

CHAPTER III

THE BRITISH COLONIAL AUTHORITY AND ITS PENETRATION IN THE
CAPITAL MARKET IN THE NORTHERN PART OF BENGAL

I

The most lasting impact of the imperial rule in the Jalpaiguri District especially in the Western Dooars was the commercialisation of agriculture, and this process of commercialisation made an impact not only on the economy of West Bengal but also on society as well. J.A. Milligan during his settlement operations in the Jalpaiguri District in 1906-1916 was not impressed about the state of agriculture in the Jalpaiguri region.¹ He ascribed the backward state of agriculture to the primitive mentality of the cultivators and the use of backdated agricultural implements by the cultivators. Despite this allegation he gave a list of cash crops which were grown in the Western Duars. He stated, "In places excellent tobacco is grown, notably in Falakata tehsil and in Patgram; mustard grown a good deal in the Duars; sugarcane in Baikunthapur and Boda to a small extent very little in the Duars".²

J.F. Grunning explained the reason behind the cultivation of varieties of crops in the region due to variation in rainfall in the Jalpaiguri district. He said "The annual rainfall varies greatly in different parts of the district ranging from 70 inches in Debiganj in the Boda Pargana to 130 inches at Jalpaiguri in the regulation part of the district, while in the Western Duars, close to the hills, it exceeds 200 inches per annum. In these circumstances it is not possible to treat the district as a whole and give one account of agriculture which will apply to all parts of it".³ Due to changes in the global market regarding consumer commodity structure suitable commercialisation at crops appeared to be profitable to colonial economy than continuation of traditional agricultural activities.

Among the cash crops tea was the most valuable grown in the district. The introduction and growth of tea plantation enterprise in the district as well as in Assam at the outset was not a native venture but was purely colonial

enterprise. The cultivation and maintenance of plantation economy needed the active guidance from the imperial Government. The Colonial Government was interested in this aspect because earnings from tea export played a vital role in Britain's international trade and capital flow-relations and in the maintenance of the British imperial structure.⁴

All the necessary conditions such as capital, enterprise, management, even the unskilled labour were brought from distant regions for the growth of tea plantation enterprise in the Jalpaiguri district. Although in the late 19th and the early 20th centuries witnessed phenomenal growth of tea industry but this growth did not generate any dynamic transformation process, *i.e.*, the tea industry remained within a certain restricted zone.

The whole Dooars region was not an attractive place for the "boldest pioneers" to settle in.⁵ In the middle of the 19th century it was covered with dense jungle, "giving shelter to all manner of wild life beasts and inhabited only by primitive tribes..."⁶ A planter remarked that "this was a land only for the saints or the satans". But despite this allegation it should be mentioned that the considerable potential of Duars as a tea growing area was noticed as early as 1859.⁷ In this connection it is pertinent to mention the state of a tea garden in Assam whose flourishing condition at that time inspired the British investors in Bengal and Britain to invest in the tea sector in the Jalpaiguri district. In 1837 the inauguration of some experimental tea gardens in Assam brought so much dividends that such kind of venture immediately attracted the attention of some capitalists both in India and Britain.⁸ In 1858 there was only one company in the tea industry, the Assam Company, incorporated in Britain. By 1865 there were 62 registered companies and 30 Sterling Companies in India.

With these favourable background the first tea garden in the Jalpaiguri district was opened in 1874 by Dr. Brougham at *Gazaldoba*.⁹ This *Gazaldoba* region was situated on the western part of the Western Duars and in that said tea garden, Richard Houghton, "pioneer of the tea industry in the Jalpaiguri district",¹⁰ was appointed as manager of the garden. The District record

suggests that Dr. H.P. Brougham took the first lease 996 acres in *Gazaldoba* in 16.2.1876. He opened a tea garden in this area employing Richard Haughton who appears to be the pioneer tea planter in the Jalpaiguri District. *Fulbari* was the next place to be planted and was opened out by the Late Mr. Pillans Hat, who gave his name of the market called Pillans Hat, and was owned by Colonel Money.¹¹ Soon it was felt by all investors that the success at Assam could well be repeated in the Jalpaiguri district particularly in the Western Duars sector. In 1876 there were 13 gardens with an area of 818 acres and an yield of 29,520 lbs. of tea.¹² The year 1877 was a significant year. Because in this year the first Indian pioneer in tea industry Munshi Rahim Baksh opened a tea garden at *Jaldhaka* on 17.8.1877 on 728 acres of land.¹³ In 1877 *Baintbarrie*, *Bamandanga*, *Ellenbarrie*, *Damdim* and *Washabarrie* tea gardens were started. In 1878 an interesting venture took place under Mr. Johnson who took grant on behalf of Land Mortgage Bank. This was known as Kalabari Grant in which 800 acres of land was taken on 9.3.1878.¹⁴ Subsequently, this grant came into the ownership of Dr. Nilratan Sarkar, the famous physician of Bengal and Smt. Sarojini Roy. In 1878 *Good Hope*, *Rani Cherra*, *Manabarrie*, *Balabarrie*, *Altadanga*, *Money Hope* (Fulbari), *Chael* and *Batabari* grants were taken. Regarding *Altadanga* grant it should be mentioned that at first Kali Mohan Roy and Durgabati Sen got this grant of 310 acres on 19.9.1878 but soon they transferred this grant to Beharilal Ganguly. The latter subsequently passed the grant to Munshi Rahim Baksh.

The year 1879 is a landmark in the sense that it was the year in which the Joint Stock Companies were formed in Jalpaiguri for the cultivation of tea. The year 1880 was although a quiet year but in this year 30 years lease of the grant was issued for the first time. By 1881 the number of gardens rose up to 55, which means the number of tea gardens more that quadrupled and the area of lands under tea cultivation increased more than seven times in just five years.

At the time of Settlement of Sunders, 182 grants of land was leased out for the cultivation of tea, comprising a total area of 139,751 acres, or 218 square miles of which 38,583 acres or 60 square miles were really selected for

the plantation of tea. And such kind of entrepreneurship gave an out turn of over 18 million pounds. By 1890 Duncan Brothers had its agency in 12 gardens with a planted area of 5,795 acres, and at the end of the 19th century the number of estates in the agency had risen to 25, covering 18,690 acres of tea. This development was confined to the region between the Tista and the Daina and on this issue C.J. O'Donnell, ICS wrote the following statement quoted in *District Gazetteer* "This important industry has increased so much in recent years as to change almost completely the physical characteristic of the submontane country over a great area thirty miles long extending from the debauchment of the Tista from the Darjeeling hills to a similar point on the Daina river on the frontier of Bhutan. The greater part of the primeval forest has disappeared and mile after mile has been replaced by great expanses of tea-gardens. East of the Diana a similar tract stretches for about the same distance as far as the Rajabhatkhoa forest reserve due north of Alipur. It is remarkable for its waterless character which prevents its occupation for tea or any other form of cultivation. A few springs are, however, found in limestone formations which occasionally crop out on its northern boundary. They are, however, almost immediately absorbed by the surrounding porous soil, and do not again appear on the surface for seven to eleven miles south of their sources".¹⁵

Due to supply of sufficient water, some gardens established in the area east of the Diana failed to operate for the time being. But the signing of water supply contract to Dooars tea gardens with Bhutan by the British the problem was solved. The water was brought down from the Bhutan Hills in pipes and soon the area developed as an important tea district.¹⁶

From the period 1911 to 1924 some tea companies in Jalpaiguri were started. In 1912-13 *Gour Nitai*, *Monmohinpur*, *Halmari* tea gardens and New Assam tea garden in Assam and *Sukna* tea garden were opened by the Jalpaiguri people. In this respect the initiative taken by the *Raikats* of Baikunthapur estate in opening the tea gardens in the Jalpaiguri District should be mentioned. *Sri Samarendra Dev (Taru) Raikat* stated that *Sri Prasanna Dev Raikat* inaugurated two tea gardens at *Shikarpur* and *Bhandarpur*. Further,

he also constructed a small rail-line between the above mentioned two tea gardens.¹⁷

In 1912 five tea companies in Jalpaiguri were registered and they were *Bengal Duars National Tea Co. Ltd.*, *the Eastern Tea Co. Ltd.*, *Gopalpur Tea Cp. Ltd.*, *Khayerbari Tea Co. Ltd.* and *Kohinoor Tea Co. Ltd.*

Bengal Duars National Tea Co. Ltd. purchased 1593.15 acres of land near the Dhawla river in Alipur Duar Subdivision of Jalpaiguri and the garden was called *Dhawalajhora Tea Estate*.¹⁸

The Eastern Tea Co. Ltd. venture in setting up a tea garden in Malbazar area proved a failure because of the advancement of Tista river into the plantation area. But another plot of land in Aphilchand Forest area under Malbazar was secured and the Rahut family of Jalpaiguri town opened a tea garden named *Kailashpur Tea estate*. In 1913 some lawyers of Alipurduar started *Patkapara Tea Estate*. In the year 1917 Sri Tariniprosad Roy started *Saroda Tea Co. Ltd.* after acquiring a large plot of land in Alipurduar subdivision and it became the largest tea garden amongst the gardens of Bengal tea planters. In 1931 the number of tea estates in the whole Jalpaiguri District touched the figure 151 of these 143 gardens were situated in the Duars and the remaining 8 were located on the western side of the Tista river near the Jalpaiguri town.

The tea industry witnessed many ups and downs in the world market and such fluctuations affected the tea industries in the Jalpaiguri District also. In the early 1860's due to the widespread speculative mentality the industry was faced with severe depression.

The following extract from the *Friend of India* given account of the confusion and reckless manner in which tea companies were promoted. "Land was roughly cleared without reference to its quality, elevation or requirements of tea cultivation. The product was represented in London or Calcutta markets as being of 'virgin soil, carefully selected, within thirty-six hours of Calcutta, reducible to four and twenty...specimens of tea, collected anywhere, left no doubt if its excellence...' Men of mark and position, if not high character, countenanced and falsehood and supported the speculators...

The great *Cheetam Tea Company Limited*, one of many similar instances, was soon launched, after paying to the late owner of that magnificent estate a consideration varying from £20,000 to £30,000.¹⁹

The tea industry collapsed in May 1866, and the shareholders became desperate in selling their holdings at whatever prices they were offered and such mentality deepened the crisis. Up to the end of 1866, 65 companies were registered in India but by the end of 1870, 33 of these had to be wound-up.

The entire period from 1874 to 1896 was one of the significant eras in terms of acreage under tea and production. Particularly between the year 1892 and 1896 the tea industry enjoyed an extraordinary prosperity. During this period 88,000 acres of land were planted in Bengal and Assam, about 50 new Companies were formed, more than 30 rupee Companies were reconstructed or absorbed and the sterling investment increased by 3 million pounds.²⁰ In 1894, 46 sterling Companies paid an average dividend of 7.9% as compared with only 5.2% in 1888.²¹ In 1895 the yield on capital employed by 56 sterling companies was calculated to be 155.75%.²²

In the opening year of the 20th century the dividends of the Duars gardens were moderate. In the First World War eras although the expansion was very limited, but the industry managed to earn high profits. In 1915 the dividends averaged as 47% and many of these dividends were tax-free. After a period of depression in profits and dividends in the last years of the decade, a sign of recovery could be seen in the 1920s and in the most part of the third decade the profits and the dividends remained quite high.²³ The following table will illustrate the development of tea gardens in the Jalpaiguri district.

Table III: 1

Statistics of Tea Garden in Jalpaiguri District from 1874 to 1951

Year	No. of gardens	Total area under (in acres)	Approximate production (in lbs.)	Average in lbs. per acre of mature plants	Number of labourers employed		
					Permanent	Temporary	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1874	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
1876	13	818	29520	...	...	...	...
1881	55	6,230	1,027,116	...	...	...	...
1892	182	38,583	18,278,628	...	...	...	...
1901	235	76,403	31,087,537	441	47,365	21,254	68,619
1907	180	81,338	45,196,894	...	...	...	...
1911	191	90,859	48,820,637	583	56,593	18,622	75,315
1921	131	1,12,688	43,287,87	426	86,693	1,871	88,564
1931	151	1,32,074	66,447,715	534	1,12,591	4,262	1,16,583
1941	189	1,31,770	96,604,450	765	1,36,491	4,896	1,41,387
1951	158	1,34,473	1,37,194,660	1,020	...	...	1,78,009

Sources: For the years 1874 to 1892 and 1907 J.F. Grunning, *Eastern Bengal and Assam District Gazetteers: Jalpaiguri*, Allahabad, 1911, p. 103, and the remaining years *Census 1951: West Bengal: District Handbooks: Jalpaiguri* by A. Mitra, Calcutta, 1954, p. iii.

The role of Colonial Government for the rapid growth and development of tea industry in the Jalpaiguri district particularly in the Dooars regions was a crucial factor in the tea plantation economy. The British Indian Government whether at the provincial or district level provided the planters indirect help and protection.

The fourth Settlement Officer J.A. Milligan was a popular figure among the tea-planters. Whether in the form of administrative policy of allotment of land, labour recruitment and control methods or promotion of transport and communication, forest policy, policy regarding hats and markets – all were explicitly designed by him to promote the European controlled tea plantation enterprise.

In this regard it is quite relevant to mention the land settlement policy adopted by the Colonial Government in respect of the tea gardens. The contemporary evidences suggest that by a contrivance, branded as Waste Land Rules introduced in 1896, the government granted a preliminary lease for a term of 5 years. On the expiration of the said period and of the lessee fulfilling certain conditions, the lease was again renewed for 30 years and so on or similar periods in perpetuity. The said land was treated rent-free for the first year and after that on a rental of 3 annas an *acre* for the second year and an additional 3 annas for each successive years up to 12 annas an *acre*.²⁴ Each grant was to be a compact one and to be capable to being enclosed in a ring-fence. Further on the expiration of the term of the first or preliminary lease which was granted for five years the lands were reassessed according to the *pargana* rates. This rate remained static for the next 30 years. It was found that during the currency of the lease not less than 15% of the total area of the grant had been brought under cultivation and actually cultivated tea plants the lessee was entitled to the renewals for similar periods in perpetuity.²⁵ Such process invariably needed the active guidance and assistance from the Colonial authorities. Major H. Boileau, Deputy Commissioner of Jalpaiguri commented, "As there is still a large extent of unoccupied land in the Western Dooars, and as this land is gradually being taken up for tea-grants in large

blocks, or by native cultivators in small jotes or holdings, I propose that Mr. Brownfield be allowed to continue the survey and division of the culturable waste into symmetrical blocks of 800 acres to 1,000 acres in extent as he is now doing. Such of these blocks as may be leased under the tea lease rules should form whole mouzahs under names and numbers in the rent-rolls. Those blocks, the lands of which are suitable for the native crops should be leased to jotedars, so that there may be a certain number of small holdings in each block or mouzah".²⁶ So such statement illustrates the process of absorption by the planters of the cultivable lands for tea cultivation. Further there were reports about irregularities in respect of transfer of lands to the planters. A. Mackenzie, Esq. Secretary to the Government of Bengal quoted a statement by Mr. Wells which gave "an account of a transfer of certain lands by a jotedar to a planter who evades by so holding the clearance conditions attaching to grants under the tea-lease rule. The planter is said to have in this way got possession of 400 acres of waste. It is obvious that the planter can have acquired no rights beyond those belonging to the jotedar from whom he purchased".²⁷

But the existing rules did not prevent a *jotedar* who had a transferable and heritable right from transferring his *jote* but it was cautioned that while getting the *jotedaree* right a planter must preserve his under-tenants interests and "do not eject the under-tenants".²⁸ A. Mackenzie, Esq. Secretary to the Government of Bengal hoped that "...no planter would probably ever take up a cultivated jote for tea purposes, and place himself in the position of a jotedar liable to frequent revision of settlement, if he knew that he could not oust the ryots, and so long as he could get land under the tea lease rules on such easy terms".²⁹

Nevertheless, the above incidents clearly indicate that the inauguration of the tea plantation enterprise in Assam and the Jalpaiguri district was purely a European exercise; although some sorts of native capital began to pour in slowly. It was an industry which needed the active sponsorship from the Colonial Government and the latter happily provided it.

