

## **Non – Bengali Entrepreneurship and Tea plantation industry: A Case Study of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri Districts in Post-Independence period**

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Tea plantation industry in India was originally initiated and developed by British enterprises. It was started on a commercial scale in India after the British monopoly of trade in tea with China was abolished in 1833 and wild tea plants, indigenous to Assam, were found in the early part of the nineteenth century<sup>1</sup>. The initial capital to establish the tea industry was raised in the United Kingdom and the typical unit of this industry took the form of public limited sterling company. These companies employed agents or secretaries in Calcutta to implement the policies and programmes formulated by the board of directors in London. The tea industry which was thus mainly foreign dominated, particularly in ownership and management, gradually progressed with the passage of time<sup>2</sup>. Beside the white tea planters, the Indian tea planters especially the Bengali pleaders of Jalpaiguri district played a pivot role to introduce the tea plantation industry in North Bengal<sup>3</sup>. Apart from the Bengali lawyers of Jalpaiguri district<sup>4</sup>, there were also other Bengali people belonged to various profession like Zaminders, Jotedars, wood merchants, tea garden employees, labour suppliers of numerous tea estates<sup>5</sup> who also played a major role by introducing tea estates singlehandedly in Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling district respectively<sup>6</sup>. Till 1947, the control and ownership of tea estates in North Bengal established both by the Europeans and Bengalis were under their subservience. Though the ownership of a few tea estates controlled by the white tea planters in Darjeeling hill were transferred to the non Bengalis (among them the Marwaris ranked first) during the World economic depression of 1930's but no serious changes took place in ownership of various tea estates controlled both by the Europeans and Bengali entrepreneurs in the Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling district until 1947. Since independence we find a dramatic change in the history of the tea plantation industry of North Bengal. Most of the tea estates run both by the Europeans and Bengalis were began to sell to the non - Bengalis. At present near about 95 per cent tea estates are now being owned and controlled by the non - Bengalis<sup>7</sup>. Hence an attempt has been made to make a paper on the emergence of non – Bengali entrepreneurship of the tea plantation industry in North Bengal.

An analysis of the rupee companies listed in Investor's India Year Book 1911 revealed that the seven European managing agency houses like Andrew, Yule and Company, Bird and Company, Dunlop and Company, Shaw, Wallace and Company, Williamson, Magor and Company, Duncan Brothers and Octavius Steel and Company controlled 55% of jute companies, 61% of the tea companies and 46% of the coal companies. However, in case of jute Andrew Yule and Company, Bird and Company

alone controlled fourteen out of twenty-nine rupee companies, and their control increased by the decade 1910-20.

The inclusion of sterling tea companies would seem to make a material difference to our measurement of the degree of concentration. According to an estimate made by G.D. Hope, chief scientific officer, Indian Tea Association, out of a total nominal capital of 4.3 million of joint stock companies registered in India only scrutiny of the list of sterling tea companies registered by 1914, and operating in India, published by the Mincing Lane Tea and Rubber Shares Brokers' Association limited and the Indian Tea Share Exchange Limited, reveals that out of 124 companies so listed, 42 were controlled by George Williamson and Company, Octavious Steel and Company, Walter Duncan and company and R.G. Shaw and Company, which were the London correspondents of four firms appearing in our list of the top seven managing agency firms in Calcutta<sup>8</sup>.

One can say that when a company was registered in India, the capital had been predominantly raised from Europeans (and a small group of Indians) who were living in India or who had lived in India in the recent past and had close connections with India. However, it is not true that when a company was registered in London, the capital came predominantly from the residents of Britain. This is obvious when one looks at the history of most of the tea companies under the control of British managing houses. The tea estates were organized into companies after they had already been worked, at least partially, for some years and an estimate of the profits that were likely to be made by the companies had been arrived at. Many of the sterling companies managed by the managing agency houses were closely held, and their shares were not quoted on the stock exchange<sup>9</sup>.

