

Developments in Tobacco in the Princely State of Cooch Behar

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Abstract

Tobacco was a very popular intoxication content in colonial Bengal. Though several countries imposed certain restrictions on the use of tobacco, the colonial period became a mark on the growth of tobacco consumption and trade. Due to the growing demands, there was a need to improve quality and quantity of tobacco in India. A number of scientific approaches were suggested and adopted for the improvement of quality and quantity of tobacco. Princely states of Cooch Behar took keen interest in this matter. The main aim was to make the tobacco trade of Cooch Behar a profitable one. The Commissioners of Cooch Behar and Maharaja Nripendra Narayan had taken various experimental measures for the improvement of tobacco. A modern farm was established for that purpose. Prince Gojendra Narayan was also interested in tobacco cultivation. Victor Nityendra Narayan, visited famous tobacco growing countries. Though the investment and efforts on these experiments were much, the success rate was not satisfactory. There was always a fluctuation in the quantity, quality and rate of the tobacco in Cooch Behar mainly owing to rainfall and hailstorms.

Keywords: Tobacco, Intoxication, Cooch Behar, Bengal.

Introduction:

“Tobacco is a plant grown for its leaves, which are dried and fermented before being put in tobacco products. Tobacco contains nicotine, an ingredient that can lead to addiction, which is why so many people who use tobacco find it difficult to quit. There are also many other potentially harmful chemicals found in tobacco or created by burning it³.”

Tobacco is a harmful substance. Therefore rulers of several countries imposed a ban on Tobacco. In the 16th century, rulers like King James I of England, Shah Abbas of Persia and the Mughal emperor Jahangir of India tried to ban it. According to King James “a custom loathsome to the eye, hateful to the nose, harmful to the brain, and dangerous to the lungs”. Khalil Pasha had ordered to cut lips and eyes if someone caught smoking. Even Russia had tried to regulate smoking. In India, Jahangir had prohibited tobacco smoking⁴. The Sikh Guru Gobind Singh prohibited smoking among the Sikh community. According to him, “Wine is bad, Indian hemp (bhang) destroys one generation, but tobacco destroys all generations⁵.”

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In India, the Portuguese introduced tobacco⁶. Although there is ample evidence from ancient Indian literature about tobacco use, but some varieties of tobacco were already there in India long before the Portuguese introduction⁷.

Tobacco was perhaps introduced into India about 1605. This was mentioned by an Englishman, Edward Terry⁸. At the very beginning, tobacco was grown in Gujarat (Kaira and Mehsana districts) from Gujarat it spread to other areas in India⁹.

Major thrust in tobacco cultivation began in 1787 with the establishment of the Calcutta Botanical Gardens and the Imperial Agricultural Research Institute¹⁰.

Tobacco cultivation had reached its peak in India during the colonial period. India was a leading tobacco producing country outside of the western hemisphere since the beginning of the 17th century¹¹.

Tobacco was a profitable crop. It had been a popular choice and regular consumable item. Tobacco production was a very beneficial business. Sophisticated scientific measures, experiments, special care was taken for the improvement of tobacco cultivation. Due to the exports and internal demand, the cultivation of tobacco was developed.

Tobacco in Colonial Bengal:

Tobacco was a trade article between 1656-1668 in Bengal markets¹². Along with exportation, the tobacco cultivation in Bengal had met the local demand¹³. The consumption of intoxicants was the normal act in the eyes of the British in 19th century Calcutta¹⁴. Smoking was very popular in Colonial Bengal. Rajas, maharajas, landlords and other elites of the society were easily attracted by tobacco through 'Hookah'. The consumption of tobacco increased with the introduction of 'Babu' culture in Bengal. They were consumers of high quality tobacco. During various festivals like Durga Puja, Kali Puja, Charak Puja and so on, a huge quantity of tobacco and ganja would be bought. Tobacco consumption was common among the British since the pre-colonial period. It became very popular during the colonial period with the introduction of 'Cigarettes' and 'Club' culture in India. Many English officials became the slaves of their hookahs. Smoking made both the students of school and the college goers fascinated.