II

Further the tea-industry did generate a secondary or tertiary economic activity in the form of pursuing a policy for the conservation of the forests. Because from the forests, timbers were procured which were necessary items for making tea-chests and railway sleepers. It is no wonder that the tea planters as well as the Colonial Government could not remain indifferent about the commercial potential of timber. In the Jalpaiguri District *Sal* was the most important tree.³⁰ The whole forest region naturally was composed of three main types-*Sal* bearing areas, *Khair* and *Sissu* bearing areas. The forest area of Jalpaiguri Division covered at the time of J.F. Grunning in 1911 an area of 182 square miles. They were sub-divided into four ranges, namely, *Apalchand*, *Lower Tondu*, *Upper Tondu* and *Maraghat* and consisted of twelve independent blocks.

Table II: 2

Twelve blocks of forest area at the time of J.F. Grunning

Name of the blocks	Area in sq. miles
1) Apalchand	28.67
2) Malhati	0.50
3) Khairanti	0.10
4) Upper and Lower Tondu	79.03
5) Daina	25.01
6) Maraghat	21.50
7) Rahti	5.10
8) Dalgaon	2.30
9) Salbari	0.03
10) Dumchi	4.71
11) Khairbari	2.88
12) Titi	12.76

Source: J.F. Grunning, *Eastern Bengal and Assam District Gazetteers, Jalpaiguri*, Allahabad, 1911, p. 65.

The forests had been selected out of unoccupied waste at the disposal of the Colonial Government. The selection of forests for reservation was begun in 1872-73 and from that period to 1878-79 various forests were gazetted as reserved. Specially in the year 1879 the first notification was published by which nearly 280 square miles of forest areas were declared to be reserved forest area.³¹

The northern Tondu block was transferred from the Darjeeling district in 1881 and formed a part of the *Upper Tondu forest*. But still the Colonial Government was not fully aware of the full commercial potential of the reserved forests; although from 1875 to 1888 "nearly all the exploitation work was done departmentally".³²

D.H.E. Sunder during his tenure as Settlement Officer expressed dissatisfaction at the indifferent attitude of the Colonial Government in framing a definite policy regarding the forest management. "...year after year Government is losing money in the up keep of these forests. I have no desire to impute blame to anybody for this, but I do wish to observe that, if the rates for timber and other forest produce were reduced and if more facility was afforded to the public for obtaining timber without trouble and delay, managers of tea gardens and other would not be compelled as they are at present to supply their requirements of wood for tea boxes by procuring it from Japan and Burma..."³³ It is no wonder that the word "Public" used in Sunder's statement were the tea planters whose problems he sought to eradicate by (1) opening of good cart roads, leading to every forest; (2) speedy measurement of timber when purchased; (3) prevention of harassment to the people who reside in the vicinity of forests by forest officials and finally (4) further vigorous supervision by gazetted officers in charge of respective forest divisions and "closer touch with planters and the people generally".³⁴

By April 1905 Mr. C.C. Hatt divided the Jalpaiguri forests into five working circles, namely, *Buxa, Borojhar, Nilpara, Haldibari* and *Bhutan ghat*. The main objective of such division was the proper utilisation of the forest timbers, i.e., *Buxa, Borojhar, Haldibari* working circles supplied large number

of mature *sal* timber; in Nilpara, Bhutan ghat forest areas efforts were taken for the proper utilisation of stock of damaged and over-mature *sissu* timber. In the above mentioned three areas where *sal* timber grew abundantly a high forest selection method was adopted.

“Improvements in fallings are also necessary: unsound and unpromising *sal* trees under 2 feet diameter are cut when they interfere with the development of better specimens, and trees of other species are cut when they interfere with *sal* or trees of other species more valuable than themselves”.³⁵

Steps were taken for the sufficient growth of mature *sal* timber by clearing and weeding in places where seeds had fallen and by freeing the top portion of the young trees. Further the *sal* timber was sold to private purchasers on payment of a monopoly fee. Trees fit for cutting were marked in each range and tenders were called for. Such processes clearly indicate that a forest management policy was pursued.

For many years there was little demand for fuel from tea gardens, because, on their grants existed a large stock of fire wood. But as early as 1883 there was a demand for fuel. To solve this problem a working plan for the whole of the Jalpaiguri Division was drawn up in outline in 1892-93 by Mr. Manson and this plan was sanctioned by the Colonial Government in 1899.³⁶

Further, in 1905 Mr. Traflord devised a plan which was sanctioned by the Bengal Government by which it was decided in principle to provide large quantity of fuel to the tea-gardens and at the same to obtain a fair supply of large timber trees.

Besides, with the opening of the Bengal Duars Railways in 1891-92 a free grant of mature trees was made and the value of this concession amounted to Rs. 30,000. The Eastern Bengal State, North Western railways were also provided with abundant supply of timber from the Jalpaiguri forest areas.

Among the forest produce *sal* was the most valuable timber which instead of being cut into railway sleepers were taken by local purchasers to

Alipurduar where they were sold to merchants coming from Dacca and Rangpur.³⁷ Then the traders floated the timbers to the markets in Eastern Bengal. As the Cooch Behar Railway line was of 2'6" gauge so for its small carrying capacity there was difficulty in carrying the forest produces. The timbers from the adjacent regions were brought at Gitaldaha Junction where 'it joins the Eastern-Bengal State Railway'.³⁸

In the Calcutta market there was little demand for *sissu* trees which were nominally used for tea-box planking. In this context it is pertinent to mention Colonial policy in respect of Baikunthapur forests. The northern portion of the Baikunthapur estate consisted of 71 square miles of forest and this forest contained much *sal* trees. In 1809 Dr. Buchanan Hamilton commented – 'The woods of Battris-hazari or Baikunthapur have been nearly exhausted of *sal* and *sissu*, the only trees that are cut to exportation, although they contain a great abundance of timber in reality, perhaps more valuable'.³⁹

The attitude of the forest department towards the forests situated in the Baikunthapur estate was that 'unless continuous control over a long period of years could be guaranteed, it was useless to take over this forest'.⁴⁰ It was difficult to get the consent from the estate because in that time the estate was under court of wards and subsequently then Prossano Dev Raikat was yet a minor under the guardianship of Sri Jagadindra Dev Raikat.⁴¹

J.F. Grunning, then Deputy Commissioner of the Jalpaiguri District stated that the preparation of a map and record of rights in respect of estate's forests was one of the primary reasons for extending settlement in the Baikunthapur estate. So it was proposed in 1904 to extend the Forest Act to this forest and it was provisionally placed in charge of the Deputy Conservator of forests, Jalpaiguri Division. But the manager of the estate protested against this transfer and in the meantime Sri Prossano Dev Raikat, the landlord, attained his adulthood and formed a definite opinion on the subject. He clearly conveyed to the British authorities that the forest areas situated within the Baikunthapur zamindari should not be reserved but should be left to his own management.⁴² Due to this strong attitude finally in

1913 the forest department gave up their control of it – a control devoid of legal support from the Forest Act and support from the estate.

The following table will illustrate the amount of net profit gained by the Colonial Government from the forests situated in Jalpaiguri and Buxa Divisions.

Table III: 3

Statement of Revenue, expenditure and net profits from the forest areas situated in Jalpaiguri Division and Buxa Division

Year	Jalpaiguri Division			Buxa Division		
	Revenue (Rs.)	Expenditure (Rs.)	Net Profits (Rs.)	Revenue (Rs.)	Expenditure (Rs.)	Net Profits (Rs.)
1898-99	54,568	21,131	30,427	17,452	23,315	—
1899-00	56,780	34,378	22,402	28,826	33,683	—
1900-01	55,345	37,101	18,244	43,228	37,135	6,093
1901-02	56,774	44,918	11,856	62,675	40,032	22,643
1902-03	68,621	44,089	27,532	57,334	55,917	1,417
1903-04	55,199	31,738	23,161	63,255	76,691	—
1904-05	88,521	50,434	38,097	120,789	84,783	36,006
1905-06	99,403	43,807	55,596	132,434	91,671	40,763
1906-07	133,630	48,740	81,890	215,037	97,351	117,686
1907-08	104,730	41,662	63,068	220,893	121,220	99,673

Source: J.F. Grunning, *Eastern Bengal and Assam District Gazetteers*, Jalpaiguri, Allahabad, 1911, p. 71.

III

The extensive jute cultivation in India particularly in the Bengal Presidency was not the outcome of indigenous needs; it was a creation from the pressure of an international event, *i.e.*, the Crimean War which took place in the year 1854. Raw jute was not an unknown agricultural product in Europe before the mid-nineteenth century. Constant threats of naval blockades during the Napoleonic war, high prices of flax etc. forced the

Dundee mills to think about using jute as a viable alternative. The total result was the inauguration of extensive cultivation of jute in the riverain plains of Eastern Bengal.

Certain factors were responsible for the cultivation of jute in the Jalpaiguri district. In the first place with the growth of world trade a simultaneous demand for packaging grew; secondly in the Jalpaiguri district the emergence of the Marwari communities as owners of the *jotes* was important since most of the Marwaris could see better prospects in investment in land than in money lending. In the Cooch Bihar Zamindari 'nearly all the lands in the vicinity of Saldanga had passed into the possession of a Marwari firm locally known as Saldanga Kaya'.⁴³

In the Falakata tehsil according to enquiries made in 1905, 15 per cent of the settled areas were controlled by Marwaris, Up-countrymen, Kabulis and Bengali babus.⁴⁴ In the 1920s there was a huge influx of the Marwaris in the jute industry. This new entrepreneurial group entered into the industry either by setting up new mills or by purchasing shares of the existing expatriate companies.⁴⁵ The Marwari owners of the *jotes* had extra advantage than other communities in setting up a linkages with the Marwari mill-owners in Calcutta. Since jute was grown primarily in East and North Bengal there was no difficulty for the Calcutta mill-owners to carry jutes to Calcutta port from where jute was exported to several countries.

The most vital factor which influenced peasants' decision to cultivate jute was its high price. The table given below shows the prices of the chief agricultural products in different part of the *Chaklajot* estates in 1902.

Table III: 4

Prices of different agricultural products in the *Chaklajat* Estate and in Rangpur Estates in 1902

Products of Agriculture	Chakla Boda		Chakla Patgram		Chakla Purvabhag		Rangpur Estates	
	Rs.	As.	Rs.	As.	Rs.	As.	Rs.	As.
1. Paddy	0	14	1	6	1	2	0	12
2. Rice best sort	2	8	3					
3. Rice common sort	1	12						
4. Wheat	1	8	—	—	1	0	1	0
5. Barley	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	0
6. Pulses	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	0
Moog	—	—	—	—	5	0		
Khesari	—	—	—	—	0	12		
Musur	—	—	—	—	0	12		
Peas	—	—	—	—	1	8		
Jhakri	—	—	—	—	2	8		
Rahar					2	8		
7. Molasses	3	0	—	—	—	—	3	0
8. Potatoes	0	8	—	—	—	—	0	9
9. Mustard seed	2	8	3	8	3	0	3	0
10. Mustard oil	13	0						
11. Jute	3	12	3	0	3	12	3	2
12. Tobacco	8	0	10	0	—	—	6	0

Source: *The Chaklajat Estates and their Settlement of Rent*, compiled by Harendra Narayan Chaudhuri, B.L. Naib Adhikar, Cooch Behar, published under authority, Calcutta, p. 77.

Further Shri Harendra Narayan Chaudhuri who did the settlement of Rent in 1902 in the *Chaklajat* estates gave a graphic information about the alteration of price structure of the different agricultural products at different times.

Table III: 5
Agricultural prices of the Chaklajat Estates at different phases

Name of Articles	Value per maund							
	1892 10 years ago		1882 20 years ago		1872 30 years ago		1852 50 years ago	
	Rs.	A.	Rs.	A.	Rs.	A.	Rs.	A.
BODA								
Paddy	1	0	1	4	2	0	0	10
Good Rice	2	12	5	0	7	0	2	0
Common Rice	2	0	2	14	3	12	1	4
Mustard seed	3	8	2	8	2	4	1	4
Mustard oil	20	0	20	0	16	0	10	0
Jute	3	8	3	0	2	12	1	8
Tobacco	4	0	5	0	3	0	2	0
Molasses	3	8	3	12	2	28	2	0
Potatoes	1	0	1	4	1	10	2	0
Wheat	1	12	2	8	3	0	1	0
PATGRAM								
Paddy	1	6	0	9	0	7	0	6
Rice	3	0	0	14	0	12	0	8
Tobacco	10	0	5	0	4	8	5	0
Jute	3	0	1	8	1	0	0	12
PURVABHAG								
Paddy	0	14	0	12	0	10	0	8
Jute	3	2	2	8	1	14	1	4
Mustard seed	2	8	2	0	1	8	1	0
RANGPUR								
Paddy	—	—	—	—	—	—	0	4

Source: *The Chaklajat Estates and their Settlement of Rent*, compiled by Harendra Narayan Chaudhuri, B.L. Naib Adhikar, Cooch Behar, published under authority, Calcutta, p. 78.

In the Jalpaiguri district jute cultivation was taken up in 1880. It was then commented by Commissioner E.E. Lewis that "It is on the whole a more profitable crop than rice, and the rise in price since 1880 has been considerable both at the Sudder and in the inferior".⁴⁶

These five price structures showed (from 1852-1902) in the *Chaklajat* area that the cultivation of jute brought more prices and consequently more dividends than the cultivation of other agricultural items. Further power driven spinning and weaving methods did not involve complex procedures which could easily be performed by local workers at low wages.

The farmers had no problem in getting loan from the money lenders and the latter being assured of getting back the advanced money had no hesitation in advancing loans at high interests to the jute cultivators. All these factors prompted jute cultivation in the Jalpaiguri district. Apart from the two tables (No. III: 4, 5) some different statistics provided by the three traders of Jalpaiguri district help us to highlight the price fluctuations of jute prices in the Jalpaiguri district at different times.

Table III: 6

Statement showing the price of jute per maund for six years at Jalpaiguri

Article	1881-85			1885-86			1886-87			1887-88			1888-89			1889-90			Percentage of increase
	Rs.	A	P	Rs.	A	P	Rs.	A	P	Rs.	A	P	Rs.	A	P	Rs.	A	P	
Jute	2	4	6	2	2	0	2	9	0	2	11	0	2	7	6	5	2	0	122
	2	2	0	2	5	0	2	9	0	3	0	0	3	12	0	4	4	3	100
	2	1	6	2	9	0	2	11	0	3	7	0	3	14	0	3	14	0	81

Camp Mynaguri

Gyan Chand Kundu

The 14th June 1890

Jalpaiguri

Source: No. 2C dated Camp Mynaguri, the 3rd April, 1890. From D. Sunder, Esq. Settlement Officer, Western Dooars, Jalpaiguri. To the Commissioner of the Rajshahi Division, W.B.S.A.