The British mercantile presence on the eve of World War I was truly staggering. Most of the tea plantations were managed by Britons. The larger of these were organized along joint – stock lines and 96 per cent of such companies had boards that were exclusively British. At first glance, matters seemed somewhat different in the coal industry: only 47 per cent of the firms were managed by non – Indians<sup>10</sup>. However, in the tea plantations, the major collieries – commanding greater capital and larger mining rights – were joint – stock firms and 89 per cent of these were controlled by Europeans, mostly British, managing agencies<sup>11</sup>.

1947 a much greater divide in business history than it was reality. The standard argument run as follows. By creating formidable barriers to the entry of 'natives', colonial firms maintained an oligopolistic position eastern India up to 1947. These barriers were created and efficiently maintained because of a milieu that allowed Anglo – Saxon businessman to reap the benefits of their bonds of racial affinity with the rulers of the land. With the snapping of such bonds in 1947, the colonial firms fell from grace and made a hasty retreat from India. Unfortunately, this argument has factual problems. Although some British managing agencies packed up after 1947, many others remained. Even in 1960 Calcutta had Andrew Yule, Gillanders and others that were still under

British control and the expatriate community continued to enjoy the privilege of sunbathing in exclusive whites – only swimming clubs, even preventing Indian entry into the hallowed premises of the Bengal club right up to the late 1960s.

The structure of development of tea estates particularly to its ownership and management pattern took place when the Capital Issue Control Act was implemented in 1947. This provided that all joint – stock companies operating in the country whether registered in India or abroad will have to obtain official permission for bonus issue of all types of securities (shares and debentures) and in certain cases the authorities had the right to refuse the permission for capital issue. The joint stock tea companies faced with difficulties in declaring bonus and getting permission for capital issue. Under this situation, some of the tea estates owned by foreign companies transferred their ownership to Indian hands who were either Indian rupee companies or agency houses whether Indian or non – Indians. The changes in structural development of tea industry received further momentum when the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act, 1947 and Export Import Control Act, 1947 were also implemented. The foreign tea companies were restricted to earn foreign exchange and were compelled to take official permission to import any commodity. They were supposed to be guided by the rules and regulations of the act which specified the conditions of payments (like cash, installments or long term credit) under which goods could be imported and also decided the countries from where the commodities could be purchased by specifying the foreign exchange. The Acts, thus, established the ways of restricting a competition among the foreign companies, of securing domestic market for local producers and of utilizing the foreign exchange in the most rational manner. In view of the above, some of the foreign companies faced difficulties in expanding tea cultivation and thereby production and desired to sell their tea estates to the Indian nationals. The Indians subsequently converted them into different types of ownership viz. public limited, private limited and property concerns. Henceforth, they came under the management of mainly Indian agency houses, board of directors, managing partners and individuals<sup>12</sup>.

The tea companies were also affected by the Minimum Wages Act, 1947 and the Factory Act, 1948. The Minimum Wages Act provided that wages in tea plantation industry were to be fixed and notified by the respective Governments from time to time. The Factory Act contained various provisions limiting the permissible hours to work of a factory labour. The foreign companies which mainly dominated the tea plantation industry thus feared the possibility of low production of tea under the implementation of these acts, and found unprofitable to run business in India after meeting all the expenditure. Thus, some of the foreign tea companies were sold out to Indians. These Indians began to form the limited liability companies under the management of mainly Indian agency houses and board of directors. However, the formation of proprietary or partnership concerns was not ruled out. Their managements were mainly controlled by individual and partner or managing partners<sup>13</sup>.

The foreign tea companies thus realized that their gardens might not be profitable and changed their ownership and thereby management. The foreign companies were badly hit due to Industrial Development and Regulation Act of 1951. They were required to register with the corresponding government agencies and to obtain licence permitting them to operate. Official licenses were made compulsory if a new industrial project was launched. In certain cases, the authorities were given the power to refuse registration or declare the license invalid. Moreover, the authorities assumed the right to inspect the activities of all the private enterprises. In the case of unsatisfactory management (chronic financial loss, instability, violation of national interest or threat of national unemployment), the authorities had right to take them over for a few years. The foreign owned tea estates which were mainly dominated the tea industry, apprehended nationalization and decided to change their ownership to Indian hands<sup>14</sup>.

