

***Bon Voyage: A Peer-Reviewed
Journal of English Studies***

- Open Access Journal
- Indexed in NepJOL
- Print ISSN: 2382-5308



Published by:
Department of English
Ratna Rajyalaxmi Campus, Tribhuvan
University, Kathmandu, Nepal

**From Lahore to New York: Changing Identity of Lahure in Modern Nepali
Literature**

Maheswor Paudel 

Central Department of English, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, Kathmandu, Nepal

Article History: Submitted 15 June, 2024; Reviewed 27 June, 2024; Revised 10 July, 2024

Corresponding Author: Maheshwor Paudel, E-mail: mah5sh@gmail.com

Copyright 2024© The Author(s). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3126/bovo.v6i1.68253>

Page 67-76

Abstract

This article assesses the changing identity of lahure in modern Nepali literature. Beginning with the etymology 'lahure' that has its one-to-one correspondence with Lahore in the then British India, this article attempts to map the expansion of that particular identity right from Nepali youths' entrance to Lahore to serve as a mercenary for Ranjit Singh, the Khalsa warrior king and interestingly not for the British colonials, as early as 1809, that is some time before the Treaty of Sugauli in 1816 that officially opened the gate for Nepali youths to the Company Army. Deriving impetus from Craig Calhoun's discourse of identity in reading Tulachan Ale's Manipurko Ladai ko Sawai as the early record of the formation of the lahure identity and Sirjana Sharma's Golden Gate as the contemporary record of such identity, this article analyzes how the identity of a lahure has significantly changed from the early Nepali youths, that too exclusively males, who visited Lahore as the pioneer migrants to British India to the Nepalis who migrate to the United States after winning lottery via the Diversity Visa Program. This article scrutinizes the loose definition of lahure in Nepali society that not only transcends the etymological meaning of the term but also deconstructs the notion of stereotypical adherence to a specific gender, that is, male.

Keywords: lahure, identity, discourse, Nepalis, literature, migrant, DV, PR

Historical Context

Lahure has been a much discussed terminology not only in commonplace discussions but also in academia both in and outside Nepal since it gained stupendous popularity among Nepalis and non-Nepalis alike. A Nepali youth who crossed the national border in search of some work to support his family back home, *lahure* had been a subject of awe for both the colonized and the colonizers, particularly in the then British India. The then King of Punjab, Ranjit Singh, for instance, could not resist the temptation of deploying the dauntless Nepali warriors who had displayed both pluckiness and prowess in fighting the mighty British forces in several forts, eventually safeguarding the sovereignty of the nation. He then invited those brave warriors to join his missions to resist the British colonizers. At this request, some Nepali youths crossed the border and reached Ranjit Singh's capital, Lahore as early as 1809, and thus acquired this transnational identity *lahure*. This paper, revolving around Tulachan Ale's *Manipurko Ladai ko Sawai* and Sirjana Sharma *Golden Gate* as the early and contemporary accounts, delves into the multifarious connotations this identity—*lahure*—has brought to Nepalis since it was etymologically attributed to them.

Though Nepalis had been to Tibet¹ much earlier than they visited India, they did not have a direct encounter with foreigners until the British East India Company's invasion to expand its occupation of the Himalayan Kingdom. Ironically, the Anglo-Nepal war opened gates for Nepalis to a new territory which since then has become one of the most familiar locations for them. Furthermore, it has served as the second home for hundreds of thousands of Nepalis who have been working either seasonally or permanently in almost all sectors. Painfully, India has been the only job market for many of the Nepalis living in western Nepal as it is easier and faster for them to reach Indian territories than to reach Nepali cities that can possibly offer them some work opportunities. "Thousands of Nepalis work in Shimla, Solang, Kullu and Manali areas of Himachal Pradesh, mainly in small and medium-scale enterprises," Rajesh Mishra writes, "A large number of people are labourers who transport goods" (*The Kathmandu Post*). He reports that some work in restaurants, while others work as porters, labourers, and masons. Besides, some Nepalis also run their own businesses and fast-food shops. According to Mishra, the actual data of Nepalis living and working in India is hard to trace, yet the International Organization of Migration 2019 assumes it to be between 3 and 4 million. The Indian Embassy in Kathmandu, however, has a staggering claim of more than 8 million Nepalis living and working there.