The following chart will show the jute price fluctuation in the Rajganj area where high quality jute was found.

Table III: 7

Statement showing price of Jute per maund for six years at Jalpaiguri and Rajganj

Article	1881-85			1885-86			1886-87			1887-88			1888-89			1889-90			Percentage of increase
	Rs.	A	P	Rs.	A	P	Rs.	A	P	Rs.	A	P	Rs.	A	P	Rs.	A	P	
Jute	2	1	0	2	2	0	2	5	0	2	10	0	2	9	0	3	3	0	51
	1	3	0	2	6	0	2	10	0	3	1	0	3	9	0	4	2	0	86

Camp Maynaguri

Kanai Lal Kundu

The 14th June 1890

Kharia, Jalpaiguri

Source: No. 2C dated Camp Mynaguri, the 3rd April, 1890. From D. Sunder, Esq. Settlement Officer, Western Dooars, Jalpaiguri. To the Commissioner of the Rajshahi Division, W.B.S.A.

The following list provided by Amir Mahomed Pramanik of Kharia, Jalpaiguri district showed the average price of Jute in Rajgunj Ambari Falaka region for the six years.

Table III: 8
Average price of Jute at Rajgunj, Ambari-Falakata for six years

Article	1881-85			1885-86			1886-87			1887-88			1888-89			1889-90			Percentage of increase
	Rs.	A	P																
	2	0	0	2	2	0	2	4	0	3	0	0	3	6	0	4	4	0	112
Jute	2	2	0	2	4	0	2	6	0	3	5	0	3	8	0	4	8	0	117
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	8	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	

Camp Mynaguri

Amir Mahomed Pramanik

The 14th June, 1890

Kharia, Jalpaiguri

Source: No. 2C dated Camp Mynaguri, the 3rd April, 1890. From D. Sunder, Esq. Settlement Officer, Western Dooars, Jalpaiguri. To the Commissioner of the Rajshahi Division, W.B.S.A.

In the Bengal presidency the jute belt consisted of Dacca, Mymensingh, Faridpur, Tripura, Rangpur, Bogra, Pabna, Rajshahi, Dinajpur and Jalpaiguri. Among the above mentioned area only Jalpaiguri and Dinajpur district had marginal jute growing areas. In 1900-1901, these two districts accounted for less than 10 per cent of the total crop and 12.6 per cent of the rural population in the jute belt.⁴⁷

Despite this dismal performance shown by F.O. Bell, the Settlement Officer in the district of Dinajpur, J.F. Grunning stated that the cultivation of jute in the Jalpaiguri district "has increased at a very rapid rate and the area under this crop has more than doubled in the six years between 1901-02 and 1907-08".⁴⁸ In the regulated portion of the district particularly in the Baikunthapur estate in the earlier period jute did not figure among the list of crops provided by the Manager of Baikunthapur to Deputy Commissioner of Jalpaiguri in 1891.

The manager of the estate stated "with reference to your letter No. 18G dated 4th April, I have the honour to submit the following statement of food crops grown in Baikunthapur estate for the year 1890-91 ending in 31st March. Aman, Aus, Bhadoi, Wheat, Barley, Sugarcane etc. as usual as last year".⁴⁹

In the regulation portion of the district slowly the cultivation of jute began and soon such was the extension of cultivation of jute that it absorbed twenty-five per cent of the land where *bhadoi* rice used to grow.⁵⁰

However, the most striking advancement of jute cultivation took place in the Western Duars area. In 1895 when D.H.E. Sunder submitted his settlement report the area under jute was only 6,620 acres; the crop was confined mainly in the Mainaguri tehsil and was grown in the vicinity of the Kranti outpost. But its cultivation increased from 59,800 acres in 1901-02 to 125,500 acres in 1907-08.⁵¹ In this peak period jute cultivation spread in the vicinity of Madarihat, the eastern terminus of the Bengal-Duars Railway and during the time of J.F. Grunning in the Alipur tehsil too there was the extension of jute cultivation. Although the best variety of jute was grown in the Rajganj block but in the whole district the condition of fibre was good.

It is now quite relevant to inquire who were the creditors to the jute farmers in the Jalpaiguri District. Several factors prompted the farmers to take advances from the creditors. First there were the burden of rental payments, secondly the creditors were quite inflexible in realising the debts from the farmers at the post-harvest periods, thirdly many peasant families had to buy rice at higher retail prices because of their inability to hold back the entire year's consumption out of the winter rice crop. Finally the most pressing factor was that since jute was a valuable commercial crop involving a greater amount of investment of capital than other crops the peasants naturally were compelled to take advances from the creditors. It is no wonder therefore that 64 per cent of the crop in East and North Bengal was sold immediately after fibre separation and almost 75 per cent of the total crop was sold by cultivators at their homesteads rather than at the nearby markets or *hats*.⁵²

In the Bengal Presidency three types of rural creditors existed. The first type was the village *mahajan* who were always non-agriculturists and were interested in recovering his principal plus interest and rolling over his capital. In cases of default he used to execute a fresh bond on higher interest rates. The second category of creditors were richer peasants or the *jotedars* and in the third category the *dadandars* or trader moneylenders who lent cash only to facilitate crop purchase.

In the Jalpaiguri district both the village *mahajans* and the *jotedars* emerged as the creditors to the farmers. In the 1920s the Marwari community entered into this industry and they became a vital source of credit in the rural areas of Jalpaiguri district.⁵³

In the Dinajpur and Jalpaiguri districts, *jotedars* generally combined substantial land holding with money lending and grain-dealing on corresponding scales. From investigations made in 1905 J.F. Grunning revealed that the existence of different rates of interest in the Jalpaiguri district "...the rates of interest in the Mainaguri and Alipur tehsils vary from 18 to 37½ per cent per annum and in the Falakata tehsil from 12 to 75 per cent, the average rate per annum being 36 per cent. It is doubtful if a cultivator is

ever able to borrow at such a low rate of interest as 12 per cent, and it is probable that he has often pay more than 37½ per cent".⁵⁴

From the above statement it is clear that jute cultivation involved a greater risk than other crops and in Jalpaiguri and Dinajpur, the gains from jute cropping accrued almost entirely to the powerful *jotedars*. Further, the period of depression, which made the cultivators incapable of paying the loans, the passing of the Bengal Agricultural Debtors Act of 1935 by which any agricultural debtor could take his case to a Board which was empowered to declare a lower interest rate — all these factors made the *mahajans* wary about advancing loans to the farmers. The latter then had to look towards the *jotedars* for their advances. The transportation of jute from the rural North Bengal villages to the Calcutta mills and ports involved a long process.

During the post-harvest phase cash needs of the *raiya*s and the inflammable condition of jute compelled many cultivators to sell the crop immediately after preparation. Almost three-quarters of the harvested fibre was sold in the villages, only a fifth portion was sold at the primary markets or *hats* and a mere five per cent was sold directly at the up-country secondary markets.⁵⁵

In villages the unfledged crop was bought by jute peddlers called *farias* who usually belonged to the cultivating class. This class while buying jute from the cultivators charged a deduction called *Dhalta*, i.e., a weight discount to compensate for the allegedly excessive moisture in jute and after getting this discount they sold the crop in the weekly primary markets or *hats*. In the *hats* the sellers were mostly *farias* and the affluent peasants and the buyers were *beparis* or the relatively better off traders, the agents of *aratdars* or secondary market merchants.⁵⁶ From Calcutta jute mills, the jute was exported.

It is now quite pertinent to observe that despite the favourable geographical condition, i.e., warm weather, abundant supply of ponds for keeping the crop, and the supply of labour forces which could be recruited at low wages, jute industry in particular in the Jalpaiguri district did not turn

into a plantation enterprise like the tea industry. In the East Bengal districts the inauguration of jute plantation system was an impossible task. Because the precondition of starting a plantation enterprise needed a low population area, and the chances of converting jute-cultivating area containing a huge population into a plantation area was beyond the means of the Colonial authorities.

But in Jalpaiguri district there was a low density population area and there was no hurdle in starting a plantation enterprise in the region. The only possible answer to this question lies in the term "plantation" which implies an enterprise with a combination of agriculture and industry. Although Jalpaiguri district supplied to Calcutta quite a moderate quantities of jute but it had no primary industrial infrastructure for starting a jute industry. On the other, Calcutta and its adjoining areas enjoyed many advantages in terms of geographic as well as economic. Apart from the Jalpaiguri district, the Eastern Bengal region was the supplier of huge raw jutes to Calcutta and further Calcutta enjoyed a special privilege of having an International Port from where jute could easily be exported. So all these factors prompted the European and at a later stage, the Marwaris to invest in jute, and with their Capital jute mills were set up on both sides of the Ganges. Presumably, existence of preconditions favourable to the growth of jute manufacturing industry in the Jalpaiguri district was quite unthinkable.

Jute crop like other commercial crops witnessed many fluctuations in prices, in several phases. In the first decade of the twentieth century due to the huge demand from Dundee for raw jute there was a corresponding rise in jute growing area and the prices were also increasing. The total area under jute doubled in the six years between 1901-02 and 1907-08.⁵⁸ A substantial rise in the price in 1906 resulted in a spurt in the jute acreage in 1907. Between 1907 and 1913, except for one or two bad years, the jute market enjoyed a boom period. With the outbreak of war in 1914, the prices fell suddenly by nearly 40%, but the prices recovered at the end of the First World War in 1919. Soon, during the slump period in 1920-1922 phase, prices again fell down. It was not until the year 1922 that prices could come into the pre-war phase.

During the phase of Great Depression of 1930's which affected the world economy, the jute cultivation again suffered a setback. The prices of jute touched a low scale in 1933 and 1934. Jute prices in these two years were 75% below the 1925 level and over 60% below the 1928 level. Prices rose again slowly from 1935, but jute was not to recover from the depression phase until as late as 1939.

This fluctuation in price structure affected the cultivators, particularly small *jotedars* and small peasants who constituted the bulk of the landowning rural population. They had to bear the major burnt of these fluctuations. J.F. Grunning stated that "In 1906-07 the price of jute ruled very high and in the following year cultivators grew large quantities of it; price however fell and they did not make as much profit as they had expected to do".⁵⁹

So the sum total effect was the impoverishment of the peasants who invested so much capital for the cultivation of jute and got nothing in return. This reality forced the peasants to opt for cultivation of rice again. "...the people say that it is little use getting high prices for jute if they have to spend the money afterwards in buying rice for their own consumption".⁶⁰

Another cash crop which was grown in the Jalpaiguri district was tobacco. The best *Faringati* land near the homestead of the cultivator was always reserved for this crop.⁶¹ The crop required careful cultivation and much more labour and caution for its perfection. In February 1905, three-quarter amount of the crop was devastated by two night's frosts.⁶² The best quality of tobacco grew on the lands lying between the Tista and Torsa rivers.⁶³ This crop was exported to Bhutan and also to Dacca and Calcutta and the chief markets for sale of tobacco were Dhupguri and Falakata.⁶⁴

Among other cash crop, sugarcane was grown mainly near Pachagarh in the Boda pargana. Cotton used to be grown by Mechs and Garos in high lands towards the foot of Bhutan hills by their primitive method of *jhum* cultivation. But with the inauguration of tea plantation enterprise and laws of forest conservancy, the tribals were forced to stop their way of cultivation. So, due to official policy intervention cotton cultivation slowly decreased and in 1907-08 only 100 acres of land was under this crop. J.F. Grunning commented

“It is probable that the cultivation of cotton will die out entirely in a few years, as the opening up of the district in forcing the Mechs to abandon their migratory habits and to settle down to ordinary cultivation”.⁶⁵

Apart from the above mentioned cash crops paddy was an important food crop. The cultivation of paddy suffered a setback with the introduction of jute. In 1901-02, the land under the paddy measured 637,000 *acres* but in 1907-08 the acreage decreased to 631,600 *acres*.

IV

In this connection, it is quite relevant to figure out the centres of trade and commerce in the Jalpaiguri district. During Sunder's time Kumargram, Falakata, Dhupguri, Mynaguri, Santrabari, Buxa were the main trade centres.⁶⁶ J.F. Grunning's tenure saw the emergence of many trade centres and he gave a graphic description of the trade centres. “The chief trade centres are Jalpaiguri, Titalya on the Mahanadi river where the Ganges-Darjeeling road enters the district. Rajnagar, Saldanga connected by road with the Chilahati station on the Eastern Bengal State Railway. Debiganj on the Karatoya five miles from Domar station. Baura the principal river mart of the district situated on a small tributary of the Tista, Joropakri, Maynaguri, Falakata on the Mujnai river and connected by road with Jalpaiguri, Madari Hat, Alipurduar and Buxa through which most of the trade with Bhutan passes”.⁶⁷

Apart from the above mentioned trade centres different fairs occurred at village level and the *Hats* were also centres of trade and commerce. The following table will illustrate the different fairs which one held in different parts of the Jalpaiguri district.

Table III: 9
List of Important Fairs in the Jalpaiguri District

Sl. No.	J.L. No.	Name of place where mela or fair is held	Time (English month) when mela is held	Local religious or other occasion of the mela	Duration of mela or fair (number of days)	Average total attendance number
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
SUBDIVISION - SADAR						
THANA: JALPAIGURI						
1		Dinbazar River Ghat	September	Immersion ceremony (Durga Puja)	1 day	5,000
2		Rajbari	August	Manasha Puja	1 day	3,000
3		Sonarhat	September	Immersion ceremony (Durga Puja)	1 day	2,000
4		Gourihat	September	Charak Puja	1 day	2,000
5		Paharpur Goshala	October	Gopastami	1 day	3,000
THANA: MAINAGURI						
6		Jalpesh	Feb. & March	Sivaratri	1 month	more than 1 lakh
7	202	Bhandani	No fixed time could be given as the mela is held after Bejoya Dasami	In connection with Bhandani Puja	1 day	5,000
SUB-DIVISION - ALIPURDUARS						
THANA: ALIPURDUARS						
8	99	Alipurduar Hatkhola	September	Durga Puja	4 days	4,000
THANA: KALCHINI						
9		Hamiltonganj	September to October	Kali Puja	3 days	2,000
THANA: MADARIHAT						
10	18	Madarihath	September	Durga Puja	1 day	500
11	31	Harpara	September	Durga Puja	4 days	1,000
12	45	Birpara	September	Durga Puja	1 day	300
13	38	Sishubari	October	Kali Puja	1 day	200
14	10	Lankapara	September	Durga Puja	4 days	200
15	30	Mujnai	September	Durga Puja	1 day	200
16	32	Dumchipara	October	Kali Puja	3 days	1,000
17	33	Ramjhora	October	Kali Puja	3 days	800
THANA: FALAKATA						
18	98	Chuakhola	September	Durga Puja	5 to 7 days	500
19	80	Jharhbeltali	March	Dolejatra	7 days	700
20	82	Beltali Bhandani	March	Dolejatra	7 days	500
21	102	Chhota Salkumar	March	Dolejatra	5/6 days	500
22	72	Hedaitnagar	March	Dolejatra	5/6 days	600
23	61	Malsagaon	March and April	Barunisnan	7 days	700

Source: Census 1951: West Bengal: District Handbooks: Jalpaiguri, A. Mitra, Calcutta 1954, p. 151.

The principal fair of the Western Duars was held at Jalpesh in the Mainaguri *tehsil*. This fair centred round the Sivaratri festival. Bhutias came from Darjeeling, Buxa and Bhutan with cloth, ponies, skins, and various

articles which were sold at good profits,⁶⁸ and they took away cotton, wollen clothes, betel nut, tobacco.

