

Communication System in North Bengal from 1833 To 1869

Asin Md Ansari

Abstract: *The period from 1833 to 1869 in North Bengal marks a transformative era in the region's communication and transportation systems. Prior to British rule, the region's infrastructure was virtually non-existent. This inadequacy stunted economic potential, especially in the northern parts where effective communication was painfully lacking. In this journal entry, I reflect on the historical context, challenges, and advancements in the communication systems of North Bengal during this critical period. The Pre-British Landscape Before British intervention, North Bengal's transport and communication infrastructure was flimsy, significantly hampering economic activities. The primitive state of the roads posed continual frustrations for planters, particularly in the tea-rich districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri. Much of the region was characterized by its unstable landscape, making it difficult to establish reliable routes for trade and transportation.*

Key words: *Transport, North Bengal, Railways, Roadways, region.*

The transportation and communication infrastructure in North Bengal before the advent of British rule was nearly nonexistent, casting a shadow over the region's economic potential. Particularly in the northern parts, the landscape was characterized by fragile and unstable conditions, with effective communication methods painfully lacking. This absence of a robust transport and communication system was a significant hindrance to economic development, as these elements are vital for fostering industrialization and commercialization.

A well-established communication network not only plays a crucial role in economic growth but also supports migration, the supply of raw materials, and both internal and external marketing. It enables the export of surplus goods while ensuring the import of items in short supply. However, until 1833 and even well into the latter half of the 19th century, the road infrastructure in North Bengal was severely inadequate. The dilapidated state of the roads proved to be a constant frustration for planters, particularly in the Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri districts, where thriving tea gardens relied heavily on routes that were often impassable.

Modern communication systems were elusive until 1838, leaving the methods available in the Darjeeling district rudimentary at best.¹ Sunder, in his settlement report, lamented the absence of metalled roads in Jalpaiguri during his time as

¹ Barun Dey, et.al. West Bengal District Gazetteers, Darjeeling, Government of West Bengal, March 1980, P.288.

settlement officer.² Similar observations from the Revenue Surveyor highlighted that the undivided Dinajpur district was hardly known for its good roads.³ The challenges continued in Malda, where transport and trade predominantly relied on rivers, further complicating the movement of goods.⁴ In Cooch Behar state, it was only in the latter half of the 19th century that a more developed communication system began to take shape, marking a turning point in the region's connectivity and economic prospects.⁵

In the aftermath of 1833, particularly during the latter half of the 19th century, North Bengal experienced a transformative period marked by the rise of diverse new industries. Among these, tea plantations became particularly prominent, alongside the expansive cultivation of lucrative cash crops such as jute, tobacco, cinchona, coffee, and cardamom. However, this rapid industrial growth was hindered by the region's insufficient communication systems, which posed considerable obstacles for merchants involved in both export and import activities.

Recognizing the pressing challenges, the Colonial Government felt compelled to implement a comprehensive policy aimed at bolstering the communication infrastructure throughout the region. A significant impetus for this initiative stemmed from the urgent requests of tea planters, who were keen on establishing better connectivity to streamline their operations. Concurrently, there was a marked need for an efficient and swift export mechanism to cater to the burgeoning demands of international markets.

Following successful experimental tea plantations, the tea industry thrived, particularly in the scenic districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri. Planters from these areas consistently advocated for government intervention to catalyze necessary improvements in the communication networks.⁶ In response to this escalating demand, the colonial administration undertook a variety of infrastructural development projects.

The introduction of a modern communication system in Darjeeling began in January 1838, a milestone that heralded a new era in the region's infrastructural evolution.⁷ In 1839, Lord Napier commissioned the construction of the original

² D.H.E. Sunder, *Survey and Settlement of the Western Dooars in the Jalpaiguri District, 1889-95*, Bengal Secretariat Press, Calcutta, 1895, P.34.

³ F.W. Strong, *Op.Cit.*, P.86.

