of both European residents and soldiers serving in the British army (Omissi, 1994, p. 133). Therefore, “European convalescent cantonments” sprung up next to every hill sanatorium that had previously been there. Located above the mall<sup>25</sup> on the *Jalapahar*, a narrow ridge, the "Jalapahar convalescent depot" was completed in 1848 (ref-fig-16) (Dozey, 1922, p. 30) and in 1844 “Senchal convalescent depot”. However, after 1857, there were barracks and quarters to accommodate soldiers (Dozey, 1922, p. 151). In 1882, the "Eden Sanitarium and Hospital" was

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<sup>22</sup> Therefore, The 19<sup>th</sup> century saw the new suburban living, and the creation of civil lines started with a new architectural style according to the standards of the colonial elites. British colonizers set up a culture, i.e. of the British colonial community in India or an urban<sup>22</sup> characteristic (King A. D., 1976) and with this creation of a new society, the British could isolate themselves from the Indian society. Western culture persists today in terms of the lifestyle. Therefore, areas such as civil lines, civil stations, cantonment, chummary, rest houses, bungalows, and compound godowns came up in contrast to the mohallas bazaars (King A. D., 1976).

<sup>23</sup> The first war of Independence or the battle of 1857, was the revolt that took place in North India and Central India i.e. Meerut, Delhi, Jhansi, Kanpur, Lucknow and Gwalior. Although, the British won, the mutiny was not very successful as the whole of ‘Indian mass’ did not participate.

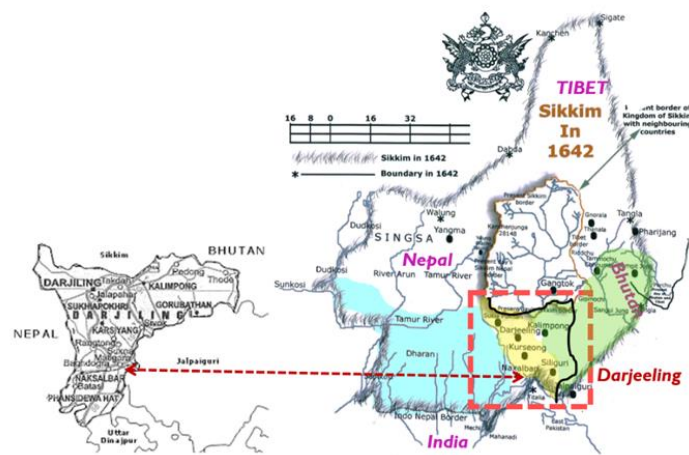
<sup>24</sup> The “1857 Revolt” uprising shook the British East India Company's foundation revealing its shortcomings in managing Indian affairs. The Government of India Act of 1858, which ended the British East India Company's rule and brought in British raj, gave the British government the authority to directly rule India through delegates, and had the greatest impact. However, during the war many British soldiers were wounded and an instant recuperation site was needed for them to heal.

<sup>25</sup> The mall / mall road is the concept used for the ‘plaza’ or gathering space in the hill stations.

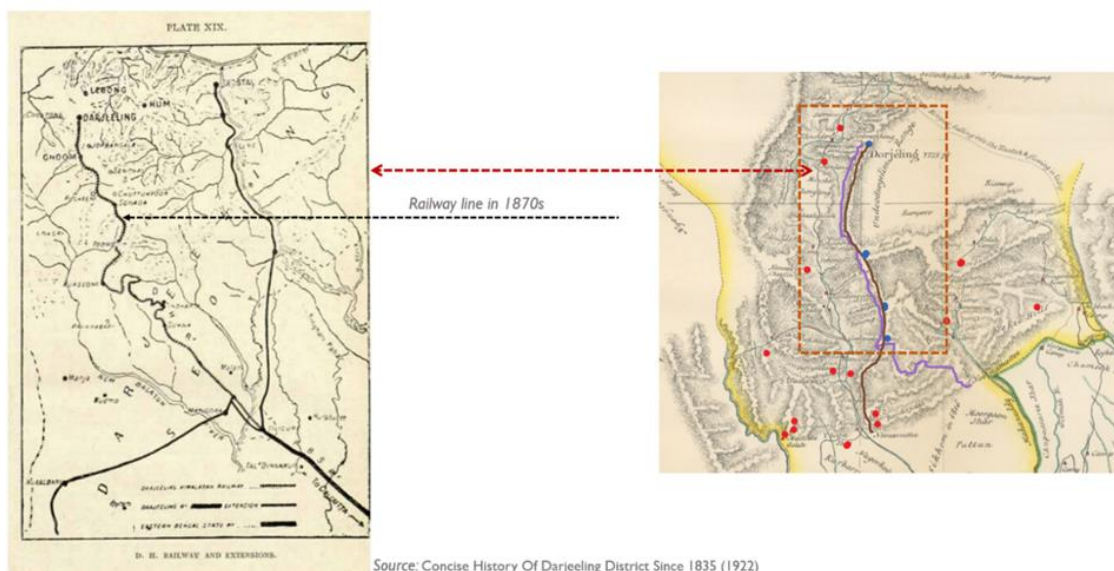
completed with the exclusive purpose of serving Europeans. Five years later, in 1887, the Lowis Jubilee Sanitarium for Indians was established at Kurseong<sup>26</sup>.

