

Chapter Six

Nepali Migration and Settlement into Northeast India in Colonial and Postcolonial Phase

Nepali migration to Northeast India has taken place from nineteenth century mainly from Nepal and also to some extent from other parts of India. Scope of employment in the British colonial army paved the way to migration of Nepalis to India including Northeastern parts of it. For the expeditions against the tribes of Northeast Nepalis were used. Gorkhas were awarded for their service and loyalty to British army. The British tried to take care of the Gorkha soldiers, encouraged them to settle in the region and allotted land to them. After the First World War a huge number of Gorkha ex-servicemen were settled in the Northeast region, especially in Manipur.¹ British encouragement to Nepali settlement in the Northeast was not always limited to retired Gorkha soldiers but also to others. Beside military employment, Nepali migration had taken place in other sectors of service in colonial period. Nepalis worked as porters, labourers in plantation, construction and mining sectors, in oil refineries, saw mills, sugarcane cultivation, and many other sectors in Northeast India. Nepalis were also involved in large scale lumbering and clearing of forest. Plenty of land available in the hills and valleys of northeast also encouraged Nepali migrant in the profession of graziers. The British were benefited with the labour of Nepali migrants and Nepalis were easily fitted in the colonial arrangement. Cultivable rice plots were also allotted to the Nepalis. Nepalis, who migrated, settled in the foothill between Assam and Arunachal Pradesh. They also settled in the vast forest fringes and in the river banks of Assam, even in Naga Hills, Manipur, Meghalaya, Sikkim and every parts of Northeast India. Arable land, which was very difficult to get by commoners in Nepal, was received by the migrant community in Northeast India. Bhim Prasad Subedi has argued that Nepalis did not migrate to North and Northeast India because of wage differentiation between the place of origin and destination, but for the arable land which they easily received there. So, a good number of people from the hill areas of Nepal colonized the sparsely populated area of Sikkim, Assam, and other place of Northeast India. Migrants were hard working and not hesitant to prepare

¹ Dutt, Srikant., Jun.1981, Migration and Development: The Nepalis in Northeast, *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vol-16, No-24, p. 1054.

land for native people and to practice wet rice cultivation and dairy farming.² The British understood that the Nepalis as strong hill cultivators could constitute an ideal strategic buffer in the Northeast and if as a result of Nepali settlement demography of the place changed it would be in interest of the British.³ In Manipur the royal court encouraged the Nepalis to be settled in the state. They gained financially by granting land for settlement. While the British did not permit other outsiders to settle in Manipur, they only exempted the Nepalis who settled in *Khas* and forest grazing land not previously under cultivation.⁴ It was stated by Leo Rose that Nepalis were allowed to settle in some of the excluded areas of whole Northeast India except Arunachal Pradesh. Even those areas were not permitted for settlement of plain Assamese people. These Nepalis soon emerged as faithful settler for British colonial master and as loyal citizens.⁵ By the support of British those people brought their family members and relatives to Northeast India permanently.

In the year of 1881, the total number of Nepali speaking people in Assam was 4485; out of which 2521 were in Brahmaputra Valley, 499 were in Surma valley and 1465 were in Hill Tracts.⁶ Total number of Nepalis rose to 21,347 according to the census figure of 1901. Among those people 1438 were settled in Lushai Hills and 1367 were in Naga Hills. Similarly there were 1294 Nepalis in Khasi and Jaintia Hills and respectively 753 and 525 in Garo Hills and Manipur.⁷ The Nepalis penetrated into the Northeast India primarily as Gorkha British military personnel and brought with them their traditional livelihood, dairy farming. Hindustani soldiers, i.e. the soldiers from Bengal, Bihar and Orissa suffered in the Northeastern climate, and the British did not rely on the local tribes like Manipuris, Jarwas and others for military battalion. So, they recruited Gorkhas from Nepal. After retirement from Gorkha battalions many Nepalis settled different parts of Northeast India as herders. Some of the important areas where 100 years old Gorkha settlements were established are

² Adhikari, Jagannath & Gurung Ganesh, 2009, *Migration, Security and Livelihoods: A case of Migration between Nepal & India*, Nepal Institute of Development Studies, Nepal, pp. 56-57.

³ Dutt, Srikant., Jun.1981, *op. cit*, p. 1054.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 1054.

⁵ Nath, Lopita, 2002, Labour Migration in an Earlier Phase of Global Restructuring: The Nepali Dairy Farmers in Assam, *North East India History Association*, 23rd Session, p. 62.

⁶ Gurung, Tejimala, 2001, Human Movement and Colonial State: A Study of the Nepalis in North-East India under the British Empire, *NEIHA Proceedings*, 23 Session, Shillong, p. 408.

⁷ Shangpliang, A.M., 1997, Recruitment Policy of the British and its Impact in the North East: A Case Study of the Gorkhas, *NEIHA Proceedings*, 18th Session, Shillong, , pp. 183-84.

Sadiya in Assam, Aizwal in Mizoram, Mantripokhori in Manipur, Mokokchong in Nagaland.⁸ Nepalis were attracted by the Grazing Reserve area, i.e., the Chapari areas in large number. In Tezpur, Burachapari was declared as such professional Grazing Reserve area in the year of 1881. Prior to 1890, Nepalis were settled in Kaziranga areas of Golaghat district in Assam also in the interest of grazing land.⁹ Nepalis became successful settlers in those areas due to the absence of competition from local inhabitants. In Assam, Nepalis, by clearing the dense jungle, infested with wild animals and malaria prepared the land for subsequent cultivation and gradually became permanent settlers. Tea plantation in Assam which was started in 1839 also attracted a large number of Nepalis. In course of time, the Nepalis spread all over the Northeastern region. Census of 1931 has indicated that Khasi and Jaintia Hills, Kamrup, Lakhimpur and Darrang became the main destination of Nepali migrants. 1921 census shows, there were 18,997 Nepali migrants in Darrang. Kamarupa and Lakhimpur had large grazing space, which attracted considerable number of Nepalis in the same year.¹⁰ Nepali population significantly increased after the colonial periods. After the Treaty of Friendship of 1950, the Tripartite Delhi Agreement of 1951 and the revised Indo-Nepal Agreement of 1956 Nepali migration to Northeast India significantly increased. In 1951 there were all total 1,22,823 Nepali speaking people in Northeast India who constituted 1.39 percent of the total population of the region.¹¹ In Manipur there were 2,860 Nepalis in 1951 which rose to 36,604 in the year of 1976. After the opening up of Arunachal Pradesh, Nepalis began to settle there and by 1961 their number rose to 25,000 which further increased to 85,000 in the year of 1971. In Meghalaya too the number of Nepali settlers rose from 6,000, in 1961 to at least 10,000 in 1971. In Mizoram because of the insurgency the number remained relatively stable. It was 2,000 in 1961 and 4,000 in 1971. In Nagaland the figure was 10,400 in 1961. Nepalis enumerated in Assam in the year of 1951 were 1,25,320; which increased significantly afterwards.¹² Table-19 bellow shows the distribution of Nepali speaking people in Northeast India in 2001.

⁸ Devi, Monimala, July 2007, Economic History of Nepali Migration and Settlement in Assam, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XLII, No. 29, p. 307.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Gurung, Tejimala, 2001, *op. cit.*, P. 411.

¹² Kansakar, Vidya, Bir, Singh., "Indo-Nepal Migration: Problems and Prospects", *CNAS Journal*, Vol-11, No-2, April 1984, p. 60.

Table-19
Distribution of Nepali Speaking People in the Northeastern States in 2001

SI. No.	States of Northeast India	Total Nepali Population	Share of Nepali Population in Northeastern States
1.	Assam	5,64,790	49.4%
2.	Sikkim	3,38,606	29.6%
3.	Arunachal Pradesh	94,919	8.3%
4.	Meghalaya	52,155	4.6%
5.	Manipur	45,998	4.0%
6.	Nagaland	34,222	3.0%
7.	Mizoram	8,948	0.8%
8.	Tripura	3,377	0.3%
	Total Nepali Speaking People	1143015	100%

Source: Census of India.

It is clear from the above table that the Nepali speaking people in Assam are larger in number than other states of Northeast India. Sikkim is in second position in terms of Nepali population among Northeastern States. Arunachal Pradesh has 8.3 percent of Nepali population, holding third position in carrying capacities. Meghalaya and Nagaland are also holding good number of Nepali population. Mizoram and Tripura have very small number of Nepali population in comparison to other Northeastern States.

Nepali Migration and Settlement in Assam:

Nepali migration into Assam started with the advent of the British in the area. To establish colonial authority over Assam, the British had come with Gorkha military force in the name of protection of the state from Burmese power. In the year of 1817, the 'Cuttack Legion' which was later known as 'Assam Light Infantry' played a great role for the British Colonial power in Sylhet operation to drive out the Burmese. It has been stated that in this battalion there were 1000 Hindusthani and Gorkha soldiers.¹³ After the Anglo-Burmese war

¹³ Gurung, Tejimala, 2001, *op. cit.*, P. 405.

in 1826 British wanted to control their possession and adjacent places. For that matter they needed a strong force to protect the Northeast. Assam Rifles had been created with this intention. Gorkhas were taken into Assam Rifles or Assam Light infantry. A good number of people from Gorkha race were recruited and sent to Assam. Even a recruiting depot was opened at Sylhet. People from up-countries or Nepalis recruited from Gorakpur or Darjeeling were sent to the districts of Assam via Dhubri. In the year 1839, about one third of the soldiers of Assam Rifles or Assam Light Infantry were from Nepal. Even, till 1899, 1st Assam Light Infantry at Gauhati, 2nd Assam Light Infantry at Sadiya and Sylhet Light Infantry worked in Assam and Burma predominantly consisted of Gorkhas. Those battalions later on were recognized as Gorkha Rifles.¹⁴ Retired ex-soldiers who settled in the country encouraged others from Nepal to migrate to Northeast India as well as Assam. There were large tracts of uncultivated land, unexploited areas, very wealthy forests resource and scarcely populated areas in Assam, which attracted migrant communities. Chief Commissioner of Assam reported in 1886 that “... *to settle the wastelands of Assam with people and to increase the revenue collection of the province the government has been making serious efforts to encourage immigration to Assam...*”¹⁵ In the later period industries like tea, coal, oil and other sectors grew up in Assam and migrants from Nepal accommodated themselves in those sectors. British capitalist enterprise got the opportunity in the area to invest their capital, and migrant communities as labour force extended their helping hand to help flourish the newly established enterprise. Nepali migrants very pleasantly engaged themselves as workers in tea estates, coal mines, cultivation, reclamation of wasteland and forest areas. The British realized that hard working migrants from Nepal would be very much useful for the place and in their interest. So they encouraged them to come into the province, provided settlement, mainly in the waste lands in favourable terms. Assistance was also given to them for their travel from Nepal to Northeast India. Thus a good number of Nepalis were recruited in the British military services and large number migrated and settled in Assam. Even for future military needs many able Nepalis were reserved in the area. Those military men gradually started to bring their family members from Nepal to the place. Even their friends, relatives also started to come for future recruitment and for seeking other jobs available in the area. After retirement from military

¹⁴ *Ibid.* P. 405.

¹⁵ Devi, Monimala, July 2007. *op. cit*, p. 307.

job or after serious injuries in the battle field many Gorkha migrants settled in the place. A large number of them took the profession of cattle grazing, dairy farming and became a *gwala* or *khuntiwallah* (owner of cow shed) in the area. Fresh entry into this sector of grazing or dairy farming took place from Nepal. Grazing and dairy farming became a good source income of Nepali migrants. Gradually conflict started between the indigenous people and Nepali migrant graziers. Cattle of Nepali herders were frequently destroyed the agricultural fields of the local people and complaints against it were lodged to British authorities. It was seen that British authorities always extended their helping hand towards the migrant Nepalis. British Government granted special grazing land for them and arranged certain places for their settlement nearby the grazing grounds. Even provisions of grazing tax, cattle tax, foreigner tax were imposed on them. This taxation increased with the passage of time progressively because of the entry of fresh migrants to this sector and became a good source of revenue for the British. Thus heavy taxation helped British colonial power to be benefited by the migration. Nepali migrants took this opportunity as blessing to them because sustained of livelihood in Nepal was very hard. In course of the time Nepali settlement in Assam, got legalized.

Earlier Nepali immigrants to Assam were hill ethnic martial groups but at later date high caste impoverished *Bahun*s and *Chettris* also poured in. In 1872 there were only 983 people from Nepal who lived in the six plain districts of Assam of them 476 were there in Sibsagar and 260 in Lakhimpur. In Kamrup, Darrang, Goalpara and Nowgong there were 125 persons, 87 persons, 34 persons and 1 persons respectively.¹⁶ In postcolonial Assam large number of migrants concentrated mainly in Sonitpur and Tinsukia districts. In Tinsukia, there were 7.91 percent, followed by NC Hills with 7.90 percent, Sonitpur with 6.43 percent, Karbi Anglong with 5.69 percent, Dhemaji with 4.74 percent of Nepali population on language basis in the year of 1991. Nepali population in Kokrajhar was followed by Dhemaji district in that same year. Darrang, North Lakhimpur, Kamrup and Golaghat districts of Assam had less Nepali population with an average of 2.5 percent in 1991.¹⁷ It has been seen that 17,896 Nepal born people migrated to Assam in 2001. The table shows district wise distribution of Nepali migrants in Assam in 2001.

¹⁶ Gurung, Tejimala, 2001, *op. cit*, p. 408.

¹⁷ Devi, Monimala, July 2007. *op. cit*, p. 307.

Table-20
Nepali Migrant in the District of Assam in 2001

Sl. No.	Districts	Number of Migrants
1.	Kokrajhar	181
2.	Dhubri	115
3.	Goalpara	130
4.	Bongaigaon	191
5.	Barpeta	71
6.	Kamrup	2743
7.	Nalbari	667
8.	Darrang	866
9.	Marigaon	114
10.	Nagaon	493
11.	Sonitpur	1537
12.	Lakimpur	708
13.	Dhemaji	478
14.	Tinsukia	3197
15.	Dibrugarh	1170
16.	Sibsagar	461
17.	Jorhat	483
18.	Golaghat	662
19.	Karbi Anglong	2636
20.	North Cachar Hills	736
21.	Cachar	190
22.	Korimganj	53
23.	Hailakandi	14
	Total	17,896

Source: Census of India 2001.

Nepali migration in Assam in the year of 1891 was 11,377 and increased to 21,347 in 1901.¹⁸ At that time Khasi and Jaintia Hills, Garo Hills, Manipur, Naga Hills and Mizo Hills were included in Assam. In 1911 there were near about 55,000 Nepali speaking people with 47,654 Nepal born population. In that year Brahmaputra valley contained large number of Nepalis, who were mostly engaged in breeding of buffaloes and processing of milk products.¹⁹ Nepali speaking people in the state increased to at least 104,000 with 70,344 Nepali migrant in 1921. Nepali speaking population further increased to 140,000, including Nepali Brahmans as well as Rai, Gurung, Limbu, Magar with the migration of 88,306 fresh Nepali in the year 1931. Nepali immigrants increased by only 35.6 percent in 1921-31 against 89 percent in 1911-21.²⁰ Rapid growth was seen in Nepali migration into the state in between the year 1911-21. After this period it was not very significant. It is difficult to assign any cause for this falling of Nepali immigration. Probably the action taken by Nepal Government to discourage the emigration of their subjects was the main cause of it. But in 1951 Nepali population in the state rose to 1,22,823, among them 56,572 were migrant. Nepali population increased to 3,49,116 in the year of 1971; sharing 2.38 percent of total population of Assam.²¹ The districts which had proved most attractive to Nepali immigrants during the period 1911-31 were Khasi and Jaintia Hills, Darrang, Lakhimpur, and Kamrup. In other districts number of Nepali migrants slightly increased or decreased. In the hill districts and the Frontier Tracts a strict control over the immigration of Nepalis was generally exercised and except in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, Nepalis were not encouraged to settle by the local authorities.²² Migration of Nepalis in Khasi and Jaintia hills will be studied in the subsequence phases. Table bellow shows the details of Nepali population in Assam with percentage of sharing.

¹⁸ Census of India. 1901, Vol. -IV, Assam. Part-I, Report, By B.C Allen

¹⁹ Baruah, Amlan, 1999, Gazetteer of India-State Assam, Vol. I, Government of Assam, Guwahati.

²⁰ Mullan, B.C., Census of India, 1931, Vol. III, Assam, Part-I, Report.

²¹ Devi, Monimala, July 2007. *op. cit*, P. 305.

²² Census of India, 1931, Vol. III, Assam, Part-I.

Table-21
Nepali Speaking Population in Assam in 1911-2001

Year	Total Population in Assam	Nepali Speaking Population in Assam	Nepali Population as percentage of Total Population
1911	38,48,617	55,000	1.42%
1921	46,36,980	104,000	2.24%
1931	55,60,371	140,000	2.51%
1951	80,28,856	1,22,823	1.52%
1961	1,08,37,329	2,15,213	1.98%
1971	1,46,25,152	3,49,116	2.38%
1991	2,24,14,322	4,32,519	1.93%
2001	2,66,55,528	5,64,790	2.12%

Source: (i) Nepali population from 1911-1931: Census of India. 1931, Volume- III, Assam, Part-I, Report. By C.S. Mullan 1984. (ii) Nepali population from 1951-1991 & Population of Assam from 1911-1991: Gazetteer of India, Assam State, Vol. I, by Amlan Baruah, 1999 (iii) Nepali population & Population of Assam for 2001: Census of India 2001.