Nepalis did not migrate to Indian states just to make wages; they also explored entrepreneurship on their own. A. C. Sinha contends, "[a] considerable number of high caste Nepalese had moved as herdsmen as to the marginal forestlands in Northeast India as graziers" who "turned out to be the industrious peasant cultivators and pioneering dairymen of the region" (qtd. in David N. Gellner 9). Largely though, Gellner quotes Sinha as saying, "Nepalis were branded as 'foreigners' and 'migrants' . . . [and] nicknamed

¹Dor Bahadur Bista in "Nepalis in Tibet" asserts that Nepal, until the beginning of the nineteenth century, shared greater cultural affinity with, and had greater economic interest in, Tibet than with India.

Dajus (coolies or porters), *Bahadurs* (chowkidars) and *Kancchas* (household servants)” (9). Still, Nepalis kept on flooding to India, and the number increased in such a way that in the states like Sikkim, they could even impact the entire political setup. They even eclipsed the indigenous Bhutias and Lepchas after contributing to the making of Sikkim the 22nd state of India.

Nepalis as *lahure*, however, had an adorable stature both in and outside Nepal. This early venerated identity, however, had an ironical positioning as it emerged in relation to the service provided to the ‘others’. As Calhoun logically argues, “We know of no people without names, no languages or cultures in which some manner of distinctions between self and other, we and they are not made,” Nepalis who were almost unknown to the world beyond their own territory started being assigned with new identity by the outsiders who encountered them (1). Though used by the British as mercenaries to suppress tribal revolts, Nepalis, popularly known as Gorkhalis, had impressed both their employers by exhibiting their indomitable spirits and their families by making a ‘handsome’ earning. After serving Ranjit Singh, the then King of Punjab, Nepalis joined the 8th Gurkha Rifles² to serve the British expansionists, particularly after the 1815 Treaty of Sugauli. Nepali rulers, initially reluctant to allow their youths to join the East India Company Army, eventually approved of it as close ties with the British fostered. “Sensing the resistance offered by the Gorkhali army to the British, Sikh King Ranjit Singh in Lahore”, Yogi Naraharinath and Narendra M. S. Basnyet state, “tried to recruit Gorkhalis in the Khalsa (Sikh) army by offering high pay and also entered into a treaty with Nepal Government in 1839 (*Itihas Prakashma Sandhipatra Sangraha* 21-22).

Though Nepalis of almost all castes and creeds had migrated to India long before they joined the Company Army, the British only recruited the youths of the ‘martial race’³. Gellner assumes:

In the early years, British and indigenous ideas more or less coincided, so that Kshatriya groups and those allied to them were the main recruits. In the Nepal context, this meant largely Thakuris and Chhetris (as Kshatriyas are called in Nepal) and the associated western tribes, the Magars and Gurungs, who provided the soldiers of Prithvi Narayan Shah’s armies. After 1857, British policy shifted markedly away from north Indian plainsmen, and towards peripheral populations like the Sikhs and the Gurkhas. Within the Gurkhas, this was expressed as a definite preference for Magars and Gurungs. Nepali hill groups began to be seen as ‘warrior

²The 8th Gorkha Rifles is a Gorkha regiment of the Indian Army. Raised in 1824 as part of the British East India Company, it was later transferred to the British Indian Army after the Indian Mutiny (also known as Sepoy Mutiny or Indian Rebellion) of 1857. The regiment then served in both the World Wars, before being transferred to the Indian Army after independence in 1947.