Darjeeling was still under the lease and the period, but year 1860s, saw a drastic transformation when Darjeeling came under the complete administrative control of the British. In 1860–1861, a new treaty was signed that specified the ‘minimum rates of transit duties’ to be imposed on supplies between ‘British India and Tibet’, and promised the removal of all trade restrictions as well as the opening of the country to outside traders. Through Kalimpong<sup>27</sup>, Campbell's efforts made the region the hub of the “trans-Tibetan trade” and promoted “immigration from Nepal”. Nevertheless, as a result of the “Anglo-Bhutan War” and the “Treaty of *Sinchula*”, which was signed in 1865, the British Empire's holdings in the Darjeeling hills region were further enlarged and Kalimpong became part of Darjeeling from Bhutan. Kalimpong was the final addition that made the map of Darjeeling complete with a tract of 1164 sq. miles (ref-fig-10).

The year 1857, also marked success in terms of agricultural colonization of the highlands. Railway network came up as a tremendous development in terms of connecting plains to the highland that helped in carrying of goods, labors and people. Tea, cinchoa and coffee were the main cash crops that occupied the highland. Therefore, apart from Darjeeling, the hill stations of Coorg and Kodaikanal also added a commercial value to the hills. Lord Canning<sup>28</sup> eased the sale of land in the hills allowing concentration of ‘European elites’ followed by the crops, transformed the economic and social settings in the hill towns (Kennedy, 1996, p. 154).



**Figure 8 :** The complete annexure of Darjeeling with inclusion of Kalimpong in year 1861 through the treaty of Sinchula. (Left) map (Maps of Darjeeling).



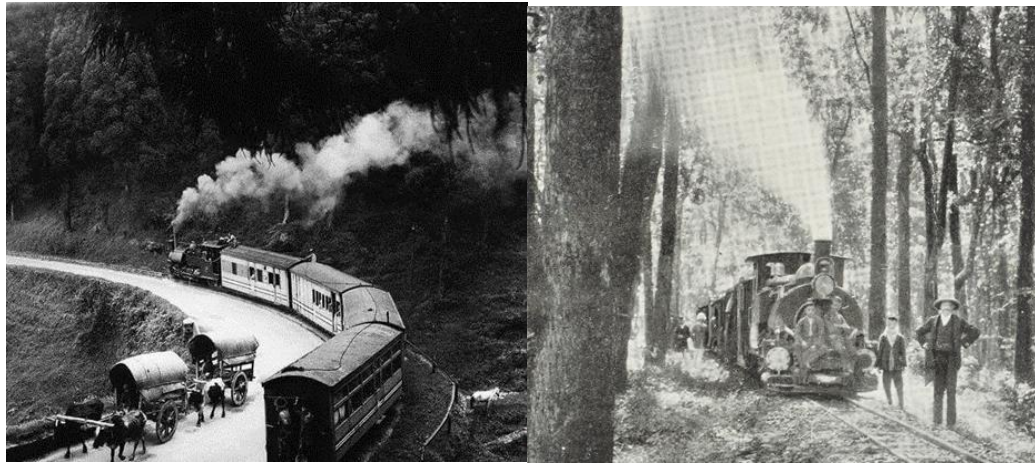
Source: Concise History Of Darjeeling District Since 1835 (1922)

<sup>26</sup> Kurseong a minor hill station to Darjeeling, also served as a satellite station major being Darjeeling.

<sup>27</sup> Kalimpong is situated at the East of Darjeeling in Bhutan, which later became part of Darjeeling.

<sup>28</sup> Governor General of India during the Indian Mutiny/First war of Independence 1857.