In colonial Bengal, tobacco smoking opened a new arena of social interaction. Some small clubs also come into existence in mufassal or small marketplaces. Smoking represented manliness. The concept of masculinity and westernisation influenced Indian women adopting tobacco consumption. Even lower class women also consumed tobacco smoking through 'Biri'. Cigarettes and hookah were mainly confined within the elite people and on the other hand 'Biri' was of the common people¹⁵.

Marketing strategy to spread tobacco business was also very impressive which attracted many people¹⁶.

The growing internal and external demand of tobacco was too high in Bengal. The total value of the product exported from Bengal according to the custom House returns were: 1871-72 (Rs. 11,72,154), 1872-73 (Rs. 14,10,648) and 1873-74 (Rs. 22,96,045)¹⁷. The tobacco of Rangpur, Tirhoot and Purnia were cultivated mainly for trade and export¹⁸.

The chief tobacco producing districts of Bengal were:

District	Areas	Declared value of export Rupees
Rangpore	60,000	16,05,000
Tirhoot	40,000	Not Stated
Cooch Behar	24,000	12,93,750
Dinagepore	20,000	1,20,000
Purneah	15,000 to 20,000	8,00,000
Monghyr	10,000	1,30,000

(The Cultivation and Curing of Tobacco in Bengal 1874, 3)

Tobacco consumption was very common among various sections of the society in Bengal. It became a regular choice of the common people. The tobacco trade was gradually increasing in Bengal.

Tobacco in Cooch Behar:

North Bengal was a major tobacco production area in Eastern India¹⁹. North Bengal was a region which produced four-fifths of total tobacco in Bengal and one-fifth in India²⁰.

Cooch Behar was a prominent princely state in North Bengal. Tobacco was one of the main trading items in Cooch Behar. Cooch Behar was the exporter of tobacco, jute, rice and mustard seed and mustard oil. The Magh, Marwadi and other local traders had a control on the Cooch Behar trade. The tobacco trade with Burma was mainly conducted by the Magh merchants. Though river routes played a key role in Cooch Behar trade, but the extension of the railways had a considerable importance to jute and tobacco trade²¹. The Burmese merchants would come to Mekhliganj and Lalbazar in Cooch Behar to purchase tobacco. The Cooch Behar tobacco was much appreciated by the Burmese²².

The Burmese merchants would purchase tobacco from Mekhliganj town. Then, it would be sent to Rangpur by boat. In Rangpur, tobacco leaves would be sorted out. Then, again it would be shipped to Burma²³.

About one lakh mounds of tobacco was purchased in different markets of Cooch Behar in 1787²⁴. The net quantity of tobacco exported from Cooch Behar Division was 1,75,000 mounds at Rs. 7,00,000²⁵.

Cooch Behar had a reputation for its local tobacco. There was a gradual expansion of tobacco land in Cooch Behar²⁶. The area under tobacco cultivation in Cooch Behar was around 55 square miles. The Burma cheroots were usually made from Cooch Behar tobacco²⁷. In 1876, tobacco export to Burma alone was valued at Rupees 10 lacs²⁸.

The internal demand for tobacco in Cooch Behar was very high. People of Cooch Behar were also very fond of tobacco. The 'Hukka' or the 'Chillum' smoking was universal. The habit of smoking among both man and woman would start from their infancy. Tobacco was chewed with betel leaves in a raw state also²⁹.

The four main crops in Cooch Behar were Jute, Tobacco, Paddy and Mustard³⁰. But among these, tobacco cultivation was very popular and profitable in Cooch Behar. According to Harendra Narayan Chaudhuri, "Of all the crops tobacco is the most profitable³¹."

The Cooch Behar Division had two main centres of tobacco cultivations viz. Cooch Behar and Jalpaiguri. The Southern and Western Cooch Behar were most suitable for the growth of tobacco. The area under tobacco cultivation in Cooch Behar Division was gradually increasing. The total area of Cooch Behar in the 1870's was 8,23,937 and the area under tobacco cultivation was 50,000 acres. The average tobacco production was 10 to 15 mounds per acre. But special care could take it up to 20 to 30. Cooch Behar had 67.5% cultivable land and the area under tobacco cultivation was 5%, but it was steadily increasing. The soil suited for tobacco cultivation was in Lalbazar and Mathabhanga Parganas. Tobacco cultivation was tried to extend to the other suitable Parganas³². The highlands of Cooch Behar were generally suitable for tobacco cultivation³³.