The Tea Act of 1953 restricted cultivation of tea in India and export of tea from India. The foreign tea companies who were mainly responsible for extending cultivation in India and exporting tea from India felt further handicapped on account of this act. Some of the tea estates under the ownership of foreign companies began to transfer ownership and management.

Structural changes in the tea industry began to take place rapidly from 1956. During the period between 1956 and 1975 important legislations and policies like Industrial Policy Resolution 1956; Companies Act 1956; Monopoly and Restrictive Trade Practices Act 1969; Second Five Year Plan 1956–1961; Third Five Year Plan 1962–1967; Fourth Five Year Plan 1969–1974 and Foreign Exchange Regulation Act, 1973 were introduced. These had crucial bearing on the course of major industries. Tea being one of the major organized industries, the implementation of those legislation and policies led to far reaching changes in the structure.

Apart from Foreign Exchange Regulation Act of 1973 which stated that foreign tea companies should be converted into Indian tea companies with Indian participation not less than 26 per cent of the equity of the company, the major activities of all those legislations and policies were to prevent private monopoly, managing agents and concentration of economic powers. As a result, the tea industry where there was a monopoly of foreign companies and managing agents controlling a large number of tea estates, area, production, buying, broking and distribution of tea had undergone significant changes particularly in its ownership and management pattern. The number of tea estates under the foreign companies 508 comprising 7 per cent of the total tea estates in India and it was reduced to 276 in 1975 accounting for 2 per cent of the total tea estates. This indicated the fact that the share of the tea estates under the foreign companies had diminished in both absolute and relative terms and the major portion of tea estates came under the ownership of Indian company and managements<sup>15</sup>.

This event more than any other shows how these things had changed for the older expatriate managing agencies. Most of them were in dire straits. Revenue from their

staple product like tea had disappeared. They were actually strapped for cash and working capital. They could not establish any cartel like control over prices output, or entry. And they were being buffeted not only by unprecedented global events that beyond their comprehension and reactive ability but also by Indians who were determined to enter their domain directly or via the bourse. Companies like Andrew Yule, Goodricke could manage to weather the storm. But other famous firms like McLeod, Gillanders Arbuthnot, Duncan Borthers faced serious takeover threats in many of their concerns.

The companies that survived the 1930s and 1940s and fought off Indian intrusion remained after 1947 and were reasonably prosperous until the mid 1960s when they were finally sold to Marwaris. The ones that packed up did not do so because the Raj had come to an end. They were inefficient, cash – strapped managing agencies that had lost the battle in the 1930s and early 1940s in the economic, not the political arena. Deeply in debt, these companies were bought up by their old Banias. For examples, we can mention that Duncan was bought up by Keshav Prasad Goenka; MacLeod by Radha Kissen Kanoria.

To clarify the scenario some examples are given below

#### Longview Tea Estate

This tea estate was incorporated on 16<sup>th</sup> January, 1879 by James Warren and Company Ltd. (formerly known as Planter's Stores and Agency Co. Ltd.) who had been looking after the management of the company as secretary and treasurers, registered on 31<sup>st</sup> January, 1950. In 1970 the ownership of this tea estate was transferred to Daga and Co. Ltd., Jalpaiguri, a private company incorporated under Indian Companies Act 1913. The Daga family has also promoted other industrial enterprises including Deepak spinners Ltd, Deepak Industries Ltd and continental profiles Ltd<sup>16</sup>.

#### Bagdogra Tea Estate

This tea estate was incorporated by E.F.Southern and Others. It was sold to Late Maithan Das Agarwala in 1956. He along with his son Sri Ajit Prasad Agarwala formed Terai Tea Co. Ltd. This company now possesses 8 tea estates under its management. However, all these estates were sold both from the British and Bengali tea companies<sup>17</sup>.