Chief Secretary of Assam in his note on 1928 stated that in the year of 1921 there were 95,000 Nepali speaking persons in Assam, among them 70,000 were born in Nepal. According to him those people were largely graziers and woodcutters, but also involved with sugarcane and other cultivation. He mentioned, according to land revenue report in the year between 1926-27 they were settled in 74,000 acres of land and during 1928 it increased by 3,100 acres. According to him, Nepali migrants were much undisciplined, usually went extensively for illicit distillation and were notorious poachers and used to clear forest for sugarcane cultivation. Their sugarcane cultivation was in the nature of shifting cultivation. After obtaining few rounds of crops they would clear new forest areas for new cultivation. Sometimes permanent cultivation took place in the abandoned lands. It was also stated by

him that such sugarcane cultivation was beneficial for the state. The officer cited that Nepali immigrants added considerable amount of forest revenue by woodcutting and British authority got substantial amount for the grazing profession of Nepalis. It was told that the woodcutters were the temporary migratory people and usually returned to Nepal in the hot weather. One British officer, Ammond said that British could not think of preventing Gorkha pensioners to be settled in Assam though they would not encourage them to do so but he would like actively to discourage any other Nepali immigrants to settle in Assam. He said as regard to graziers, they could not at once turn them out but they could reduce the very large areas of reserved grazing land, impose restrictions and conditions on lines suggested by Agricultural Commission and they could get the grazer to breed better cattle and on the conditions licenses could be given to graze cattle on payment.²³ It also reported in the year 1928 to the Secretary, Revenue that in the last 2 to 3 years Nepalis, especially those connected with grazing took cultivation significantly. Cultivation in the area was generally fluctuating in nature and a good deal of cultivated land was not covered by *pattas* of any kind. Crops produced in the land mainly were cold weather crops, mustard and such like. Land generally was not fitted for ordinary cultivation.²⁴ It can be understood that the Nepalis who migrated to Assam or northeast gradually became a cultivator from grazer or shifted to other profession and settled in the land. It was a great concern of British authority at that time to understand that migrant Nepalis were distinct from the Gorkhas who had served or had been serving in the army or the Assam Rifles. It is understandable that British authority accepted Nepali migration and settlement of ex-army men but they were more confused about the so called '*faltu*' Nepalis or the Nepalis who were not much beneficial for British rule. Though, British commercial enterprises had their interest in those hard working '*faltu*' to fulfill the need of manpower in coal mine, tea plantation and other sectors. It was noted that the following amount of land was settled with Nepalis in the various districts of the Assam Valley in the year 1926-27:²⁵

²³ State Archive of Assam, June 1920, Revenue Department, A-file, Nos. 30-38, p. 3.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.* p. 4.

Table-22
Land Settled with Nepali in Assam Valley in 1926-27

SI No.	Districts	Acres of Land
1.	Goalpara	13,721
2.	Darrang	31,472
3.	Sibsagar	4,129
4.	Kamrup	7,904
5.	Nowgong	3,349
6.	Lakhimpur	10,141

Source: Revenue Department, A-file, Nos. 30-38, June 1920, Retrieved from the State Archive of Assam, p. 4

It was reported that migrant Nepalis settled in eastern parts of Assam i.e. in Lakhimpur, Dibrugarh originally were dairy farmers and settled cultivators. In western regions like in Kamrup Nepali settlers mostly were from military backgrounds, Gorkha army or unskilled labour groups. Mainly Gurungs and Magars were those settlers. Many of them after their retirement shifted to dairy farming and took it as a profession.²⁶ Lopita Nath states about the distinction between Nepali dairy farmers of eastern and western regions of Assam. In the eastern region dairy farmers are third or fourth generation migrant groups. They mainly are *bonafide* settlers and have been assimilated in the local culture where they are living. They do not maintain any relations with Nepal. They do not send any remittance to Nepal and utilize their benefit in their living place. Many Nepalis from dairy families are educated in modern learning and performing various other businesses, working in private and government sectors. Many of them presently are teachers, accountants, doctors etc. But in the western region of Assam dairy farmers have their connection with Nepal and they are maintaining matrimonial and fraternal relations with their counterpart in Nepal. Many of this people have their land in Assam as well as in Nepal and send their income to Nepal as remittance. They have migrated to Assam only to fulfil their economic needs. Those people do not poorly assimilate with Assamese society.²⁷ Regarding Nepali settlement in various

²⁶ Nath, Lopita, 2002, *op. cit* p. 165.

²⁷ *Ibid.* p. 167.

part of the districts different views have been found. The Subdivisional officer of Barpeta and Sub Deputy Collectors said that in different terms Nepalis were held the land in various parts of districts. They said Nepalis were not numerous as the Mymensinghians in the subdivision. The Subdivisional officer of Barpeta said that number of the Nepalis increased very fast in the area and with purchase of land they became permanent settlers of the place. He reported to the Deputy Commissioner of Kamrup in February 1929 that in Bajali circle, Nepalis were almost permanently settled and made their *bastis* exactly in the type of Assamese *bastis* with corrugated iron sheds and practiced settled cultivation. They generally liked to settle in the riverside areas. Sub-Deputy Collector of Bajali also reported that formerly Nepalis came to the land as graziers and with the passage of time majority of them became semi-cultivators and occupied the land under periodic leases in the Kharija Bijni along the Beki and the Manas and in the Bijni towards the north. In the Bashbari side Nepalis transplanted the lands for crop cultivation. In the Khagrabari and Kuthrijar sides of the Bijni *mauza* and in the northern portion of the Kharija-Bijni, majority of Nepalis took cultivation purely as their profession. Nepalis in this circle almost all became permanent settlers and there was no chance of going away from the land and they became Assamese in many ways. The officer said that Nepalis did not like to take up lands where there were Mymensingh immigrants, who were considered very much dreadful. Many Nepalis owned periodic *pattas* from Kacharies on payments. There was also very low fluctuating cultivation. Sub-Deputy Collector did not see any necessity of restrictive measures for their settlement.²⁸ Deputy Commissioner of Kamrup said about the difficulties to enforce any strict rule to prohibit squatting by Nepalis in Kamrup District. He said in near term foreigners would capture the land in this district. Obviously his indication was also towards Nepalis. In his opinion Nepali immigrants were not popular to the local Assamese as the Mymensinghians were. Sub-Deputy Collector of Gauhati told that the Nepalis were always migratory in the province. He said grazing and sawing was the main professions of Nepalis and in addition they also generally used to cultivate lands. He reported that Nepalis in the province were under periodic leases and used to purchase lands from the local people. He said rarely Nepalis ceased connection with Nepal and after a long residence in Assam they used to dispose of their lands and went back to Nepal. He said it was very difficult for them to restrict immigration. Sub-Deputy

²⁸ State Archive of Assam, June 1920, *op.cit.* p.9.

Collector of Chhaggaon told that Nepali immigrants hardly confined them to any particular area. They carried on a sort of fluctuating cultivation in accordance with their needs. Professional cultivators among them were rather scanty but majority of them took up grazing and dairy farming. He said very few of them were periodic *patta* holders, domiciled in most parts of the region and hardly had intention to leave the place. According to him immigration of Nepalis could be checked by refusing their right over the land they were holding and in the same manner squatting could also be prevented. The officer praised Nepalis for their honesty, straightforwardness and peace loving nature and had compared and contrasted them with Mymensingh immigrants. He said Mymensingh immigrants were diametrically opposite in their nature and dealings. Sub-Deputy Collector of Kamalpur and Rangia told that there were no Nepali settlement in Kamalpur circle but there were many settlers in Rangia circle. He did not think of putting any restriction on settlement of Nepalis in the area. Sub-Deputy Collectors of Nalbari and Tihu told that cultivation had been taken up by the most of the Nepalis as their supplementary means of livelihood. Occasional visit to their native place in Nepal was very common practice of Nepalis of the region. In the area Nepalis stayed permanently and used to celebrate marriages and other customs. The officer told that annual *pattas* were generally given to the Nepalis for their holding of lands but generally land was squatted by them. He said Nepali immigration should not be prohibited. Large tract of jungles were made fit for cultivation by them. He further said Nepalis were more desirable than the immigrants from Mymensingh. He suggested squatting by the Nepalis could be restricted by allotting settlement land to them on annual lease. In 1928, Deputy Commissioner of Nowgong reported to the Commissioner, Assam Valley Division that most of the Nepalis in the district were primarily graziers and majority of them came to the valley from other districts and few from Nepal. Among the settlers very few were ex-soldiers. He said the Nepalis who made their material conditions better settled down in the place and maintained little or no connection with Nepal. But those who were unable to improve their material conditions after migration or incurred into heavy debts either preferred to go back to Nepal or to some other districts of the valley. He mentioned Nepalis used to practice fluctuating cultivation and very few among them came under settled cultivation in the area. The Commissioner reported that any restriction on Nepali settlement would affect the milk supply in the district. He also pointed out that Nepalis generally settled in the most

inaccessible places in small colonies. So it was difficult for British officials to prevent the squatting of land.²⁹ Deputy Commissioner of Goalpara reported about the *Khas mahal* land under the holding of Nepali immigrants in the year 1927-28.³⁰ From the given figure it is seen that the total occupied area by the Nepalis in this district was as follows.

Table-23
Khas mahal Land Areas Under Nepali Migrant in Goalpara in 1927-28

Forest Division	Acres of land
Sidli Circle and Gosaigaon Circle	13,981
Goalpara Forest Division	4,798

Source: Revenue Department, A-file, Nos. 30-38, June 1920, Retrieved from the State Archive of Assam, p. 6.

In the year 1927-28 there were about 18,779 acres of land under Nepali immigrants in the above mentioned divisions. The Commissioner said that those were the excluded settlement areas of Nepalis in the permanently settled areas. He said that figures presented by him were related only to Sidli and Gosaigaon circles and an encroachment of a few hundred acres during the last year had been seen. In the Sidli and Gosaigaon circle the greater portions of the area under Nepali settlements were on annual leases and there were also some Nepalis domiciled in the districts who were the holders of considerable amount of land. It was stated that majority of the Nepalis in the area practiced fluctuating cultivation. He also said that due to the migratory habits of the Nepalis, *mauzadars* of the area faced problem in realizing the land revenue. He said many entries of Nepali defaulters could be found in the *ferar* lists submitted by the *mauzaders*. He mentioned quoting the Divisional Forest Officer's letter that restriction to immigration of Nepalis sawyers would materially affect the exploitation of timber in the reserve forests, although it was stated that Nepalis should not be encouraged to settle there in the district. He also said about the lack of statistics on the settlement of immigrant Gorkhali Nepalis in the area. But he presumed that proportion of

²⁹ Revenue Department, A-file, Nos. 30-38, June 1920, Retrieved from the State Archive of Assam, p. 5.

³⁰ *Ibid.* p. 6.

such Nepalis would be very small.³¹ Deputy Conservator of Forests, Goalpara Division reported to the Deputy Commissioner of Goalpara about the Nepali settlement in the area. He said on the close of the year 1927-28 the area settled on annual *patta* with Nepali forest villagers in the division was 12,514 *bighas*. Among the settlers only three were reported to have previously served in the army. Besides those settlers, there were professional graziers who did not cultivate *rupit* land, but supplied labour to the Forest Department under the Forest Village Rules. They were not issued annual *pattas*, but classified as permanent residents in the area. He mentioned the presence of some nomadic Nepalis, who throughout the cold weather used to be involved in odd jobs, and a certain number of them also were employed as private and Government servants (*chaprassies*). The officer also reported about the large influx of Nepali sawyers into each range of the division in cold weather, who worked for various timber contractors and sometimes for the forest department. According to him, putting any restriction on Nepali migration was impossible for them and also not advisable. He also pointed out that any bar on the employment of the Nepali sawyers, would seriously affect the exploitation of timber and other government work throughout the division, Even contractors would suffer a great deal if the migration of these people were stopped. In his view, most of the sawyers used to return in the rainy season to their home, either in Nepal or in other places of Assam, where they were domiciled. He also said that generally professional graziers were useful to local residents.³² Deputy Commissioner of Darrang reported to the Commissioner of Assam Valley Division about the Nepali settlement in the area. He told Nepalis who migrated to the area and neighbouring districts generally did not prefer to go back to Nepal. These Nepalis mainly were involved in sugarcane cultivation in the forest lands and used to move from one place to another. Considerable amount of damage of state forest land was done by them which was difficult to detect. He also said about illicit distillation of liquor conducted by the Nepalis and also reported about the difficulties of detection of such activities as the liquor was generally distilled in the midst of jungle. A good number of migrants was involved in the grazing profession and took the lands into cultivation on an extensive scale inside the grazing reserves. He said on the basis of existing rule four *bigha* of cultivable land could be given for vegetables cultivation to the persons who would pay more than a certain amount of grazing tax. This privilege had been

³¹ *Ibid.* p. 6.

³² *Ibid.* p.7.

widely abused by the grazers and they had far in excess of four *bighas* and for the authorities it was impossible to keep in check on the actual areas cultivated in each case. He said the Nepalis who cultivated these lands were generally not migratory. He told about the habits of Nepalis who acquired *patta* land. He said *patta* lands allotted to the Nepalis were sold by them to others at the first opportunity and new lands were searched elsewhere by them. He said no attempt would be made to restrict the immigration and settlement of Nepalis in the area and Nepalis would not be allowed to take up any more land for cultivation inside professional grazing reserves. In the report dated 10th January 1929, the Settlement officer of Darrang told about their difficulties to identify the Gorkha class of Nepali groups and the proportion of Gorkhas among the Nepali population in the district. He said that Nepali settlers were migratory and those who were professional grazers and involved in very little cultivation frequently shifted their *khutis* from one place to another in the plains. This people were mostly settled in the riverine tracks. But those who were involved with cultivation and took it as their main occupation in the open plains were more or less permanent settlers. He said about a class of Nepalis who damaged the forest lands mainly for sugarcane cultivation. Those people mostly were temporary settlers and frequently changed their habitat from one place to another and sometimes abandoned the land without cultivating for more than three to four years. Those people were suspected to be involved in illicit distillation of liquor in the deep forest and they were also blamed for the damage to the un-classed State forests. He remarked those migrant were undesirable settlers and said an attempt should be made to restrict such settlers. But he also admitted that as the people generally preferred isolated patches in dense *jungle*, it was difficult to restrict them to be settled in those interior places. He said Nepalis mostly occupied high lands for cultivation which usually became infertile after a few years of cultivation and they searched for new lands elsewhere. It was one of the main causes of migratory habits of the Nepalis. But it was seen that they seldom gave up lands where they could carry on cultivation of permanent nature. Most of the Nepali settlers used to migrate within the districts. Very few among them used to go back to Nepal, might be, temporarily to perform their social ceremonies. The Deputy Commissioner also reported to Commissioner of Assam Valley Division that in the subdivision of Mangaldai, Nepalis who took up cultivation or kept buffaloes, etc., were migratory. They settled practically in the plains and occasionally shifted their *khutis* from one mauza to another and even from one

district to another. Occasionally members of the Nepali families, mostly the old members used to go to Nepal for marriage of their children and for other purposes, but they returned to Assam. In the subdivision Nepalis mostly were settled on annual leases but there were periodic *pattas* as well. In some villages land were also permanently cultivated. He reported, on the whole, the areas cultivated by the Nepalis were occupied permanently and only the minor cultivations in *khutis* were fluctuating. He also said that squatting of land was difficult to stop as the Nepalis selected dense jungles for cultivation. As cultivation was more profitable business, Nepalis with a few heads of cattle gradually cleared up the land for cultivation. He said Nepalis used to come in small groups in the area. So, it was difficult for the authorities to provide selected villages to them as it was possible in case of Mymensingh immigrants. He also reported about the profitable business of land conducted by Nepali immigrants. He told, Common practice of Nepali immigrants was to occupy the land near the villages of Eastern Bengal immigrant and after receiving *pattas* used to sell it to Eastern Bengal immigrants and remove themselves to some neighbouring places. The officer suggested that Nepalis in future should be allowed to settle only in selected villages and if selling of *patta* to Eastern Bengal immigrants would continue by them, they would be punished by way of eviction.³³ In the same issue Deputy Commissioner of Lakhimpur stated to the Commissioner of Assam Valley Division about the different opinions the officers regarding the Nepali settlement in the land. He said that according to Subdivisional officer of North Lakhimpur, most of the Nepali settlers took up lands under periodic *patta* and except grazers and sawyers others were not migratory in nature. But Deputy Commissioner did not agree with the view of Subdivisional officer of North Lakhimpur. He stated that average Nepalis were undesirable settlers and every Forest officer had contention that Nepalis ruthlessly hacked down the valuable trees in the most unlikely places in order to grow sugarcane for three or four years. They repeatedly did the same elsewhere when the soil of that land became exhausted. The process was extremely deleterious to the forest. He instructed all his Sub-Deputy Collectors to produce report on this habit of the Nepalis. He added, Nepali migrants were responsible for a large number of *ferar* cases in the district and often escaped from the assessment of dues because they carried out their operation in the remote area of jungles. He also said about the practice of illicit distillation of liquor by the

³³ *Ibid.* p.7.