⁴ G.E. Lambourn, *Bengal District Gazetteers, Maida*, The Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1918, P.68.

⁵ Durgadas Majumdar, *West Bengal District Gazetteers, Koch Bihar*, Government of West Bengal, Calcutta, 1977, P.85.

⁶ Percival Griffiths, *Op.Cit.*, p.647 I Letter from Bengal Government to F. Brine, Secretary of the Darjeeling Tea Planters' Association, Darjeeling District Records Correspondence, Vol.28, No.335, Fourt William, 2nd Feb., 1861 (West Bengal State Archives).

⁷ Barun Dey, et.al. *West Bengal District Gazetteers, Darjeeling*, Government of West Bengal, March 1980, P.288.

military road that connected Siliguri to Darjeeling, paving the way for easier access to the mountainous terrain. By 1850, the establishment of the Tista Valley Road further strengthened the essential link between Siliguri and Rangpo. One of the standout achievements came in 1869 with the completion of the Hill Cart Road, which forged a remarkable connection between Darjeeling and Siliguri.⁸ Revered as one of the finest mountain roads in India, this roadway became a crucial artery for trade and travel. Additionally, numerous other thoroughfares were developed in the Jalpaiguri district, including routes that connected Damdim to Jalpaiguri, Jalpaiguri to Fulbarighat, and Damdim to the Fagu tea garden in Darjeeling district.⁹ All these newly constructed roads were metalled, showcasing significant advancements in infrastructure during this transformative period.

Following 1863, notable initiatives were undertaken to further enhance communication within the Cooch Behar state. Under the reign of Maharaja Nipendra Narayan, Colonel Houghton—appointed as the British Commissioner of Cooch Behar—spearheaded enhancements to the communication network.¹⁰ From 1865 to 1874, the strategic Emigration Road was constructed,¹¹ serving as a vital conduit from Cooch Behar to Mathabhanga, Haldibari, Purnia, and Dinajpur, ultimately connecting to Darjeeling while cleverly bypassing Jalpaiguri to the northwest.

An additional route was also developed to establish a vital connection between Cooch Behar and Dhubri in Assam. The Colonial Government recognized the need for improving existing roads in Malda, notably refurbishing the Rajmahal road, which linked English Bazar to Manikchak, and initiated plans for a road extending from Murshidabad to Darjeeling via Dinajpur into the Maida district. Efforts were also made to upgrade the main thoroughfare known as the Darjeeling High Road in undivided Dinajpur, facilitating traversal across the rugged Sikkim Himalayas while linking it to the fertile Gangetic Valley.¹² Lastly, the Balurghat-Hili road underwent substantial upgrades to a metalled standard, enhancing connectivity to the railway station at Hili and further integrating the region into a growing network of trade and communication.

The enhanced communication system established during the British colonial period was a pivotal factor in the expansion of trade and commerce across various sectors in the region. The British consolidation of control over Darjeeling occurred in three distinct phases, culminating in 1866 when it was officially designated as a district.

⁸ Ibid., P.289.

⁹ J.F. Gruning, Op.Cit., P.119.

¹⁰ Report on the Administration of Bengal 1892-93, Calcutta, Printed at the Bengal Secretariat Press, 1894, p.206

¹¹ Haendra Narayan Choudhury, Op.Cit., P.76.

¹² F.W. Strong, Op.Cit., P.88.

This strategic acquisition was driven by several significant objectives that went beyond mere territorial expansion.

One of the primary motivations for claiming Darjeeling was the covert initiative to establish tea gardens in the area, tapping into the lucrative tea market that was rapidly growing in popularity both domestically and internationally. Furthermore, the British aimed to forge robust trade connections with Tibet and Central Asia, regions that were rich in resources and offered significant opportunities for economic exchange.¹³ Securing control over Darjeeling was essential for the British to maintain their influence over the immediate neighbors, Nepal and Bhutan, due to its strategic status as a critical gateway to these territories.