Two species of tobacco would be found in Cooch Behar viz. ordinary and Hamakoo. Cultivation of Hamakoo was extensive in Mekhliganj³⁴. Lalbazar, Mekhliganj and Dinhat were tobacco growing regions in Cooch Behar. In Tufanganj, tobacco was produced for local consumption. Gosanimari was also gradually growing in tobacco cultivation³⁵.

In 1903, the total area under tobacco cultivation was 1,05,898 Bighas or about 35,000 acres. According to W.W. Hunter, the Eastern portion of the state of Cooch Behar was very suitable for the tobacco cultivation³⁶.

The major tobacco growing parts of Cooch Behar were as follows:

Name of the Pargana	1st Class tobacco in Bighas	2nd Class tobacco in Bighas	3rd Class tobacco in Bighas	Total Area In Bighas	Produce of tobacco in mounds	Value in Rupees
Mekhliganj	1,474	5,220	5,097	11,791	55,000	2,75,000
Mathabhanga	7,477	15,276	8,624	31,377	1,55,000	7,75,000
Lalbazar	17,935	8,695	3,080	29,710	1,45,000	7,25,000
Dinhata	2,867	5,484	3,640	11,991	60,000	3,00,000
Cooch Behar	3,364	7,545	9,035	19,944	1,00,000	5,00,000
Tufanganj	36	107	942	1,085	5,000	25,000
Total	33,153	42,327	30,418	1,05,898	5,20,000	26,00,000

(Chaudhuri 1903, 181-182 & 185)

Experiments & Tobacco Farm:

The growing market requirement had demanded to enhance the quantity and quality of tobacco in India. Indian tobacco was not equivalent to the quality of the famous tobacco growing western countries like Cuba, Macedonia etc³⁷. So, at that time adoption of up-to-date and scientific methods was a need to improve the quality of tobacco. But there was a problem of tobacco curing because the people of Cooch Behar were not versed in curing tobacco leaves.

A number of experiments, examinations, observations were performed with Cooch Behar tobacco. In Cooch Behar and Jalpaiguri, Colonel Houghton experimented with Virginia tobacco, but it failed due to not sufficiently manured and tended. The introduction of foreign seeds need to be accompanied by the knowledge of nature of soil, climate, season, cut etc. was missing³⁸.

The Deputy Commissioner of Cooch Behar wanted to manufacture cigars from the tobacco of Cooch Behar. This experiment was done under the supervision of trained personnel. Burma was successful in making cheroots from Cooch Behar tobacco. On the other hand, Colonel Houghton became successful in manufacturing cheroots from Cooch Behar tobacco in Calcutta in 1864³⁹.

The Deputy Commissioner of Cooch Behar wrote to the Commissioner of Cooch Behar Division in 9th June, 1874 that tobacco seeds of American and other foreign kinds had a little success in Cooch Behar⁴⁰.

The Bengal government intended to develop quality and quantity of Bengal tobacco. Rangpore and Cooch Behar were chosen to produce the quality tobacco. For that reason, the government tries to introduce modern methods of tobacco cultivation and curing. The government planned to hire skilled tobacco growers and curers from Manila or elsewhere for Bengal⁴¹.

The quality of Cooch Behar tobacco was a major concern. The Commissioner of Cooch Behar took charge in 1877-1878 to improve the quality of tobacco. 100 Bighas of land⁴² was taken for the experimental cultivation in Cooch Behar. Mr. Peterson was appointed in Cooch Behar. But his experiments on tobacco had failed financially and unfortunately Peterson died in December. Senor Montfort, the Manila curer arrived in July. The experiments of Senor Montfort had a little success. But he could not get 100% success. He opined that he could prepare second class Manila tobacco quality from Cooch Behar tobacco, but first class Manila quality could never be prepared from Cooch Behar tobacco. In his opinion, tobacco of Cooch Behar was not compatible with the highest Manila brands. Total money spent for the salaries and operations of Montfort and Peterson was Rs. 10,757. But money raised from the sale of their tobacco was around 5,000 or 6,000 Rupees only⁴³.