Another important fair was held at Falakata where an agricultural exhibition was held in connection with it. A fair was started at Santrabari at the foot of the hill below Buxa for the objective of increasing trade with Bhutan. But on account of poor transport communication network this trade centre was shifted to Alipurduar.

Regarding local village markets, *i.e.*, *hats* administrative policies revolved around two issues – (a) whether to restrict the *Ijara* hat-days only in one day or to make it bi-weekly and (b) whether to charge exorbitant rates on residents shopkeepers who were continuing their business in different *hats* on the Jalpaiguri district. On the first subject, *i.e.*, issue relating to the *ijara hats* came to notice during the tenure of Milligan as the Settlement Officer.

The number of *Ijara hats*, *i.e.*, the hats which leased were out by the Government to the *ijaradars* in Sunder's time was only seventeen; but in Milligan's time the number decreased to fifteen.

Three factors compelled Milligan to take serious notice regarding the *ijara hats*. The first issue was that although the Government leased out the *ijara hats* to *ijaradars* the terms of the lease gave Government's representative, the Deputy Commissioner little control over the *ijara hats*. Milligan thought that unless a firm control over the management of *hats* was not established a major share of profit would be lost. So a revision of the terms of the lease was necessary for strengthening the hands of the Deputy Commissioner. Further, as most *hats* were held near the tea gardens, naturally tea garden labourers were the main customers of the *hats*. In this connection the question whether *hat* would be held on a single day or biweekly was crucial to the owners of tea gardens. In Milligan's words "The value of the tea industry of an universal hat day is enormous".⁶⁹

Milligan made some modifications in the existing leases. The proposal of Milligan made it mandatory to spend money for upkeep and improvement of *hats* and specified the sum to be devoted annually for this purpose. The money meant for this purpose should be deposited to the Deputy

Commissioner every year and that about the date he proposed that "on which the hat is to be held should be specified in the lease".⁷⁰

Another factor bothering the administration was the necessity of revising the rent of *ijara hats*. After getting the income of each *hat* estimated by Messers Harris and Hollow, Milligan proposed "...in the case of large hats to leave to the *ijaradar* as profit 40 per cent of the estimated gross income, requiring him to pay 40 per cent to Government as rent and to spend or to deposit with Deputy Commissioner 20 per cent annually for improvements and upkeep".⁷¹ But in the case of smaller *hats* his proposal was to fix it at 20% as rent and 10% or less for upkeep. The proposal of Milligan was presented in the following tabular form.

Table III: 10
Proposal of Milligan in respect of Hats in the Western Duars region

Pargana	Name of hat	Estimated annual income (Rs.)	Existing rent (Rs.)	Proposed		Remarks
				Rent (Rs.)	Deposit for upkeep (Rs.)	
South Mainaguri	Rahinganj hat	2000	200	800	400	
	Mallikerhat	1500	200	600	300	
	Baslidanga hat	500	10	100	50	
	Khagen's hat	300	10	60	30	
	Kalir hat	Too small for accurate estimate	25	25	—	
North Mainaguri	Bataigole	2000	50	800	400	
	Barodighi	1500	30	600	300	
	Kumlai	Too small for accurate estimate	15	15	—	Special note below
Chengmari	Kranti	2000	100	800	400	
	Dhugguri	1500	200	600	300	
	Kalirhat	150	10	30	15	
	Burmari	60	5	12	—	
	Bairagirhat	Too small to be estimated	5	3	—	
East Madari	Monsirhat	Ditto	3	3	—	
	Silbari	1500	65	600	300	

	Rs.
Total old revenue —	928
New revenue —	5048

Source: J.A. Milligan, *Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the Jalpaiguri District 1906-16*, Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, Calcutta, 1919, p. 21.

Milligan defended this enhancement of rents of *ijara hats* on two grounds; first with the growth of *hats* the *ijaradars* consequently derived 'enormous' profits, secondly as the rents of *chukanidars* were calculated at 50% above those paid by *jotedars* leaving the *jotedar* 33% of his gross collection as profits; "so in the light of this consideration my proposal with regards to hats will not seem extortionate".⁷²

Next on the issue of practicability of restricting *hats* days the urgency of the Government to protect the tea-garden enterprise became transparent. On 4th July 1912 Milligan then officiating Deputy Commissioner passed an important order on the lessees of the Chalsa-Barodighi hat. The Chalsa-Barodighi hat was leased in 1893 for fifteen years and as this hat was biweekly nature several tea garden workers and agricultural populations of the neighbouring areas came here. But this biweekly nature of hat affected the interests of the Duars tea planters. In the words of Milligan "...the existence of the hat on two-week days resulted in heavy loss of labour to all gardens in these sub-districts".⁷³ But despite several representations made by the Duars Planters' Association nothing could be done in their favour because of the existence and continuance of the lease. But after the expiration of lease in 1909 the demand of the Duars Planters' Association became intense. On the other hand Milligan had an excellent rapport with the tea-planters and was ready to serve the interests of the tea-planters.

Some objections were put forward against the scheme of transforming Chalsa-Barodighi hat into a single day, i.e., Sunday hat and the objections were – "(i) hardship to lessees, and (ii) loss of revenue if the hat is impoverished".⁷⁴

Milligan stated the objections are not tenable on the ground that (i) hardship to the lessees would not occur as the new lease stipulated a rent based on Rs. 2,500 annual income, (ii) the restriction of Chalsa-Barodighi hat only to Sundays would not hit the agricultural population as the Malbazar hat which "is the more popular hat with the people and that they have made their profits out of the Coolies from all the gardens of Chalsa, Malbazar and Damdim who troop down to Barodighi on Tuesdays and Saturdays",⁷⁵ (iii)

and Milligan stated that it was useless on the part of Government to maintain a hat devoid of local demand. To strengthen Milligan's argument the Commissioner passed an order to 28th March 1913 stating "... There can I think be no question that if so advised Government may make it a condition of renewal that the hat is to be held only on Sundays, thus bringing it into line with the other tea-garden and Government hats in the neighbourhood".⁷⁶

But against the settlement of *Ijara hats* by Milligan D.H. Lees, Deputy Commissioner of Jalpaiguri put forward certain information. By the implementation of Milligan's order he stated that the Barodighi hat that was once an important hat became insignificant.

Further, the Government *hat* at Batabari, about five miles from Barodighi ceased to exist after the implementation of the above stated order. He further stated that if Barodighi and Kumlai *hats* were held only on Sundays then the "villagers will suffer some inconvenience in getting their market supplies...."⁷⁷

Finally, the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department endorsed Milligan's position regarding assessment of rents of *ijara hats* and restricting the *hat* days only to Sundays.⁷⁸

Apart from the *ijara hats* the local administration was also interested in establishing control over other *hats* situated in the Western Duars.⁷⁹

Table III: 11
List of Hats (Markets) in the Jalpaiguri District

Sl. No.	Name of the Market or Hat	Location	Main items of business	Days of Operation
1	2	3	4	5
SUBDIVISION: SADAR				
1	Jalpaiguri Dinbazar	P.S. Jalapiguri	Fish, vegetables, dal, gur	Daily (continuous)
2	Berubari	Do	Paddy, tobacco, cattle	Wednesday, Saturday
3	Rangdhamali	Do	Paddy, jute, tobacco, vegetables	Do
4	Denguajhara Hat	Do	Paddy, jute, vegetables	Friday
5	Gaurir Hat	Do	Do	Tuesday, Friday
6	Natun Hat	Do	Paddy, rive, vegetable, fish, jute	Monday, Thursday
7	Sabhar Hat	Do	Rice, paddy, vegetable, jute	Monday
8	Paharpur Hat	Do	Do	Monday, Thursday
9	Khayerbari Hat	Do	Tobacco, paddy, jute, vegetable	Sunday, Wednesday
10	Manikganj Hat	Do	Rice, paddy, jute, tobacco	Monday, Thursday
11	Sanyasikata	P.S. Rajganj	Paddy, jute, flattened rice, gur, goat	Wednesday, Saturday
12	Rajganj Hat	Do	Paddy, rice, flattened rice, gur, jute, potato, brinjal, cow, goat, fowl	Sunday, Thursday
13	Chaulhati	Do	Paddy, rice, gur, potato, cow, goat, fowl	Do
14	Kharkharia Hat	Do	Paddy, rice, jute	Monday, Friday
15	Fulbari Hat	Do	Paddy, rice, gur, jute	Thursday, Saturday

Table contd.

Sl. No.	Name of the Market or Hat	Location	Main items of business	Days of Operation
1	2	3	4	5
16	Saraswatipur Hat	P.S. Rajganj	Paddy, rice	Sunday
17	Belacoba Hat	Do	Rice, vegetable	Tuesday, Friday
18	Ramsai Hat	P.S. Mainaguri	Paddy, rice, vegetable	Friday
19	Amguri Hat	Do	Do	Wednesday, Saturday
20	Rahimganj Hat	Do	Jute, paddy, rice, cattle	Sunday, Wednesday
21	Barnish Hat	Do	Paddy, rice, vegetables	Monday, Thursday
22	Barnes Bazar	Do	Gur, pulses, mustard oil	Daily
23	Jalpesh Hat	Do	Rice, paddy, pulses, vegetables	Sunday, Wednesday
24	Mainaguri Hat	Do	Rice, paddy, pulses, gur, milk	Tuesday, Friday
25	Rather Hat	Do	Rice, vegetable, paddy, cinnamon	Sunday, Thursday
26	Mallick Hat	Do	Rice, pulses, vegetables	Tuesday, Friday
27	Rakhal Hat	Do	Do	Monday, Thursday
28	Gauranger Hat	Do	Do	Sunday, Wednesday
29	Sastir Hat	Do	Do	Tuesday, Saturday
30	Domohani Hat	Do	Do	Sunday, Wednesday
31	Helapakri Hat	Do	Rice, paddy, jute, pulses, vegetable	Tuesday, Saturday
32	Bhatparti Hat	Do	Rice, vegetable	Wednesday, Sunday
33	Jorepakri Hat	Do	Paddy, rice, jute, pulses	Tuesday, Saturday
34	Rajar Hat (Jiranganj Hat)	Do	Paddy, rice, jute, pulses, tobacco	Monday, Thursday
35	Krishnaganj (Bakali Hat)	Do	Paddy, rice, jute, pulses	Tuesday, Saturday
36	Luksam Hat	P.S. Nagrakata	Rice, paddy, vegetables	Sunday
37	Sulkapara	Do	Do	Wednesday
38	Nathoa Hat	P.S. Dhupguri	Rice, paddy, jute, mustard seed	Monday, Friday
39	Mogalkata	Do	Rice, paddy, vegetables	Wednesday
40	Tatapara Hat	Do	Do	Sunday
41	Champaguri	Do	Do	Do
42	Chamurchi Hat	Do	Orange, rice, tobacco, paddy, potato	Wednesday
43	Banerhat	Do	Rice, paddy	Sunday
44	Gairkata	Do	Rice, paddy, mustard, tobacco, orange	Do
45	Duramari	Do	Rice, paddy, mustard	Wednesday, Saturday
46	Dawkimari	Do	Rice, paddy, tobacco	Sunday, Wednesday
47	Dhupguri	Do	Rice, paddy, jute, dry-fish, mustard, pulses, cattle	Tuesday, Sunday
48	Chawhaddi	Do	Rice, vegetables	Saturday, Tuesday
49	Kattimari	Do	Do	Friday, Monday
50	Bhadani	Do	Rice, paddy, vegetable, fish, tobacco	Thursday, Sunday
51	Salbari	Do	Rice, paddy, vegetable	Monday, Thursday
52	Bataigot	P.S. Mal	Paddy, rice, vegetable, tobacco, fruit	Sunday
53	Kranti	Do	Paddy, rice, vegetable	Tuesday, Friday
54	Lataguri	Do	Do	Wednesday, Saturday
55	Baradighi	Do	Do	Sunday
56	Oodlabari	Do	Do	Do
57	Damdin	Do	Do	Do
58	Maulani	Do	Do	Friday, Tuesday
59	Mangalbari	P.S. Matiali	Paddy, rice, vegetables, fruits	Thursday
60	Metely Hat	Do	Paddy, rice, vegetable, tobacco, fruit	Sunday
SUBDIVISION: ALIPUR DUARS				
61	Madarihat Hat	P.S. Madarihat	Rice, paddy, orange	Sunday
62	Sisubari Hat	Do	Do	Thursday
63	Birpara Hat	Do	Rice, vegetables	Sunday
64	Jateswar	P.S. Falakata	Paddy, rice, pulses, jute, gur, tobacco	Tuesday, Saturday
65	Falakata	Do	Do	Tuesday, Friday
66	Hamiltonganj Hat	P.S. Kalchini	Paddy, rice	Sunday
67	Hashimara Hat	Do	Do	Do
68	Sitalbasti Hat	Do	Do	Thursday
69	Garopara Hat	Do	Do	Sunday
70	Jaigaon Hat	Do	Rice	Do
71	Nimti Hat	Do	Paddy, rice	Wednesday
72	Dalsingpara Hat	Do	Rice	Sunday
73	Jainti Hat	Do	Do	Monday
74	Rajabhatkhowa	Do	Do	Friday
75	New Town Hat	P.S. Alipur Duars	Rice, vegetables	Tuesday
76	Alipurduar Hat	Do	Rice, paddy, jute, mustard	Thursday, Sunday
77	Salsalabari Hat	Do	Rice, paddy, jute	Tuesday, Sunday
78	Dhalkar Hat	Do	Rice, paddy, vegetable	Monday
79	Bhatibari Hat	Do	Paddy	Sunday
80	Samuktola Hat	Do	Paddy, rice, kalai, mustard, vegetable, cattle	Friday, Monday
81	Salkumar Hat	Do	Paddy, rice, vegetable	Monday, Thursday

Table contd.

Sl. No.	Name of the Market or Hat	Location	Main Items of business	Days of Operation
1	2	3	4	5
82	Silbari Hat	P.S. Alipur Duars	Paddy, rice, jute, mustard, pulses, tobacco, vegetable	Wednesday, Saturday
83	Mathura Hat	Do	Paddy, jute, kalai, vegetable	Monday
84	Paikapara	Do	Paddy, pulses, vegetables, meat	Saturday
85	Gharghria	Do	Do	Sunday, Thursday
86	Damonpur	Do	Do	Wednesday
87	Barabisa Hat	P.S. Kumargram	Rice, jute, paddy, mustard, potato, pulses	Monday
88	Kulkuli Hat	Do	Paddy, rice, potato, mustard, pulses	Sunday
89	Kamakhyaguri	Do	Rice, paddy, pulses, jute, mustard	Sunday

SUPPLEMENTARY LIST OF HATS (MARKETS)

SUBDIVISION: SADAR

1	Talma Hat	P.S. Jalpaiguri	Paddy, rice, vegetable	Monday, Friday
2	Kadabari	Do	Do	Sunday, Tuesday
3	Dhupganj	Do	Do	Tuesday, Friday
4	Banjwer	Do	Do	Monday, Friday
5	Jaharir Hat	Do	Do	Wednesday, Saturday
6	Jalpaiguri Jute Market	Do	Jute, do	Daily
7	Jalpaiguri Municipal Market	Do	Vegetable, meat, milk	Daily
8	Sarogara	P.S. Rajganj	Paddy, rice, vegetable	Monday, Thursday
9	Simuldangi	Do	Do	Tuesday, Friday
10	Paglar Hat	Do	Do, Jute	Monday, Friday
11	Sakhani Hat	Do	Paddy, rice, vegetable	Tuesday, Friday
12	Thaljhora	P.S. Nagrakata	Do	Wednesday
13	Bagribari	P.S. Dhupguri	Do	Tuesday, Friday
14	Moynatali	Do	Do	Wednesday, Sunday

SUBDIVISION: ALIPUR DUARS

15	Ramjhora	P.S. Madarihath	Vegetable, fish, meat	Sunday
16	Mujnai	Do	Paddy, rice, vegetables	Monday
17	Kumargram Duar Bazar	P.S. Kumargram	Rice, F. rice, orange, mango	Wednesday, Saturday
18	Daldali	Do	Paddy, rice, vegetables	Friday
19	Majhirdabri	Do	Do	Thursday

Source: *Census: 1951: West Bengal: District Handbooks: Jalpaiguri* - A. Mitra, Calcutta, 1954, pp. 152-153.