Nepalis in the inaccessible areas. He pointed out the Nepalis, who were involved in grazing were different from above mentioned Nepalis. In his inquiry it was revealed that most of the Nepalis in the district were professional graziers for upward of twenty years and would not return to Nepal. These people used to migrate within the district in search of better grazing grounds. Sometime these Nepali grazers also got them involved in cultivation, mainly rice and other crops but not specially sugarcane and they usually cultivated in or near their professional grazing reserve. He told that District Officers had neither the staff nor the time to search squatters in inaccessible jungles.³⁴ On 23rd January 1929, Deputy Commissioner of Sibsagar reported to the commissioner of Assam Valley Division that in 1921, the number of persons in the district born in Nepal was 4,833 and the influx to the district was about a hundred per year. He said 28 percent Nepalis used to return to Nepal every year which was much lower than the influx population. He reported that the Nepalis in the area usually cultivated mustard, sugarcane and some rice in fluctuating manner. Near the Naga Hills, in riverine *mauzas* they used to cultivate sugarcane and also were engaged in grazing of buffalo and cow. Some of them were wood sawyers and timber contractors. It was believed that cultivation was more likeable than grazing and the peoples were in annual *pattas* in the area. The Commissioner said about the difficulties of identification of squat. He said migrant from Nepal used to come to the house of old settlers. Identification of such men was not possible as the names of all Nepalis settled there were not listed. Even there was no staff to carry out such an elaborate method of listing. He pointed out that there would be no room for more Nepalis as available waste land in this district would soon be taken up. Buffalo grazing grounds also would be smaller because of heavy demand of land. He said fluctuating cultivation in the area was turning permanent in all the places for rice cultivation.³⁵ In February 1929, Deputy Commissioner of the Garo Hills reported to the Commissioner of Assam Valley Division that in the district an area of 40 acres of land was held by the Nepalis, out of it only an area of 4 acres was under military pensioners. Major portion of this total area was in Tura town. He stated that no settlement land was granted in this district to the Nepalis or Gorkhas for cultivation and only in town and in *bazar* sites land was granted for the construction of shops and dwelling houses. Squatting was strictly forbidden for them. Practically Nepali immigration was discouraged in the district. Military pensioners who were

³⁴ *Ibid.* p.8.

³⁵ *Ibid.* p.9.

living in the district were all permanent and domiciled in it. According to him in the district only the grazers and Public Works Department collies were of migratory nature and they were not allowed to occupy land. The officer said in the Garo Hills for the discouragement of settlement of Nepali military caste any measure could be taken. In the note regarding Nepali settlement a summary of Sub-deputy Collectors was given in Revenue-A file of 1929, which is as follows.

Table-24

Summary Report of the Sub-Deputy Collectors on Cultivation of Lands by Nepalis

1	2	3	4	5
Sub-Deputy Collector of Chhaygaon	Sub-Deputy Collector of Gauhati	Sub-Deputy Collector of Tihu	Sub-Deputy Collector of Rangia	Sub-Deputy Collector of Nalbari
The Nepalese in the area generally practice fluctuating cultivation and cultivate mustard, bao and jute. The <i>pattas</i> issued to them are mostly all annual <i>pattas</i> . Amongst the holder of periodic <i>pattas</i> very few are domiciled in	In the year of 1928-29, total area of land settled by the Nepalese on annual leases is 462 <i>bighas</i> and in periodic leases is 569 <i>bighas</i> . Cultivation consist in the land mainly the paddy and a small percentage of mustard. The cultivation is of	Settled as well as fluctuating cultivation is practiced in the land holding by the Nepalese in the area. Nepalese have all sorts of cultivation, also the winter rice. Majority of settler have been given annual <i>pattas</i> . But in some cases periodic <i>pattas</i> have	In 1927-28 total area of land settled with Nepalese under annual lease was 5,254 <i>bighas</i> , and 2,051 <i>bighas</i> under periodic lease. Some of the Nepalese have practiced settled cultivate ahu, Sali, jute, mustard etc, Some have been living there in	Nepalese have not been issued no annual or periodic <i>patta</i> . All the Nepali people are living in the reserves area provided for them for grazing their cattle.

the area and never intend to leave the place where they are already settled.	permanent nature to a considerable extent.	also been issued.	fluctuating villages like as the Assamese people.	
--	--	-------------------	---	--

Source: Revenue Department, A-file, Nos. 30-38, June 1920, Retrieved from the State Archive of Assam, p.10.

It was reported that many Nepalis had been coming from Bhutan to the area and were mixed with the Nepalis who were already settled in the land. Groups of Nepalis were there who had been living in the place permanently but their members were constantly changing. It has also been told about the needs of a line of outpost along the western border of Goalpara and all along the Bhutan border. General consensus among the officers was that imposition of any restrictions on the immigration of Nepalis to Assam would not be an effective measure and was not at all possible. It also reported that without special staff it was not possible for British officers to prevent the settlement of Nepalis and squatting of land by them in the interior places. It was stated that whereas Mymensinghias generally opened up land with the intention of staying there and the control on them was possible, in the case of Nepalis it was different. Some officers considered Nepalis as less dangerous than the immigrant Mymensingh. They said some of the Nepali immigrants were practically domiciled in Assam and many among them took up land for permanent cultivation. It appeared from the report of the settlement officers that classification among the immigrant Nepalis and Gorkhas of fighting castes was a difficult task for them. Reports said the only procedure to restrict the settlement of Nepalis in Assam was the selection and specification of places for the Nepalis in each district where these men would be allowed to settle and cultivate. After an enquiry regarding the Nepali settlement, the British officer Prichard remarked that Nepalis were more troublesome at the upper end of the Assam Valley than in the other parts of province. Mr. Furze, a British officer, said that Nepalis in any forms were not desirable in the province. The Deputy Commissioner of Lakhimpur also expressed his grievance at the habits of fluctuating cultivation of Nepalis. The Divisional Forest Officer of Goalpara pointed out the contribution of immigrant Nepalis in the exploitation of the forests

resources. The Deputy Commissioner of Nowgong also praised the Nepalis for their contribution in the context of milk supply in the province. Prichard, remarked that Nepalis were not aggressive neighbours as the Mymensinghians. He commented that British authorities would probably be agreed with the Commissioner that nothing much could be done to restrict the Nepalis immigrant into Assam. Issue of emigration was in the hand of Nepal Government. They could control emigration from their country if they wish to. He said problem of influx of wide ranging Nepali graziers and their fluctuating method of cultivation in the area would automatically solve with the immigration of more people and encroachment of grazing land by them. Deputy Commissioner of Sibsagar remarked that any steps for the discouragement of Nepali settlement in Assam would not be practicable and would be useless. By such effort migration could not be prevented.³⁶ On the issue of discouragement policy on Nepali immigration consensus view emerged among the government officials. Almost everyone said imposing any restriction on Nepali migration would be impracticable. It was said that with the gradual restriction of grazing reserves and the general opening up of the country would solve the problem automatically and with time Nepali immigrants would no longer be able to squat and destroy the forest growth and possibly would evade the payment of revenue.³⁷

Inspector General of Police said to the District Officers to discourage in every way possible the settlement of Gorkhas discharged or pensioned from the Assam Rifles battalions in their jurisdiction where the battalions of Assam Rifles were quartered within their districts. The Political Officer of Sadiya Frontier Tract was not in favour of allowing Gorkhas to be settled in Assam in large number. He said that he always did his best to check the flow of Nepali immigration into the state. He said about his considerable experiences on two types of Gorkha settlers, one who were under strict discipline and the others were undisciplined settlers. He was in against of Gorkha settlement in the province. He said unrestricted immigration into Assam from Eastern or Western Nepal would not be the best interests of the province or of the Gorkhas themselves. He suggested in 1924 that Gorkhas should not be allowed to enter Assam without a passport but his suggestion was not been taken by the authority due to various reasons. He said about the presence of different Nepali

³⁶ *Ibid.* p.11.

³⁷ *Ibid.* p.4.

groups in Assam. He said the Gorkhas who served government loyally and for long time and in course of their service who torn his all connection with the land of his birth and got married in the province and had been rearing a large family in Assam should allowed to be settled permanently in Assam. The people who had nowhere to go and in return to Nepal would be penalized by heavy fine to the Brahmins and for whom it would not be possible to effort would be allowed to settle down there in Assam. He indicated that loyal officer, non-commissioned officers and the man of Assam rifles who had no option in their hand without settling in the Indian lands would be allowed to be settled. He said on the other side of the picture there were unnecessary swarming Gorkha settlers of all kinds throughout the Assam who had done nothing for the country would not be permitted to settle in Assam. Nepalis, whose chief occupation was the destruction of valuable forest land by sugarcane cultivation or who used to ravage the lands by their herds of buffaloes and usually managed to evade the payment of their land revenue and was engaged in illicit distillation would not allowed to be settled in the province. He remarked, no action had been taken in against of those undesirable settlers. He remarked that man of the Assam Rifles, who settled in Assam, was very short in number compared with the very large number of '*faltus*' Nepalis (un useful Nepalis). He said streams of new Gorkhas poured yearly into Digboi and Margherita were seemed to be the men of battalion. Government allowed worthless Gorkhas into the vicinity and most of them usually settled down in the place and did not return to Nepal.³⁸ In regard to settlement of the Gorkha ex-members of the Assam Rifles instruction had been given to the commandants that they should try or persuade to return the retired or discharge Gorkhas to Nepal. If retired Gorkha did not agree to go back to Nepal they should be allowed to be settled in Assam. He said it was not the intention of Government to refuse paying their pensions in Assam. Inspector General of Police of Assam wrote to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Assam that for the Nepalis, who during their long service in the force had lost their all connections with Nepal and did not have lands or house in Nepal and even maintained their family ties within the district in India, it would be the greatest hardship to go to an other place. He said after retirement those Nepalis would be allowed to be settled near their battalion headquarters where they worked. Thus it had been seen that British officials encouraged the Nepali ex-servicemen, who worked for British army to be settled in the areas.

³⁸ Revenue Department, A-file, Nos. 30-38, June 1920, Retrieved from the State Archive of Assam, p.2.

At the same time putting any restriction on the settlement of non martial caste Nepalis was not possible for British authority because of fulfillment of the needs of labour, supply of milk and for other reasons. Gradually a good number of Nepalis were settled in the various areas of Assam and they tried to intermingle with local population.

Nepalis Migration and Settlement in Arunachal Pradesh:

The present day Arunachal was totally unknown for the large number of inhabitant of Nepal before the interference of British into this frontier location. Nepali migration into Arunachal Pradesh was seen since the period of Anglo-Burmese war of 1826. Ahom Kings maintained friendly relations with Arunachal Pradesh but did not overrun the state. After Anglo-Burmese war of 1826 British Colonial Power established their authority over Assam and demanded their legitimate right over Arunachal Pradesh. The British wanted to protect the area with whole Northeastern part for their colonial interest and for the first time in 1882 the Assistant Political Officer was appointed at Sadiya to run the administration of the foothills. Colonial policies were the important key factor for Nepali migration to this province. Penetration of Nepalis in Arunachal Pradesh was an event parallel to their migration to other Northeastern parts of India and Burma. The whole track Arunachal Pradesh is strategically located and borders with China and Myanmar, formerly known as Burma. Tribes like Abors, Bhutias, Daflas, Miris, Akas, Mishmis, Singphos and others are the main inhabitants of the State. In 1914, the area was named as 'North East Frontier Tract', which was divided into three divisions, viz, Balipara Frontier Tract, Sadiya Frontier Tract and Lakhimpur Frontier Tract. In 1954 the area was renamed as 'North-East Frontier Agency (NEFA) and in 1972 the NEFA was made the Union Territory of Arunachal Pradesh.³⁹ In the year 1987 Arunachal Pradesh became a full-fledged state of Northeast India. In the year of 1954 whole track had been divided into four divisions viz, (i) Siyang Frontier Division, (ii) Lohit Frontier Division, (iii) Tirap Frontier Division, (iv) Twensang Frontier Division.⁴⁰ In the process of political evaluation since colonial intervention Arunachal Pradesh witnessed migration from outside and Nepali migration became a part of it.

³⁹ Bareh, H.M., 2001, Encyclopaedia of North-East India, 2nd Edition, Mittal Publication, Delhi, p. 3.

⁴⁰ Sharma, Khemraj, 2012, *The Nepalis of North Eastern Frontier of India*, Abhijeet Publications, New Delhi, p. 2.

As stated, Nepali migration to the place initiated with the activities of British power for colonial interest. At the time of war against the Burmese the British fought largely depending upon the Gorkha soldiers, who were recruited under British force. On this occasion for the first time a good number of Gorkha migrated to the place. It has also been argued that Gorkha Ex-soldiers had settled significantly in Itangar, the Sadiya and Khonsa in NEFA at first in the year 1826.⁴¹ After the expulsion of the Burmese from the place the British wanted to protect this strategic location and a good number of Gorkhas were deployed in the buffer zones adjacent to Burma. Even to colonize the place and to ensure security of Burma border British encouraged Nepalis to migrate and settle in the place. Another important strategy of the British was to pacify the ferocious hilly tribal population of the place and to control them by deploying new Nepali ethnics to the place, who would be very much loyal to British authority. With the passing of time Gorkha soldiers, Nepali labourer, farmer among Nepali communities had started to be settled in the hill and foothill areas of the Changlang district, foothills of Tirap and Lohit districts of the easternmost frontiers and other places of Arunachal Pradesh. Nepalis came to the place not only from Nepal but also from other places. Nepalis came to the hills and foothills areas of Arunachal Pradesh from Nepal, Darjeeling-Sikkim area, Bhutan Himalayas and other places. Many Nepalis also came to the place from Assam for agricultural and animal husbandry purpose. Khemraj Sharma has classified Nepali migration to Arunachal Pradesh into four categories, i.e. (i) The Nepalis from Nepal or from Darjeeling-Sikkim and Bhutan background (ii) The Nepalis of Myanmar or Burma background. (iii) The Nepalis from Assam Rifles background and (iv) The Nepalis from Assam backgrounds.⁴² British Colonial power encourages outsider to be settled in the unused land in the forest fringe, '*Chars area*' (land in the river bank), *Jhum* lands and other places.⁴³ Even Nepalis who had once settled in Burma started to move towards Northeast, especially to Arunachal Pradesh in disturbed political conditions. In this connection it is to say that in the process of Gorkha recruitment many Nepalis were recruited and sent to the Sadiya frontier tract, Khonsa Gaon area under the Tirap Frontier tract in Burma. Nepalis living in Changlang and Tirap district in Arunachal Pradesh had their link

⁴¹ *Ibid.* p. 7.

⁴² *Ibid.* p. 7.

⁴³ *Ibid.* p. ii-3.

with Burma.⁴⁴ Gorkha soldiers did not come alone to the place. They gradually brought their families with them to the area and settled permanently. Soldiers with their family members were settled near the camp area. Even, after their retirement without going out from the place they permanently settled in the villages of the area. These people mainly took the profession of agriculturists and cattle herders. British power also encouraged Nepalis into the hills or foothills of the place as pastoralist or agriculturists. Poor Nepalis, who were in misery in their country, happily migrated to the place. Thus, unknowingly Nepalis became the instrument of British colonial establishment in the Northeast or specifically in the Arunachal Pradesh. Hill tribes of Arunachal Pradesh or NEFA preferred hilly areas for their settlement. Nepalis chose the foothills for getting the benefit of agriculture and animal husbandry. Nepalis who went out to the hills initially also started to come in the hill slopes. These people cleared the barren land, forest fringe and 'Chars' areas and started economic activities with agriculture and grazing.

In the process of migration a good number of Nepalis migrated and settled in the East Siang district of Arunachal Pradesh and worked as cultivators taking the land in lease from the local people.⁴⁵ If we go through the census figure of Arunachal Pradesh we shall understand the growth of Nepali population in the province. Though, first census in Arunachal Pradesh was conducted in 1961, very authentic figure was available only from 1971. In 1961 there were only 10610 Nepali speaking people. Nepali speaking people increased to 30912, in 1971 and further increased to 45508 in 1981. There were 81176 Nepali speaking people in 1991 and 94919 in 2001. Figure indicates the rapid growth of Nepali speaking people in the province after 1981. It has been said that after 1987 demand of the Nepalis increased in the agricultural sector as labourer.⁴⁶ The table below shows number of Nepali speaking people and their percentage in Arunachal Pradesh in different census year.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* p. 7.

⁴⁵ Mitra, A., 2000, Composition and Pattern of Internal Migration in Arunachal Pradesh: A District Level Study, In *Population Poverty and Environment in North East India*, Concept Publication, New Delhi, , p. 128

⁴⁶ Sharma, Khemraj, 2012, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

Table-25**Nepali Population and Their Percentage in Arunachal Pradesh--1961-2010**

Year	Total Population of Arunachal Pradesh	Total Nepali Population	Percentage of Nepali Population
1961	3,36,558	10610	3.15%
1971	467,511	30912	6.61%
1981	631,839	45508	7.20%
1991	864,558	81176	9.39%
2001	10,97,968	94910	8.64%

Source: (i) Population of Arunachal Pradesh from 1961-2001: *Population and Development in North East India* (Edited By- Bimal J. Deb), Concept Publication, 2010, p. 325. (ii) Nepali Population from 1961-2001: *The Nepalis of North Eastern Frontier of India*, by Khemraj Sharma, Abhijeet Publications, p. 8.