#### Lohagarh Tea Estate

This tea estate was incorporated by Octavious Steel Company Ltd. Later its ownership was transferred to National Indian Traders Pvt. Ltd in 1960's. Their head office was at 49, Steephen House B.B.D. Bag, Kol-1<sup>18</sup>. On 15<sup>th</sup> April 1976, the ownership of this tea estate was further transferred to Maithan Das Agarwala<sup>19</sup>.

#### Atal and Singhton Tea Estate

These two estates were incorporated by Andrew Yule and Co. Ltd. It was primarily a managing agency who made their money in trade or as labour contractor in

tea estates. Andrew Yule started in trade and entered the fields of coal and steamships before they took up the jute industry. Later they started their venture in tea industry. Their first venture in tea industry was the Atal Tea Estate and Sington Tea Estate in Darjeeling district. Later this two estate was purchased by sri N.C.Goenka, a trader from Kurseong in 1947.<sup>20</sup>

Chuniajhora T.E., Jayanti T.E., Phanskhowa T.E.

These three estates lying in the border area of Bhutan were incorporated by McLeod Russel India Ltd, a group of William Magor and Company<sup>21</sup>. It had its head office in London. Two Englishmen namely Captain J.H. Williamson and Richard Boycott Magor based in Calcutta formed a partnership firm namely Williamson Magor and Company to service the requirements of tea estates in Assam under the flagship of McLeod Russel and Company. The office was originally at 7 new China Bazar Street, Calcutta before they moved to Four Mangoe Lane in 1894 where the company is still located today. It was renamed as Williamson Magor and Company ltd. When it changed its status to a limited company in 1954 Brijmohan Khaitan, an East Indian merchant who used to the tea estates of this company with fertilizers and tea chests, was asked to join the board of the company in 1963 and he became the Managing Director of the Company in 1964<sup>22</sup>. In 1967 the Guthrie family in U.K. sold their all shares in the McLeod Russel group which included the Makum and Namdung Tea Companies to the Khaitan family, making the Macneill and Magor group<sup>23</sup>. In 1992 Macneill and Magor group was renamed as Williamson Magor and Company Ltd. It was originally incorporated as Ever Ready Company India Pvt. Ltd on 5<sup>th</sup> May 1998<sup>24</sup>. The company's tea is marketed under the registered Elephant trade mark. The present Managing Director of the company including the tea estates is Aditya Khaitan<sup>25</sup>.

It is true that a large number of foreign tea companies after went back to their own country a few of them further put their steps in India. For example, we can utter the name of Goodricke Tea Company which has its main head quarter in London. After went back to England this company further incorporated in India on 14<sup>th</sup> June, 1977 and the certificate of commencement of business was obtained on 27<sup>th</sup> June, 1977. It was formed to take over the Indian business and assets of eight sterling tea companies comprising 17 Tea Estates. in terms of the scheme of amalgamation sanctioned by the Calcutta High Court the company acquired the Indian undertakings of the sterling companies as a going concern with all their assets and liabilities as at the close of business of 31<sup>st</sup> December. Now it has eight tea companies like The Assam – Dooars Tea Company Limited, Hope Tea Company Limited, Lebong Chulsa Tea Company Limited, The Darjeeling Tea Company Limited, Chulsa Tea Company Limited, Leesh River Tea Company Limited, Denguajhar Tea Company Limited, Meenglass Tea Company Limited. These are amalgamated with the Goodricke tea Company since 31<sup>st</sup> December 1977. However, some examples are given below to help the readers to know that how many tea estates

which were worked earlier under Indian management are now being owned and controlled by this foreign tea Company<sup>26</sup>.