At the time of Sunder there were 17 *hats* in Mynaguri *tehsil*, eight in the Falakata and two in the Alipore *tehsil*. All these *hats* were established during the currency of the Settlement of Lord Ulick Browne who wrote, "without authority, only the rates for cultivated land of the same quality being realised for the sites of these hats".⁸⁰ It was then decided that no future permission would be given for the establishment of any private *hat* on the Government lands. And it was also decided that Government officers would take charge of the management of *hats* which had been already established and such *hats* would be leased to their farmer owners "on such terms as the Commissioner, with due regard to the outlay which may have been incurred in establishing them, may consider fair".⁸¹

The Government by its letter no. 103 T.R. dated the 25th September 1888 prescribed a certain rate of fees over the *hats* in the Western Duars, and again in 1891 a set of rates were prescribed by the Government.⁸² It was found that the rates prescribed by the Government was not actually implemented by the

Commissioner and the Deputy Commissioner.⁸³ T.W. Richardson, Esq. under Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department expressed his displeasure by commenting that "...it is not creditable to the Commissioner and the Deputy Commissioner that the rates then prescribed should have been lost sight of and never enforced".⁸⁴ And he was in favour of equal rates in levying fees on the permanent shopkeepers in the market places and on those who resorted to the markets on market days only.

Actually the rates prescribed by the Act of 1888 was so high that the officers in charge were not willing to implement their prescribed rates; despite Nolan's denial that "The rates have been the subject of much attention and were generally enforced".⁸⁵ Further Nolan was not in favour of applying a uniform rate of market-tolls throughout the Western Duars. The Act of 1888 was partially implemented as the high rates of fees prescribed by the Act could only be sustained by an affluent area. For this reason the rate of Rs. 50 an *acre* remained in force from the beginning in the Mainaguri tehsil which was the most fertile zone not only in the Western Duars region but on the whole Jalpaiguri district.⁸⁶ But in the Alipore subdivision this rate was not enforced. D.H.E. Sunder who was then Settlement Officer did not try to enforce the rates. Sunder stated categorically, "I do not know whether the rate of Rs. 50 per acre has been sanctioned by Government or not, but I beg to say that it is exorbitant, and if insisted on will have the effect of causing the petitioners to remove from the market and thereby break it".⁸⁷

Further Nolan, then Commissioner of the Rajshahi Division stated that in the markets in Falakata tehsil rents realised from the permanent shopkeepers was Rs. 3 per acre annually till 1891-92 and though they were assessed at the rate prescribed by the Government, *i.e.*, Rs. 50 per acre annually from the year 1892-93, "the full amount cannot be realised in many instances".⁸⁸ The difficulty in implementing the rates prescribed by the Government was increased by the establishment of *hats* in the neighbouring Koch Bihar state and Colonel Boileau apprehended that practical

implementation of Rs. 50 an acre rate would encourage transfer of business to Koch Bihar State. D.H.E. Sunder proposed that "...the land held by the petitioners be assessed at Rs. 3 per acre..."⁸⁹ and Colonel Boileau's proposal was Rs. 10 per acre and further he suggested that rents collected from the private markets should be credited to the market-funds.⁹⁰ This suggestion of Colonel Boileau was based on the principle embodied in Rule 9 of the rules for the management of the Western Duars market-funds which contemplated the collection of rents from permanent shopkeepers being credited to the market-funds. Nevertheless, the local opposition and the threats offered by the neighbouring Koch Bihar hats compelled the local officers to stop the levy of all fees in the markets bordering on the Koch Bihar frontier.⁹¹ C.E. Buckland and the Lieutenant Governor after receiving all sorts of proposals wanted certain informations regarding (1) the rates of fees actually levied at each market whether at the rate prescribed by the Government or in contravention thereof from permanent and temporary shopkeepers; (2) the quantity of land leased to permanent shopkeepers; (3) the amount of rent paid by the permanent shopkeepers; and (4) the rate per acre.⁹²

R.H. Renny, Deputy Commissioner of Jalpaiguri provided a graphic picture regarding the number of markets and the rates of rent be collected from the markets. He stated that no fees were levied from permanent shopkeepers on market days as they paid an annual rent for the land leased to them. The following table will provide information on the rates of fees which were actually levied on Mainaguri, Falakata, Alipur and Bhalka *tehsils*.

Table II: 12

A

List of markets in the Mainaguri Tehsil, Jalpaiguri

Sl. No.	Name of Market	Rates of fee sanctioned by Government for permanent shopkeepers	The number and date of the Government order sanctioning the rates.	Rates of fees sanctioned by Government for temporary shopkeepers	The number and date of the Government order sanctioning the rates	Rates of fees actually levied from permanent shopkeepers	Rates of fees actually levied from temporary shopkeepers	The quantity of land leased to permanent shopkeepers				The total amount of rent paid by the permanent shopkeepers			The rate per acre of land paid by permanent shopkeepers	The number and date of the Government order sanctioning the rate referred in Column 11	Remarks
								A	D	P	L	Rs.	A	P			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9				10			11	12	13
1	Mainaguri							1	8	5	29	76	5	0			
2	Amguri	Nil	Nil	As per table annexed, marked A	Land Revenue No. 1272 L.R. dated 20 th November 1891	Nil	As per table annex-	0	7	6	248	23	8	0	Rs. 50 per acre annually	Land Revenue No. 103 L.R., dated 25 th September 1888	No fees are realised from permanent shopkeepers as has already been reported in para. 3 of the letter
3	Ramshai						revised by the Deputy	1	13	9	96	93	0	0			
4	Chengmari						Commissioner under rule 5 of the Market Fund Rules, sanctioned by the	2	10	6	493	133	1	0			
5	Damdin						Government in its letter No. 1055 L.R. dated 18 th March 1892, marked B	7	13	6	294	392	3	0			
6	Manabari							3	10	4	99	182	7	0			
7	Batiagole							12	15	1	2	647	6	0			
8	Maliari							10	9	10	0	530	10	0			
9	Chalsa							0	4	0	0	12	8	0			
10	Altadanga							0	7	0	0	21	15	0			
11	Malane							0	1	0	0	3	2	0			
12	Rakhalhat							0	1	0	0	3	2	0			
13	Jalpesh							-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
14	Bhote Hat							-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
15	Hoochladanga							0	2	0	0	-	-	-			
16	Gopalganj							-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
17	Apalchand							-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
18	Nataguri							-	-	-	-	-	-	-			

Source: From, R.H. Renny, Esq. Deputy Commissioner of Jalpaiguri, to the Commissioner of the Rajshahi Division No. 2230G, dated Jalpaiguri, the 14th December 1894 (W.B.S.A.).

B

List of markets in the Falakata Tehsil, Jalpaiguri

Sl. No.	Name of Market	Rates of fee sanctioned by Government for permanent shopkeepers	The number and date of the Government order sanctioning the rates	Rates of fees sanctioned by Government for temporary shopkeepers	The number and date of the Government order sanctioning the rates	Rates of fees actually levied from permanent shopkeepers	Rates of fees actually levied from temporary shopkeepers	The quantity of land leased to permanent shopkeepers				The total amount of rent paid by the permanent shopkeepers			The rate per acre of land paid by permanent shopkeepers	The number and date of the Government order sanctioning the rate referred in Column 11	Remarks				
								A	D	P	L	Rs.	A	P							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9				10			11	12	13				
1	Falakata	Nil	Nil	As per table annexed, marked A	Land Revenue No. 1272 L.R. dated 20 th November 1891	Nil	As per revised table annexed, marked C. As per table mentioned in column 5	3	2	10	473	36	14	6	Rs. 50 per acre annually	Land Revenue No. 103 T.R., dated 25 th December 1888	No fees are realised from permanent shopkeepers as has already been reported in para. 3 of the letter. Nothing is realised from these two markets being less important, they having been started lately				
2	Dudua							-	-	-	-	-	-	-				-	-	-	-
3	Salbari							0	10	6	503	25	0	0				-	-	-	-
4	Gairkata							1	10	6	470	-	-	-				-	-	-	-
5	madari							-	-	-	-	-	-	-				-	-	-	-
6	Lankapara							0	7	6	480	-	-	-				-	-	-	-
7	Suliapara							5	7	7	325	-	-	-				-	-	-	-
8	Dowkimari	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-					
9	Kalabari	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-					

Source: From, R.H. Renny, Esq. Deputy Commissioner of Jalpaiguri, to the Commissioner of the Rajshahi Division No. 2230G, dated Jalpaiguri, the 14th December 1894 (W.B.S.A.).

C

List of markets in the Alipur Tehsil, Jalpaiguri

Sl. No.	Name of Market	Rates of fee sanctioned by Government for permanent shopkeepers	The number and date of the Government order sanctioning the rates	Rates of fees sanctioned by Government for temporary shopkeepers	The number and date of the Government order sanctioning the rates	Rates of fees actually levied from permanent shopkeepers	Rates of fees actually levied from temporary shopkeepers	The quantity of land leased to permanent shopkeepers				The total amount of rent paid by the permanent shopkeepers			The rate per acre of land paid by permanent shopkeepers	The number and date of the Government order sanctioning the rate referred in Column 11	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9				10			11	12	13
								A	D	P	L	Rs.	A	P			
1	Santrabari	Nil	Nil	As per table annexed, marked A	Land Revenue No. 1272 L.R. dated 20 th November 1891	Nil	Nil	0	4	0	40						
2	Shalshalabari							0	2	10	320	Nil					
3	Mahakalgori							0	1	1	240						
4	Chikligori							0	4	2	0						
5	Ghorghoria							0	2	6	400						
6	Silitorsa							0	12	6	0						

Source: From, R.H. Renny, Esq. Deputy Commissioner of Jalpaiguri, to the Commissioner of the Rajshahi Division No. 2230G, dated Jalpaiguri, the 14th December 1894 (W.B.S.A.).

D

List of markets in the Bhalka Tehsil, Jalpaiguri

Sl. No.	Name of Market	Rates of fee sanctioned by Government for permanent shopkeepers	The number and date of the Government order sanctioning the rates	Rates of fees sanctioned by Government for temporary shopkeepers	The number and date of the Government order sanctioning the rates	Rates of fees actually levied from permanent shopkeepers	Rates of fees actually levied from temporary shopkeepers	The quantity of land leased to permanent shopkeepers				The total amount of rent paid by the permanent shopkeepers	The rate per acre of land paid by permanent shopkeepers	The number and date of the Government order sanctioning the rate referred in Column 11	Remarks		
								A	D	P	L						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9				10	11	12	13		
								Rs.	A	P							
1 2	Kumargram Daldali	Nil	Nil	As per table annexed, marked A	Land Revenue No. 1272 L.R. dated 20 th November 1891	Nil	As per table mentioned in column 5	0	5	7	208	-	-	-	-	Land Revenue No. 103 T.R., dated 25 th September 1888	No fees are realised from permanent shopkeepers as has already been reported in para. 3 of the letter

Source: From, R.H. Renny, Esq. Deputy Commissioner of Jalpaiguri, to the Commissioner of the Rajshahi Division No. 2230G, dated Jalpaiguri, the 14th December 1894 (W.B.S.A.).

Further R.H. Renny also stated in the following table the scale of fees which were to levied in Government markets in the Western Duars region in the Jalpaiguri district.

Table III: 13

R.H. Renny's statement about scale of fees to be levied in Government markets in the Western Duars, district Jalpaiguri

Sl. No.	Description of shops and articles on which fees are to be levied	Rates of fees			Remarks
		Rs.	A	P	
1	From each shop of cloth	0	1	0	
2	From each shop of brassware	0	1	0	
3	From each shop of spices occupying a stall	0	1	0	
4	From each shop of spices not occupying a stall	0	0	6	
5	From each shop of dahi	0	1	0	
6	From each shop of fresh fish	0	0	6	
7	From each shop of dry fish	0	0	6	
8	From each shop of salt, when the article exposed for sale exceeds ten seers	0	0	6	
9	From each shop of salt, when the article exposed for sale does not exceed ten seers	0	0	3	
10	For each shop of oil, when the quantity of oil exposed for sale exceeds five seers	0	0	6	
11	From each shop of oil, when the quantity of oil exposed for sale does not exceed five seers	0	0	3	
12	For each bhar of oil	0	1	0	
13	From each shop of betel leaf, when the value of the betel leaves exposed for sale does not exceed eight annas	0	0	3	
14	For each bhar of betel leaf	0	1	0	
15	From each shop of betel nut, when the value of the article exposed for sale does not exceed eight annas	0	0	3	
16	For each cart-load of betel nut	0	2	0	
17	From each shop of betel nut, when the value of the article exposed for sale does not exceed eight annas	0	0	6	
18	From each shop of molasses, when the value of the article exposed for sale exceeds eight annas	0	0	6	
19	From each shop of molasses, when the value of the article exposed for sale does not exceed eight annas	0	0	3	
20	From each shop of sweetmeats	0	0	6	
21	From each cart-load of sweetmeats	0	2	0	
22	From each shop of best sugar	0	0	6	
23	From each shop of ordinary sugar	0	0	3	
24	For each cart-load of sugar of any kind	0	2	0	
25	From each shop of fried-rice sweetmeats (Mowa Muri)	0	0	6	
26	From each shop of earthen pots	0	1	0	
27	From each shop of coats, caps, shirts, etc.	0	0	6	
28	From each shop of shoes	0	0	6	
29	From each shop of mats	0	0	6	
30	From each shop of blankets	0	1	0	
31	From each shop of hukkass	0	0	3	
32	From each shop of fancy (Monihari) articles	0	0	6	
33	From each shop of knives, scissors, hoes, etc.	0	0	6	
34	From each blacksmith working in the market on market days	0	0	6	
35	For each buffalo killed	0	8	0	The animals might be killed outside the hat, but nevertheless when the meat is brought for sale in the hat, the sellers will be charged at these rated
36	For each bullock or cow killed	0	4	0	
37	For each pig killed	0	2	0	
38	For each goat or sheep killed	0	2	0	
39	From each shop of Sankha (shell ornaments)	0	0	3	
40	From each shop of butter or ghee for every seer offered for sale	0	0	6	
41	From each shop of bottles	0	0	3	
42	From each seller of bamboos	0	0	6	
43	From each seller of vegetables, when the price of the article exposed for sale is not less than three annas	0	0	3	
44	For each duck or goose sold	0	0	3	
45	For each pair of fowls sold	0	0	3	
46	For every four pigeons sold	0	0	3	
47	For each buffalo, bullock, cow or pony sold, when the value does not exceed Rs. 10	0	2	0	
48	For each buffalo, bullock, cow or pony sold, when the value exceeds Rs. 10.	0	4	0	

Table contd.