**Figure 9:** Image (above) The 1870s railway line of the Toy train (Dozey, 1922).

The image (Below) Himalayan Railways in 1900s (left) image (Darjeeling Train, n.d.), (right) image (Darjeeling Himalayan Railway Toy Train 1900, n.d.).

After Darjeeling was introduced to tea by Campbell, the official commercialization of tea happened in 1856. In 1869, freshly annexed regions from neighboring Bhutan were incorporated to form the district of Jalpaiguri. Informally referred to as "tea districts," there were three tea-producing regions located inside the two administrative districts, "Darjeeling", and "Jalpaiguri". These were the foothills and hillsides surrounding and beneath the town of Darjeeling., known as the "Western Duars" and "Darjeeling Terai", which are situated in the Jalpaiguri district. Thirty-nine gardens were growing 10,000 acres of tea, yielding 4,33,000 pounds by the end of 1866. By 1874, there were twice as many gardens growing<sup>29</sup>. This rapid growth of tea fetched many labourers from nearby countries (Malley, 1907, pp. 28-29). When the Darjeeling Himalayan Railway was completed in 1881, it not only made travel for tourists shorter but also made it possible to transport tea and timber.

The year 1870s saw an increase in population and commercialization and development of an Urban Darjeeling. Situated on a Y-shaped mountain, Darjeeling's population increased from 70 'villas' and a few substantial buildings in 1870 to 351 by 1922. Parallel roads beneath the Government House hosted European accommodations and residences. Offices were located at the town's highest point, the Mall. The mall's end descended a trail that led to the 'Bhotia Monastery', which housed both local *Lepchas* and foreign labourers<sup>30</sup> equally. It was encircled by 'Bhotia busti' at the 'foot of the ridge'. "The Senchal Dairy Farm", "Ottewill's Millinery Establishments", "Smith-Stani Street (Pharmacists)", the "Post Office", and the "Planters' Club" were the European establishments that made up the majority of the commercial route. The road proceeded down the hillside of the Cart route and ended at the market square *or bazaar*. The Fig -11,12,13 & 14, demonstrate Urban Darjeeling with important landmarks.

The railway network (fig-10) came as a tremendous development; the toy train<sup>31</sup> serves as a mnemonic tool that allows us to explore the complex webs of memory associated with the hills past. Here the reference is taken for the Darjeeling. In the context of Pierra Nora<sup>32</sup> "*lieux de memoir*", he says, "*a process of interior decolonisation has affected ethnic minorities, families, and groups that now possess memory reserves but little or no historical capital*" (Pierra.N, 1989).

The process of interior decolonization likely pertains to the broader history of colonialism and its impact on ethnic minorities, families, and groups in Darjeeling (Pierra.N, 1989). The Darjeeling Himalayan Railway is a well-known toy train constructed in Darjeeling during the colonial era when the British governed India. The railway's construction, which started in the late 19th century, was crucial in tying Darjeeling's hill station to the Bengal plains. The Darjeeling region's primary export was tea; hence, the railway was initially built to support the British colonial authority and make this process easier for the rest of India (Kennedy.D, 1996)."Interior decolonization" could be used to describe the process by which the Darjeeling people, who have historically been marginalized and affected by colonialism, work to regain their cultural, social, and historical identity. The phrase implies that ethnic minorities, families, and groups in Darjeeling are trying to free themselves from the long-

<sup>29</sup> The Darjeeling tea planters formed the Darjeeling Planters' Association in 1892 as an employer association. The primary association representing tea growers in India, the Indian Tea Association, welcomed the Darjeeling Planters' Association as a member in 1910. A subcommittee representing the tea planters in Darjeeling, Terai, and Duars was established by the independent Indian Tea Association in 1892.

<sup>30</sup> The migrants from Nepal, Bhutan and a few percentage from Bihar.

<sup>31</sup> The toy train is the train in the hills and is a UNESCO heritage site.

<sup>32</sup> Pierra Nora has worked extensively on the memories. His lens is not exactly postcolonial but has criticized the capitalism.







**Figure 13:** images of Important landmarks (Old Darjeeling Photographs )

### **V. Hybridity And The “Third Space”**

In 1990, Bhabha, linked the “Third Space” to the idea of “hybridity” in an interview that was published under the title “The Third Space.” He asserts that “other positions can emerge because of hybridity, which is the Third Space” (Hernández, 2010)

Although Bhabha’s Third space was understood as a physical form, hybridity is an entity that gives it a more abstract form and relates to ambivalence. Taking the example of the English language and architecture, hybridity forms the last part of the section of the research paper. 19th-century was also the time when Evangelical reformer William Wilberforce promoted Christianity, Macaulay’s<sup>33</sup> education system in English belief to ‘educate’ Indians cropped (JT, 1995).