Question may arise why most of the tea estates owned and controlled by the Europeans were sold only to the non – Bengalis not to the Bengalis whereas a large number of Bengali tea planters were still there. The answer of the question is that though a large number of Bengali tea planters were there but they were not in a position to buy another tea estate on account of their weak financial condition. The drastic fall of tea price in 1970's and 1980's hit their tea estates badly. They had no reserve fund at all to survive their tea estates from this jeopardy. Under the circumstances it was really impossible to them to buy another tea estate owned by the Europeans rather surviving their own tea estates. Moreover, their (Marwaris) relation with the European firms as managing agents or as a broker brought to them the opportunity of buying the tea estates from the European companies. The European tea companies often appointed a guaranteed broker, colloquially "Banian", usually remunerated with a one percent commission on sales, who had to guarantee the trustworthiness than other Indian businessmen who dealt with the firm. Sometime the relation between the guaranteed broker and the European firm were far closer than the simple relationship. For examples, Goenka group were closely related with the Duncans; Tarachand Ghanshyamdas itself became banian to Wallace Tea Company; Radha Kissen Kanoria was closely related with the McLeod and Co. from 1887. Timberg observes that where opportunities were less or competition potent, they moved less rapidly. Their migration were rapid to those fields which formed, in the words of Timberg, a "commercial vacuum" and where the indigenous population were neither well organized nor provided with the other requisites to exploit the new trading opportunities opened up by the British<sup>27</sup>. This type of privilege was available in the tea industry of North Bengal since independence but the Bengalis, the pioneer tea planters among the Indians after the British could not grab the opportunity due to their financial weakness. In addition to that the long – absence of any Indian merchant except the Marwaris in the tea industry of North Bengal actually helped them to buy the tea estates from the foreign tea companies. Lastly, the most notable feature about this community is that they always present themselves as a closed – knit community anywhere in this vast country. They used to take good care of each other, provided food and shelter to those who would come later to try their luck. Sometimes they would even collectively contribute a small amount of money so that one newly arrived could start a business of one's own<sup>28</sup>. Due to this attitude this community now stands as the major owner of tea estates not even in North Bengal but across the all over India.

However, after illustrating how the ownership of the tea estates controlled by the white tea planters were transferred to the non – Bengalis now I am trying to highlight how the tea estates run by the Bengali tea planters were owned by the non – Bengalis under below.

Till the second generation of the Jalpaiguri Bengali entrepreneurs the tea industry did not require any serious effort to run the estates. But since their third or fourth generation the scenario began to change. The price of tea continued to fall over the years until it reached the rock-bottom. The financial liabilities of the weak tea-estates began to mount on a large scale. Financial institutions lent out their funds to the tea companies which failed to repay the loans. In such a changing environment the system of direction and control was required to be changed. But the entrepreneurial behavior remains unchanged. They faltered, failing to keep pass with the tempo of change. Therefore the entrepreneurial function of the Bengalis came to an end. Even the directors attended the meeting once in a month that is when they could disengage themselves from their parent occupation. Inspection was made very infrequently. Never the less, opportunity for profession and services had begun to multiply with the passage of time. Professions ranged from independent practice to salaried job. Thus when the first generation of the promoter entrepreneurs had retired from the scene their places were filled up by their successors who unhesitatingly pursued the policy of partial environment. They occupied the position of their father in the board of directors but did not show greater interest in investment than their forebears had done in their regime. One of the fundamental drawbacks of the Bengali planters was their excessive reliance on the local financiers. This, no doubt, set a limit to their capacity to raise adequate funds. The savings of middle class, however, were attracted very much by these financial institutions run by local bankers. On the other hand, the high rate of dividends declared by the tea-companies made debentures in their fixed income. To prove their efficiency and keep the shareholders satisfied, the entrepreneurs distributed most of the revenue. Therefore, no reserve was set aside at all. This dividend policy, as a result, posed an ulcer in the way of running their tea- gardens. As a matter of fact, the companies, even when profit was very high, had to rely to a large extent on external finance to run the estate from one year end to another. The part-time directors actually did not know what to do under such circumstances. Their complete reliance on external finance for the annual working of the estate made them vulnerable to the financial crisis. A number of gardens were either abandoned or liquidated. In some cases the private financiers or public financial institutions purchased the estates in order to salvage the money which they lent out to the garden in the form of loan<sup>29</sup>.