Sl. No.	Description of shops and articles on which fees are to be levied	Rates of fees			Remarks
		Rs.	A	P	
1	2	3			4
49	For each calf sold	0	1	0	
50	For each goat or sheep sold	0	0	6	
51	For each cart-load of rice or paddy	0	1	0	
52	For each pony or bullock load of rice or paddy	0	0	6	
53	For each load of rice or paddy carried by a man	0	0	3	
54	For each cart-load of oil-seeds	0	2	0	
55	For each pony or bullock load of oil-seeds	0	1	0	
56	For each load of oil-seeds carried by a man	0	0	6	
57	For each seller of jute for every ten seers offered for sale	0	0	3	
58	For each cart attending the market for the purpose of purchasing articles	0	0	3	
59	For each horse, pony or cattle kept permanently in the market by resident shopkeepers, per month	0	2	0	
60	For every seller of cheera, when the quantity exceeds five seers, for every ten seers	0	0	3	
61	For every seller of pulses, when the quantity exceeds five seers, for every five seers	0	0	3	
62	From every seller of tea, shearbut, etc.	0	0	6	
63	From each seller of Fota cloth	0	0	6	
64	From each seller of wooden made articles	0	0	3	
65	From each Chatki shop of miscellaneous articles such as hooks, lines, needies, maduli, thread, malas, etc.	0	0	3	
66	From each person occupying ground within the hat premises for the purpose of purchasing paddy, rice, jute, oil-seeds in large quantities	0	0	3	

Source: From R.H. Renny, Esq. Deputy Commissioner of Jalpaiguri, to the Commissioner of the Rajshahi Division No. 2230G, dated Jalpaiguri, the 14th December 1894 (Appendix- A), W.B.S.A.

On receipt of the detailed account the Government took certain decisions. It was decided that from permanent shopkeepers in the established *hats* in Mainaguri area Rs. 50 a year per *acre* rent should be taken, but this rate of rent would not be applicable on *hats* which were situated on the undeveloped eastern portion of Mainaguri and it was decided that Rs. 3 per *acre* should be the minimum rate of rent leviable from resident shopkeepers in the Alipur subdivision, "and you are at liberty to fix a higher rate, up to a maximum of Rs. 10 per *acre*, in any hats which are sufficiently permanent and thriving to bear it".⁹³ However, it was asserted by C.E. Buckland, Secretary to the Government of Bengal that the decision was taken "not to discourage growing hats nor to disregard the competition of the markets in the Koch Bihar state".⁹⁴ It was further decided that only three classes of fees, *i.e.*, one anna, six pies and three pies should be levied on market days. So it was clear that the Government's policy regarding the management of hats was flexible at the outset. But later having realised the economic potentialities of *hats* it imposed tighter control over the management of *hats*.

V

The state of transport and communication system in the Jalpaiguri district particularly in the Western Dooars region before the advent of the British was almost non-existent. Commissioner E.E. Lewis stated, "The subdivision was an outlying and remote one, containing but few roads. What roads there were, however led to Rungpore, the headquarters of the district to the south, and no north Dinagepore and Purneah to the west".⁹⁵ The whole of the Dooars region was in a sensitive and unsettled state without proper means of communication. But the regulation portion of the district had communication with other districts to the south and west, though the communication system across the Tista river to the east was virtually non-existent. It was felt in 1884 by the Deputy Commissioner of Jalpaiguri that he did "not think that the Government, the landlord of the Western Dooars, does enough for the communications in its estate".⁹⁶ He thought that the disbursement of fund for the improvement of the communication system in the region would be "good investment",⁹⁷ and in this context he suggested taking loans for reproductive public works. Certain factors compelled the Colonial Government to look forward for the adoption of a well-defined policy for the improvement of communication system in the region. The first factor was the pressure from the tea-planters. Although with the active support of the rulers tea-plantation enterprise was started but the existence of a primitive mode of communication in the region nullified their whole efforts. It was found that the bad road conditions of the region compelled the planters to make private roads. The planters "...come forward with heavy contribution for public roads on the District Road Committee guaranteeing an equal sum".⁹⁸ The Government as protector of the tea-planters' interests could no longer turn a deaf ear to their, *i.e.*, tea-planters' demand. The second factor was the existence of low agricultural prices of the region, and the dismal performance of trade in the region. Before the annexation of the British it was found that "In the Dooars there was practically no trade at all, for the unsettled state of the country and the oppressive nature of the Government

did not tempt traders to venture in, while means of transport were wanting. In North Mynaguri and Chengmari cultivation was sparse, and there was not probably much surplus produce for disposal; whatever there was remained in the country".⁹⁹ So the picture found here was that of a stagnant economy devoid of support from the state with a primitive means of communication. The agriculturalists for lack of proper means of communication did not produce more for export, and consequently in the Jalpaiguri district particularly in the Western Dooars a low agricultural price existed.

This low price structure did not alter even after the advent of the British in the region. Commissioner E.E. Lowis described in detail how the lack of communication system affected the agricultural prices. "The rice brought for sale at the hats was purchased for local consumption, or if for purpose of export, it was bought in small quantities by residents, such as the two jotedars who have furnished enclosed figures transported on ponies or bullocks to the river bank, and there sold to Rungpore traders probably at rates resembling those current at the Sudder station, the profit, after deducting cost of carriage. Some few of the jotedars who could come and such means of transport were available, may have profited by these transactions".¹⁰⁰ Further, a low rate in the interior was maintained because want of communication prevented the cheaper Dooars rice entering into competition with the dearer Dinajpore and Regulation District rice at Jalpaiguri. This picture was almost the same at North Mainaguri, Bhalka and Chengmari where due to lack of proper outlet the prices of agricultural produce were low. Commissioner E.E. Lowis stated, "I have myself seen large heaps of straw lying outside a village, which I was informed would be burnt, as the cultivators lacked the means taking it to a market and therefore had no use for it".¹⁰¹ So all the above mentioned factors suggested the construction of metalled roads and railways.

(1) The inauguration of railways particularly in the Western Dooars region was an outcome of the pressure created by the Tea planters of the Jalpaiguri district. The early Dooars planters were fortunate in that they

started their enterprises at a phase when India was very much railway minded and the Jalpaiguri district was benefited by this "progressive mood".¹⁰² In the Jalpaiguri district the Eastern Bengal State Railway or as it was then called, the Northern Bengal State Railway and the Bengal Duars Railway played a crucial role in promoting the state of trade and commerce of the region.

The Northern Bengal State Railway was opened as far as Jalpaiguri in 1878,¹⁰³ and opened its metre gauge line on 28th August 1887 from Atrai to Jalpaiguri.¹⁰⁴ On 19 January 1878 this railway line was extended from Povadaha to Bheramara Ghat and from Sara Ghat to Atrai on the same day. This Northern Bengal State Railway was extended as far as Siliguri on 10 June 1878. J.F. Grunning remarked, "The railway enters the district near Haldibari station and runs in a northerly direction to Jalpaiguri where it curves to the north-west; south of Haldibari, it runs parallel to, and within a few miles of the district boundary so that it serves the whole of the tract to the west of the Tista river".¹⁰⁵ At that time, three railway stations, *namely*, Mondalghat, Jalpaiguri and Belakoba were on the line within the Jalpaiguri district. Despite its expanding network this railway was not above criticism. On 1889 the Dooars Planters' Association made emphatic complaint about the working of the North Bengal State Railway.¹⁰⁶

The Bengal Duars Railway was opened for the explicit purpose of opening the whole of Western Dooars region to the outside world and in developing the tea industry. In 1891 the Government of India entered into an agreement with Octavious Steel and Co. of London for opening this railway. It was decided that this railway would run from Barnes in the eastern bank of Tista and to the opposite side of Jalpaiguri to Dam Dim. It was decided that a branch would be opened from Lataguri to Ramshaihat. The Government of India supplied the land free of cost, free timbers for making railway sleepers to Messrs Octavious Steel and Co. Further the said Company was also granted free use of the ferry service between Jalpaiguri and Barnes Junction.

The following table will illustrate how the different sections of this Railway were opened.

Table III: 14

Different sections of the Bengal Dooars Railway in the Jalpaiguri district

From	To	Distance (miles)	Year of opening
Parbatipur through Haldibari, Jalpaiguri, Siliguri			1878
Barnes	Dam Dim	31	1893
Lataguri	Ramshaihat	5½	1893
Barnes	Lalmanirhat (now in Bangladesh)	66	1900
Barnes	Barnesghat	1	1900
Dam-Dim	Bagrakot	7	1902
Mal	Madarihat	44	1903
Chalsa	Matiali	5	1915

Source: Barun De et al., *West Bengal District Gazetteers, Jalpaiguri, Calcutta, 1981, p. 167*

This railway line could not advance towards the eastern side owing to financial constraints. At present the only remnants of the railway which could be found in the sections Lataguri-Ramshai and Lataguri-New Mal Junction until the other day had also disappeared due to broad gauge conversion and for opening new lines.¹⁰⁷ During 1907 the railway carried 606,000 passengers and 144,000 tons of goods.

The principal items imported were – Coal 14910 tons, food grains 19507 tons, salt 4458 tons, metal manufactured 3397 tons and cotton goods 952 tons and the chief articles which were exported through railways were – jute 17106 tons, tea 16229 tons, tobacco 6342 tons.¹⁰⁸ Among the above mentioned items coal and food gains were imported chiefly for the use of tea gardens and tea garden workers respectively.

In this regard it is quite relevant to make a comment about the Cooch Behar State Railway because some branches of this railway touched some areas of the Jalpaiguri district. Although the Cooch Behar state came into contact with the British rule in 1773 but it was in the year 1863 that the first real effort was made to develop a communication system. The Cooch Behar State Railway came much later in 1891; it was a small feeder line, built on a gauge of 2'6". It ran from Gitaldah Junction on the Dhubri branch of the Eastern Bengal State Railway to Jainti station. From Gitaldah Junction it ran to

Buxa Road Station and from that point this railway line advanced towards Jainti. This railway line also entered Alipurduar and this section between Koch Bihar and Alipurduar was opened in 1900 after the construction of a bridge over the Kaljani river. This line was extended to Rajabhatkhawa in 1901 and to Jainti the same year. The latter section in the year 1910 was converted into metre gauge and was merged with the Eastern Bengal State Railway. The metre gauge from Rajabhatkhawa to Hasimara was extended in 1914.¹⁰⁹

In the year 1892-93 the Cooch Behar State took a loan of eight lacs of rupees from the Government of India for construction of a railway in Cooch Behar. It was agreed that the principal and interest were to be paid off from the profits of the *Chaklajat* property. At that time a part of the *Chaklajat* zamindari were within the Jalpaiguri district and this zamindari "were hypothecated for the said loan".¹¹⁰

The loan of two and a half lacs of rupees was taken in 1897-98 on similar conditions up to the years 1903. Shri Harendra Narayan Chaudhury, the Naib Ahilkar of the Cooch Behar state commented that the loan "has not yet been fully paid up and the portion of the Mal estates in the district of Jalpaiguri is still mortgaged to Government".¹¹¹

The total effect of starting the Railway project in the Jalpaiguri district was felt in the great changes particularly in the economic condition of the region. Commissioner E.E. Lowis commented that "A great change has been wrought by the opening of Northern Bengal State Railway for traffic in the beginning of 1878".¹¹² Before the year 1878 the Marwari businessmen used to establish their main business centres at main towns in the Jalpaiguri district "with agents in the interior, while a few have ventured across the teesta, and set up their own account in the Dooars".¹¹³ But with the inauguration of railways the Marwaris took up courage to spread their activities across the District.

With the growth of tea-gardens and the consequential growth of the number of wage-earning population a great demand for agricultural produce

was created; but without the opening of railway line such demand could not be met.

With the opening of North Bengal State Railway and the Bengal Duars Railway the transportation of agricultural goods became easier and consequently the prices of agricultural produce increased rapidly. M. Finucane, Director of the Department of Land Records and Agriculture Bengal, commented in the year 1890 that "The Settlement Officer submits tables of prices + of staple crops, which purport to show that the price of paddy was risen by 33 to 50 per cent, during the last ten years in Mynagoree, while the price of rice is said to have risen by 100 per cent in Julpigoree and by 72 per cent in Mynagoree. The price of tobacco, which is an up land crop, is said to have risen by 37 per cent within the past five years".¹¹⁴

It was remarked by the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, L.P.H.L. Harrison that "...the opening of the Northern Bengal Railway, this part of the country has been much developed and rendered accessible, and therefore the value of land has much increased already and is likely to increase still more".¹¹⁵

The following tables will illustrate the net profit earned by the Railway Companies.

Table III: 15

Table showing the profit earned by the Railway Companies from 1903 to 1907

A

Year	Original Line					
	Total capital outlay to date (Rs.)	Gross earnings (Rs.)	Net earnings (Rs.)	Net percentage on capital outlay	Earning per week per mile (Rs.)	Proportion of working expenses to earnings
1903	26,95,547	3,09,965	2,23,786	8.30	156	27.80
1904	26,64,642	3,46,277	2,56,651	9.63	175	25.88
1905	27,26,891	3,70,343	2,49,598	9.15	196	32.60
1906	27,33,098	4,08,623	2,96,703	10.86	216	27.38
1907	27,56,535	4,20,705	3,05,788	11.09	222	27.32

B

Year	Extensions					
	Total capital outlay to date (Rs.)	Gross earnings (Rs.)	Net earnings (Rs.)	Net percentage on capital outlay	Earning per week per mile (Rs.)	Proportion of working expenses to earnings
1903	79,30,172	3,47,832	1,05,916	1.34	71	69.55
1904	84,97,571	4,15,179	1,08,680	1.28	68	73.85
1905	87,92,080	5,12,343	1,97,924	2.25	85	61.39
1906	89,99,516	5,83,852	2,91,256	3.23	96	50.11
1907	90,70,826	6,04,133	90,883	3.21	99	51.85

Source: J.F. Grunning, *Eastern Bengal and Assam District Gazetteers: Jalpaiguri*, Allahabad, 1911, p. 115.

The bad road condition in the Jalpaiguri district particularly in the Western Duars region was a constant cause of worry of the planters because most of the tea gardens were linked by roads which were previously in a bad condition.

During D.H.E. Sunder's tenure as Settlement Officer there were "no metalled roads in the district".¹¹⁶ He urged upon the Government for opening a road from Ghargharia market to Jaigaon and strongly recommended the extension of Jalpaiguri-Gaikata road. There was a distinction between the roads situated on the west of the Tista and the roads which were found on the Western Duars region.

The condition of communication network in the pre-colonial period may be assembled from the different sources in the following manner.