In Macaulay’s noted “Minute of 1835”-English education serves to create a class of people who are “Indian by blood and color” but English by taste, morality, and intelligence, potentially serving as translators between the millions of people we govern and ourselves (Hernández, 2010)

The main purpose to get Macaulay’s speech is to highlight the inception of hybridization that starts taking place with the introduction of English. Here, the intent is not to undermine the language but understand the essence for its introduction. Hybridity is not simply the process of combining of elements to create a new one; hybridity has “multiple meanings” in postcolonial theory. It describes the place where creative output emerges between and on the edges of cultures and productivity happens (fig-15). English was a language when imposed could make people hybrid in their thought. Its not the physical thing what we see, rather a psychological construct to train people under them. The notion of “originality and purity” are subverted by hybridity, which is no longer seen as a sign of the “inappropriate” but rather as a sign of cultural productivity. It is impossible to categorize hybrid cultures because they differ from both “colonized” and “colonizer” and are in between; “Colonial mimicry” refers to a world where the desire for a transformed, recognized Other can be used as a subject of difference that is nearly identical but not quite (Bhabha, 1994, p. 86). Instead, what is revealed is a subject caught between being both accepted and rejected by the dominant system, unable to go back to any “pre-colonial” state from which colonial subjects were permanently expelled. Bhabha’s ambivalence stems from this exact contradiction in the colonialism discourse.

However, the Hybridity apart from the language was also seen in the form of British recruitment of the Gorkhas in British Army in India. They were made to wear a similar uniform but were not given the same post

<sup>33</sup> Thomas Babington Macaulay introduced English education in India under the special order by Governor General Lord Bentinck in 1835

as British. They were kept at a lower rank. However, this process can also be termed as ambivalence, where the migrants were made to dress up like them with a little differentiation to keep reminding they were inferior to the British. The 'Jalpahar convalescent depot' is one area that was completely dedicated to the recruitment of soldiers from 1870s (Fig 16&17). All the above can be related to the psychological construct of hegemony that led to the prosperity of the place, where they were educating Indians and migrants but for constituting power.

Example of architectural hybridity: In 1873, Thomas Roger Smith<sup>34</sup> reminded the British audience during a speech on "architectural art" in "colonial India" before the esteemed "Society of Arts" in London, that "our building ought to hold up a high standard European art as our administration exhibits European Justice, order, law, energy and honor-and that is no hesitating or feeble way." *They should be European in order to serve as a unifying force for us and as a unique emblem of our presence that the locals will respect and even admire* (Smith, 1873). As a result, architecture played a crucial role in establishing a setting that could convey the palpable presence of the European settlers and a cultural milieu that preserved their identity. Imperial architecture became necessary after the East India Company's formal dissolution in 1854 and the mutiny of 1857. Indo-Saracenic architecture originated from the vision of Smith and William Emerson, who also imagined the styles to be used, the layout of spaces within a building, and the government's decision to establish a certain monument<sup>35</sup>.

The architecture of Darjeeling mainly comprised of sloping roofs, gabled windows, gothic arches, rubble masonry, eave boards etc which are foreign to the Darjeeling. These buildings were built on higher topography to display their grandeur. Although, the architecture in the hills was influenced by European styles with hints of indigenous element but it cannot be classified completely under the hybridization, as it was prominent in other parts of the colonial India. The architecture in Darjeeling reflected more of the Colonial construct and Swiss Gothic architecture. The detailed understanding of the architecture can be made based on the site visit of Darjeeling (fig-13 &14).



*Migrants from Nepal*



*Tea Estate on lease to an Indian in 1920s*

**Figure 14:** The flocking of migrants from nearby countries esp. Nepal. (right) image shows an Indian man dressed in Western attire shows the nature of slight mimicry. The migration of people also leads to the formation of different groups within the same space which can be said a heterogeneous society. They all together added productivity to the place.

<sup>34</sup> English educator Thomas Roger Smith (1830–1903) was also an architect. His writings and thoughts on the acoustics and style of public buildings, as well as how they influenced subsequent architects, particularly in the context of British imperial architecture. In the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA), he was named an associate in 1856, a fellow in 1863, and a member of its council for several times. In 1869, he was one of the founding editors of *The Architect*.

<sup>35</sup> Nonetheless, James Fergusson's 1830 discovery of Indian architecture and Alexander Cunningham's establishment of ASI in 1861 were crucial in popularizing "indian architecture" in the West and promoting the growth of Indo-Saracenic architecture. (Metcalf, 1934).