The tea industry has been suffering from low productivity. Bushes of more than 30 years of age comprise 55.30% and finance is an impediment towards replanting that leads to lower yield. This also has enforced many planters towards a "crop based production policy rather than a quality based one". Therefore the demand of Indian tea in international tea market has began to reduced which took its optimum shape in the year 1990. There are other reasons which reduced the amount of Indian tea export business. The terror attack in the United States of America (U.S.A.) on sept. 11 followed by bombing in Afghanistan (which used to import 36 million Kg. yearly) has further dwindled prospect of Indian export. More over the separation of Russia in 1990 into 13

states and their refusal to take Indian tea due to its bad quality was also a prime cause behind it. In between 1997-2002 the tea industry also faced a new crisis when the tea rate fell drastically. Though the tea production in India had increased in between 1951- 1996 by more than 2.5 times, its share to total World production came down from 40.96 percent in 1951 to 29.64 percent in 1996. In contrast, other countries like China, Kenya, Sri Lanka's production and percentage share of tea to total World had increased in varying degrees<sup>30</sup>.

The share of Indian tea in the World export market was gradually on the decline. The shares of other countries namely China, Kenya, Sri Lanka are on the increase whereas India's volume wise share in tea export market slashed considerably in between 1961-1996 from a hoping 38.15 percent to a lowly 10.93 percent. Moreover, in this respect, India has been overtaken by Sri Lanka. Even China was coming up sharply with a market share of 17.55 percent in 1991 and in 1996 it was gone ahead of India. Kenya with a market share of 0.22 percent in 1961 was also in a position to force into the market for Indian tea, which was evident from the fact that it enjoyed a share of 16.2 percent of the World market in 1991 and kept India behind in 1996 by snatching a share of 21.47 percent of the World export market (volume wise). It is further important to mention here that in terms of value share, India enjoyed a slender edge over rivals even up to 1991 with a market share of 24.38 percent in 1991 compared to 21.76 percent for Sri Lanka, 20.51 percent for China and 13.98 percent for Kenya. But by 1996 all the countries namely China, Kenya, Sri Lanka gained an edge over India. Incidentally this phenomenon also marked a rapid decline in terms of market share for India and a simultaneous improvement for Kenya, China in between 1961 and 1996. Although India and Sri Lanka both faced a decline in their share of export market in value terms over this period, the fall was more drastic for India than that of Sri Lanka<sup>31</sup>.

In terms of prices, tea from Kenya and Sri Lanka were emerging as tough competitors for Indian tea in the World export market. In between 1993-95 India enjoyed better price than Sri Lanka and Kenya in the London auction but the price offered by the two other countries was more competitive. It was one of the main reasons for reduction of Indian share in the World export market<sup>32</sup>.

#### **The rate of production and export of tea of various countries in 2002**

Country	Production (m.kg)	Export (m.kg)	Export in percentage
India	826	198	24
Sri Lanka	310	286	92
Indonesia	157	102	65
China	715	252	35
Vietnam	84	75	89
Kenya	287	268	93

(Source: Tea Board of India, Kolkata)

This crisis period hit the Bengali entrepreneurs strongly as they had no reserve fund at all. As a result, they extended their hands to the banks for receiving loan. It is important to be mentioned here that RBI have formed some committees like Dutta Committee, Chaube Committee, Tendon Committee, Ghosh Committee to draw loans to the financially weakened gardens. But where lies the main problem was that these gardens could not draw loans up to their need and thus they were bound to draw loan from the external financiers. These external financiers were the Marwaris, Biharis who usually charged heavy rate of interest. In the nineteenth and twentieth century, the tea industry was finance from Calcutta but it also needed local movement of funds for the smooth working of the industry. This was supplied both by the commercial bank and tea garden Kayahs that is the Marwaris<sup>33</sup>. This capital was provided by these banks owned by these groups under the money lending act (1940). In hill areas the names of some important Marwari Bankers transacted banking service were namely Lachman Das Ramchandra, Puruk Chand Lakshmi Chand, Koramal Jetmal, Siram Mulchand and so on. It was said that loan would be lend to them in lien of bond or mortgage of their land. If the owner failed to repay the loan within the stipulated period of time, then the ownership over land would automatically be transferred to the money lenders as soon. To repay the loan what was most important to do, firstly to make inspection regularly on their gardens and secondly, to enhance the rate of production. But these extravagant Bengali entrepreneurs had no time to do it and thus the money lenders especially the commodity supplier of the tea estates became the owner of the gardens owned by the Bengali entrepreneurs.