Historically, the Darjeeling district has played a crucial role in trans-Himalayan trade, owing to its unique position along international borders. Even prior to British claims, there had been a notable interest in establishing traditional cross-border trade links that facilitated the movement of goods and cultural exchange. Prominent historian W.W. Hunter remarked that fostering strong trade relations between British India and Tibet, in addition to Central Asia, was a long-standing priority for the British government, highlighting the economic vision that underpinned their policies.

The significance of Darjeeling as a trade hub was underscored by J.W. Grant, who, during his exploratory journey through the hilly terrain in 1829, effectively communicated its potential to Governor-General Lord Bentinck. Grant's insights emphasized Darjeeling not only as a thriving center for commerce but also as a geographically strategic location critical for the broader ambitions of the British Empire.¹⁴ Therefore, the British saw the acquisition of this hilly region as a favorable opportunity to enhance their Trans-Himalayan trade initiatives. The subsequent annexation of Terai and Kalimpong further strengthened this prospect, expanding the economic landscape.

The development of communication channels within the district was instrumental in turning this vision into reality. The establishment of vital trade routes through Sikkim, which were intricately connected to the Northern Bengal Railway, aligned with the British ambition of establishing trade relations with Tibet and Central Asia. This initiative was made feasible through friendly negotiations with local authorities, notably an agreement with Sikkim in March 1861, followed by another with Bhutan in 1865. These diplomatic efforts laid the groundwork for a Trans-Himalayan trade network that began to take shape after 1833, integrating the economic activities of Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, Tibet, and even Central Asia into a cohesive international trade framework. This multifaceted approach not only

¹³ W.W. Hunter, Vol.X, Op.Cit., PP.158-9

¹⁴ LSS O'Malley, Op.Cit., PP.20-21.

fostered economic ties but also facilitated cultural exchanges, shaping the socio-economic landscape of the entire region during the colonial period.

The establishment and subsequent expansion of railway infrastructure in North Bengal mark a pivotal chapter in the development of colonial transportation systems. Before 1876, North Bengal was devoid of a structured railway network, which severely restricted its connectivity and hampered its economic growth. The introduction of the North Bengal State Railway, initiated under colonial governance, represented a significant advancement in the region's transportation. It commenced operations with the opening of a station at Haldibari, located in the southern part of Jalpaiguri district.¹⁵ This initial railway line served as a vital link in the Eastern Bengal Railway, enriching the connection between two major cities, Calcutta and Siliguri, thus facilitating the movement of people and goods.

On 28 August 1877, the North Bengal State Railway continued to enhance its operational framework by extending services between Atrai and Jalpaiguri.¹⁶ By 1878, this burgeoning railway network had successfully reached Jalpaiguri, incorporating key stations like Mandalghat, Jalpaiguri, and Belakoba. The expansion of the railway route played an instrumental role in boosting the region's jute production capabilities, allowing for more efficient transportation of this essential cash crop.

A landmark moment occurred in 1891 with a crucial agreement between the colonial government and Octavius Steel and Company of London, which led to the inauguration of the Bengal Duars Railway. This new railway was designed to open several lines that would significantly enhance access to the Duars region, which was becoming increasingly vital for the burgeoning tea industry. Alongside this, the Cooch Behar State Railway was inaugurated in the same year, extending branches into various parts of the Jalpaiguri district and further contributing to the region's transportation network.

Between 1887 and 1891, the North Bengal State Railway engaged in systematic expansion, focusing on the undivided Dinajpur region. It established critical connections to areas such as Hili, Radhikapur, Kaliyaganj, Bangalbari, and Raiganj.¹⁷ These connections were particularly important for agricultural productivity, as they facilitated the transportation of crucial crops. Hili emerged as the largest exporter of rice and paddy, while Raiganj was recognized as the leading exporter of jute via rail.