Senor Montfort was not proficient in English. He was a Spanish speaking person. The Canoongoe of Lalbazar learnt a little Spanish and managed to understand Senor Montfort⁴⁴.

In 1879-80, these two experts conducted two parallel experiments viz. the American system and the Manila method on tobacco. But both of them could not adapt Indian climate. Even Senor Montfort faced health problems and he had to leave India. Initially, the experiments on tobacco were not successful⁴⁵.

Some princely states had agricultural farms. The agricultural farm in princely Cooch Behar was established in the last quarter of the 19th century. The development and success of the farm was sloth. However, the agricultural officers of this farm expanded modern agricultural knowledge and methods to the peasants. New varieties of seeds, implements, manures etc. were distributed and sometimes sold to the cultivators⁴⁶.

The establishment of the Department of Agriculture and Forest had a little success in Cooch Behar. The department had four branches under it namely home farm, cattle breeding farms, fruit garden, and forest & plantation. In October, 1882 under the supervision of Kumar Gajendra Narayan (Jr.)⁴⁷ had little success in the matter of agricultural development. In 1897, after nine years, the Home farm of the Department of Agriculture and Forest had to be closed due to some factors such as unsuitable soil (Only suitable for jute and paddy), expensive experiments, financial loss and indifference of the common people on expensive cultivation. According to Dr. Voelker, experiments on tobacco may prove beneficial on the extensive tobacco growing places. Rs 5,000 was invested in the experiments of the farm excluding the charges of the infrastructure⁴⁸.

The experimental farm, once again came into existence. In 1902, 82 Bighas were placed under tobacco cultivation and six apprentices were appointed through entrance examination. The total expenditure on the experimental farm was 13,000⁴⁹. According to the "The Annual Administration Report of the Cooch Behar State for the year 1907-1908", BabuRajnikantaBhowmik was the in charge of the farm and the area of the farm extended to about 180 Bighas whereas tobacco cultivation occupied 150 Bighas. A godown (40 feet×20

feet) was constructed at a cost of Rs. 2,575 for the storage of tobacco in the tobacco plantation⁵⁰. A big curing shed was built for tobacco farming⁵¹.

Manure played a key role in tobacco cultivation. Organic manure such as Buffalo dung, urine and cow dung were suitable for the cultivation⁵². Artificial manures were high priced. At this point, cow dung was used as cost effective. American and altogether seven varieties of foreign tobacco seeds were tested in Cooch Behar. The yellow prior (American tobacco) gave good results. Success was also obtained in making a bright yellow tobacco from which cigarettes could be made. Munger based tobacco products making company ('The Peninsular Tobacco Company'), purchased the whole tobacco at Rs. 15 per mound.

Though there was little success in tobacco cultivation. But the yield was not satisfactory owing to bad weather conditions and insufficiency of manures.

Royal Endeavour:

Agricultural exhibitions were organised in 1883 and 1893. In 1893, Pooneha exhibition mela was held in Jenkins school. Along with other items nineteen sorts of tobacco were displayed. Maharaja Nripendra Narayan says the future of tobacco and jute trade in Cooch Behar was very promising⁵³.

The Maharaja of Cooch Behar made provision to grant land for raw produce business in Cooch Behar. Mr. M.V. Aparcar of Calcutta got land on lease at Dewan Hat and Chowra Hat for jute and tobacco⁵⁴. Maharaja Nripendra Narayan visited Mathabhanga on the 14th of April, 1907 where he delivered a speech on tobacco cultivation and experiments. The Maharaja of Cooch Behar was interested in conducting tobacco trade and hopeful about the ongoing experiments at Sadar station in Mathabhanga on valuable tobacco⁵⁵.