Roads in the Jalpaiguri district before 1869 (between 1780-1800)

- (1) From Darjeeling to Tetulia via Pankhabari and Phansidawa.
- (2) Siliguri to Jalpaiguri through Phoolbari and Baikunthapur.
- (3) Deogram to Sikkim via Sevoke and Kalimpong.
- (4) Rangpur to Jalpaiguri via Kargirhat.
- (5) Phuntsholing to Mainaguri through Buxa.
- (6) From Kalimpong to Dam Dim and Mougong through Algara and Garubathan route.
- (7) Eastern Nepal to Panchanai through Rajarjhar and Nijamattara.
- (8) There was route from Mongpong through Ambari Falakata to Rangpore across Teesta. The river communication through the Teesta after 1784 when Teesta changed its course and started flowing through the present channel started from Jalpaiguri to Rangpur and after 1869 from Rangpur through Brahmaputra and through the tributaries of Brahmaputra and Padma combine to the Calcutta port.¹¹⁷

A good number of roads existed in the Western portion of the Teesta river due to the absence of heavy rainfall in the said region and the subsequent recurring floods. But the Western Duars region was split up into

numerous rivers and their erratic changing courses made the maintenance of the roads quite difficult. For this reason many tea gardens in the Western Duars began to depend on Railway services. In this regard J.F. Grunning remarked, "A great change has been made by the opening of the Bengal-Duars Railway, before its construction the tea gardens of the Dam-Dim sub-district depended on the Jalpaiguri Dam-Dim and Fulbari Ghat roads to send away their tea to or get in supplies from Jalpaiguri or Siliguri; now nearly all the traffic uses the railway".¹¹⁸ The local administration was aware of the plight of the roads and for the purpose of maintaining and making roads the Public Works department was formed; subsequently the Jalpaiguri district Board also maintained some roads. Nine roads in the Western Duars region was maintained by Public Works department. The nine roads which were under direct supervision of P.W.D. were (1) Lataguri-Meteli Road, (2) Ramshai-Sulkapara Road, (3) Sulkapara-Thaljhora Road, (4) Nagrakata feeder road, (5) Banerhat-Chamurchi road, (6) Ramshai-Gairkata road, (7) Gairkata-Birpara road, (8) Gairkata-Dhupguri road, and (9) Gairkata-Binnaguri road.¹¹⁹

It should be mentioned that for making the Ramshai hat Nagrakata road "75 acres and 30 poles of land" were taken and it was decided that "the estimate of the cost of compensation to be paid on account of the land which is to be taken over is hereby sanctioned debitable to the provision of Rs. 40,000 for land..."¹²⁰

Further, for making the Ramshaihat-Gairkata road Rs. 2,430 was sanctioned;¹²¹ and Rs. 13 was sanctioned as "compensation to be paid for land" which was acquired for the construction of the road from Lataguri to Meteli.¹²³ For making the Jainti-Rydak road Rs. 6,864 was paid of the cost of compensation for land.¹²³

J.F. Grunning mentioned a road which was being constructed during his time from the Dam-Dim Station to "join a metalled road from the Fagu tea-garden in the Darjeeling district..."¹²⁴ The opening of the road, Grunning argued, would not only benefit several tea-gardens but also serve as an important feeder to the Bengal Duars Railway. In the west of the Torsa river a

road existed towards the Rajbhatkhawa station on the Cooch Behar State Railway. This road was mostly used by the tea-planters.

The Jalpaiguri District Board also maintained a total length of 24 miles of metalled and 778 unmetalled roads. The principal road under the Board existed on the eastern bank of the Tista river opposite Jalpaiguri town. This road stretched as far as the Eastern Duars region up to Alipurduar and it was called the Jalpaiguri-Alipur road and "thence is known as the Alipur-Haldibari Road".¹²⁵

In the west of the Tista the most important road was Boda road which was 31 miles in length. Further, the other important roads on the west of the Tista were the Slliguri road, 23 miles long, which runs through Ambari-Falakata and the Titalya road, 26 miles long a road from Boda to Domar railway station. The cattle and sheep were driven from the Western Duars to the Assam through the Central Emigration Road. The Boda-Domar railway station road was used extensively particularly during the jute season. Before the opening of the Eastern Bengal State Railway an imperial road existed between Karagola Ghat on the Ganges to the foot of the hills. The main objective behind the construction of this road was to facilitate communication between the plains and Darjeeling.

Although Jalpaiguri district was split by several rivers; but few of the rivers were fit for navigation. The Tista was navigable by large boats as far as Jalpaiguri, "the Duduya up to the Jalpaiguri-Alipur road, the Mujnai as far as Falakata and the Kaljani up to Alipurduar..."¹²⁶

The Baura hat within the Patgram Police Station which was situated on a small tributary of the Tista, business transactions took place through river. From Baura hat the merchants exported tobacco, rice and jute through the Tista river to Dhaka and other eastern markets. But with the inauguration of the railways this river-borne communication slowly decreased.

Besides, there were a number of ferries in the district. There were 125 ferries in the district of which 99 ferries were within the purview of the District Board and the rest of the ferries were within the provincial

jurisdiction. While the District Board gained a revenue of Rs. 18,740 in 1907-08 from its ferries; the provincial ferries earned Rs. 7,516.¹²⁷ The principal ferries were on the Tista and Jaldhaka rivers and the most important ferry was the Abden Ferry which was situated on the opposite the town of Jalpaiguri. This ferry was maintained and managed by the Bengal-Duars Railway Company. Other important ferries were situated at Paharpur, Premganj, Rangdhamali, Baikunthapur, Kharchibari and Fulbari, Helapakri, Kantimari, Boalmari. But the most important ferries were at the "points where the Jalpaiguri-Alipur, Ramshai-Gaikata and Ramshai-Suklapara roads cross the river..."¹²⁸

It is natural that the establishment of tea-plantation economy in the Jalpaiguri district would also inspire the planters to create a proper infrastructure. The Dooars Planters' Association which was purely an organisation of the European planters was keen on the creation of infrastructure needed by the plantations in the form of railways, roads and bridges and pressurised the Colonial Government in practical realisation of their projects. The Colonial Government provided the planters a liberal assistance. The Bengal Dooars Railways (BDR) constructed railways under a contract signed in 1891 between the Secretary of State for India and the Octavius Steel and Co. of London. Further the Government provided to the BDR free grants of land, free supply of timber from the reserved forests. Although the planters' own contribution in upgrading the local communications were not encouraging but it was they who along with the ex-officio European members in the Jalpaiguri District Board were able to allot a sizeable portion of the annual budget in meeting the infrastructural requirements of the planters. So as all the infrastructural developments in the Jalpaiguri district were linked with plantation economy the total development in the fullest sense was not possible in the Colonial era; although it is true that during this era of building of railways, roads, this part of northern Bengal was linked with the outside capitalist market and such tendencies helped to transform at least economically the timid insular character of the region.

VI

The term urbanisation has been defined as the process of becoming urban. Generally speaking the process of urbanisation is closely linked with the concentration of population into towns and cities but three linked concepts are applied in social-scientific study: (a) as a demographic phenomenon, urbanisation implies a process involving the absolute and relative growth of towns and cities within a defined area, usually a country due to dependence on census information; (b) the second concept states that the demographic process is related to the structural change in society consequent upon the development of industrial capitalism; and (c) the third concept states urbanisation as a behavioural process. It is known that in the urban areas particularly in the bigger cities social changes take place. In this expanded view of urbanisation, the demographic factor is presented as the dependent variable, the outcome of economic processes. But the above model of urbanisation has been criticised for relating the central role of the growth of factory production to the growth of urban centres. It has been argued that long before the Industrial Revolution there were urban centres in North-West Europe. Further capitalism does not require the continued concentration of population.

The establishment of British rule in India brought about basic changes in the structure of urban society, in the form of subordination of socio-economic activity in the South Asia to the capitalist economy of the metropolitan country. The changes which took place in India during the period of colonialism in cities and towns are best understood in the context of British effort in linking her empire in South Asia to her expanding capitalist economy.

In the Jalpaiguri district the process of urbanisation was linked to the establishment of plantation economy and so the character of urban growth in the district was very restricted.¹²⁹ Throughout the British period the Jalpaiguri remained essentially a rural and plantation district. Till 1951 Jalpaiguri although being the district headquarter and the only town recognised by the

Census authority had hardly any civil amenities. It did not have any electricity before 1933 and no waterworks before 1935. Alipurduar town, the second largest settlement acquired the status of a non-municipal town as later as 1951. Apart from these two there were some trading centres in the Duars. The 1911 District Gazetteer stated only six chief trading centres in Duars: Jorpakri, Mainaguri, Falakata, Madarihat, Buxa and Alipurduars. In the Regulation part the number of trading centres were only five: Jalpaiguri town, Tetulia, Rajnagar, Saldanga, Debiganj and Buxa.¹³⁰ Besides this Domohoni situated on the left bank of the Tista attained the characteristic of a railway settlement.

Among these settlements, Jalpaiguri town deserves special mention. The place served as headquarter of the Raikats since the second decade of the 18th century. The British had a long cherished dream to make Jalpaiguri town a district headquarter. During the Anglo-Bhutan war in the southern part of the town an army cantonment was established to collect revenues from the North-eastern regions and to assess the potentialities of trade and commerce of the Jalpaiguri District region.¹³¹ The decision to establish the Jalpaiguri town was determined by several factors. With the growth of tea plantation in the district the Bengali entrepreneurs slowly came to participate in it and their registered offices were established in the town. Further registered offices of the most of the Indian tea companies came to be located there. In the year 1878 the town was connected with Calcutta. Jalpaiguri town was connected with the Duars region through Barnes Ghat on the eastern side of Tista river by ferry. Further the town was transformed into a vibrant trading centre and provided a channel through which various articles of trade such as cotton cloth, corrugated iron and various consumer goods reached to the remote trading centers of the Duars region.

This town as exporting zone mobilised and siphoned off tea, jute, tobacco, timber etc. to Calcutta. The expanding networks of services and professional and economic interests within the colonial framework determined the socio-economic relations of the town.

There were two types of settlement in the Jalpaiguri town – (a) Cluster settlement and (b) Random settlement. These two types of settlements represented a picture of purely colonial enclave; the issue of racial factor being a crucial one in this respect. Within the sphere of cluster settlement on the right bank of Tista there were concentrations of elite European establishments. J.F. Grunning remarked in this respect that the principal buildings are residential. Among the notable buildings he mentioned the Post and Telegraph Office, the Hospital, the Jail, the Deputy Commissioner's Bungalow etc.¹³² Further different European clubs, residential European bungalows also formed the parts of an elite zone. Away from the river and to the west was the sprawling native town. Here with the exception of the brick built palace of the Raikats all the houses were built with wooden and bamboo materials. J.F. Grunning expressed his concern in this respect, "Jalpaiguri has always been a bad place for fires owing probably to the inflammable nature of most of the buildings".¹³³ In 1878 most of the Government establishments including the Commissioner's office, the Deputy Commissioner's office, the Judge's Court house and Munsif's Court were burnt. In consequence of the fire the Deputy Commissioner transferred the headquarter from Jalpaiguri to Rampur Boalia; but in 1888 after the appointment of Lord Ulick Browne as Commissioner Jalpaiguri again became the district headquarter.

The Random settlement area was divided into several paras or localities usually named after an occupation such as Babupara, Ukilpara, Muhuripara, Telipara etc. Within the random settlement mainly lower-caste agricultural population lived and the total setting of the town bore the imprint of many rural features.¹³⁴

One of the major indicators for the development of the Jalpaiguri town was the growth of population which occurred due to the influx of immigrant populations in the town. The population growth in the town was rather sluggish from the outset. In 1872 before the establishment of Municipal Board the population of town was 6,598; but slowly the population grew and touched the figure 27,766 in the year 1941.

Table III: 16

Chart showing growth of population in the Jalpaiguri town

Year	Persons
1872	6,598
1881	7,936
1891	9,682
1901	9,708
1911	11,469
1921	14,520
1931	18,962
1941	27,766

Source: *Census Reports for the relevant years.*

Both Bengali Hindu and Muslim families from East Bengal particularly from Pabna and Rajshahi areas settled in the town. The professional background of the immigrant population was of bhadralok nature. An array of Government clerks, lawyers, teachers, contractors etc. settled in the town. Muslim traders from Dacca district and Marwari traders and merchants tempted by the rising economic potentialities of the town decided to settle in the town.¹³⁵ Both the Rajbansi and Muslim populations formed a small section of the population and their were looked down by the caste Hindus; while the Noakhali Muslims did not treated the local Muslims on equal footing. Further different types of lower category professional population such as washermen, barbers, sweepers also formed a significant part of the growing population of the town.

Apart from these the European population although formed a microscopic segment of the whole population but proved to be the leader of socio-political and economic affairs. Further they played the part of arbiters of all revenue, public works and criminal affairs.

The introduction of principles of municipal administration in Jalpaiguri town also bear long historical background. The Charter Act of 1893 emphasised the important of municipal administration in British India and following this Act in different presidencies Municipal Corporations were established. Further the Bengal Municipal Act of 1884 provided for slow

introduction of elective principles in small towns and the practical realisation of such principles was materialised in the formation of Jalpaiguri Municipality on 1.4.1885. In the all India perspective within 1900 in different district 742 municipalities were established.¹³⁶ Despite this the Colonial Government choose to a cautious path and refused to transfer the full responsibilities to the natives. After the establishment of the Municipality the Board consisted of 13 Commissioners of whom 3 were ex-officio members, the Deputy Commissioner being the Chairman while the rest were Government nominated members. Till 1916 the Deputy Commissioner confirmed to function as the Chairman and all the Municipal Commissioners were nominated. Thus it is clear from the structure of the Board that the Colonial masters had the final say in the municipal affairs too.¹³⁷ But despite this dominance in 1887 Rajendralal Raoy was appointed as the Vice-Chairman of the Jalpaiguri Municipality who became the first non-official native entered in the Municipality. In 1916 the famous lawyer Anukul Mukherji was appointed as the first non-official Chairman of the Municipality. After him, Prasanna Dev Raikat, Purnachandra Roy, Maulavi Abdus Sattar, Dr. Satish Chandra Das Gupta, Bipulendranath Banerji, Maulavi Makhlechar Rehman, Bhabani Kumar Banerjee, Jibankanti Roy serves as the Chairman of the Municipality.¹³⁸ In 1905 the town was divided into five wards and from these five wards ten representatives were elected as members while in addition to these three ex-officio members, three government-nominated members constituted the sixteen member Municipal Board.¹³⁹ During the tenure of Chairman Anukul Mukherji the municipal area was divided into seven wards and out of nineteen Board members, fourteen were elected members, four were government-nominated members and one was ex-officio member.

During Grunning's tenure the area within municipal areas was 3.71 square miles. The average income in the year 1907-08 was Rs. 34,363 and the expenditure was Rs. 33,503; "...the figures are increased by large grants made in 1904-05 and 1905-06 for the construction of a new hospital buinding".¹⁴⁰ The rate of taxation was Rs. 1-13-2 per head of the population. In 1907-08 Rs.

1,496 was spent on lighting, Rs. 8,576 on conservancy, Rs. 7,748 on medical relief, Rs. 4,497 were spent on roads and Rs. 763 on education.¹⁴¹ The hospital was completed in 1905 and it was built at a cost of Rs. 31,303.

In the year 1890 under the supervision of District Board Engineer Mr. Lenard a project regarding survey of municipal areas was undertaken. Further the municipal authorities also took some measures for uplifting the civic standards of the town, *e.g.*, the authorities transferred the slaughter house at the outskirts of the town, in different parts of the town tubewells and wells were established. Further to solve the long standing water problem on 27.7.1929 the then Municipal Board decided to install a water-pumping machine. On 7.2.1935 a drinking water plant was inaugurated by Subhas Chandra Bose. In 1934 sixty-six street lights were installed in the town.¹⁴²

In short, with the establishment of British rule in the Jalpaiguri district there was a simultaneous creation of plantation economy in the district. And such tendency created a conducive atmosphere for carrying out trading and professional activities in the Jalpaiguri town and the immigrant population particularly from East Bengal did not hesitate to seize the opportunities which the Colonial rule offered to them and they began to settle in the town and helped to acquire the epithet of settlers' town.