Interestingly, rail services did not reach Malda until 1909, as waterways had long dominated the transport landscape for the import and export of goods. The introduction of a modern railway network fundamentally transformed North

¹⁵ Durgadas Majumdar, *Op.Cit.*, P.119.

¹⁶ Barun Dey, *et.al. Op.cit.*, P.290.

¹⁷ F.W. Strong, *Op.Cit.*, P.92.

Bengal's economic framework. It significantly enhanced the efficiency of agricultural goods movement and played a critical role in stimulating trade and commerce, reshaping the region's economic landscape in ways that would reverberate for years to come. This transformation enabled farmers and traders alike to access larger markets, thereby integrating North Bengal more fully into the colonial economy and facilitating its growth as a vital agricultural hub.

The emergence of new industries, particularly the flourishing tea plantations, alongside the expansive cultivation of cash crops such as jute, tobacco, coffee, cardamom, and timber in the region, has given rise to a fresh and dynamic group of traders. This evolving trading demographic is noteworthy as it does not exclusively stem from the traditional vaisya community, which historically dominated Indian commerce prior to the significant influences of Muslim and European traders. In Bengal, social stratification had long imposed restrictions on other castes, inhibiting their involvement in commercial activities and thereby creating a distinct trading community that set Bengal apart from other regions in India.

Following the pivotal year of 1833, particularly during the latter half of the nineteenth century, the landscape of trade and commerce underwent a profound transformation. This period saw a remarkable influx of non-vaishyas entering the realms of trade, commerce, and industry, especially pronounced in the northern parts of North Bengal.¹⁸ This shift hinted at a nascent yet noteworthy form of social mobility. A crucial element driving this change was the settlement of migrants and upper-caste individuals who sought opportunities in the timber, jute, and tea plantation sectors. Concurrently, the established vaisya community began migrating from Eastern and Southern Bengal into northern North Bengal, further altering the commercial fabric of the region.

In the hilly terrains of North Bengal, with the notable exception of Kalimpong, traditional trading communities were largely absent. Conversely, southern North Bengal presented a rich tapestry of established trading hubs where communities such as the Kangsha Banik, Till, Teli, and Saha flourished within the broader Bengali societal framework. Additionally, the Giris navigated trade routes that extended across regions, including Maida, Purnia (now part of Bihar), and the historical district of Dinajpur.¹⁹

A particularly striking trend during this transformative period was the influx of non-Bengali trading communities, including Marwaris, Biharis, Punjabis, Assamese, Sikkimese, and Tibetans. Among them, the Marwaris stood out with their

¹⁸ N.K. Sinha (ed.), *The History of Bengal (1757-1905)*, University of Calcutta, 1996, P.373.

¹⁹ The Sannyasis and Fakir were active in North Bengal and Parts of Bihar in general and particularly in the Barind area where silk industry had its concentration. Among the Sannyasis the Giri sect were also connected with local trade. (Records of the Govt. Of Bengal, Proceedings of the Committee of Circuit at Rangpur, Dinajpur, Purnia and Rajmahal (vols. V to VIII), Calcutta-1927.

substantial capital, leaving a significant mark on various trades throughout North Bengal. Furthermore, foreign traders—British, Scottish, and American nationals—began to assert their presence in this rapidly evolving economic landscape, adding layers of complexity to the dynamics of trade and commerce in the region.

The Colonial Government's adoption of a free trade policy sparked significant infrastructure development in North Bengal, fundamentally linked to the burgeoning tea plantation economy and the cultivation of lucrative cash crops such as jute, tobacco, coffee, cinchona, cardamom, and rice through modern commercial farming practices. The construction of extensive road networks and the introduction of railways greatly enhanced North Bengal's connectivity to broader capitalist markets, effectively transforming the region from its historically insular economic condition.