The cheap foreign cigarettes were becoming very popular instead of Hookah and Biri in India. So, the production of the finest quality tobacco for cigarette making was the main task of that time⁵⁶. The Maharaja of Cooch Behar had realised the importance of cigarette manufacturing. He wanted to establish a cigarette factory in or near Calcutta⁵⁷. Maharaja Nripendra Narayan of Cooch Behar made an adjustment in the budget for the purchase of a share of the proposed cigarette factory of Rs. 70,000⁵⁸.

Kumar Gajendra Narayan, (Jr.) of Cooch Behar in contrast to the French system, gave a memorandum on tobacco cultivation and curing at Gazipur (U.P.). He had given an account of the tobacco cultivation in France in 1881. This memorandum describes the whole process of tobacco production⁵⁹.

Prince Victor Nityendra Narayan, son of Maharaja Nripendra Narayan of Cooch Behar went to Cornell University, New York to learn scientific agriculture. Victor N. Narayan began studying at Cornell University, New York in March, 1908⁶⁰. He was the first among the Indian princes to do so. His primary aim was to develop Cooch Behar's agriculture. He visited tobacco growing famous countries like Cuba. He closely learnt about curing, culture,

and manufacturing of the famous Havana tobacco cultivation methods. Cuba was very famous for its 'Havana Cigars'⁶¹. Victor N. Narayan and Mr. Majumdar spent a few months in Cuba⁶².

He had observed that Indian agriculture was too ignorant. There was no proper combination of capital, labour and skill in Indian agriculture. Indian agriculture depends in the hands of the poor and the ignorant people. In the case of tobacco, expert knowledge, scientific handling and capital investment were important. He pointed out that there were a number of tea and indigo plantations running successfully in India. But there was no tobacco plantation with improved modern machinery and up-to-date scientific methods in India. According to him, the development of tobacco in India could not be achieved without the involvement and participation of the enterprising capitalists⁶³.

Mr. Majumdar⁶⁴ went to some of the famous tobacco growing countries such as the United States, Cuba and visited some tobacco factories in those places a few in England, France and Egypt. Mr. Majumdar also visited countries like Macedonia and Asia Minor. These countries were famous for the best Turkish tobacco.

He was of the opinion to use the principles of tobacco cultivation in the United States of America and other successful countries. Tobacco had become a specialised industry. Proper manufacturing of tobacco was important for trading. Tobacco products like cigars, cigarettes and chewing tobacco products required special care and attention regarding culture, curing and preparation for the market. Nature of soil, climatic conditions and fertilizer are also very important to tobacco cultivation.

A three point principles were suggested by him:

1. Improvement of the crop by breeding and selection.
2. Adoption of up-to-date methods of curing.
3. Introduction of superior varieties from other countries.

The first two phases viz. (1) by breeding and selection and (2) by the adoption of up-to-date methods of curing were directly related to the indigenous tobacco crop which was already present in India for years. But the third phase, related to the introduction of superior varieties of tobacco from other famous tobacco growing countries. In this third phase, proper climatic conditions, suitability of soil, manuring etc. had been emphasised for the foreign seeds. Foreign varieties of tobacco had been introduced in India for experimentation. But the commercial tobacco production was still absent then. Yellow tobacco (American seed) had an excellent success in Cooch Behar. It was sold at an average price of Rs. 33 per mounds⁶⁵.

When Victor N. Narayan returned to Cooch Behar, the Maharaja had brought out machines from America and a piece of land for tobacco cultivation⁶⁶.

The Cooch Behar state offered on nominal rent or rent free land for the establishment of factories or mills regarding four major crops (Jute, Tobacco, Paddy & Mustard) of the state⁶⁷.

Fluctuation in Tobacco Production, Trade, Rate:

“The cultivators say that each plant of tobacco requires as much attention as a child does for some time after its birth”. Quality and quantity of tobacco largely depends on some conditions such as choosing tobacco as the secondary crop, manuring and water supply etc. So, adoption of up-to-date scientific methods and much more attention to this crop are very important⁶⁸. Although much attention was paid to tobacco cultivation in Cooch Behar, the weather conditions for tobacco cultivation in Cooch Behar were not much favourable. Tobacco cultivation in Cooch Behar was affected by excessive rainfall and hailstorms. These factors retarded the growth of tobacco, decreased the quality and quantity of tobacco and varied prices of tobacco.