**Figure 15:** The formation of Jalpahar recruiting Depot in 1890s



**Figure 16:** The Gorkha army of British India. (right) image shows the initial Gurkha army before British acquisition, (middle image) the migrated people from Nepal for the recruitment in Army, and (left) image the training of the migrants to become part of army. These contrasting images reflect the modulation done by the British to not only the land but also to the people.

## VI. Conclusion And Discussions

The above analysis has made an effort to investigate and pinpoint the various aspects of colonial navigation in the Darjeeling hills. The current investigation has identified the political-administrative mechanisms that allowed the Darjeeling hills to become a part of British India's broader colonial political economy. Such integration had been a historic turning point since the region “Darjeeling”, which was outside of India's centres of civilization, was oddly positioned and was within Sikkim.

Britisher’s ‘constructive hegemony’ and such ‘tools or technologies’—unknown to the inhabitants of this remote Himalayan region—allowed the British to materialize power through that make the colonial intervention significant. Their way of providing incentives for migration, making a deed in Lepcha language, tea plantation, missionary, Sanatorium, Himalayan rails were all part of the institutionalization of the power. In addition to the place's physical transformation, they undertook mental transformation through the hybridization process of mimicry or doubling in the case of recruiting the soldiers for the British army, the tea merchants in some of the tea industry.

Darjeeling's strategic location as a part of Sikkim, with which the British were closely associated politically and commercially throughout the 19th century as India's buffer against China and Tibet, was a major driving force behind the English East India Company's push for Darjeeling. Because of its advantageous location, Sikkim intrigued the interest of the British rulers. A major contributing factor to the British push into the Darjeeling hill tract was the gradual subordination of the once-friendly relationship between British India and Nepal following a series of wars and treaties with Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim.

The hypothesis of considering Darjeeling as a ‘Third Space’ in the research, has been anchored to a level of understanding of the annexure of the place or the spatial control that the British did to showcase their power. A space that juggled between various nations before becoming the summer capital of the British for Bengal presidency. The argument for this research was to limit the study only to the spatial control in the case of Darjeeling via annexure (deeds and treaties), administration (summer capital and Urbanization) and negotiation (treaties and migration). Darjeeling was a differently carved space which was not part of British India but eventually became one of the most important seats of British power with a bustling urban centre that prospered economically with tea plantations and the introduction of railways. The postcolonial lens helped in

‘deconstructing and fragmenting’ history to understand the construct of “hegemony” and “power” explained in the above sections. The paper has been restricted within the time frame of 1813-1880s as within this period the history of Darjeeling transformed completely.

The transformation of Darjeeling can also be viewed with the fluidity in the identity of the place. Darjeeling because of its strategic locations saw the movement of various cultural groups within its territory. The people who migrated got their culture along with them in the hills parallel to the British, the location became a hub for numerous ethnic groups between the years of 1828 and the 1860s. Since there isn’t enough data and literature available on the indigenous or the migrant layer of Darjeeling, it is an observed gap in the study of Darjeeling. The evidence for the other layer has to be built. The migration and mix of cultures in Darjeeling also gives a further scope to explore the region and the concept of third space. The level of hybridity within the paper has been achieved to an extent to get an overview of the intangibles that occurred in the hills. However, this requires more exploration once, the ‘other layer’s’ evidences are built to understand in detail the hybridization within the third space.

Nonetheless, colonial history is remembered because the British were the dominant force and the others were subservient. However, the place's identity is not created by the colonial layer alone. Darjeeling's identity is still a mystery. The postcolonial lens has helped in anchoring one part of the study for Darjeeling, however, other studies are yet to be furnished which gives scope for further research. The exploration of Darjeeling as ‘Third Space’ doesn’t stop here. It’s a continuous process that has to be explored based on factors such as hybridity in identity, culture, built forms etc. However a little touch on hybridity and ambivalence is achieved but it is a broader umbrella that needs further exploration by building evidences to understand whether Darjeeling can qualify as a ‘third space’. Depending on whether we follow Bhabha, Lefebvre, and Soja, or even combine their perspectives to form our own, the third space debate can take on a variety of interpretations. However, the research mostly used Bhabha and Soja's definition of third space to understand Darjeeling. Every hill town may/may not have a third space,; in the case of Darjeeling, the “third space” was intense due to the town's topography, and it continued to grow from 1828-1860, until the British had total control over the area and made it a summer capital and centre for tea economy.

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