This newfound integration initiated a profound shift in the region's economic landscape, creating an environment ripe for trade and entrepreneurial ventures. As a result, diverse trading communities began to flock to North Bengal, drawn by the emerging opportunities. Many of these immigrant populations were particularly inspired by the provisions of the Act of 1833, seizing the chance to establish themselves in various sectors across the region, focusing on trade, commerce, and industrial enterprises.

This demographic expansion and economic transformation highlight the significant influence of colonial policies in redefining the regional economy, paving the way for a more interconnected and dynamic North Bengal.

The free trade policy implemented by the Colonial Government acted as a powerful catalyst for infrastructural growth in North Bengal, intricately linking these developments to the burgeoning tea plantation economy and the cultivation of lucrative cash crops, including jute, tobacco, coffee, cinchona, cardamom, and rice. The establishment of expansive road networks and the introduction of railways effectively integrated North Bengal with external capitalist markets, marking a remarkable economic transformation for a region that had previously been relatively isolated.

This newfound connectivity fostered an atmosphere ripe for trade and a range of professional activities, enticing diverse trading communities from various parts of the country and beyond. Seizing the opportunities unveiled by the Act of 1833, these immigrant populations began to establish themselves in different corners of North Bengal, driven by aspirations of trade, commerce, and industrial ventures. As they settled in the region, they contributed not only to its economic landscape but also to its cultural tapestry, creating a dynamic and interconnected society.

The year 1833 stands as a watershed moment in the chronicles of both the East India Company and Indian history, primarily due to the enactment of the landmark Charter Act. This significant piece of legislation not only transformed the political

landscape of British India but also bore profound economic implications. One of the most notable changes brought about by the Charter Act was the abolition of the East India Company's monopolistic trading practices, which had been a source of contention and criticism for more than a century. With its trading powers diminished and influence waning, the East India Company found itself confined largely to a political role in managing Indian affairs rather than dominating trade.

Furthermore, the Charter Act signified a pivotal shift toward the adoption of free trade principles. This shift marked the beginning of the end of India's long era of de-industrialization, heralding instead the dawn of industrialization. Economists and economic historians alike have subsequently identified the period following 1833 as a crucial turning point, one that paved the way for increased capital investment in India and the emergence of the nation as an industrial player on the global stage. This was a time when the seeds of transformation were sown, setting the stage for India's eventual industrial growth and economic evolution.

The discourse surrounding the Charter Act of 1833 centers on a monumental decision by the British Government to dismantle the East India Company's long-standing monopoly over trade in India. Historical records, including official documentation from both the British Government and the East India Company, illustrate the mounting pressure on the Government to transition towards a policy of free trade in the Indian subcontinent.²⁰

Beginning in the 1760s, the Industrial Revolution transformed the economic landscape of England, leading to an overflow of capital and a surge in production capabilities. This era gave rise to a vigorous industrial and manufacturing class that began to assert its influence over governmental policies, pursuing a more direct role in the burgeoning Indian economy. However, the East India Company's exclusive control over Indian economic activities presented formidable obstacles for this new class eager to engage in trade. Consequently, proponents of free trade argued passionately that dismantling this monopoly was crucial for enabling Englishmen to fully participate in a rapidly evolving economic framework characterized by unrestricted access to Indian markets.

During the intense debates surrounding the Charter's renewal in 1813, a strong consensus emerged within the British Parliament advocating for English nationals to be granted the right to trade with India. This demand was rooted in two pivotal factors: the emerging economic theories promoting laissez-faire principles and the restrictive continental system established by Napoleon, which limited British trade activities within European ports. Furthermore, the East India Company's extensive

²⁰ Amalesh Tripathi, (Article) Some Reflections on the East India Company's Charter of 1813 (in), Sabyasachi Bhattacharya (ed.), *Essays in Modern Indian Economic History*, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1987, P.186 I Amalesh Tripathi, *Trade and Finance in the Bengal Presidency (1793-1833)*, Oxford University Press, Calcutta, 1979, p.217.

territorial dominion across India raised critical concerns about its ability to maintain both its commercial ambitions and its political responsibilities.