Tobacco trade was dull in 1878-79 owing to heavy rainfall⁶⁹. In the year 1880-81, tobacco crops were damaged owing to heavy rainfall and hail storm⁷⁰. Tobacco trade in Cooch Behar was not satisfactory in 1882-83⁷¹. Tobacco trade was dull in 1887-88 like the previous year. Hailstorm and excessive rainfall destroyed the tobacco crop⁷². The price of tobacco was little favourable in 1891-92. It was from Rs. 8 to Rs. 13⁷³. Owing to rain in October and November, the production of tobacco crops were not favourable. The price of tobacco was not so high in 1892-93⁷⁴. In 1893-94, tobacco crops were damaged owing to rain and hailstorms⁷⁵. There were dull markets in tobacco trade for the last 2-3 years in Mathabhanga. In the year 1897-98, 60,000 mounds of tobacco was imported into Kalikaganj Bandar against 64,500 mounds of the preceding year⁷⁶. The tobacco culture was also unsatisfactory. It was damaged by insects and hailstorms. The year 1902-03, witnessed importation of 65,800 mounds of tobacco at Kalikaganj Bandar in Mathabhanga against 57,876 mounds of the previous year⁷⁷. The tobacco market was dull in 1906-07. It was under Rs. 10⁷⁸. There was improvement in the prices of tobacco which rose to Rs. 12 in 1907-08. The quantity of export was 37,920 mounds⁷⁹. The area under tobacco had been reduced in 1908-09 from 180 to 75 Bighas. The growth of the tobacco plants was abnormal in 1908-09. But the American tobacco experts from the Peninsula Tobacco Company, Munger had praised the colour of the tobacco. According to them, it was the best Indian tobacco in the market⁸⁰. On 15th October, 1917, the Dewan of Cooch Behar wrote (No. 1407) to the Maharaja of Cooch Behar that there was a decline in the tobacco trade in 1916-17. Cooch Behar imported 33,704 mounds of tobacco against 35,263 mounds in the previous year⁸¹. The rain of October, November, January and February became beneficial to the tobacco crops. The price ranged from Rs. 10 to Rs. 25 per mound in 1918-19. Export from Kalikaganj Bandar was 51,759 mounds against 35,995 mounds in the previous year⁸². In 1919-20, heavy rainfall affected tobacco⁸³. The tobacco production was not satisfactory in 1925-26. Sowing of the tobacco seeds was delayed due to heavy rainfall⁸⁴. In 1927-28, 29,853 mounds of tobacco had been exported from Kalikaganj Bandar against 4,608 mounds in the previous year⁸⁵. The production of the tobacco was normal in 1928-29. The price of the tobacco was from Rs. 18 to Rs. 40⁸⁶. Tobacco export from Kalikaganj Bandar at Mathabhanga in the year 1929-30 was 2,700 mounds against 22,484 mounds in the previous year. Tobacco production was not up

to the mark in 1929-30. Insufficiency of rain retarded the growth of tobacco. Tobacco price was from 10 to Rs 30 per mound⁸⁷. The rate of tobacco was from Rs. 6.12 to Rs. 24.8 per mound in 1930-31⁸⁸. The price of the tobacco was ranged from Rs. 5 to Rs. 7 per mound in 1932-33 and tobacco export from Kalikaganj Bandar was 20,231 mounds against 22,040 mounds of the previous year⁸⁹. The average price of tobacco was between Rs. 8 to Rs. 15 per mounds in 1933-34. Total tobacco export was 2,256 mounds in 1933-34, against 20,231 mounds in the previous year⁹⁰. The average price of tobacco was from rupees 5.6 to Rupees 9 per mounds in 1934-35. The export from Kalikaganj Bandar was 13,603 mounds against 2,256 mounds of tobacco of the previous year⁹¹. The export of tobacco was 29,853 mounds in 1935-36 against 4,608 mounds in the previous year. Seasonal rainfall affected the growth of tobacco plants. Tobacco price was from Rs. 6 to Rs. 8 per mounds⁹². Rainfall affected the growth of tobacco plants to some extent in 1936-37. The price of the tobacco was Rs. 5 to Rs. 16 per mound⁹³.