³ Pradeep Barua in “Inventing Race: The British and India’s Martial Races” believes that the martial races were believed by the British to possess physical and mental qualities that made them excellent soldering material.

gentlemen'. . . . The eastern tribes Rai and Limbu, were finally accepted as martial towards the end of the nineteenth century. The Tamangs, however, resident principally in the hills around Kathmandu, were not recruited, because the Nepalese elite wished to keep them as a reserve army of labour. . . . (13).

As stated here, the British had a clear intention behind choosing the youths of what they defined as the martial races. Gurungs, Magars, Rais, and Limbus are often perceived as being stoutly built and thus physically suited to military service on the one hand, and humble and gullible in religious faith on the other. Interpreted as an Orientalist approach in recent scholarship, the British conducted anthropological research to 'see' the East and its inhabitants from their eyes and created discourses to serve their interests. The Gorkha tribes they thought would best serve their interests were deemed 'martial races'. As Nepalis were who the outsiders viewed them as, the new identity is itself problematic as Calhoun rightly contends, "Modern concerns with identity stem also from ways in which modernity has made identity distinctively problematic" (10). Lahures are supposedly the harbingers of modernity in Nepal, but this new identity has always been subject to scrutiny among scholars in and outside Nepal.

Tulachan Ale's *Manipurko Ladai ko Sawai: An Early Account of Lahure*

*Manipurko Ladai ko Sawai*⁴ (Sawai of the Anglo-Manipur War, 1893) composed by Tulachan Ale, Lance Nayak of 43/44 Gorkha Rifles himself, is the pioneer work of literature not only about *lahure* but by a *lahure* himself. Based on the real incident, the Anglo-Manipur War also called the Manipuri Rebellion of 1891, Ale, a British Gorkha soldier, narrates the entire story of the diplomatic moves of the British, captivation of the Prince of Manipur, and the dacoity in the palace by the British troops. Composed in the language of the common people, this *sawai* seems to have targeted lay audiences. As the opening verse "Something I tell you, listen, the group of five /The story of the invasion of Manipur I recite" (lines 1-2) suggests, the inherent purpose of *sawai* was to inform the people about a certain incident or a notable event or a remarkable object. Since every *sawai* begins with the same verse, this folk genre must have aimed at sharing some seminal information among the public.

Manipurko Ladai ko Sawai, like many other works of its kind, through the historical account of the incident, records the experience of a *lahure*, who is the witness of the battlefield. "As the order was issued to arrest Yogaraj/The platoon cordoned the fort on order"(lines 45-46). Ale begins his narration with the order the British soldiers received from their commander to arrest the King Yogaraj. He further reports that after being cordoned off by the enemies, the Manipur courtiers started firing after their king's order. The British troops then looted the palace, but Yogaraj, taking advantage of this situation, managed to flee from the palace. The Manipur army under the monarch's brother put a stern resistance to the British platoons who were forced to retreat. In these verses "On 25

⁴*Sawai* is a typical Nepali word that refers to the folk genre of Nepali metrical verse just like other forms of folk songs or poetry. This genre typically narrates a particular incident such as war, flood, landslide and earthquake. It also narrates the extraordinary feats of the rulers such as Kings or the Heads of the States.

April, was fought a horrible war / 43 Gorkha Rifles earned its fame so far”(lines 113-114), Ale informs his audience about the eventual victory of the British Gorkha soldiers. This victory, however, was not easy as Ale lost his commander Colonel McDowal Skene, and his colleague Subedar Himarachan. “Valiant Manipuri heroes Major Paona Brajabasi, Chinglen Sana, Khumbong Major laid down their lives in the battle of Khongjom,” M Asnikumar Singh writes, “The next day, the British reached Imphal from all the three columns and subsequently concentrated at Imphal where the Manipuri flag was replaced with the Union Jack at Kangla Fort, Imphal” (*The Sangai Express*). Despite fighting vigorously, the Manipuris, both soldiers and civilians, had to succumb to the mighty British troops adequately trained and equipped in arms.