It is clear from the table that Nepali speaking people in Arunachal Pradesh increased significantly between 1961 and 2001. Growth rate of Nepalis and population sharing in the state was also significant witnessed. Among the northeastern states Nepalis are still interested with this place. 8.3 percent Nepali population, who are staying in Arunachal Pradesh among the total Nepali population in Northeast, are contributing a lot to the economy of the place. The table bellow indicates district-wise Nepali speaking people and their growth rate in Arunachal Pradesh in the year 1991 and 2001. Overall growth rate of total population of the province has also been shown in the table.⁴⁷

Table-26**Nepali Speaking People and Growth Rate, 1991-2001**

SI No.	Districts	1991	2001	Growth rate of Nepali Speaking people	Growth Rate of Total Population
1.	Tawang	2209	2078	-5.9%	37.3%
2.	West Kameng	11589	13303	14.8%	31.0%
3.	East Kameng	2706	2726	0.7%	13.6%
4.	Papum Pare	6298	7476	18.7%	67.7%

⁴⁷ Census of 1991 and 2001, Director of Census Operation, Arunachal Pradesh.

5.	Lower Subansiri	1963	2133	8.7%	18.2%
6.	Upeer Subansiri	1278	1219	-4.6%	10.6%
7.	West Siang	3990	3958	-0.8%	15.8%
8.	East Siang	9232	8542	-7.5%	21.7%
9.	Upper Siang	1405	1804	28.4%	20.5%
10.	Dibang Valley	11788	15414	30.8%	34.1%
11.	Lohit	17026	22239	30.6%	30.9%
12.	Changlang	8861	11304	27.6%	31.3%
13.	Tirap	2831	2511	-11.3%	17.4%
Total in Arunachal Pradesh		81176	94707	10.01%	26.93%

Source: Census of Arunachal Pradesh-1991 and 2001.

The table above indicates that between 1991 to 2001 Nepali population in the province increased only by 10.01 percent, but general growth rate of total population was 26.93 percent. It indicates sharply that growth of Nepali population in the province was sluggish in comparison to general growth rate. Even, in the district like Tawang, Upeer Subansiri, West Siang, East Siang, Tirap Nepali population decreased sharply. Whereas Nepali population increased in the district like West Kameng, Upper Siang, Dibang Valley, Lohit, and Changlang. In Changlang district, Nepalis are engaged in agriculture, animal husbandry and floricultural activities and concentrating mainly in Diyon, Miao and Nampong areas, adjoining Mynamar.⁴⁸ If we consider migration from Nepal it could be seen that on the assessment of the year 2001 total 14,504 people had migrated to Arunachal Pradesh. Out of which in Tawang there were 689 migrated people, in West Kameng there were 3096, in East Kameng there were 436, in Papum Pare there were 537, in Lower Subansiri there were 418, Upper Subansiri there were 174, in West Siang there were 627, in East Siang there were 986, in Upper Siang there were 297, in Dibang Valley there were 2,828, in Lohit district there were 2,776, in Changlang there were 1200 and in Tirap there

⁴⁸ Sharma, Khemraj, 2012, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

were 440 migrant from Nepal.⁴⁹ So in the recent past Nepalis concentrated mainly in Dibang Valley, Lohit district and Changlang district.

Nepalis in the area have well adopted themselves to the local tribal culture and traditions. Nepalis not only have assimilated themselves in the tribal culture of the place but also have taken up local dresses, customs and have matrimonial relations with the tribals. In the Miao and Nampong village at least 20 percent marriage relations have been established between Nepalis and the tribals living there. In this respect Nepali Tagadhari groups are more conservative than the Matwali Nepali community.⁵⁰ But in the recent days situation has changed. After the migration of Bangladeshis to the place and with the increase of pressure of population, conflict has started with the local people. AAPSU (Arunachal Pradesh Student Union) was formed in 1972. The main demand of the movement was deportation of foreign nationals from the state. In the movement, with the Chakmas and Tibetan people Nepalis have also been victimized and have been deported from their habitat. As stated earlier, Nepali migration to Arunachal Pradesh is a historical event and with the influence of British colonial power Nepalis had started to settle in Arunachal Pradesh and the trend of migration is still on. When Nepali people had settled the land the land was scanty, unclaimed but situation changed later on gradually. With the passage of time tribal people started to move to the low land area and claimed their right over the lands of foothills, forest fringe, and other cultivable lands. Nepalis, who once came to the land, developed it and made it perfect for settled agriculture and made it potential as economic resource became the tenants under the local tribal people. Nepalis in the place were recognized as immigrant people by the British authority and later on by Indian government.⁵¹ Under the politics of tribal development strategy, Arunachal Pradesh was declared a tribal state of North East India. In this state Nepalis have become the outsider. Even because of certain social and religious influence they are losing their socio-cultural and even linguistic identity. Now a days Nepalis who are living there in Arunachal Pradesh have no landownership right because in the tribal state non-tribals could not have right on lands. No Nepalis have the right to purchase land in Arunachal Pradesh mainly in the rural areas but a few of them have purchased land in the

⁴⁹ Census of India, 2001. *op. cit.*

⁵⁰ Sharma, Khemraj, 2012, *op. cit.*, p. 32

⁵¹ *Ibid.* p. 5.

towns of Arunachal prior to the year 1987.⁵² In the villages many Nepalis have been settled as tenants of local tribes. According to a study, Nepalis ex-government employees, even Gorkha ex-soldiers of Assam Rifles are living in Arunachal Pradesh in a large number in rented houses of local tribes. Nepalis in Miao and Nampong villages have taken land on lease rent amounting 3500 rupees per Pura per year basis and have been staying there in the tribal houses on the rent of rupees 320 per month. Nepali house dwellers, who have constructed their own huts, are paying 120 rupees per month. It is understandable that in the area lands and houses are under tribal ownership and Nepalis are living there on rent on lease. After completion of lease period land is taken back from the Nepalis and tribal land owners again lease out their lands to new Nepalis for next thirty years in a lucrative rates. There are three groups of Nepalis in Arunachal Pradesh. One section of Nepali people of Arunachal Pradesh maintain urban status of life and one group of Nepalis are those who belong to ex-soldiers of Assam rifles. Another group who form the majority of Nepalis of Arunachal Pradesh are the tenants of the local tribes. Though first two sections of Nepalis can enjoy some kinds of socio-political and economic status, others cannot enjoy such privilege. Thus many of the Nepalis living in the place are identified as temporary settlers with no land ownership right. Very few Nepalis have purchased land and houses in the town areas prior to 1987. After the formation of full-fledged state in the year of 1987 Nepalis who were engaged in the government service were given citizenship in Arunachal Pradesh with the right of casting vote in Panchayat, Municipality and Legislative Assembly election and identity cards and ration cards were also issued to them. In an estimate it has been stated that there are only 10,000 such Nepali population in Arunachal Pradesh. Beside this there are over one lakh Nepalis who do not have citizenship right and are considered as non-tribal people in the tribal state. Nepalis living there in Arunachal Pradesh do not receive permanent Inner Line Permit and every year they renew their permits.⁵³

Anti-foreigner Movement of AAPSU had its adverse impact on Nepalis of Arunachal Pradesh. The movement was intense in Itanagar and Khonsa. Nepalis in the places were forced to leave their homes. In a study it has been shown that at least 2000 Nepalis deported from Nampong village of Arunachal Pradesh since last two decades. Insecure living in the

⁵² *Ibid.* p. 21.

⁵³ *Ibid.* pp. 49-50

place encouraged many Nepalis to leave the place. Many of them have purchased land in Assam and Siliguri of West Bengal. Even many Nepali Matwalis class might be in compulsion get marry the tribal girls and settle in the remotest villages of Arunachal Pradesh.⁵⁴ This is a survival alternative for many Nepalis of Arunachal Pradesh.

Nepali Migration and Settlement in Meghalaya:

The state Meghalaya is bordered with Bangladesh has effected by huge migration. The Garo Hills, Khasi hills and Jaintia Hills are the main hills in the state and population in accordance with 1981 census was 13,28,343. Main tribal groups in the state are Khasi, Garo, Jaintia, Haijong. In the period of Ahom rule the Garo Hills, Khasi and Jaintia Hills were not the part of Ahom kingdom. Only after the treaty of Yandaboo with the Burmes in 1826 British colonial power annexed Garo Hills and Khasi-Jaintia Hills. The province was taken under the Chief Commissioner and Shillong was sanctioned as capital of whole Assam.⁵⁵ With the colonial intervention new administrative setup, business houses, military cantonment was established, which boosted up the economic activities of the place. Development activities created conditions for the migration of outsider to the place. With the colonial involvement in the state affairs process of Nepali migration started. In regard to the migration and settlement of Nepalis into Meghalaya, specifically in Shillong it was said that one Subedhar Jaichand Thankur, a retired personal from the Eight Gurkha Platoon, Sylhet settled in Shillong as early as 1824. It is depicted in the Copper Plate exist in the Gorkha Thakurbari Radha Krishna Temple Mawprem, Shillong that “*Shri Jaichand Thakur, Subedar Major who was enlisted in the 1/8 Gorkha Rifles in the year 1824, after retirement with his other association took leading part in the establishment of this temple as a symbol of cultural and religious landmark of the Gorkhas of this region.*”⁵⁶ This indicates the presence of Nepalis in Meghalaya date back to 1824. Thurnton, one British official remarked that during 1862 an irregular unit of Sylhet Light Infantry consisted with mainly Gurkhas were positioned at Jowai in the Jaintia Hills. It has also mentioned that in the year of 1879, a force contained 300 Nepalis and Cacharis Frontier Police were positioned in 3 posts at Garo Hills.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 21-68

⁵⁵ Bareh, H.M., 2001, *op. cit*, p. 10.

⁵⁶ Upadhyay, Purushottam, Shillong Gorkha Association In Retrospect, Centenary 1886-1986, The Gorkha Association: Shillong.

Even, in 1867, the 44 regiment of the Assam Light Infantry after worked in Cherrapunjee at headquarter station for some 31 years moved to Shillong. 44th and 42nd regiment of Assam Light Infantry frequently were stationed in Shillong till the beginning of Second World War.⁵⁷ It is recorded that in the year of 1891 a plot of land was given to the Gurkhas in leased near the cantonment area out from the Syiem of Myllem for the establishment of a Gurkha village.⁵⁸ Thus many regimental Nepalis were settled in the state of Meghalaya near regimental quarters. Good number of Nepali settlement was established in Mawprem, Barapathar, Jhalupara Cantonment, Lalchand Basti, Happy Valley and in other locations. Beside the settlement of Nepalis from military background others Nepalis were also attracted with the place in cattle rearing profession. Good numbers of Nepali were settled in the State with this grazing profession. In the Khasi hills Nepali herdsmen were allowed to graze their cattle by the Syiems or chiefs in lieu of additional revenue.⁵⁹ In the year of 1913 there was large inflow of Nepalis in Khasi hills. These people settled in the neighborhood of Shillong and in the Myllem State along the Gauhati road and elsewhere. In 20th September 1913 it was reported to the Commissioner unofficially by an official that an influx of Gurkhalis into this district had taken place in recent time. Officer said that Khasis were afraid of them for criminal activities. Other British officials also supported the fact that there were large influx of Nepalis into Shillong and the Khasi Hills generally within that last few years.

Some of the British officials were there who believed that there were doubtless bad characters among the Nepalis in the province. British officers did not have any proper information about the immigrant Nepalis as in many cases they were directly came from Nepal. Mr. L. O. Clarke, one of the British officials in his letter No. 2343, dated the 11th October 1910 stated that like others Nepali settlers used to quarrel with the local villagers and eventually derived them away. He said that Nepalis were quarrelsome and engaged with criminal activities. Even in many occasions Nepalis were suspected of being murderers. They were also suspected for dynamiting the Barapani River. Nepalis were accused for stolen the honey form others gardens.⁶⁰ Mr. Clarke, in his letter whole-heartedly denounced

⁵⁷ Gurung, Tejimala, 2001, *op. cit*, P. 405.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* P. 408.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* p. 411.

⁶⁰ State Archive of Assam, February 1916, Political-A, No. 25 .

the Nepalis and all their activities. It was also told by one of the British official that the foreign elements, notably the Nepalis were out of hand at that time in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills and that the matter required special attention. Though, he admitted that Nepalis in the province assisted British officials and other civilians considerably with supplying milk, etc., and with providing coolie corps. British officials mentioned that Nepalis should be kept in hand in such a way that they could not be a source of trouble either to the Khasis or the European population of these hills. In their views immigrants were very undesirable elements in the population. It was mentioned that in other hill districts in this division a very strict control was maintained over the Nepali immigrants and their settlement was practically forbidden except in rare instances with special permission. In this connection it was reported to Deputy Commissioner of Khasi and Jaintia Hills in 17th September 1913 that though Nepalis or Gurkhalis were employed in Khasi and Jaintia hills but they were kept out from many other hill districts by executive orders.⁶¹ British officers to get a clear picture of immigration ordered *Siems* to report about the arrival and settlement of Nepalis in their State. A. Wilson, British official suggested that as there were many Nepalis stayed in the province a system of registration of them were necessary to hold on them and to know their settlement place. Commissioner of Khasi and Jaintia Hills in November 1913 ordered all *Siems* and headmen to report about the settlement of foreigners to control the Nepalis in their province. To understand the alleged question of the lawlessness of Nepalis Dentith, British official fully investigated the whole issue of migration and criticized the Clarke's accusations on Nepalis. He remarked that the average Nepali was a low-abiding decent individual, desirable settler and a reformed character. W. J. Reid, British official suggested that issues of Nepalis should be dealt by the Commissioner of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills in a same manner as the Naga Hills administration treated with them and he stated nothing else would be required to maintain peace in the country. In Naga Hill district settlements of Nepalis were sanctioned only after understanding that their existence in the place would not disturbed others. British official Dentith told that in Khasi and Jaintia Hills Nepalis were greatly appreciated as a neighbor. A. W. Dentith also remarked that all the allegation on Nepalis somewhat highly coloured. He said Nepali lawlessness, could also be cited as an instance of Khasi lawlessness. As regard of dynamiting of the Barapani River it was considered opinion of

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

Dentith that the culprits were regimental *sepoys*. He told, like Chief Commissioner that Nepalis should be kept in hand. He said that a few years ago there were some Nepali drunkards, gamblers, apparently reckless and penniless adventurers in the country but luckily at present they would be only in a negligible quantity, as many of them went for Abor and Mishimi countries. British officer, Mr. Dunn reported that however other Nepali groups, such as *khuti-wallahs*, were unsophisticated, quiet and law-abiding in character. Even Mr. Shadwell, one British official said that he did not face any trouble with the Nepalis in Jowai subdivision. He remarked no racial feelings were there between Nepalis, Khasis and the Bhois. He further said in the Khyrim area Nepalis were greatly looked up to and were considered almost as fellow of Khasis.⁶² Dentith, Dunn and many other British officials were all agreed with the point that Nepalis had a pleasant personality.

There are instance which signifies the process of Nepali settlement into the state. In one occasion Subader Jangbir Rana, a Gurkha officer proposed for *sirkari* ground in rent for the Nepalis. He suggested to British authority that the people who would be settled in the ground would provide labour for government work if needed. British officials Wilson also supported this view and said no one bothers about these Nepalis except when they do anything wrong and unless they would be turned out from the country. He further said such a scheme would seems to be good way of getting them under some sort of control and where they would be of some use.⁶³ Other officials like W. J. Reid also suggested for having a Gurkha settlement under proper control. B. C. Allen in 1st May 1914 said if Subadar Jangbir Rana asked for a small Nepali village on unoccupied government land, the Deputy Commissioner should not interfere into the issue and for that matter no special orders of any kind seemed to be required.⁶⁴ He said in other hill districts there were exceedingly small foreign populations, and labour was easily obtainable at moderate rates. But in Shillong they had a very large foreign population, mainly Nepalis, who largely worked for dairy production. The indigenous inhabitants did not cater for neither of these demands. The Khasi was so prosperous that they would not be interested in coolly work except at very high rates of pay. Nepalis in the country could be used both for coolly and dairy supply. He said any

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

attempt in regard to ejection of Nepalis from the district would be harmful for the country. It is clear that British colonial ruler were not apathetic about the immigration and settlement of Nepalis rather they wanted to hold control and to use Nepali immigrant for colonial productivity. B. C. Allen said to Chief Commissioner that there were plenty of rooms both for the grazier and for the cultivator in the district at that time. The total population of the district only was in 39 to the square mile and a large part of the population was centered in Shillong and the big villages along the southern face of the hills. In the Bhoi country about the level of Barapani, where the graziers were largely settled nearly over a considerable area likely more than four or five to the square mile, population was extremely sparse. In the Kamrup they were supported over 800 to the square mile purely rural areas and in Bengal of course the figure was much higher, he stated. He said definite action should be taken in the case of grazing. First of all reports should be submitted regularly with regard to the settlement of foreigners in the different *Seimships*. Allen said he was inclined to think that apparent policy of the Government of India was at that time to encourage Gurkhas of the fighting caste to return to Nepal was a sound one. Government was likely to get a much better material for their army from persons brought up in Nepal than from Gurkhas who were domiciled in Assam. He said in view of this fact he was not supportive with Subadar Jangbir Rana's proposal. He also said that *khutis* should not be allowed to be opened by the graziers outside the areas allotted to them without sanction.⁶⁵

So, it could be understood that British authorities were divided in their views regarding the Nepali settlement in Shillong or in the state Meghalaya. Most of them declined to admit that the Gurkha was a source of special trouble or inconvenience in the place or in British India. They admitted about the great importance of Nepali communities as a supplier of dairy products and the utility of them as a labourer in a community in which there was a great demand for labour. On other hand few were there who supported the view that retired Gurkha fighting caste should return to Nepal because from Nepal only British could get much better material for their army. But this policy was not possible to maintain because Gurkha fighting caste was not always easily available from Nepal because of the restriction of ruling authority in Nepal. Rather demands of Nepali dairy men, manual labour in the place

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

encouraged Nepalis to migrate in the province and to settle there in the area. British overall encouraged migration and settlement of Nepalis into Meghalaya, whole northeast and as well as in India.