Conclusion:

Tobacco was an important crop in Cooch Behar. The State of Cooch Behar conducted various experiments on tobacco from the time of the Commissioners to the Maharajas of Cooch Behar. These experiments were mainly related to the enhancement of the quality of local tobacco and making foreign seeds adapting to the environment of Cooch Behar. Though the efforts and investments of the Maharajas of Cooch Behar were much, the success rate on these experiments were not satisfactory. Modern methods of tobacco plantation, culture, manuring, curing etc. were applied in Cooch Behar, but the outcome was not as same as in the famous tobacco growing countries. The local climate of Cooch Behar was not much favourable to the cultivation of tobacco. The introduction of the foreign seeds also faced adaptation problems. Most of the time, tobacco crops were damaged by heavy rainfall and hailstorms. Tobacco quality, prices and production were heavily influenced by these factors.

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- ³⁹Ibid. 1-5.
- ⁴⁰Land was taken at Kowadara near Mathabhanga and a small plot at Sitalkuchi, Mekhliganj and Cooch Behar.
- ⁴¹*The Annual Administration Report of the Cooch Behar State for the year 1878-79*. Cooch Behar: The Cooch Behar State Press. 1879. 16-18.
- ⁴²Ibid. 13.
- ⁴³Chaudhuri, Harendra Narayan. 1903. *The Cooch Behar State and its Land Revenue Settlements*. Cooch Behar: The Cooch Behar State Press. 391.
- ⁴⁴Roy, Arnab. 2016. "Contextualizing Modern Science in Agriculture in Colonial Bengal (1876–1928): A Case of Productionist Discourse" In *Tilling the Land: Agricultural Knowledge and Practices in Colonial India*. Ed. by Kumar, Deepak & Raha, Bipasha. Delhi: Primus Book. 58.
- ⁴⁵Kumar Gajendra Narayan (Jr.) studied at the Royal Agricultural College at Cirencester, England.
- ⁴⁶Chaudhuri, Harendra Narayan. 1903. *The Cooch Behar State and its Land Revenue Settlements*. Cooch Behar: The Cooch Behar State Press. 390-393.
- ⁴⁷*The Annual Administration Report of the Cooch Behar State for the year 1902-03*. Cooch Behar: The Cooch Behar State Press. 1903. 3.
- ⁴⁸*The Annual Administration Report of the Cooch Behar State for the year 1907-08*. Cooch Behar: The Cooch Behar State Press. 1908. 14.

⁴⁹ Ibid. 25-26.

⁵⁰ Chaudhuri, Harendra Narayan. 1903. *The Cooch Behar State and its Land Revenue Settlements*. Cooch Behar: The Cooch Behar State Press. 181-186.

⁵¹ *The Annual Administration Report of the Cooch Behar State for the year 1893-94*. Cooch Behar: Cooch Behar State Press. 1894. 25-26 (No. 1380).

⁵² Ibid. 7.

⁵³ *The Annual Administration Report of the Cooch Behar State for the year 1907-08*. Cooch Behar: The Cooch Behar State Press. 1908. 2, 13-14.

⁵⁴ "Tobacco Cultivation in India". *Foreign News on Tobacco*. Washington: United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics. January 4, 1926. 2.

⁵⁵ *The Annual Administration Report of the Cooch Behar State for the year 1902-03*. Cooch Behar: The Cooch Behar State Press. 1903. 3.

⁵⁶ *The Annual Administration Report of the Cooch Behar State for the year 1906-07*. Cooch Behar: The Cooch Behar State Press. 1907. 7.

⁵⁷ Caine, G. 1883. "Tobacco Cultivation and Curing". *Tropical Agriculturist and Magazine of the Ceylon Agricultural Society*. Vol:3, 1883-84. Natural History Museum. 140-142.

⁵⁸ Moore, Lucy. 2004. *Maharanis: The Extraordinary Tale of Four Indian Queens and their Journey from Purdah to Parliament*. USA: (Viking) Penguin Books Ltd. 124.