Ale’s *Manipurko Ladaiko Sawai* is a special text not only because it is the first of its kind by a Nepali in Manipur, but also because “it made a significant departure from the existing erotic and/or romantic flavor of writing to the description of the catastrophe of the war” (Goma Devi Sharma Adhikari 26). A warrior though, Ale has made use of sardonic tone in lamenting the loss of both his friends his ‘foes’. His verses “All the courtiers lost their lives/Hey, almighty! What a pity!”(lines 63-63). Despite being assigned to kill his enemies and gain victory for his British Sahebs, he feels pity on the Manipuris. Instead of empathizing with his commander, he ridicules him: “Short-sighted was our Chief Commissioner Saheb / Couldn’t anticipate the consequences” (lines 97-80). He further reports, “Those who died were gone, remaining were some survivors/ Those who survived were brought together” (57-58). He describes a scenario where the military men along with the civilians were engaged in a fierce battle. He vividly recalls the picture as: “Guns were ordered promptly/ Enemies were scared off shortly” (lines 103-104). He portrays the exuberance of the soldiers on the battlefield. In this way, Ale, poet and warrior, records both the physical and emotional conditioning of a *lahure* on a battlefield. His position as a soldier is always ambivalent as he feels for the people he is fighting against and never identifies him with his employers. So, as Calhoun maintains, Ale’s self-identity and recognition have posed challenges and difficulties. His calling as a soldier that earns him both money and prestige contrasts with his empathetic alignment with his ‘foes’.

Sirjana Sharma’s *Golden Gate*: Redefinition of *Lahure* Identity

Sharma’s *Golden Gate*, primarily a novel about a DV lottery winner Nepali girl, redefines *lahure* as Nepalis’ migration abroad has taken a rhizomatic route in recent decades. *Lahure*, etymologically aligned with a Nepali youth who visited Lahore and worked as a military man, has gained much wider coverage in recent decades. With the British penetrating deep into multiple territories, Nepalis also got opportunities to explore new locations and thus got new identities like Indian *lahure*, British *lahure*, Singapore *lahure*, Malaya *lahure*, and Hong Kong *lahure*. This confined identity, however, started making a loose connection with any Nepali man⁵ visiting India for any kind of work

⁵ Among Nepalis, there were (still are to some extent) two identities—Lahure and Chaure—for a British Indian Army and a manual worker in India respectively. An army man was often treated with veneration, whereas any other migrant worker was treated as a much inferior one in Nepali society.

available. Since the 1980s, it has gone even farther to a new identity as Arab *lahure* referring to those Nepali workers in the Gulf region, mostly in Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and the UAE. In recent decades, it has acquired new identities like Malaysian *lahure*, Japanese *lahure*, Korean *lahure*, American *lahure*, Australian *lahure*, Canadian *lahure*, and so on as Nepalis have access to almost all nations of the world. Interestingly, this new identity has deconstructed age, class, caste, and gender boundaries as *lahure* is neither a man exclusively nor does he belong to one of the ‘martial races’. A *lahure* today is any Nepali who goes abroad and sends back home remittance on a regular basis and visits their home country intermittently. From this perspective, a DV lottery winner is also a *lahure* as is the case of the protagonist of the novel *Golden Gate*.

As the researchers like Gellener rightly point out, many Nepalis managed to migrate on to Europe, Australia, New Zealand, and North America by either going for studies, or joining relatives, or by traveling illegally and then claiming asylum. As Tristan Brusle contends, there are many reasons behind the decision to go abroad. A migrant’s perception of his country mirrors the situation of his household, Brusle posits that the household economy is weak; many problems arise concerning its daily livelihood; raising the family and providing food” (218). Many Nepalis, deprived of job opportunities in their home country, feel compelled to go abroad to shoulder the responsibility of the family. “More often than not,” Brusle believes, “what an individual does reflects what the household has in mind for him” as “the notion of ‘having to’ introduces a high degree of responsibility in the life of the individual” (218). For some Nepalis, however, migration is not an obligation but a matter of choice. “One may pride oneself on having chosen to migrate, Brusle induces, “contrary to the majority who were forced to do so” (221). His case studies lead him to conclude that “those who wish to go abroad are motivated to do so by the novelty of *bidesh*” and “this aspirational aspect may not be linked to any social class but to a more encompassing thirst for novelty” (221). In this sense, migration has been both an obligation and a choice for Nepalis as it is not specific to lower or lower-middle-class families as it used to be the case in the early migrations.