In response to these challenges, the British Government enacted the Charter Act of 1813, effectively abolishing the Company's monopoly on trade with India. However, the Company continued to hold exclusive rights concerning trade with China and tea. The ensuing two decades, bridging the two Charter Acts of 1813 and 1833, marked a transformative period in England. The arrival of inexpensive products, a byproduct of advanced machinery, along with a significant boost in exports, expanded public consciousness and resulted in an influx of capital.

The political landscape also shifted dramatically with the ascendance of the Whig Party in 1830, heralding a return to liberal principles. Advocacy for human rights received a resounding voice during this period, culminating in the historic Reform Act of 1832, which significantly recognized the dignity of humanity. The doctrine of *laissez-faire* gained widespread acceptance among political circles and ultimately led to the enactment of the Charter Act of 1833 by the British Parliament.

This landmark legislation signified the dawn of a new era filled with opportunities for the emerging bourgeoisie and capitalist classes to explore diverse investment prospects in India. Under the evolving *laissez-faire* policy, a gradual yet impactful process of industrialization began to take root in colonial India post-1833, facilitating India's increasing integration into the global market and reshaping the economic landscape for generations to come.

The arrival of free traders, capitalists, and the bourgeoisie in India was significantly influenced by two pivotal changes enacted in the Act of 1833. First, the Act lifted all restrictions on British subjects immigrating to India, creating a wave of opportunity for those seeking new ventures. Second, it granted British individuals the right to own land, further enticing them to invest in the subcontinent.

Seizing this momentous chance, these enterprising classes poured their resources into the Indian economy with enthusiasm. Their ambitions extended beyond mere trade and commerce; they also identified the lucrative possibilities within agriculture. This led to a transformative trend known as the commercialization of agriculture in India, where traditional farming practices began to shift towards meeting the demands of national and international markets.

As a result, agriculture evolved into a more profit-driven enterprise, increasingly influenced by commercial interests. However, it is crucial to recognize that this burgeoning trend within the Indian economy was not designed to promote local development. Instead, it was primarily aimed at serving the colonial agenda of British merchants, capitalists, and the bourgeoisie, prioritizing their investment goals over the welfare of the Indian populace.

A noteworthy and extensive debate has unfolded among scholars, economists, and economic historians regarding the implications of free trade policy on the Indian economy. This discourse examines the multifaceted effects that such policies can have, ranging from economic growth to cultural impacts. However, for the purposes of our study, we have decided to set this discussion aside, as it falls outside the boundaries of our specific focus.

Up until 1833, the historical narrative concerning India is primarily marked by a period of de-industrialization, where local economies struggled under British colonial rule.²¹ Scholar Amalesh Tripathi highlights a pivotal change when he notes, "The Charter of 1833 paved the way for the influx of capital from England, which was essential for economic progress."²² This critical shift set the stage for an industrial revolution in Bengal, as the intertwining of British financial resources with local capitalist enterprises began to flourish. Consequently, capital that had previously sustained agricultural activities was redirected towards industrial ventures.

Following the implementation of the Charter, the landscape of both internal and external trade in India, especially in Bengal, underwent a significant transformation. The region increasingly integrated into the expansive global capitalist market, catalyzing the creation of fresh trade opportunities and the rise of a burgeoning bourgeoisie and trading classes. These developments were intricately linked to the structural frameworks established by colonial governance.

Before the onset of British colonialism and prior to the adoption of free trade policies, India did not witness a significant Commercial Revolution or substantial economic shifts. The engagement of traditional and non-traditional trading communities in economic activities was notably minimal. However, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the colonial administration embarked on ambitious development projects that would irrevocably alter the economic fabric of the country. These initiatives included the construction of essential infrastructure such as railroads, roads, bridges, ports, telegraphs, and irrigation systems. Although these projects were motivated by the economic and strategic interests of colonial powers, they laid the groundwork for a distinct colonial economy characterized by limited industrialization operating under a predatory state framework.