A list of transferred tea estates changed from the hand of Bengali entrepreneurs to the Non – Bengali's are given below<sup>34</sup>-

	<b>Name of Tea Estates</b>	<b>Earlier owner</b>	<b>Present owner</b>
1	Chamurchi T.E	Nawab Mushrauf Hossain	R.S.Kajriwal (Kolkata)
2	Ambari T.E	Saha Group	Sanjib Singhanian Group (Kolkata)
3	Kalabari T.E.	S.P.Ray	R.S.Bachwat (Kolkata)
4	Needam T.E.	S.P.Ray	Matilal Singh (Jalpaiguri)
5	Raja T.E.	B.C.Ghosh	R.D.Agawala (Kolkata)
6	Anandpur T.E.	Rahut Family	Mr.Sarat Bajoria (Kolkata)
7	Ramjhora T.E.	S.P. Ray	Mr.S. Bagla (Kolkata)
8	Altadanga T.E.	Habibur Rahaman	A.K. Agarwl (Siliguri)
9	Mujnai T.E.	G.S.Kalyani	G.S.Kanoi (Kolkata)
10	Chuniajhora T.E.	Nawab of Jalpaiguri	G.S.Agarwal (Kolkata)
11	Madhu T.E.	T.P.Ray	K.M.Patel (Kolkata)
12	Saraswatipur T.E.	P.D.Raikot	Kalyani Group

13	New Glanko	Abu Sheikh	S.K.Saria (Siliguri)
14	Kamala T.E.	S.P.Ray	S.P.Agarwala (Siliguri)
15	Merryview T.E.	M.Rahman	C.K.Dhanuka (Kolkata)
16	Sahabad T.E.	K.Saha and Co.	Ajit agarwala (Siliguri)
17	Nischintapur T.E.	Sen and Co.	Paban Garg (Siliguri)
18	Thanjora T.E.	Ghosh and Co.	Roshanlal Agarwala (Siliguri)
19	Simulbari T.E.	Banerjee and Co.	Bansal and Co. (Siliguri)
20	Sannyasithan T.E.	Rabi Mitra and Co.	C.P. Kanoi (Kolkata)

(Source: Indian Tea Planters Association, Jalpaiguri; Terai Indian Planters Association, Matigara, Darjeeling Branch Indian Tea Association, Darjeeling; Dooars Branch Indian Tea Association, Binnaguri).

Thus we may conclude our discussion that the frequent changes in the ownership since independence has severely affected the tea industry as well. The profit oriented outlook of the new comers has resulted in the increase of crop at a low cost but the quality of tea has deteriorated to a great extent. Strike, lock - out become a nominal feature of the tea industry. They systematically stripped off the gardens of their assets, drained the surplus and siphoned it off to other industries situated in Bombay, Delhi and Rajasthan. The commercial approach of quick back return of the new traders has been the fundamental spot of weakness in the tea industry of North Bengal.

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32. 1961 -91 FAO Statistics and 1992-96 FAO Statistics, Tea Board of India, Kolkata.
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34. Data have collected through various Tea Associations like Indian Tea Planters Association (ITPA), Jalpaiguri; Terai Indian Planters Association (TIPA), Siliguri; Dooars Branch Indian Tea Association (DBITA), Jalpaiguri; Darjeeling Branch Indian Tea Association (DBITA), Darjeeling.