Sharma’s protagonist Mahima, a middle-class family girl, has dreamed about going abroad since college. Though Australia is her preferred destination, she wins the DV lottery and gets an opportunity to go to the USA, a ‘dream’ country for most youths. As she oscillates between going to America and staying in Nepal with her family, her normal married life takes a complicated turn. After being advised by family, relatives, and friends not to miss the opportunity, she decides not to let it slip through her fingers. Hoping to live a prosperous and prestigious life, she tearfully leaves her husband and two young kids behind and heads towards the ‘dream’ country. Unlike many Nepali women who hope for a prosperous family after their husbands’ migration abroad, it is a woman who has to carry the burden on her shoulder to go and get settled in a foreign land. Though her case is a bit different from that of many Nepali women who seek jobs abroad, it is not less in any sense in terms of hardships and struggles. Mahima, thus, making a case of ‘new’ *lahure*, much

different than its etymological meaning, leaves her home country to earn and support her family.

Though much has changed in perspectives regarding gender roles in Nepali society, many people still look at women who have gone abroad with suspicion. Men have historically enjoyed their superior position in the society and have remained unquestioned even after returning home after years of their abroad stay. Women, however, have to go through several tests in their lives to prove their chastity. Thus, it is not that easy for women to migrate to foreign countries in the absence of the male members of their family. The number of Nepali women going abroad has significantly increased in the last couple of decades, but their living is not as unconditional as their male counterparts. As we assess Mahima's experience in the novel, we envision the reflection of this unjust approach to looking at women. If we analyze Mahima's position in the novel, she seems to have internalized what Calhoun believes, "Kinship still matters to us as individuals; we invest it with great emotional weight, but kinship no longer offers us an overall template of social and personal identities" (11). She, therefore, dares leave home and family, anticipating the actualization of her true self through new identity abroad.

Set in the hard times of the Maoist insurgency in Nepal, the novelist weaves common Nepali youths' anxieties that pushed thousands of them abroad. Most of them went to India, thanks to open border and many others to the Gulf countries like Qatar, Saudi Arabia, the UAE, and Oman since the beginning of the insurgency. Already in Burma, Bhutan, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Brunei, Nepalis have also been to Japan, South Korea, Malaysia, Israel, Bahrain, Cyprus, South Africa, and many other countries primarily as migrant workers. To generalize, there is hardly any country in Asia, Australia, Europe and North America that Nepalis have not been to. The trend of immigration that began as early as the post-Sugauli Treaty (1815) has tremendously expanded and Nepalis have been exploring new destinations since then. America thus has been one these newly explored countries for Nepalis in the recent past, so is the issue of the novel.

The history of Nepalis' migration to the USA, however, is not that long as it only started in the 20th Century. After Nepal started its diplomatic relations with the US in 1947, the US embassy in Nepal was opened in 1959. Even after the beginning of the diplomatic ties, the rate of immigrants from Nepal remained pretty low until the Immigration Act of 1990 established the current and permanent Diversity Visa program with 55000 immigrant visas being available in an annual lottery. This policy on the one hand and Nepal's political unrest on the other fueled Nepalis' migration to the USA. In this context, Susan Hangen writes:

The US stands as one of the most desirable destinations for Nepalis seeking to migrate abroad. Fewer Nepalis migrate to the USA than to the Gulf region, Southeast Asian countries, or the UK, primarily because of restrictive immigration policies. Despite this, Nepalis have migrated to the USA in increasing numbers during the past decade. . . . According to the 2010 US Census, there are 59,490 Nepalis in the United States Immigration data from the US government

suggest that the population of Nepalis is probably higher than the 2010 census figure: between 2006 and 2010, a total of 87,890 Nepali citizens entered the United States on non-immigrant visas, primarily on tourist or student visas. . . . (*Global Nepalis* 234)

As stated by Hangen here, the number of Nepali migrants to the United States has increased in recent decades. From DV Lottery winners to students and tourists, Nepalis have made America one of the most desirable destinations, or a ‘dream’ country. The actual number of Nepalis living in the USA, however, has risen to 3,15,980 in recent years according to the South Asian Resource center and *Setopati*’s research, with approximately 30,666 being the DV Lottery winners, and it has been increasing further naturally because of the growing number of DV lottery winner migrants every year (*South Asia Journal*).

Mahima in *Golden Gate* is exalted to learn about winning DV Lottery. “After confirming my name in the list of DV Lottery winners, I hurried to the cyber opposite my house” and “telephoned my husband” in his office (26). On the phone, she informs Pranaya that she has to share something special and asks her to return home early. As he arrives, excited Mahima hugs her husband and reveals, “Baba, we’ll be able to talk to people around us holding our head high” as “I have won the DV Lottery” (26). Pranaya, her husband, equally excited, replies, “God, it’s all your vouchsafe!” and starts eulogizing his wife, “Mahima, you are a good omen for me” as “after getting married to you, I’ve been achieving success one after another” (26). He credits his wife for job promotion, salary increment, giving two children like ‘Laxmi and Narayan’, and, above them all, for making his dream of going to the USA for his doctoral degree materialize.

Mahima, after giving her husband a pleasant surprise, talks to her family members and friends about her DV Lottery win. She shares it with her father-in-law in Hong Kong who has been there as a porter. Naturally euphoric, he exclaims, “Even Hong Kong is like heaven, how great and pleasant America, the place where the king of the world lives, is!” He asks her to go to America and “rescue his son and grandchildren” (28). He cannot conceal his desire, “We old couple will also get an opportunity to go there someday because of you” and “I’ve heard that elderly people get old age allowance there” (28). He, like Pranaya, assures Mahima not to worry about the twins and just think about reaching America. Her mother-in-law is the only family member who is not that positive about Mahima leaving the country, and that too because she would have to take care of the twins if Mahima left. Mahima’s grandmother honestly suggests her not to leave Nepal, the land of deities. She also believes that if a woman decides to leave home, she invites maladies. Mahima talks to her friend Shova in Ohio who advises her to leave Nepal and also promises to support her.

Overcoming the state of indecision, Mahima eventually decides to leave for America. “To get entry to America, as claimed by Sarina, is to get entry to Golden Gate” she asserts. Despite being excited, she feels the agony of separation from her family, particularly from her children, and bidding farewell to them she “felt as if it was the farewell forever” (30). In her tears, she pleads with her husband to cancel her trip as she

feels there is nothing more adorable than her children in this world. Pranaya in return asks her to control emotions and assures that he will take care of the children. Still impatient, she reaches the airport for the first abroad travel of her life, yet it is a dream country with “a rare opportunity to enter the Golden Gate” (31). After a long discussion and solicitation from family members and friends, she reaches the USA.

This novel is, thus, the story of a Nepali woman who grapples with the problem of identity in a completely foreign location. Unlike many other Nepali women who go abroad for employment with some fixed place to work at, Mahima has to explore her space on her own. A narrative of the struggles of a woman pursuing her identity in an unknown territory, this novel sketches multiple facets of a woman’s personality mediated by unfamiliar different locations and people. After a depressing journey, she successfully establishes herself as a trained worker and gains financial strength to invite her family to the USA, and eventually defies the belief that identity is something given naturally and that it is produced purely by acts of individual will.