The expansion of railways markedly improved the movement of goods and people, both domestically and internationally, heralding a new industrial epoch in India. Governor-General Lord William Bentinck played a crucial role during this

²¹ Regarding preciseness of this period there is diversity of opinion. According to N.K. Sinha, the process of de-industrialization covers the year 1793-1833, N.K. Sinha, *The Economic History of Bengal*, Vol.II, Firma KLM Private Ltd., 1962, p.1.

²² Amalesh Tripathi, *Trade and Finance in the Bengal Presidency (1793-1833)*, Oxford University Press, Calcutta, 1979, P.220.

transformative period, advocating for the growth of trade and industry while also aligning with colonial interests.²³ As a result, post-1833, India experienced a renewed vibrancy in trade and industrial activities.

The period from 1833 to 1869 marked a significant turning point in North Bengal's communication system, transforming its economic landscape. Prior to British rule, the region struggled with inadequate transportation and communication infrastructure, limiting trade and migration. Recognizing North Bengal's potential, especially with the burgeoning tea industry in Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri, the British government initiated various infrastructure projects. A major milestone was the introduction of a modern communication system in 1838, leading to the construction of military roads and key routes like the Tista Valley Road and Hill Cart Road. The completion of the Hill Cart Road in 1869 significantly improved connectivity between Darjeeling and Siliguri, facilitating the efficient transport of tea and other goods to meet growing market demands. This boost in infrastructure encouraged agricultural expansion and population movement, diversifying the local economy. While challenges remained, such as inadequate facilities and logistical hurdles, the advancements laid the groundwork for future development in the 20th century. Overall, the collaboration between the colonial government and local planters during this era reshaped North Bengal, highlighting the vital link between infrastructure improvements and regional prosperity.

References:

Amallesh Tripathi. "Some Reflections on the East India Company's Charter of 1813." In Sabyasachi Bhattacharya (ed.), *Essays in Modern Indian Economic History*. Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1987.

Amallesh Tripathi. *Trade and Finance in the Bengal Presidency (1793-1833)*. Oxford University Press, Calcutta, 1979.

Barun Dey, et al. *West Bengal District Gazetteers, Darjeeling*. Government of West Bengal, March 1980.

Buchanan, Francis. *An Account of the District of Bhagalpur in 1810-11*. Patna: Bihar and Orissa Research Society, 1939.

D.H.E. Sunder. *Survey and Settlement of the Western Dooars in the Jalpaiguri District, 1889-95*. Bengal Secretariat Press, Calcutta, 1895.

Durgadas Majumdar. *West Bengal District Gazetteers, Koch Bihar*. Government of West Bengal, Calcutta, 1977.

²³ L.S.S. O'Malley, *Bengal District Gazetteers, Darjeeling*, Calcutta, 1907, pp.20-21.

G.E. Lambourn. *Bengal District Gazetteers, Malda*. The Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1918.

Letter from Bengal Government to F. Brine, Secretary of the Darjeeling Tea Planters' Association. *Darjeeling District Records Correspondence*, Vol. 28, No. 335, Fort William, 2nd Feb. 1861. West Bengal State Archives.

L.S.S. O'Malley. *Bengal District Gazetteers, Darjeeling*. Calcutta, 1907.

N.K. Sinha (ed.). *The History of Bengal (1757-1905)*. University of Calcutta, 1996.

N.K. Sinha. *The Economic History of Bengal, Vol. II*. Firma KLM Private Ltd., 1962.

Records of the Government of Bengal, Proceedings of the Committee of Circuit at Rangpur, Dinajpur, Purnia, and Rajmahal (Vols. V-VIII). Calcutta, 1927.

Report on the Administration of Bengal 1892-93. Bengal Secretariat Press, Calcutta, 1894.