⁵⁹ Havana was the capital of Cuba.

⁶⁰ Majumdar, Indu Bhushan De. 1918. *America through Hindu Eyes* (Ed. by Maharajkumar Victor N. Narayan) Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co. & London: W. Thacker & Co. 206.

⁶¹ Majumdar, Indu Bhushan De. 1915. *How to Improve the Tobacco Crop of India*. Wellington Square: Gupta, Mukherjee & Co.

⁶² Majumdar, Indu Bhushan De was the writer of "How to improve the Tobacco crop of India." He was the tour mate of Victor. N. Narayan, appointed by Nripendra Narayan to know modern methods on tobacco.

⁶³ Majumdar, Indu Bhushan De. 1915. *How to Improve the Tobacco Crop of India*. Wellington Square: Gupta, Mukherjee & Co. 1-35.

⁶⁴ Devee, Sunity. 1921. *The Autobiography of an Indian Princess*. London: John Murray. 227.

⁶⁵ *The Cooch Behar Gazette* (1936-1937). Government of Cooch Behar. 1st April, 1937.

⁶⁶ *The Cultivation and Curing of Tobacco in Bengal*. Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1874. 50-51.

⁶⁷ *The Annual Administration Report of the Cooch Behar State for the year 1878-79*. Cooch Behar: The Cooch Behar State Press. 1879. 4.

⁶⁸ *The Annual Administration Report of the Cooch Behar State for the year 1880-81*. Cooch Behar: The Cooch Behar State Press. 1881. 9.

⁶⁹ *The Annual Administration Report of the Cooch Behar State for the year 1882-83*. Cooch Behar: The Cooch Behar State Press. 1883. 10.

⁷⁰ *The Annual Administration Report of the Cooch Behar State for the year 1887-88*. Cooch Behar: The Cooch Behar State Press. 1889. 3, 6.

⁷¹ *The Annual Administration Report of the Cooch Behar State for the year 1891-92*. Cooch Behar: The Cooch Behar State Press. 1892. 10.

- ⁷²*The Annual Administration Report of the Cooch Behar State for the year 1892-93.* Cooch Behar: The Cooch Behar State Press. 1893. 8-9.
- ⁷³*The Annual Administration Report of the Cooch Behar State for the year 1893-94.* Cooch Behar: The Cooch Behar State Press. 1894. 10.
- ⁷⁴*The Annual Administration Report of the Cooch Behar State for the year 1897-98.* Cooch Behar: The Cooch Behar State Press. 1898. 82.
- ⁷⁵*The Annual Administration Report of the Cooch Behar State for the year 1902-03.* Cooch Behar: The Cooch Behar State Press. 1903. 5, 16.
- ⁷⁶*The Annual Administration Report of the Cooch Behar State for the year 1906-07.* Cooch Behar: The Cooch Behar State Press. 1907. 8.
- ⁷⁷*The Annual Administration Report of the Cooch Behar State for the year 1907-08.* Cooch Behar: The Cooch Behar State Press. 1908. 8, 16.
- ⁷⁸*The Annual Administration Report of the Cooch Behar State for the year 1908-09.* Cooch Behar: The Cooch Behar State Press. 1909. 4, 28.
- ⁷⁹*The Annual Administration Report of the Cooch Behar State for the year 1916-17.* Cooch Behar: The Cooch Behar State Press. 1917. 14 (No. 1407).
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- ⁸¹*The Annual Administration Report of the Cooch Behar State for the year 1919-20.* Cooch Behar: The Cooch Behar State Press. 1920. 6.
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- ⁸³*The Annual Administration Report of the Cooch Behar State for the year 1927-28.* Cooch Behar: The Cooch Behar State Press. 1928. 11.
- ⁸⁴*The Annual Administration Report of the Cooch Behar State for the year 1928-29.* Cooch Behar: The Cooch Behar State Press. 1929. 5, 12.
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- ⁹⁰*The Annual Administration Report of the Cooch Behar State for the year 1935-36.* Cooch Behar: The Cooch Behar State Press. 1936. 17.
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