Notes and References

1. J.A. Milligan, *Final Report on the Survey and Settlement operations in the Jalpaiguri District 1906-07*, Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, Calcutta, 1919, p. 21.
2. *Ibid.* p. 22.
3. J.F. Grunning, *Eastern Bengal and Assam District Gazetteers: Jalpaiguri*, Allahabad, 1911, p. 57.
4. Amiya Kumar Bagchi, *Private investment in India 1900-1939*, Cambridge, 1972, p. 48.
5. Percival Griffiths, *The history of tea industry in India*, London, 1967, p. 115.
6. *Ibid.* p. 115.
7. Ranjit Das Gupta, *Economy, Society and Politics in Bengal: Jalpaiguri 1869-1947*, New Delhi, 1992, p. 56.
8. (i) Radhe Shyam Rungta, *The Rise of Business Corporations in India 1851-1900*, Cambridge, 1970, p. 96.
(ii) B.C. Ghosh, 'The development of the tea-industry in the District of Jalpaiguri 1869-1968', in *Jalpaiguri District Centenary Souvenir* (ed.) Rebati Mohan Lahiri, Jalpaiguri, September 1970, p. 283.
9. B.C. Ghosh, 'The development of the tea-industry in the District of Jalpaiguri 1869-1968', in *Jalpaiguri District Centenary Souvenir* (ed.) Rebati Mohan Lahiri, Jalpaiguri, September 1970, p. 283.
10. Grunning, *op. cit.* p. 103.
11. *Ibid.* p. 103.
12. *Ibid.* p. 103.
13. B.C. Ghosh, 'The development of the tea-industry in the District of Jalpaiguri 1869-1968', in *Jalpaiguri District Centenary Souvenir* (ed.) Rebati Mohan Lahiri, Jalpaiguri, September 1970, p. 284.
14. *Ibid.* p. 284.
15. Grunning, *op. cit.* p. 104.
16. Percival Griffiths, *op. cit.* pp. 117-118.
17. Samarendra Dev (Taru) Raikat, 'Raikat Banso O Jalpaigurir Itihas' in Umesh Sharma, *Jalpaigurir Raikat Banser Rajarshi, Grantha Tirtha*, October 2003, p. 227.
18. B.C. Ghosh, 'The development of the tea-industry in the District of Jalpaiguri 1869-1968', in *Jalpaiguri District Centenary Souvenir* (ed.) Rebati Mohan Lahiri, Jalpaiguri, September 1970, p. 289.

19. *Friends of India*, 18th July 1867 cited in Radhe Shaym Rungta, *The Rise of Business Corporations in India 1851-1900*, Cambridge, 1970.
20. Radhe Shaym Rungta, *The Rise of Business Corporations in India 1851-1900*, Cambridge, 1970, p. 171.
21. N.S. Ahmed, *Some Aspects of the History of British investment in the private sector of the Indian Economy 1874-1914* (unpublished thesis) (M.Sc. Econ., London, 1955) cited in Radhe Shaym Rungta, *The Rise of Business Corporations in India 1851-1900*, Cambridge, 1970.
22. Gow, Wilson and Stanton, *Tea Producing Companies of India and Ceylon*, London, 1897.
23. Grunning, *op. cit.* pp. 143, 170, 179-180.
24. D.H.E. Sunder, *Survey and Settlement of the Western Dooars in the Jalpaiguri District 1889-95*, p. 102.
25. *Ibid.* p. 102.
26. From Major H. Boileau, Deputy Commissioner of Julpigoree, to The Commissioner of the Rajshahye Division No. 197G, dated Julpigoree, the 5th May 1888, W.B.S.A.
27. From A. Mackenzie, Esq. Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to The Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Land Revenue Department No. 893T, dated Darjeeling, the 18th July 1878 (W.B.S.A.).
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Ibid.*
30. Grunning, *op. cit.* p. 68.
31. *Ibid.* p. 69.
32. *Ibid.* p. 69
33. Sunder, *op. cit.* p. 115.
34. *Ibid.* p. 115.
35. Grunning, *op. cit.* p. 69.
36. *Ibid.* p. 66.
37. *Ibid.* p. 70.
38. *Ibid.* p. 70.
39. B. Hamilton, cited in J.F. Grunning's *ibid.* p. 71.
40. Milligan, *op. cit.* p. 9.
41. Umesh Sharma, *Jalpaiguri Raikat Banser Rajarshi*, Grantha Tirtha, October 2003, p. 67.

42. Milligan, *op. cit.* p. 10.
43. Grunning, *op. cit.* p. 68.
44. *Ibid.* p. 99.
45. Omkar Goswami, *Industry, trade and peasant society – the jute economy of Eastern India 1900-1947*, New Delhi, 1911, p. 139.
46. E.E. Lowis, Commissioner, Note on the proposals for fixing rates of rent in Mynaguri tehsil dated 5th July 1890 (W.B.S.A.).
47. F.O. Bell, *Final Report on the Survey and Settlement operations in the district of Dinajpur 1934-40*, Calcutta, 1940, p. 22.
48. Grunning, *op. cit.* p. 60.
49. Letter from the Manager of Baikunthapur to Deputy Commissioner of Jalpaiguri vide memo no. 39 dated 9.4.1891, Jalpaiguri Raikat House.
50. Grunning, *op. cit.* p. 60.
51. *Ibid.* p. 59.
52. ICJC, *Report on the Marketing and Transport of Jute in India*, Calcutta, 1940, pp. 61, 68.
53. Omkar Goswami, *Industry, trade and peasant society – the jute economy of Eastern India 1900-1947*, New Delhi, 1911, p. 139.
54. Grunning, *op. cit.* p. 101.
55. ICJC, *Report on the Marketing and Transport of Jute in India*, Calcutta, 1940, pp. 68.
56. Omkar Goswami, *Industry, trade and peasant society – the jute economy of Eastern India 1900-1947*, New Delhi, 1911, p. 139.
57. Grunning, *op. cit.* p. 111.
58. *Ibid.* p. 60.
59. *Ibid.* p. 58.
60. *Ibid.* p. 58.
61. Sunder, *op. cit.* p. 96.
62. Grunning, *op. cit.* p. 61.
63. *Ibid.* p. 63.

Upendranath Barman in his book *Uttarbanglar sekal o amar jiban smriti*, p. 4, said that a person had sufficient number of cows enjoyed the advantage of growing tobacco and betelnuts.

64. Sunder, *op. cit.* p. 97.
65. Grunning, *op. cit.* p. 62.
66. Sunder, *op. cit.* p. 26.

67. Grunning, *op. cit.* p. 111.
68. (i) Sunder, *op. cit.* p. 26.
(ii) Grunning, *op. cit.* p. 112.
69. Milligan, *op. cit.* p. 125.
70. *Ibid.* p. 125.
71. *Ibid.* p. 125
72. *Ibid.* p. 126.
73. *Ibid.* p. 127.
74. *Ibid.* p. 127.
75. *Ibid.* p. 127.
76. *Ibid.* p. 127.
77. From D.H. Lees, Esq. I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner of Jalpaiguri, to the Commissioner of the Rajshahi Division No. 711 G, dated Jalpaiguri, the 3rd June 1914, W.B.S.A.
78. From the Hon'ble Mr. J.H. Kerr C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department, to the Commissioner of the Rajshahi Division No. 8380, dated Calcutta, the 29th August, 1914.
79. Memorandum of proceedings of a conference held at Alipore Dooars on the 10th March 1890. Members present were Mr. Lowis, Commissioner, Major Boileau, Deputy Commissioner, Colonel Wilkins, Mr. d Sunder, Settlement Officer, Mr. Finucane, Director of Land Records, W.B.S.A.
80. *Ibid.*
81. *Ibid.*
82. From Lieut. Col. H. Boileau, Deputy Commissioner, Jalpaiguri, to the Commissioner of the Rajshahi Division No. 101G, dated Jalpaiguri, the 11th April 1894, W.B.S.A.
83. From T.W. Richardson, Esq. Under-Secretary of the Govt. of Bengal, Revenue Department, to the Commissioner of the Rajshahi Division No. 1699 L.R. dated Calcutta, the 29th March 1894, W.B.S.A.
84. *Ibid.*
85. From P. Nolan, Esq. Commissioner of the Rajshahi Division, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department No. 66 Rct, dated Darjeeling, the 9th May, 1894, W.B.S.A.
86. From Lieut. Col. H. Boileau, Deputy Commissioner, Jalpaiguri, to the Commissioner of the Rajshahi Division No. 101G, dated Jalpaiguri, the 11th April 1894, W.B.S.A.

87. From P. Nolan, Esq. Commissioner of the Rajshahi Division, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department No. 1202 Rct, dated Camp Jateshwar (Jalpaiguri), the 26th February, 1894, W.B.S.A.
88. From P. Nolan, Esq. Commissioner of the Rajshahi Division, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department No. 1652R, dated Jalpaiguri, the 15th February, 1894, W.B.S.A.
89. From P. Nolan, Esq. Commissioner of the Rajshahi Division, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department No. 1202 Rct, dated Camp Jateshwar (Jalpaiguri), the 26th February, 1894, W.B.S.A.
90. From C.E. Buckland, Esq. Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department, to the Commissioner of the Rajshahi Division No. 86 T.R., dated Darjeeling, the 25th May 1894, W.B.S.A.
91. From Lieut. Col. H. Boileau, Deputy Commissioner, Jalpaiguri, to the Commissioner of the Rajshahi Division No. 101G, dated Jalpaiguri, the 11th April 1894, W.B.S.A.
92. From C.E. Buckland, Esq. Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department, to the Commissioner of the Rajshahi Division No. 86 T.R., dated Darjeeling, the 25th May 1894, W.B.S.A.
93. From C.E. Buckland, Esq. Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Commissioner of the Rajshahi Division Calcutta, the 26th March 1895, Land Revenue No. 1654 — Revenue Department, Directorate of Land Record and Survey, Calcutta.
94. *Ibid.*
95. Note on the proposals for fixing rates of rent in Mynaguri Tehsil E.E. Lowis, Commissioner, dated 5th July, 1890.
96. Extract from a letter No. 1675G, dated March 14th 1884, from the Deputy Commissioner of the Rajshahye Division, W.B.S.A.
97. *Ibid.*
98. *Ibid.*
99. Note on the proposals for fixing rates of rent in Mynaguri Tehsil E.E. Lowis, Commissioner, dated 5th July, 1890.
100. *Ibid.*
101. *Ibid.*
102. Griffiths, *op. cit.* p. 647.
103. Grunning, *op. cit.* p. 113.

104. Barun De *et al.*, *West Bengal District Gazetteers: Jalpaiguri*, Calcutta, 1981, p. 166.
105. Grunning, *op. cit.* p. 113.
106. Griffiths, *op. cit.* p. 518.
107. De *et al.*, *op. cit.* p. 166.
108. Grunning, *op. cit.* p. 113.
109. (i) De *et al.*, *op. cit.* p. 166.
 (ii) Ratna Roy Sanyal, 'Introduction and impact of the Railways in North Bengal during the second half of the Nineteenth Century' ed. Chandi Das Bhattacharya, *University of North Bengal Review (Humanity and Social Science)*, 2001-2003.
110. H.N. Chaudhury, *The Chaklajat Estates and their settlement of Rent*, published under the authority of Calcutta, 1902, p. 133.
111. *Ibid.* p. 133.
112. Note on the proposals for fixing rates of rent in Mynaguri Tehsil E.E. Lowis Commissioner dated 5th July 1890, W.B.S.A.
113. *Ibid.*
114. From N. Finucame, Esq. C.S., Director of the Department of Land Records and Agriculture, Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department, Office of the Director of the Department of Land Records and Agriculture, Bengal, No. 989 T.A., dated Calcutta, the 9th July 1890, Directorate of Land Records and Survey, Calcutta.
115. From H.L. Harrison, Esq. Secretary to the Board of Revenue, L.P., to the Commissioner of the Rajshahye and Cooch Behar Division No. 136A, dated Fort William, the 20th March 1878, W.B.S.A.
116. D.H.E. Sunder, *Survey and Settlement of the Western Duars in the Jalpaiguri District 1889-95*, p. 34.
117. (i) *Foreign Political Consultations*.
 (ii) *Rangpur District Records*.
 (iii) *Rennell's Map*.
118. Grunning, *op. cit.* p. 116.
119. *Ibid.* pp. 117-118.
120. (a) From D. Joscelyne, Esq. Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal, Public Works department to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue department, department-revenue, File No. 13C/1 of 1900 dated Calcutta, the 13th March 1900 No. 1427C.

- (b) Continuous note sheet File 13C/2 of 1900, 298/3 of is, subject-Ramshai Hat-Nagrakata and other roads in Jalpaiguri Revenue Department, Land Revenue Branch, Government of Bengal, 1900.
121. From A.H.C. Mccarthy, Esquire, under Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal, Public Works Department, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department No. 1799C dated Calcutta, the 28th March 1900, W.B.S.A.
122. From A.H.C. Mccarthy, Esquire, under Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal, Public Works Department, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department Branch – Land Revenue File No. 13C/1, dated Calcutta, the 3rd April 1900.
123. From A.H.C. Mccarthy, Esquire, under Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal, Public Works Department, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department, Department – Revenue, Branch – Land Revenue, File No. 13C/1 of 1900, dated Calcutta, the 29th March 1900.
124. J.F. Grunning, *Eastern Bengal and Assam District Gazetteers: Jalpaiguri*, Allahabad, 1911, p. 119.
125. *Ibid.* p. 118.
126. *Ibid.* p. 121.
127. *Ibid.* p. 121.
128. *Ibid.* p. 122.
129. Asim Chaudhuri, 'Development, Urbanisation and rural-urban relationship in a Plantation Dominated Economy - Myth and Reality: The Case of Jalpaiguri District in North Bengal', in Biplab Dasgupta (ed.) *Urbanisation, Migration and Rural Change: A Study of West Bengal*, A. Mukherjee, Calcutta, 1988.
130. Grunning, *op. cit.*, 1911, p. 111.
131. Kamakhya Prosad Chakraborty, 'Sekaler Jalpaiguri Saharer Chalchitra', in Arabinbdo Kar (ed.), *Jalpaiguri Jela Sankalan*, Jalpaiguri, 2004.
132. Grunning, *op. cit.*, 1911, p. 150.
133. *Ibid.* 1911, p. 150.
134. (i) Charu Chandra Sanyal, 'Jalpaiguri Saharer Ekso Bachar', in *Centenary Souvenir*, pp. 83-84.
- (ii) Jatindranath Sinha, 'Ekjan Shikshaker Chokhe Sharer Adim Rup' in *Centenary Souvenir*, pp. 276-77.

135. *Census of India 1921*, Chapter II, Subsidiary Table II, p. 128.
136. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. IV, pp. 284-94, Oxford, 1992.
137. Ranajit Das Gupta, *Economy, Society and Politics in Bengal: Jalpaiguri 1869-1947*, Delhi 1992, p. 78.
138. Umesh Sharma, 'Jalpaiguri Paurosabhar Shatottar Barsher Katha' in Arabindo Kar (ed.), *Jalpaiguri Jela Sankalan*, 2004, p. 395.
139. Grunning, *op. cit.*, 1911, p. 151.
140. *Ibid.* 1911, p. 151.
141. *Ibid.* 1911, p. 151.
142. Umesh Sharma, *op. cit.*, 2004, p. 395.