If we go to the statistical figure we shall understand the significant increase of Nepali population into the state. During the period 1921-31 there were alarming increase of Nepal born population in Khasi and Jaintia Hills, estimated near about 5,000 to 12,000 people. Increase near about a thousand or so in the figure was due to additional Gurkha battalion stationed in Shillong. Many Nepali migrant beside Gurkha battalion force found their employment in Shillong as laborers, porters and other as graziers, who were settled in the area like Nongstoin, Nongspung, and Nongklao in particular. Settlement of Nepali graziers was due to encouragement given by the *Siems*, who levied grazing tax on the immigrants, a tax which could not be levied on their own subjects. Immigrant Nepali graziers were thus a source of considerable profit to them. On the account of damaged done by the buffaloes of the immigrant and great deal of harm done to the countryside by the indiscriminate cutting down of forests to make room for the increasing herds of immigrant, friction had arisen between the *siems* and their subject.⁶⁶ After the phase of 1921-31 Nepalis were also significantly migrated to the state. In the year of 1951 there were 19,721 Nepali speaking population or 5.42 percent of Nepali speaking people in Khasi and Jaintia Hills district.⁶⁷ Nepali speaking population increased rapidly in the state. In 1991 there were 49,186 Nepali speaking populations in Meghalaya. Out of which in Jaintia Hills there were 1,809 Nepali speaking populations; in East Khasi Hills, there were 39,777; in West Khasi Hills, there were 1,988; in East Garo Hills, there were 1,330 and in West Garo Hills, there were 4,282 Nepali speaking people. If we go through the majour Nepali concentration area we shall see that in Nongpoh, there were 3,639 Nepali speaking people; in Bhoi Area, there were 2,810; in Myllem, there were 31,485; in Shillong U.A., there were 25,878; in Shillong Municipality there were 16,453; in Shillong Cantonment, there were 3,857; in Mawshynrut there were 1,146; and in Rongram there were 2,556 Nepali speaking people in the same year.⁶⁸ In other areas Nepali speaking people were comparatively less in number. Above census figure

⁶⁶ Mullan, C.S., Census of India, 1931, Vol. III, Assam, Part-I, Report.

⁶⁷ Gurung, Tejimala, 2001, *op. cit*, P. 411.

⁶⁸ Census of India: Meghalaya, Series-14, Migration Tables, 1991, Director of Census Operation.

indicates that Nepali speaking people increased significantly within 40 years or so. If we study the migrant population we shall see that there were 16,847 Nepali migrant populations in Meghalaya in 1981. Among them in Jaintia Hills there were 2362 Nepal born People; in East Khasi Hills 12,249; in West Khasi Hills 898; in East Garo Hills 491 and in West Garo Hills there were only 847 Nepal born population.⁶⁹ Nepali migration to Meghalaya has decreased to 5,222 in 1991 and in 2001 migrant population into the state were 5,545.⁷⁰ It is clear from the above census figure that Nepalis mainly had migrated to East Khasi Hills district of Meghalaya. One of the important aspects of Nepali migration into Meghalaya was that the volume of migration decreased significantly in the recent time, might be because of movement in against of foreigner infiltration. But main concentration area in recent time was East Khasi Hills district.

In the process of political consolidation in the year of 1972 the state Meghalaya emerged after bifurcation from Assam.⁷¹ Question of foreigner migration became an important issue for the new born state. It has argued that majority of migrant were from Bangladesh but Nepali was also significantly migrated into the place. Migrations to the state are still continued. The Shillong Times, dated 21st October 2008 published the news of detainment of 100 Nepali national from Jhalupara area Shillong by KSU activists. It was said that Nepalis entered to Meghalaya from Nepal via Siliguri. This people were going to Jaintia Hills to work in coal belt areas of the district. Though, any action was not taken by the police because there was no illegality in their migration to India due to Indo-Nepal treaty.⁷² This type of incident indicates that there is still continues flow of Nepali nationals in the Indian job market. News report of 13th November 2008, published in 'The Shillong Times' has also indicated about the shortage of manpower in the coal industry of Jaintia Hills. Even it has been stated that manpower shortage encourages the labour from outside to the place. Coal miners also prefer the outsider, like people of Nepal to the coal field. This people are being used in earth cutting and caving for extraction of coal and for other mining activities in coal

⁶⁹ Census of India: Meghalaya, Migration Tables, 1981, Series-14, Director of Census Operation, Meghalaya.

⁷⁰ Census of India: Meghalaya, 1991 & 2001, Series-14, Director of Census Operation, Meghalaya.

⁷¹ Bareh, H.M., 2001, *op. cit*, p. 16.

⁷² Personal Correspondents, 2008 '100 Nepalese, 21 B'deshis detained' published in 'The Shillong Times', 21st October.

mines area.⁷³ Record indicates that at present Nepalis are still migrating in to the state. In against of this migration movement for foreigner deportation has spread in the state. Khasi Students Union (KSU), Meghalaya Students Union (MSU), All Party Hill Leaders Conference (APHLC), Public Demand Implementation Committee (PDIC) has started their movement in against the issue of illegal migration to the state. Once 'APHLC' Legislator 'Stanley Nichols-Roy' said "*In the North-East we cannot forget the prime example of Tripura, where till 1961, the Tripuri were the majority and now the refugees have totally taken over. It is only place in the worldly where this has happened.*"⁷⁴ Demand has been placed to detect the foreigners and to deport the person who have come into the place after 1951. In the capital Shillong violence erupted on October 1979 and many people were died, shops were looted and properties were burned. To protect the interest of Nepali graziers in the year of 1933 the 'Tezpur Graziers Association' was formed by the Nepalis of Singri under the precedenceship of Chabilal Upadhyay.⁷⁵ Violence in against of Nepalis in Meghalaya is still continued.

Nepali Migration and Settlement in Mizoram:

Mizoram, was formerly known as Lushai Hills District under Assam, but in 1972 became Union Territory. In accordance to 1981 census figure there were 487,774 populations in Mizoram. Tribe like Lushais, Kukis, Chakmas, Lakhers, Pawis, Riangs, Hamars are the main inhabitant of the area. British Colonial power started to interfere in the affairs of administration of the province in the later part of the 19th century. Land settlement was introduced in 1898 and lands was demarcated to each chief and 'Chiefs Council'. But in course of time Mizo National Front (MNF) was formed and demanded for greater Mizoram. MNF and others for their demand started armed uprising on March 1966. The Indian Air Force also bombard on Aizawl and after long straggle Union Territory of Mizoram was constituted on 1972. But movement was continued and 'Mizo National Front' (MNF), 'Muzi National Army' (MNA) was formed.⁷⁶ In the process of political evolution the state

⁷³ Personal Correspondents, 'Drive against migrant hit coal industry' Published in 'The Shillong Times', 13th November 2008.

⁷⁴ Bareh, H.M., 2001, *op. cit*, p. 19.

⁷⁵ Gurung, Tejimala, 2001, *op. cit*, p. 411.

⁷⁶ Bareh, H.M., 2001, *op. cit*, p. 24.

witnessed migration from other areas. Nepali migration to the place was also seen significantly.

Gorkha migrations and settlement into Mizoram was officially recognized in 1891, when permanent forts were constructed at Lunglei and Aizawl area. But the contact of Nepalis with the place was established during 1824-44, in the process of colonial expansion. Lusei tribes used to attack and plunder the villages in the plain areas and tea gardens of British industrialist. To counteract the rides of Lushais in the plains or frontiers location British colonial power sent expedition in the year 1849, 1864, 1869, and 1889-90. British colonial rulers decided to build forts at Lunglei and Aizawl in the year of 1890. Fort of Aizawl was garrisoned with 200 armed personnel. Gorkha people consisted in the British force were sent to the front and many were to Aizawl. Thus Gorkha migration to Mizoram had taken place. British government understood the necessity of fortification of the frontier area by establishing new posts. Nepali military personals were posted in the camps. Colonial Lewin once strongly advocated that government should set up series of Gorkha villages along the frontiers between the plain area and hills for proper demarcation of the boundary.⁷⁷ It was decided that the place which previously was uninhabited because of the fear of Lushai tribes would be peopled by the courageous stiff necked Gorkhas. Intention of British was to create a buffer between the territories of Mong Raja and the independent Lushais to the East. This policy was initiated by the British officers. Gorkha colonies were established on the bank of the River Myani.⁷⁸ Gradually developmental work was started around the cantonment area and in the surrounding of Gorkha villages. For the performance of effective governance British administration was required *chowkidars*, *peons*, *dak-carrier*, cart drivers and other professionals in different filled. As the local tribes was not accounted with those work, migrant from outsider were encouraged to the place. Nepalis were started to come to the place and were employed for the emerging jobs. Thus, Nepalis started to migrate in large number into the province and were settled various belt of the place. British officer also supported the Nepalis to be settled in the various area of Mizoram. Diary of Mr. A. Porteous,

⁷⁷ Pradhan, K.L., 2004 , Settlement of Gorkhas. In *Cross Border Migration, Mizoram*, Shipra Publications, , p. 59.

⁷⁸ Pradhan, Kishan, Lal, 2003, The Gorkhas of Mizoram', in *The Nepalis in Northeast India*, Indus Publication, , p. 297.

Justify the British officer's intention. It was reported in the diary of Mr. A. Porteous, Political officer, North Lushai Hill in 1895 that Champhai valley or almost the whole flat valley of the Lushais was a beautiful place and was competent for the production fine rice. It was also reported that the available land would be sufficient for the support of at least 500 families. For its remoteness from any of British occupied post, Champhai would form an ideal ground for Gurkha colonization for experimental basis.⁷⁹ Nepali settlement were established in Khagdiya, Bawngkawn, Kolasib and other areas. Aizawl, North Vanlaiphai, Sairang, Demagiri, Lunglei, Demagiri or around 45 miles of Dwarbad road had become the prominent place of Nepali settlement. Nepalis were also shifted to other area like Buaklunailuak, Chhimluang, Kawnpui, North Chaltlang, Bairabi, Sialsuk, Tlangnuam, Thenzawl, Tuikhawvengthar, Bualpui, Vairengtc, Neihbawi and other places. In Aizawl, Nepalis were settled in Survey Tilla, Zotlang, Kemabawk, Bawngkawn, Khatla lane, and Venghlui.⁸⁰ Though Nepalis were not allowed to settle outside the allotted areas but many Lushai chief because of the pettiness of Nepalis wanted them as their neighbour and even sought permission from Superintendent of Lushai Hills for the Nepalis presence in their villages. Thus generally few Gorkha families were allowed to be settled in the Lushai villages. In 1981, there were 1295 Nepali households in Mizoram with the total population of 5,983. Out of this figure there were 1049 Nepali household with a total population of 4,723 in Aizawl district. Similarly, there were 160 Nepali household with 843 people in Lunglei district and in Chhimtuipui district there were 86 Nepali household with 417 people.⁸¹ In 1971, beside Mizo and other local dialects used in Mizoram Hindi was largely used by 5,224 people and then Nepali with 4,557 people.⁸² There were 1,889 migrant Nepalis in Mizoram in an estimate of 2001. Bellow table-27 is showing the district wise Nepali migration according to 2001 census figure.

⁷⁹ Gurung, Tejimala, 2003, *The Colonial State and Settlement of Nepali Graziers in Manipur (1891-1947)*, *Proceeding of North East India History Association*, 24th Session, Guwahati, , p. 273.

⁸⁰ Pradhan, K.L., 2004, *op. cit*, p. 61.

⁸¹ Singh, K.S., (Edt.) 1995, *People of Indian Mizoram*, Vol. XXXIII, Anthropological Survey of India, Calcutta, P.54.

⁸² Mizoram District Gazetteers, 1989, Director of Art & Culture, Govt. of Mizoram, p. 65.

Table-27
District wise Nepali migration in Mizoram in 2001

SI. No.	District	Total Migrant Population
1.	Mamit	143
2.	Kolasib	120
3.	Aizawl	1,104
4.	Champhai	29
5.	Serchhip	49
6.	Lunglei	351
7.	Lawngtlai	15
8.	Saiha	78
	Total in State	1,889

Source: Census of India, 2001

Migration from Nepal was still continued in recent past in Mizoram and main concentration area was Aizawl district. Thus, since British period many Nepalis were settled in the various location of Mizoram. With their settlement local *Maujadar* was posted form their own caste groups. Many Gorkha *Maujadar* was appointed to look after the Gorkha community and for the collection foreigners' taxes, grazing taxes, etc. from them. In Maubawk, Jay Bahadur Sahi was the first Gorkha *Maujadar*. After the abolition of post *Maujadar*, Gorkha Panchayat was initiated in the country with bestowing some autonomy. Various rules and regulations were formulated for the preservation of the Nepali social customs within the community. After the introduction of village council system Nepalis were participated in the council through election or nomination. Some of them ware posted as Village Council. Nepali leaders were also nominated as member of the Mizoram Legislative Assembly.⁸³ Nepalis of Mizoram are still struggling for the preservation of their heritage. Even, inflow of Nepali migration is continued in the state.

⁸³ Pradhan, Kishan, Lal, 2003, *op. cit*, p. 298.

Nepali Migration and Settlement in Nagaland:

The State Nagaland which was formerly known as 'The Naga Hills District' recognized as sixteenth State of India in 1963. There were all total 7, 73,281 population in the state according to the census figure of 1981. Tribal groups like Angamis Naga, Chakesangs, Konyaks, Maos, Lothas Aos, Changs, Phoms, Sangtams, Semas, Rengmas, Tankhuls, Yimchungers, Zeilangs, are the Naga tribes of the regions. Every Naga tribes has their own language which is different to others. So to understand others one unique language has been developed by them which is a mixture of different languages, called Nagamese.⁸⁴ Interaction with British Colonial master and the Nagas happened at the time of Anglo-Burmese war, when British officer freed about 6,000 Naga slaves of the Singphos. In between 1865 to 1882 there were several rides by the British in against of Naga chiefs. Till the year 1927 subjugation and annexation of the area was continued by the British power. In the process of political consolidation several administrative setup was formulated. From 1951 onward Nagas strengthened the movement of independence of Naga land. Since 1952 sever violent activities was continuously occurred in the state, insurgencies was taken place and lastly on 1963 independent state of Nagaland was formulated.⁸⁵ But insurgency and violent activities was continued between various Naga groups and finally Nagas agreed to fallow Indian Constitution. In the process of political evolution migration has taken place in the state. Though in earlier time tribal migration into the province was from Burma and in the nineteenth century Nepali migration was also witnessed in the state but in a very small volume.

As the state Nagaland fall under the Inner line system influx of people from outside into the state has not been seen significantly. 1901 census figure says that 94 percent population was indigenous and others ware outsider in Kohima district. Among the outsider people in the district Nepali speaking people ware in majority with 4,649 populations, Bengali people ware in second number with 3,079 populations and other Hindi speaking people ware in third category with 2,538 populations according to census of 1961.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ Bareh, H.M., 2001, *op. cit*, p. 32.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* p. 26.

⁸⁶ Bareh, H., *Gazetteer of India-Nagaland*, Govt. of Nagaland, Calcutta, p. 58.