Conclusion

After analyzing the two texts *Manipur ko Ladai ko Sawai* and *Golden Gate* by Ale and Sharma respectively, it is hardly challenging to trace the notable conceptual difference *lahure* has incurred in contemporary Nepali society in particular and academia in general. Etymological adherence to a Nepali man working as a British Gorkhha soldier at first and then as a soldier in any nation beyond Nepal, gradually melted its conventional denomination and embraced a much wider definition of what makes a *lahure* in contemporary Nepali society. The accounts of Tulachan Ale, a *lahure* in the conventional sense himself, in his representative work, present both the physical and psychological positioning of a soldier fighting on behalf of the foreigners as they have paid you for your service. His verses speak much about a soldier’s critical assessment of a war as he sympathizes with his ‘enemies’ and criticizes his commanders. This contradiction is usually the reality of a *lahure* who has to act as a mercenary against his will. Sirjan Sharma *Golden Gate*, another work about a migrant Nepali, aptly fuels the argument that *lahure* in today’s Nepal has gone much farther from its aboriginal standing to refer to any Nepali—man or woman, rich or poor, young or old—who leaves Nepal and sends remittance back home. Nepali migrants abroad, regardless of whether they come as temporary or permanent settlers, now all fall under the rubric of *lahure* and thus it has blurred the boundaries between various types of Nepali migrants abroad.

Works Cited

- Ale, Tulachan. *Manipur ko Ladai ko Sawai*. *Sawai ra Lahari Kavya Sangraha*, edited by Bhimkant Upadhyay, Sahitya Academy, 1999.
- Brusle, Tristan. “‘No One Wants to Go Abroad, It’s all about Obligation’: What Migration Means to Nepali Worker in Qatar.” *Global Nepalis: Religion, Culture, and Community in a New and Old Diaspora*, edited by David N. Gellner and Sondra L. Hausner, Oxford University Press, 2018, pp. 210-28.
- Calhoun, Craig. “Social Theory and the Politics of Identity.” *Social Theory and the Politics*

of Identity, edited by Craig Calhoun, Blackwell 1994, pp. 9-36.

- Gellner, David N. "Introduction: The Nepali/ Gorkhali Diaspora since the Nineteenth Century." *Global Nepalis: Religion, Culture and Community in a New and Old Diaspora*, edited by David N. Gellner and Sondra L. Hausner, Oxford University Press, 2018, pp. 1-24.
- Hangen, Susan. "Transnational Politics in Nepali Organizations in New York." *Global Nepalis: Religion, Culture and Community in a New and Old Diaspora*, edited by David N. Gellner and Sondra L. Hausner, Oxford University Press, 2018, pp. 229-46.
- Mishra, Rajesh. "Nepalis finding their fortune in Shimla." *The Kathmandu Post*, 22 April 2023,
<https://kathmandupost.com/money/2023/04/22/nepalis-finding-their-fortune-in-shimla>. Accessed 13 June 2024.
- Narharinath, Yogi, editor. *Itihas Prakash Ma Sandhi Patra Sangraha*. Kalpana Press, 2022 BS [1966 CE].
- "Nepali in America: Expanding Their Footprint." *South Asia Journal*,
www.southasiajournal.net/nepali-in-america-expanding-their-footprint/. Accessed 12 June 2024.
- Sharma, Goma Devi. *Manipurma Nepali Sahitya: Ek Adhyayan*. Gorkha Jyoti Prakashan, 2016.
- Sharma, Sirjana. *Golden Gate*. Akshar Creations Nepal, 2070 BS.
- Singh, M Asnikumar. "The Battle of Khongjom and Manipur's fighting spirit." *The Sangai Express*, 23 April 2022,
<https://www.thesangaiexpress.com/Encyc/2022/4/23/ On-23rd-of-April-every-year-we-observe-the-Khongjom-Day-to-commemorate-the-valia.html>. Accessed 14 June 2024.