It was seen that British officers had their deferent views on Nepali settlement in Naga Hills. But overall attempt was made to discourage Nepalis to be settled in Naga Hills. W. J. Reid remarked that he had little or no trouble with Nepali settler in the Naga Hills and the Nepalis were allowed to settle there in the district only on the understanding that their presence in the district would not be a cause of trouble for others. Even officer said that their existence was never brought to the notice of the Deputy Commissioner.⁸⁷

It was seen that Nepalis mainly the *goals* and graziers wanted to settle in Naga Hills with their buffalos and cows. But to discourage them in the hills high taxes was imposed on them. Even other local taxes like Naga tax were also imposed on them to discourage their settlement in the land. Letter written by Deputy Commissioner of Naga Hills to The Commissioner of Surma Valley and Hill Division, Silchar, stated that grazing rate in the Naga hills was Rs. 3/- per buffalo and 8/- per cow except in the case of *goalas* near Kohima who supplied their milk to the station, for whom there was a preferential rate of Rs. 1/- per buffalo and 4/- per cow, which was fixed by Notification 497 A.P. of 16.7.34. In addition to the tax paid to government the *goalas* lived outside Government Grazing Reserves, generally had to pay rent of some kind to the village owning the land grazed. In this connection few graziers of the Kohima *mauza* in the district of Naga Hills expressed their grievance and requested to the Governor in Council of Assam about the reduction of rate of taxes paid by them for grazing. They said formerly when the ghee sold at about Rs. 80/- to 90/- per maund they had to pay a tax of Rs. 4/- for each head. They further said since last few years the market had considerably gone down and the sell rate of ghee had come down to Rs 40/- to 45/- per maund. Even tax Rs. 3/- was paid by them for each head at that hard time. Above all Naga taxes was also imposed to them. But on the other hand in Manipur District the graziers had to pay very less taxes and they had nothing to pay in addition to the Manipuries. They also said as their only source of income was the selling of proceeds ghee and the fall down of price of ghee for last few years dragged them into debts. They said last year they paid the taxes in four installments with great difficulties by borrowing the amount. They did not manage to clear the debts. They was therefore quite in a fix as to how to pay the taxes. They said that there was no chance of getting further loan from Mahajans as their previous

⁸⁷ Assam State Archive, February 1916, Political-A, No. 25, *op. cit.*

accounts was not been settled. They told that Deputy Commissioner of Naga Hills was well acquainted with the untold misery of them. Under the circumstances they prayed to Governor in Council, Assam to reduce the rate of taxes as in equal rate of Manipur and there by save the poor subjects from hardship, starvation and misery.⁸⁸

On the other side Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills in his letter, Memo No. 6114 G. 22.2.1935. told to the Commissioner of Surma Valley and Hill Division that the rates fixed in Naga Hills was originally intended to discourage graziers, and it was hoped that because of heavy taxation Nepali would leave the Naga Hills and would go wherever the rates was lighter. But he said that this hope was not fulfilled. He said the Nepali graziers were foreigner. They took whatever they made back to Nepal and gave nothing at all in exchange but an example of bad citizenship. They were a curse to all the neighbours as their buffalos repeatedly damaged crops and ruined the land for cultivation and usually spoiled the ground on which a Khuti was situated for years. Damaged land took years to recover. Nepali graziers almost always refused to gave compensation till the case pulled into court. The Naga did not want to tolerate graziers for a moment because of their activities. The Nagas who faced difficulties to raise cash by cultivation and other way, used to gave land to the graziers on rent. Although they knew that it would be in against of their real interests, in order to get a return in coin.

Deputy Commissioner also said that the rates in Manipur were lower and he would be glad to see that all the graziers outside Government Reserves went there. The rates at Dimapur were lower by Rs. 1/- per buffalo than in the hills. He commented even if the plains rates would reduced, he should recommend retaining a higher rate in Naga Hills. Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills said few graziers who supplied milk and milk product to kohima could be accommodated in the grazing reserves. Except of this any others should not encouraged to be settled. He said there was no real room for any graziers in this district, and they were also not wanted.⁸⁹ With all hindered Nepalis migrated and settled in Naga Hills. We could get a better understanding of Nepali migration and settlement in Nagaland with the

⁸⁸ Manipur State Archive, Progress for June 1935, Political –B, Nos. 511-515.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

study of census figure. There were 5,619 migrant from Nepal to the state in the year of 2001. Bellow table-28 is showing district wise Nepali migration in 2001.

Table-28
District Wise Nepali Migration in Nagaland in 2001

SI. No.	District	Number of Nepali Migrant
1.	Mon	324
2.	Tuensang	258
3.	Mokokchung	422
4.	Zunheboto	106
5.	Wokha	300
6.	Dimapu	2187
7.	Kohima	1655
8.	Phek	367
	Total in State	5,619

Source: Census of India, 2001

From the table it is clear that in recent time Nepalis are not migrating into district significantly. Very little number of Nepalis has migrated in the state in recent time. In Nagaland migrant mainly concentrated in Dimapur and Kohima districts. Because of the discouraging policy of British Colonial power Nepalis has not significantly migrated into the state. Even slow rate of migration trend is still continued in Postcolonial period.

Nepali Migration and Settlement in Tripura:

Tripura is a state of 4,116 square miles area, surrounded by Bangladesh in three sides. There were 2,047,351 populations in the state in accordance to the census figure of 1981. Present day Tripura are the home of tribes like Chakmas, Halams, Chins, the Hill Tipperahs, Kukis, Lushais, Jamatias, Muahs, Reangs, Tripuris and others.⁹⁰ Tripura was ruled by the monarchies from very past. In the medieval period the state came under the Mughal rule and

⁹⁰ Bareh, H.M., 2001, *op. cit*, p. 40.

in 19th century British colonial power established their authority over the state. The state witnessed huge migration from East Pakistan. It was seen that in the year of 1947 in Tripura there were 93 percent tribal population, which reduced to 28.5 percent in the year of 1980. Even very few migrations from Nepal have also been taken place in the state since the rule of monarchies.

In the first administration report of Political Agency in Tripura of 1872 it was mentioned that in the unorganized Raja's army there was a company (*bradurie*) of Gorkhas. These men were recruited in the force of the king and a better salary (Rs. 6 a month) was paid to them in comparison to others (paid Rs. 4). Beside salaries various other facilities on active service was also provided. The Gorkha men were recruited mainly in the service of Raja in the State. In the year between 1873-74 there were 56 Goorkha sepoy in the second *Braduries* or company who were recruited from Nepal. Strength of Gurkha in the Raja's army increased to 66 in 1874-75 and further increased to 68 in the year between 1879-80. Goorkha military personal in the state had increased to 76, in the year between 1881-82. Since the year 1872 the strength of Gurkhas had increased in the force of Raja. There was a demand of Goorkhas in the Maharaja's military force. Even, there was British government order to recruit Goorkha people for guarding the north-eastern borders posts of the state and in a force of 105 men 70 people should be Goorkha man. In the year 1879-80 to fulfil the demand of Goorkha and up-country man in the Maharaja's military force of Tripura, Maharaja deputed a recruiting party to the districts bordering to Nepal. But only 10 people of such class were possible to recruit and 4 other Goorkha people by their own accord were came to Agartala for recruitment purpose in military service. All total 14 men were recruited at that time.⁹¹ Poor capacity of regular paying to force and difficulties of getting Gorkhas was the main hurdles for the state. It had not been possible to recruit Gorkhas in regular basis in the Rajas army of Tripura. Administration Report of 1873-74, 1874-75 was also mentioned about the presence of Goorkha students into the school run by the Raja of Tripura.⁹² Presence of student from Goorkha background in the school indicates that in the state there were Goorkha families who settled in the place and used to go to school for

⁹¹ Chaudhuri, Dipak, Kumar, Administration Report of the Political Agency, Hill Tipperah (1878-79-1889-90), Vol-II, Tripura State Tribal Cultural Research Institute & Museum, Govt. of Tripura, Agartala, pp. 26-32.

⁹² *Ibid.* pp. 9-67.

education. There were 80 Assamese and Gurkhas population in the state out of total 36,035 populations in the year between 1876-77. Among them 30 were male people, 19 were women, 16 boys and 15 girls. From the census figure we could understand the strength of Nepali population in Tripura. In the year 1931 and 1961 there were 875 and 1,682 Nepali speaking people in Tripura respectively. Among the population Bengali speaking people were in majority. Tripuri speaking people in the state ranked second position.⁹³ Nepali migration into the state was negligible. Census of 2001 shows that there were in total 385 migrant people from Nepal into the state. Among them, there were 180 Nepali migrant in West Tripura, 79 in South Tripura, 72 in Dhalai and 54 in North Tripura.⁹⁴

Nepali Migration and Settlement in Sikkim:

As the state Sikkim is adjacent to Nepal border migration of Nepalis witnessed significantly to the place. In eighteenth century at the time of eastwards raiding of Gurkhas, Nepalis like Khas, Thakuris, Chhetris came down to Sikkim and settled there.⁹⁵ Even, Gurkha power when seized the land of Sikkim a good number of conqueror came and settled there in the place. Further, in eighteenth century, at the time of abolition of Newari dynasty in Nepal by the Gurkhas, many Newari came and settled into Sikkim. This enterprising Newaris within a short time got monopoly over the copper mines and minting industry of Sikkim. Latter on influx of Nepalis continued and in nineteenth century flow had been accelerated. It has been stated by the scholar like T.B. Subba that to escape from the atrocities of feudal chief many Nepalis left the land of Nepal and came to Darjeeling, Kalimpong and present day place Sikkim. Even Nepalis from Darjeeling also settled down in Sikkim.⁹⁶ Availability of land and access of it stimulated the migration in the place. In the later date of 19th century ruling authority of the state Sikkim was transferred to British power. If we go through the political history of the country we would see that Sikkim was governed by the regent from Tibet, taxes was levied by the Tibetan authority and code of law was drafted for to rule the people. Thus political relation was established with Tibet and Tibetan government regarded Sikkim as their dependent vassal state. On other side

⁹³ Menon, K.D., 1975, Tripura District Gazetteers, Govt. of Tripura, Agartala, p. 139.

⁹⁴ Census of India, 2001.

⁹⁵ Sinha, A., C., 2008, Sikkim: Feudal and Democratic, Indus Publication, p.34.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 44.

Bhutanese frequently surged into Sikkim from the east, plundered the settlement and carried the common men as slaves to Bhutan. Similarly growing Gurkha power frequently attacked to the state. British colonial expansion faced challenge for the frequent riding of Bhutanese, Tibetan power and Gurkhas into Sikkim. In political course British established their supremacy over Sikkim. In the year 1861 Sikkim was placed under British Indian protectorate.⁹⁷ British Colonial power tried to hold their influence in Sikkim for their colonial interest. They took initiatives for demographic and economic transformation of the place. European enterprise started to invest capital for tea cultivation. Other infrastructural development activities were also came into force. Even, British wanted to open up Lhasa, through the shortest routs of Sikkim and Sikkim got its strategic important. It was told by the British official that Raja of Sikkim showed a tendency to look towards British for support and guidance, rather to depend on Tibet. It was also told that Lepchas were friendly to British government but Tibetan party was steadily hostile to them. Later immigrant Nepalis who settled in Sikkim, generally were friendly to British government and probably got favour from Lepchas. Even these people looked towards the British government for their protection in challenging situations. But the presence of Nepalis was not favoured by influential lamas. Lamas alleged that these new comers were the waster of forests and even used to trespass the agricultural lands with their cattle. To them Nepalis were not pleasant neighbours. British official remarked that unwarlike Sikkimese had wholesome dread of the fighting races of Nepal. British official once also mentioned that Nepalis explained clearly to the British power that they would obey the Britisher after getting assurance of support and protection from them. They further said if they would not get such support obviously they would maintain peace with Tibetan party. British officials mentioned that Sikkim could not stand by their own. Any withdrawn of British support could drag the state either under control of Tibet or Nepal.⁹⁸ There was conflicting interest between Bhutia chief and British. British authority felt that to counteract the Bhutia they should support the Nepali migration to the place. Gradually British established their hold over the state and acquired landed property in Sikkim. Large area of land was taken up for tea cultivation and large capital was sunk into it. Work for infrastructural development was also taken place. There was a need of large scale work force for the development of the state. British understood that their needs

⁹⁷ H.G. Joshi (Ed.), 2004, Sikkim: Past and Present, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, p. 61.

⁹⁸ Risley, H.H., 2005, 'The Gazetteer of Sikkim', pp. i-xv.

could be fulfilled by the Nepali migrant. They also understood that Gurkha could be a good peasant in peace time and could be used as soldier in war time. So, British colonial power encouraged Nepali immigrant to settle into Sikkim in the relatively empty land for their own benefits. Even motive of British colonial power behind the encouragement of Nepali migration to Sikkim was to keep out the influence of China and Tibet into Sikkim.⁹⁹ British also understood that if needed the Nepalis settled in Sikkim would support the British power and serve them as labourers or as porters in tea plantation, forest and construction work and also would work for Indo-Tibetan trade. British encouraged Nepalis into Sikkim for the mining of copper and to mint coins.¹⁰⁰ Thus British for their colonial interests encouraged the Nepalis to be settled in Sikkim. British for strengthening the colonial power, economy and for raising the revenue encouraged Nepali settler into the land with the help of Lepcha Kazis. The opportunity was taken by the immigrants of Nepal. Huge Nepali migrated to Sikkim at that time. Two Raja's councilors, Phodang Lama and the Khangsa Dewan actively worked for the Nepali settlement in the land. Some Nepalis obtained land in lease from the Kazis of Sikkim. Record indicates that two Newar brothers, the traders Lachmi Das Pradhan and Brothers were granted a piece of land in lease in 1867 for the first time by 'Sidkeong Namgyal' the then ruler of Sikkim.¹⁰¹ This people became the Kazi's counterparts and made an effort for the settlement of Nepali groups into the land. Large number of service castes like Brahmins, barbers, Sarki (Shoemakers), Kami (blacksmith), Dami (tailors) came to Sikkim and settled there.¹⁰² Later on John Claude White, the political agent in Gangtok promoted Nepali migration to the place. John Claude White after his appointment as Political Officer of Sikkim in 1889 virtually gripped the political power of the state. Ruling authority Chogyal of Sikkim was kept in confinement in Darjeeling and Kurseong and provided a monthly allowance of Rs. 500. Under White, infrastructure of the place changed and massive inflow of Nepalis took place in the state.¹⁰³ The area of Sikkim where the Nepalis were settled at first was scarcely populated, thickly forested and often malarial. Sikkim court was not fully in favour of Nepali migration and settlement into the area. But there was a division among the elites in regard to Nepali settlement into Sikkim. Some of the feudal lords were

⁹⁹ Dutt, Srikant., Jun.1981, *op.cit* p. 2.

¹⁰⁰ Dutt, Srikant., Jun.1981, *op.cit* p. 2.

¹⁰¹ Basnet, Lal, Bahadur, 1974, *op. cit*, pp. 42-44

¹⁰² Sinha, A., C., 2008, *op. cit*, p.35.

¹⁰³ Sinha, A.C., Nov/Dec 1993, From Sikkim to Sukhim, *Himal*, Vol. VI, No. 6, Kathmandu, p. 44.

not so against the policy of Nepali settlement. It was seen that Phodang Lama and the Khansarpa Dewans, the two influential councilors of royal court was in favour of Nepali immigration to Sikkim.¹⁰⁴ Bhutias, who were the ruling authorities of Sikkim and enjoyed supremacy over the Mangars, Limbus, Lepchas and other residing in Sikkim, tried to protect the land to be encroached by Nepalis, but failed. Kazis of Khangsarpa from 1870s onward also worked for Nepali settlement into Sikkim.¹⁰⁵ Gradually Nepalis came in the state in huge number. Land which at once belonged to Lepchas was come under the Nepali's hold. In the British rule Lepcha-Bhutias in the province gradually being reduced with comparison to Nepalis and Nepali became outnumbered in the state. Once British official remarked that *'The Lepchas, as has been stated, are rapidly dying out, while from the west the industrious Newars and Goorkhas of Nepal are pressing forward to clear and cultivate the large areas unoccupied land on which the European tea-planters have already cast longing eyes'*.¹⁰⁶ These Nepali immigrants cleared the forest, started terrace cultivation, built roads and worked for other infrastructural development. Lepcha did not try to prohibit Nepalis initially might be they wanted to get support from Nepalis in against of Bhutanies oppression. But, when Nepalis also posed a threat to Lepchas in trams of land sharing they started protesting in against of immigrant Nepalis. Subba argued that main reason of the Nepalis domination over the Lepcha and Bhutias was the technological advantage in cultivation, mainly in terrace cultivation. Thus Nepalis became the dominant groups in Sikkim. Huge Nepali influx to Sikkim changed the demography, economy and social structure of the place.

It was argued that one of the main reasons of increase of Nepali population in the state was due to the recognition of 'Stateless Nepalis' as Sikkimese. At the time of merger of Sikkim with the republic of India it was decided under the provisions of Sikkim subjects' regulation of 1961 that the person whose name was listed in the voter list of Assembly election of April 1974 would be recognized as Sikkim subjects. Every persons who were settled in Sikkim immediately before the 26th of April 1975 recognized as Sikkim subject under this regulation of 1961.¹⁰⁷ In this juncture as many as 35,000 Nepalis were awarded

¹⁰⁴ Sinha, A.C., Nov/Dec 1993. *op. cit*, P. 44.

¹⁰⁵ Dutt, Srikant., Jun.1981, *op.cit* p. 2.

¹⁰⁶ Risley, H.H., 2005, *op. cit*, p. xxi

¹⁰⁷ Kar, D.P., 2009, Gorkhaland Movement a Clandestine Invasion, Janachetana, p. 20.

Sikkim citizenship. On other hand merger of the state Sikkim to Indian republic granted Indian citizenship to entire Sikkim subject.¹⁰⁸ Even, there was agitation in the aftermath of 1973-75; regarding the inclusion of 30,000 Nepalis as Sikkim citizen who were not covered under Sikkim Citizenship order 1975. By the year 1988, this number rose to 54,000. Ruling party of the state 'Sikkim Sangram Parishad' under the leadership of Nar Bahadur Bhandari addressed the issue of non registered Nepalis and demanded for recognition of those people as Sikkim citizen. In the year of 1989 figure of non registered Nepalis rose to 75,000. In 1990, 7th August, the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India declared 40,083 left out persons (by Sikkim Citizenship Orders, 1975) in the state as Indian citizens. It was also informed to the house of Lok Sabha that Centre was expecting to issue another order in September 1990 for granting more 35,000 undefined citizens as state citizen. Before this period huge migration from Nepal had been taken place in the state with or without sponsorship of British authority. Even, Mr. N.B. Bhandari, the then Chief minister of Sikkim advocated that a large group of people were left out from the list of citizenship. Figure of left out people claimed by Bhandari was initially 33,000, which increased to 54,000 in the year 1988 and finally it rose to 80,000 in 1989.¹⁰⁹ Interestingly population of Sikkim was 2.09 lacs in the year 1971 and shown to be 3.16 lacs by 1981.¹¹⁰ Census figure 1891, which was the first authentic source of population data of Sikkim shows that there were 15,458 Nepalis at that time among the 30,455 total populations. On other hands in 1891 there were 5,762 Lepchas, 4,894 Bhutias, 3,356 Limbus populations.¹¹¹ Eestimate shows that in the year 1891 Nepalis constituted 51 percentage of total population of Sikkim and Lepchas and Bhutia constituted 19 percent and 16 percent respectively.¹¹² By the middle of the 20th century the Nepali population of Sikkim rose to 60 percent and there was a change in the demographic feature of the state¹¹³. With the passing of time the local ruling elites Lepcha-Bhutias became minority and the Nepalis became majority. Even migration to Sikkim is still continued but volume has declined sharply. If you go through the census figure we will understand the

¹⁰⁸ Sinha, A.C., 2008, Lhotshampa, Madhesi, Nepamul: The deprived of Bhutan, Nepal and India, *Himal Journal*, Vol. 21, No. 5, Nepal, p. 57.

¹⁰⁹ Kar, D.P., 2009, op. cit, p. 21.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ Sinha, A., C., 2008, op. cit, p.36.

¹¹² Phadnis, Urmila, 1980, Ethnic Dimensions of Sikkimese Politics: The 1979 Elections, *Asian Survey*, Vol. 20, No. 12, p.1238.

¹¹³ Dutt, Srikant., Jun.1981, op.cit p. 2.

increase of Nepali people in Sikkim as a whole. In an estimate there were 22,720 immigrant Nepalis in the state in the year of 1901, which increased to 25,610 in 1911 and decreased to 20,876 in 1921.¹¹⁴ It has been seen that there were 71,138 populations of various Nepali groups in the state in 1931.¹¹⁵ Census of 1971 mentioned about the 134,275 Nepalis in the state which increased to 225,185 in 1981. Huge increase of the Nepali population was because of the recognition of Stateless 'Nepalese' as Sikkimese citizen.¹¹⁶ Within ten years from 1981-91 near about 50,000 added to the Nepali population of the state and in 1991; 273,790 Nepali people were registered in the state. In 2001 there were 380,393 Nepali speaking populations in the State¹¹⁷ with 20,455 Nepali migrant. Out of which North district contained 3902 Nepali migrant, West district consisted 2293 and South district 4306 and East district had 9954 migrant people.¹¹⁸ Migrant Nepalis mainly concentrated into East district of the state. The immigrant Nepalis played a great role in the development of the areas of Sikkim by introducing the new agricultural pattern in the state.

Nepali Migration and Settlement in Manipur:

The state Manipur, covered with 8456 square mile area according to 1901 census figure significantly witnessed Nepali migration. Out of the land area 92 percent was estimated as hilly and remaining only 8 percent as plain valley land. Total population of the area was 2,84,465 in 1901. Population increased to 14,11,375 within the area of 8,628 square miles state land in accordance to 1981 census figure.¹¹⁹ The valley is inhabited predominantly by the 60 percent of Meithei population, who were Hinduised, popularly practice wet rice cultivation. On other hand the hills which are surrounding by the valley mainly settled with major tribes groups Naga with 21 percent and Kuki with 14 percent. These hilly tribes predominantly practiced *jhum* cultivation and some extent terraced rice cultivation.¹²⁰ The scanty populated hills and the valley plain encouraged outsider into the province and Nepali migration to the place significantly witnessed. Nepalis initially were

¹¹⁴ Census of India, 1921, Vol. V, Bengal, Part-I, Report.

¹¹⁵ Census- 1931, Volume- 5, Part-1, Bengal & Sikkim.

¹¹⁶ Sinha, A., C., 2008, *op. cit*, p.38.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ Census of India, 2001.

¹¹⁹ Gurung, Tejimala, 2003, The Colonial State and Settlement of Nepali Graziers in Manipur (1891-1947), *Proceeding of North East India History Association*, 24th Session, Guwahati, p. 271.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.* p. 271.

settled with their *khutis* and grazing profession in the area and little extend maintained their nomadic habits. Gradually they started settled cultivation in the place and established them permanently. In nineteenth century British Colonial master actively worked for Nepali migration into the province. But, it has been argued by some scholars that Nepali settlements were established in Manipur at the very beginning of 10th century. First Gurkha person came to Manipur with matrimonial relation with a Meitei girl 'Kumbi', who belonged to Mayang Heikhong Ningol Manipur clan.¹²¹ It has also been seen that in June 1941 Maharaja Budhachandra Singh of Manipur married the Nepali Princess, Iswari Devi, from the Rana family of Nepal. With Maharani Iswari Devi many assistant came to Manipur. Thus with this matrimonial relations inflow of Nepalis to Manipur was continued till 1946.¹²² In fact in the process of colonization real Nepali migration took place. Manipur was unified under the leadership of Maharaja Bhagya Chandra in 18th century. At the time of Burmese invasions Raja of Manipur asked the help of East Indian Company in 1762. Finally in 1819 when Burmese occupied Manipur British fully supported the king and defeated the Burmese and Treaty of Yandaboo was signed. In the process of British Colonization Nepali Gurkhas started to come into the province. It has been argued that first batch of Gurkhas came to Manipur during the time of Raja Gambhir Singh. In the year of 1824, one British battalion were included in the police force of Maharaja Gambhir Singh. Nepalis remain in the battalion got entry into the Maharaja's force. In and around 1880, 42nd, 43rd and 44th Gorkha Rifles employed in East India Company were posted in Manipur.¹²³ After the establishment of strong hold of British power into the province British Political Agent was posted in Manipur in 1835 for the first time. From that time Gurkhas started to get entry into the state in volume. Princely state Manipur, which came under British colonial suzerainty since 1891, became the important destination of Nepali migration. Nepalis started to migrate to the area initially in the dress of British Army, but gradually settled their in the vast barren land with the profession of grazier and as settled cultivator. British colonial interference in the province and introduction of new administration system in the area changed the socio-economic and political structure of the Meithei. British Colonial power encouraged Nepali

¹²¹ Acharya, Ghanashyam, 1999, The Gorkhas of Manipur, *Manipur Gorkha Welfare Union*, p. 12-13.

¹²² Chhetry, G., K., N., 2003, The Nepalis of Manipur: Movement and Settlement, In *The Nepalis in Northeast India*, Indus Publication, p. 307.

¹²³ Acharya, Ghanashyam, 1999, *op. cit*, p. 14.

migration into the region for military purpose. Even to provide labour for colonial economy, generate income from foreigners in the name of foreigner tax, fulfil the needs of milk and milk made product for the British military personal and for other colonial interest British helped Nepalis to be migrated into Manipur. Nepalis got their strong presence in the state when in the year 1880; 42nd, 43rd, and 44th Gurkha Rifles were posted in Manipur. Finally, after the complete takeover of Manipur by the British process of Nepali migration to the state accelerated. First census taken in Manipur in 1881 has shown that out of the total immigrant 5252 Nepal born population were 2943 in the state. During the anti-British revolt of 1890-91, again 42nd, 43rd, 44th, Gurkha Rifles were posted frequently in Manipur. Even in 1917, 4th battalion of the Assam Rifles were posted in Manipur, of which 80 percent were Gurkha origin.¹²⁴ Thus contact of the Nepalis with Manipur was established. Gradually Nepali migrant population became an important segment of the society. With the passage of time British Colonial power encouraged retired soldiers from Assam and Gurkha Rifles to be settled in the state of Manipur in specific colonies. Settlement colonies were opened in the empty lands of the place. Nepali settlements were established mainly in the area like Kanglatombi, Mantripokheri, Kalapahar, Kangpokpi, Pangei, Karong, Keithenmanbi, Koirengi, Sapermeina and Maram.¹²⁵ A good number of Nepalis were settled on the Imphal-Mao cart road.¹²⁶ It was tried to understand on the basis of 4th Battalion Rifles settled in Manipur in 1922 that main caste group Nepali settled in the state was Gurung, Magars, Rai, Limbus, Lamas and Newars.¹²⁷ After that Bahuns, Chhetris was also come in the province when British colonial power allowed them in recruitment of Assam Rifles after 1924. After their retirement many Gurkha soldiers who were settled in Manipur started their own business of grazing and rearing of cattle in the province. With those retired military man others civil Nepalis was also came to Manipur and settled in the province. It was also seen that before 1943 and after the Second World War British brought the Nepali coolies for road construction. After the World War road network was destroyed. For the improvement of road between Imphal and Mao good numbers of Nepalis were brought to the state.¹²⁸ With the Nepali labourer groups large number of Jaisis, Upadhyay caste of Nepali people came there

¹²⁴ Gurung, Tejimala, 2003, *op. cit*, p. 272.

¹²⁵ Gurung, Tejimala, 2001, *op. cit*, P. 406.

¹²⁶ Gurung, Tejimala, 2003, *op. cit*, p. 272.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.* p. 272.

¹²⁸ Chhetry, G., K., N., 2003, *op. cit*, p. 307.

and settled permanently. The new comers, fresh non military migrant groups took grazing as their profession and took the lucrative and attractive booming business of milk and milk made product. Within a short time many Nepali *Khutis* were established in the various places of Manipur like Kangchup, Irang, Bishnupur. Census figure could give a clear picture of Nepalis presence in Manipur. Below table is showing the distribution of Nepalis throughout the district.

Table-29
Distribution of Nepali Population in Manipur through District

Districts	Population		
	1961	1971	1981
North	8771	16653	25078
Central	4449	8212	9736
South	123	788	834
East	98	727	727
West	130	115	71

Source: Acharya, Ghanashyam, 'The Gorkhas of Manipur', Manipur Gorkha Welfare Union, 1999, p. 41.

It is clear from the table that the Nepali population in Northern district of Manipur is larger than other parts and Central district is in second. Western district of Manipur is holding comparatively small Nepali population. It has been seen that in recent past there were only 781 Nepali migrant in 2001. Out of which only 156 was registered in Senapati, 17 in Tamenglong, 45 in Churachandpur, 10 in Bishnupur, 30 in Thubal, 188 in Imphal West, 168 in Imphal East, 143 in Ukhrul and 24 migrant in Chandel.¹²⁹ It is clear that in recent past migration of the Nepalis to the state decreased significantly, might be ethnic violence in the state was the reason of such decrees.

Reports of British authorities clarified the conditions of Nepalis in Manipur. British Political agents in his report spoke about the Nepali graziers in the Kohima-Manipur cart road and about their settlement in the neighbouring areas. It was reported that considerable numbers of cattle were herded by the Nepali settlers at the northern end of the Manipur

¹²⁹ Census of India, 2001.

valley.¹³⁰ Captain H.W.G. Cole, Political Agent of Manipur and Superintendent of the State stated on 3rd February 1900 in his diary that the Gurkhas gained the respect of the Manipuris for their excellent conduct in Manipur. It was also told that he ordered one Nepali idles to live with others of his race at Kanglatumbi where there were some 40 to 50 Nepali houses. He mentioned that the person was used to live with a Manipuri woman, but she deserted him and in his ill conditions no one was there to look after him. Officer said once he marched to Kanglatombi and saw the road towards the area was exceedingly dusty. At Sengmai a new bazaar house was established by the Nepalis and was ready for the roof but local villagers had no complaints on that. Officer said that the Gurkha colonies at Kanglatombi were in disordered and insanitary state; the houses were tumbling down, and the villages were covered in jungle, and yet the inhabitants said that they were happy.¹³¹ On the basis of his report it could be remarked that in Manipur Nepali villages was established with a good number of Nepali families with markets and other facilities. It was very important for Nepali herders to stay with their families because the family member could assist them in their work. In a report it was said by British officer that “*Children goes to school, children are very useful in this village to attend the buffaloes which they ride out to graze and return with them in the evening and this accounts for short number present. In the rains when the whole place is under water the grazing is close by and the pupils attend more regularly.*”¹³² In the earlier stage the health conditions, hygiene and overall environment of Nepali villages was not good. Even though, the Nepalis were happy to stay there rather than to go back to their own country. It shows that the conditions for them in Nepal were worse than in Manipur. So Nepali migrate in huge number was inhabitable in the country. One interesting think was that after living with local inhabitant matrimonial relationships or like that was established within migrant and indigenious people. Major Maxwell, Political Agent of Manipur in his diary told in 1891 that Nepalis were settling down with buffaloes and cows near the capital, and the matter of *ghee* would settle itself. He shared that the Nagas in the area were extremely well off, and so many rupees was in circulation in the country. He said these Nagas used to pay

¹³⁰ Gurung, Tejimala, 2003, *op. cit*, p. 272.

¹³¹ Manipur State Archive, 23rd January 1897, *Diary of Captain H.W.G. Cole, I.S.C., Officiating Political Agent in Manipur and Superintendent of the State.*

¹³² State Archive of Manipur, Acc. No. 8, Year: 1905. R-No/S-No. R-1/S-A.

the revenue at the rate of Rs. 3 per house.¹³³ It was clear from his writing that as the local inhabitants of the area were well off, they were not interested to work as coolie. So the demand of Nepali labourer was in large in Manipur or even in Northeastern states and they were accepted by the British and by local people. In the year 1892, officer remarked that boys of Gurkha Rifle used to go to schools. Even, Gurkha Rifles also had there regimental school in the province. Desire for knowledge among the boys of Gurkha families were so substantial that after attending that school in the morning they used to come to Britishers school. It could be understood from his comments that Nepalis stayed there in Manipur with their families used to send their children for learning in local schools and gradually started to assimilate in Indian education and culture. Officer also said that when he rode out in morning to 'Haignan Hill' for inspection he saw the unauthorized cutting of pine forest. He said this forest was rigidly protected by the late durbar but a good deal of damage was done by Gurkhali wood cutters and others. He found some 40 trees of fair size were hacked but not removed. Even several acre of forest was cleared entirely. Comment of British officer signified that Nepalis were involved with wood cutting in the place, which was also a suitable profession for them and it was conducted also in unofficial mode. Even clearance of forest might be because of agricultural farming or for grazing purpose.

Major H. ST. P. Maxwell, Political Agent in Manipur and Superintendent of the State wrote about the Nepalis in his diary on 1894. He told, for the inspection of Nepali settlement and to find out some permanent arrangement for Nepali colonies he went to Kaitamabi. He found that several Nepalis were settled there just behind the Kaitamabi government rest house and the government buildings were ruined by the cattle and ponies of those people. He said moreover at the back of the rest houses the land which was a military camping ground was also destroyed by their activities. In 6th August 1894, officer halted at Kaitamabi and watched that the Nepali colony found eight houses on the rest-house plateau, and four families had taken up the quarters in the shelter sheds erected for bona-fide travelers. He said those people were comfortably settled down with their goats, ponies and cattle. Officer further said Nepali settled in the rest house used to refuse the admittance of the travelers. Officer mentioned that the plateau on which the rest house was built was reserved for

¹³³ State Archive of Manipur, Accession No. 266, Year-1891, S-No: R-1/S-D.

government purpose, and contained for the military encamping grouped. He said situation of rest house was so bad that for him it was unable to stay there for a day. He said about his planning to search a suitable ground for Nepali inhabitant. He mentioned that he carefully examined the kaitanabi valley, and had searched a location for Nepalis to the north of the Nonira stream. He said there was abundant land for all Nepalis and for additional comers. He said the residing people in the place intended to capture whole the plot for them and denied other to be settled there. But he explained to the resident that no such trick would be permitted. Land would be give only to that person who would apply the west land for cultivation. He said the whole valley was cultivable. He mentioned that a retired military police Subadar opened out a very nice piece of rice cultivation, and had promised about the incensement of his allotment.¹³⁴ It was clear from the British officer's diary that Nepalis had settled their colonies in various interior places with the profession of animal husbandry. Even many retired Gurkha soldiers started wet rice farming in the place and thus promoted settled cultivation in Northeast. He also witnessed settlers on the plateau, for water supply in irrigating land and for household use tapped the stream at the base of the hills which damaged the land. Officer also commented on complain launched by villagers of Myang Khang in against of Nepali. He said local inhabitant complained that the buffaloes of Nepali settler eaten the *dhan* produced by them. After enquiry he found that the Nepali graziers already paid the compensation for that. He dismissed their complaint and said any demand for more money in that issue was illegal. On 28th October 1895, officer marched to Haingnangching, the hill area which was covered with pine forest. He mentioned that considerable amount of damaged of forest was done by the Manipuris and also by the Nepali settlers. It was also seen that complain was launched by the Nepalis in against of the Nagas and Kukis. Nepali immigrants said that they were threatened to driven away from the nearby land of kanglatombi by the local Naga and Kuki tribes. It was reported that the cattle of Nepali graziers used to destroy the crops of local people in the area. Local tribes for that reasons was unhappy with the presence of Nepalis in the land. Same kind of dispute between the hill men and Nepalis was also seen in Kaitamabi area. Some Nepalis from Kaitamabi said to British officer that they were not safe in the place. Officer told Nepalis about the arrangement of large tract away from everybody for the use of Nepali herders. In that case

¹³⁴ State Archive of Manipur, Accession No. 266, Year-1891, S-No: R-1/S-D.

Maxwell, Political Agent in Manipur and superintendent of the State stated in his tour diary that Nepalis should be given a large area of land for their settlement away from the local tribes. He mentioned about such uninhabited tracts which would suit the requirement of Nepalis. In another occasion officer reported about the living conditions of Nepalis in Kanglatombi in 18th September 1904. He stated that he marched to Kanglatombi and visited the Gurkha settlement near the bungalow. It was seen that all Nepalis settled there were mainly pensioners from the Assam Regiments and lived there in a very dirty and careless manner. Dogs, Sheep, fowls, ducks, calves and cows used to roam at will in and out of the houses. Sanitation of the area was also entirely neglected. He said this was how those people liked to live and the advantages of sanitation merely worried them. It also said by him that Nepalis who grazed buffaloes and cows and lived nearby the agricultural field were forever disputing with the hill people and often visited courts for their unlawful activities. It was also been complained that within the grazing reserves some of the hill tribes started their cultivation. After realizing the facts Maxwell pointed out that separate land should be granted for Nepali graziers. It was seen that British authorities were always cordial to Nepali migrants. Officer visited the place 'Saftul Khunao' with some half a dozen of Nepali graziers to identify the new land. He said land had large open valley with a good deal of flat surface, suitable for rice cultivation. He further said on the left or west bank of the land slopes towards the hills grazing of cattle could be possible and settlement could be made. He also commented that the men with him were pleased with the country.¹³⁵

J.C. Hagions, British official said that empty land should be granted for Nepali settlement in the province. In the year 1916 he mentioned that local tribes asked permission from him to cultivate the land situated in the west of Imphal River. In replay he said that they could cultivate the land this year but next year land would be handed over to the Nepalis and for that matter compensation would be given to them. He stated on March 1917 that among the Nepali graziers some were there who used to graze their cattle out of their reserve areas beyond kangpokpi, round Mayangtenang, into the Barak valley and even further. Officer strongly opposed this tendency of Nepali settlers.¹³⁶ Vice President of Manipur State Darbar in his diary mentioned that the Gurkhali settlers apparently desired unlimited land for grazing

¹³⁵ State Archive of Manipur, Acc. No. 8, Year: 1905. R-No/S-No. R-1/S-A.

¹³⁶ State Archive of Manipur, Acc No. 12, Year. 1916-18, R-No./S-No. R-1/S-A.

purpose.¹³⁷ In the year 1917 with a resolution Manipur State Durbar decided to demarcate all the grazing grounds in the area. Accordingly throughout the Manipur valley all the grazing reserved was demarcated. It was also decided through resolution that any body found illegally encroaching grazing ground without permission from President of Manipur Durbar would be fined and land belonged to him would be confiscated by the state without compensating. Some of the Grazing reserves like Tuiyang grazing reserve, Kangpokpi-Kanglatongbi grazing reserve, Irang grazing reserve, Sengmai grazing reserve were established.¹³⁸ New *khuties* continually established in various grazing reserve. To control the increasing number of cattle and *Goths* in the reserved area the then Political Agent C. Gimson fixed the number of cattle that could be kept in the grazing reserve area in 1938. In a regulation it was fixed that in Kangpokpi-Kanglatongbi-2100 cows and 1500 buffaloes; in Irang Valley-1500 cows and 3000 buffaloes; in Maram Khullen-500 cows and 10 buffaloes and in Taphau area-250 buffaloes could be maintained.¹³⁹

C. Gimson, British officer in the year 1937 reported about the large number of death of cattle and buffaloes in the grazing reserve area of Kanglatongbi. He said death of cattle was due to shortage of grazing land and excessive pressure of livestock in the stipulated reserve area. In that condition strict control was maintained to restrict the number of cattle in the grazing reserve areas. Increasing pressure of population and extension of cultivation was the real cause of shortage of grazing grounds. Grazing reserve areas were opened for fresh cultivation. It also reported that within the reserve area Kukis started cultivation.¹⁴⁰ At the time of World War period large scale cultivation became essential. In the difficult situation many Nepali graziers fled from the area with their cattle and many other settled with cultivation. It was also seen that Durbar in the later date discouraged grazing and facilitated cultivation. Durbar worked for the establishment of Nepali villages near Kangpokpi to promote cultivation in the area. Order was passed in this regard that on application of cultivable land graziers had to release their holding in Irang valley. It was also declared that households who would remain in Kanglatongbi area for the purpose of wet rice cultivation

¹³⁷State Archive of Manipur, Acc No. 1, Year-1907, R-No./S-No: R-2/S-B/AC.

¹³⁸ Gurung, Tejimala, 2003, *op. cit*, p. 273.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.* p. 273.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.* p. 274.

would be issued *pattas* on certain conditions. Person who would receive *patta* had to give up grazing.¹⁴¹ Many Nepalis who were living there from very past started to accept agriculture as their profession and made them settled tenant.

Immigrant Nepalis were used as military personnel, milk supplier, rice cultivator, manual labourer for the interest of British Colonial power. Those immigrants were not civilized in their living and made considerable damage of land, forest and government properties. But British officers for their own interest encouraged Nepali immigration into Northeast India and arranged land for their settlement. Gradually various Nepali colonies were established throughout the Northeastern parts of India. Nepalis also settled themselves permanently away from their home. Initially Nepalis tried to be settled anywhere in the hill but British official wanted to restrict them in certain specific areas. Local people though encountered problem with the presence of Nepalis in their surroundings but accepted them as their neighbour. Very often complain was launched in against of Nepali grazier, but those were solved by the British officials without evicting them permanently. Separate land was allotted for them. Administration Report of indicates that collection of Foreigner Tax and Grazing fees increased significantly in the year 1915-16. Administration Report of 1919-20 shows that 'foreigner tax', cart and cattle tax, income tax on foreigners and 'Foreigners trading License fee' was a big source of income for the British colonial power. Foreigner tax was charged Rs. 5/- a year for each adult male person.¹⁴² Administration Report of 1924-25, indicates that collection of tax rose due to the increase of "Foreigners Tax" and Grazing fees levied on Foreigners' cattle. There was a large increase in the number of buffaloes in the Grazing reserves.¹⁴³ Even in the year 1907-08, income from foreigner significantly increased. Administration Report of 1925-26 indicates that demand for 'Foreigners Income Tax' and Trading License fees, increased from Rs. 5,091 in the previous year to Rs. 12,568.¹⁴⁴ Report says that increase of Foreigner tax, was partly due to huge inflow of men, buffaloes and cattle in the grazing reserve area and partly due to more careful methods of

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.* p. 276.

¹⁴² *Ibid.* p. 273.

¹⁴³ State Archive of Manipur, Acc. No. 44, Year: 1923-1924. R-No/S-No: R-N-2/S-A.

¹⁴⁴ State Archive of Manipur Acc. No. 46, Year: 1925-1926. R-No/S-No: R-N-2/S-A.

assessment.¹⁴⁵ Foreigners and Graziers were mostly Nepalis in the province. Nepali grazing reserves were created in the northern portion of the valley and the surrounding hill slopes.¹⁴⁶ Nepali migrants were one the prime source of revenue for British colonial master. It was mentioned in the Administration Report of 1909-10 that during this year 2,464 *bigha* of waste land were taken for cultivation and Nepalis were the major share holder of land. It was mentioned in the report that large portion of the area would shortly be taken up for cultivation by new comers.¹⁴⁷ Administration Report of 1917-18 and other years indicated that the chief exports material from Manipur at that time was rice, timber, cattle and other thinks. The buffaloes and cattle exported from Manipur were all from Nepali herders.¹⁴⁸ Export tax on cattle was also a great source of earning of the state. Export tax was levied as Rs. 10/- for per buffalo and Rs. 8/- for per bullock.¹⁴⁹ For the collection of tax from the Nepali graziers headman were appointed from the herders itself. Local Gurkha Panchayat was established for control of administration in the Nepali settlement areas. In the civil police force there were a good number of Nepalis in Manipur since very past. As the place was scarcely populated and Nepalis were hard-working local tribes welcomed them into the province. British authority although fall into problem with the conflicting interest of indigenous people and Nepali immigrant but anyhow tried to managed the situation and promoted Nepali settlement in the region. British government for their own interest demarcated the grazing land and granted it to Nepalis. But demarcated boundary did not solve the problem and complain was still there about the damage of crops of the surrounding hill villages. Nepali graziers were blamed for that damage. British authority might be in the interest huge tax collection on the name of Foreigner Tax, Grazing tax, Cattle export tax, etc., managed the situation and pacified the conflict between the local cultivator and Nepali graziers. Nepalis felt comfortable with the high tax paying rather to go back to their own country. British authority according to political and economical needs during the world war period or after it encouraged agriculture to pacify the scarcity of rice and took strong measure to stop large scale grazing in the place. Nepalis in large number changed their profession of pastoralism and adopted settled agricultural in the region. Nepalis with time

¹⁴⁵ State Archive of Manipur Acc. No. 41, Year: 1919-1920. R-No/S-No: R-N-2/S-A.

¹⁴⁶ State Archive of Manipur Acc. No. 37, Year: 1915-1916, R-No/S-No: R-N-2/S-A.

¹⁴⁷ State Archive of Manipur Acc. No. 33, Year: 1909-1910. R-No/S-No: R-N-2/S-A.

¹⁴⁸ State Archive of Manipur Acc. No. 39. Year: 1917-1918. R-No/S-No: R-N-2/S-A. .

¹⁴⁹ Gurung, Tejimala, 2003, *op. cit*, p. 274.

permanently started to settle in the area. How long grazing was beneficial for British Colonial power in terms of milk and milk made production, income generation through taxation and how long grazing did not seriously conflict with agrarian economy or others economical activities British promoted it. But when situation changed they did not bother about the graziers, who provided huge share of colonial economy. When new avenue of revenue collection emerged through agriculture and the land became short in the state, British colonial power compelled the Nepali settler to hand over the grazing land and their profession of pastoralism to cultivator for cultivation.

Nepali migration into the state is still an important and alarming issue. After the merger of the state Manipur with India in 15th October 1949 law was formulated to control the entry of foreigners into Manipur in 18th November 1950. But in absence of strict law to control the entry of illegal migrants a good number of foreigners entered into the state. Nepalis were one of the major communities among the migrants. It also said that the Act of 1958 promoted Nepali migration to the state. In this act it has mentioned that *'No foreigner shall enter into or remain in any protected area except under and in accordance with permit issued by the Central Government or any officer authorised by the Central Government in this behalf'* and in the section 3 it has also been told that *'Notwithstanding anything contained in the Foreigners (exemption) order, 1957 it shall apply to all foreigners except the subject of Bhutan, Subjects of Sikkim and national of Nepal'*.¹⁵⁰ But gradually movement started in protest of migration to the state. Memorandum submitted to the 'State Chief Secretary' by 'Federation of Regional Indigenous Society' (FREINDS) told about the threat of immigrant in Manipur. Memorandum indicates that lifting of the permit system by the Government in November 1950 was the root cause of the tremendous rise of immigrants in Manipur. Introduction of inner line permit system in the state was also demanded. Demanded also made to detain and deport the illegal foreign migrant within 20 days. It was told that immigrants settled extensively almost all districts of Manipur mostly are from Nepal, Bangladesh and Myanmar. It also told that immigrant settled in the state have registered their name in the electoral rolls illegally. Even the immigrants got married with the local women of tribal groups and established their claim over landed property and made them as de-facto

¹⁵⁰ Sharma, Ariban, Brajakumar, Report on 'Influx of Migrants into Manipur', United Committee Manipur (U.C.M.), p. 27.

citizens of India. It has also claimed that in Senapati district Nepali foreigners have almost taken over the economy and land assets of the district.¹⁵¹ In the newspaper report it was told that 'Inner Line Permit System' is being maintained in the state Nagaland, Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh. But, absence of such think is the main cause of influx of illegal Nepali migration to the state.¹⁵² In against of foreigner migration anti-foreigners movements started in the state in 1980. The All Manipur Students' Union (AMSU) and the All Manipur Students' Co-ordinating Committee (AMSCOC) has started the movements against foreigners jointly.¹⁵³ All Manipur Student's Union (AMSU) and the All Manipur Student's Coordinating Committee (AMSCOC) began to demand the ejection of foreigner from the state. They estimated about the presence of 3, 00,000 foreigners in the state migrated from Bangladesh, Burma and even from Nepal. Nepalis are mainly concentrated in Kangpokpi area of the state and student organization demanded that about 100,000 Nepalis living there are foreigners. Students Unions started their strong agitation in the year of 1880. W. Deben Singh, in one occasion said "*We want to remove foreigners to save our identity and culture, otherwise our situation will be the same as that of Cacharis in Char, Tripuris in the State of Tripura and Sikkimese in Sikkim.*"¹⁵⁴

Character Differentiation of Nepali Migration in Colonial and Postcolonial Northeastern India:

Nepali migration into Northeast India has significantly witnessed since colonial time. British colonial master has created conditions for Nepali migration into northeastern India. Though, it has been argued that movement of Nepalis towards princely state of Manipur and other locations of Northeast has started even before the colonial time. British colonial authority in nineteenth century has sponsored Nepali migration into northeast India. In nineteenth century British colonial power has become worried with the security of northeastern border of India. They wanted to protect their colonial interest over the territory they have occupied. For that reason British supported the King of Manipur in against of Burmese invasion into the northeast. Burmese was defeated and British gained political

¹⁵¹ 'Report finds immigrant influx threatening', 13th September 2008, The Sentinel, Guwahati,

¹⁵² Dev, Nurendra, 23rd October 2008, 'Influx' Ruts Manipur on a sticky wicket, The Statesmen, Kolkata,.

¹⁵³ Sharma, Ariban, Brajakumar, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

¹⁵⁴ Bareh, H.M., 2001, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

supremacy over the area. They wanted to protect the whole length of the border of northeast. To establish political hold over the area and to suppress the local tribal groups British sent their army to the province. Nepalis as part of British army entered northeast India. Even British power wanted to change the tribal demography pattern in various belt of northeast as their colonial policy. With this interest British encouraged retired Gurkhas to be settled in the various corner of northeast. Even other Nepali groups rather than military men also migrated to northeast with colonial help. Nepali graziers, manual labourers in coal mine, tea plantation, agricultural groups and even other professional Nepali groups also migrated to northeast. British to populate the barren land, bring the west land under cultivation; earn money through taxation encouraged Nepali migration to northeastern states. British local authorities in northeast also encouraged the Nepali settlement. To fulfill the demand of milk and milk made product, to get coolies, worker for governmental work British local authorities arranged the settlement of immigrant Nepalis in their local areas. Even British authorities to favour the Nepali graziers allotted separate land for them. Thus Nepali migration in colonial period was British official sponsorship migration.

Nepali migration was continued after the colonial period. Nepali migration into northeast India was the legacy of past. After independence, Indian government has maintained a friendly relationship with Nepal. As part of international politics open border policy was adopted in 1950. Treaty of friendship was signed between the countries. By the treaty Nepali migration to India was official legalized. In postcolonial period Nepali migration to northeast was not officially sponsored by the government but promoted. To check illegal infiltration inner line permit has been issued for the outsider who wanted get entry into various area of northeast. But the Nepali migration has continued into Northeast. In the worse political situations in Nepal migration of Nepalis has been witnessed significantly. Even Nepali migration from Bhutan and Burma has also been witnessed in the twentieth century. Any strong measure has not been taken by Indian government to check Nepali migration into northeast. With the raising of population in postcolonial period problem has arisen in resource shearing. In colonial period conflict between Nepali immigrants and local tribes with resource shearing has also been seen but the situation has handled tactfully by the British colonial authority. In postcolonial period situation has

become more acute. Many organizations have strongly advocated their views regarding illegal migration into the province. Nepalis are being threatened in northeast. Many of them have been evicted forcefully. But government could not take strong measure. In many occasions migrant Nepalis have been detained on their way to northeast by local organizations. But due to state police of legalization of Nepali migration any action has not be taken. It has also been told that by Sikkim Citizenship order of 1975 many illegal Nepali migrants were legalized in the state. Thus in postcolonial age Nepali migration has been promoted by Indian state.