



Colonising the Forests: A Study on Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri Duars

Supam Biswas*

Abstract

The necessity of standard timber to meet the demands of Calcutta port and simultaneously, the price hike of timber and firewood of Burma led the Bengal Government to carry out preliminary enquiries and investigations to find out other areas of forests. Anderson informed the Government about the massive potentiality of the forests lying between the River Tista and Torsa. Mr. Dale was appointed as the first Assistant Conservator of Forests in Duars region. The Forest Act of 1865 established a Forest Bureaucracy and appointed Forest Settlement Officers (FSO) at village level. Their main responsibility was to protect the forests from the local villagers and obsessively from the timber – thieves.

Keywords: *Duars, Forest Act, Railway, Tista, European and Indian Merchants, Meches.*

Introduction

There were two major areas of colonial intervention where the state did not take recourse to even the rhetoric of uploading tradition. These were the reserved forests and tea gardens. The demarcation of land for tea and forests meant the creation of special enclaves. When the British established their control over India in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, large areas were under forest. The British needed timber for constructing their colonial cities, building ships and then for running railwaysⁱ. As Cleghorn admits that in the early nineteenth century, Indian prime forests were utilised for ship – building purposes. Dockyards were constructed in Calcutta, Cochin and other places where smaller vessels were built for merchant shipping. British Imperial Navy was supplied with Indian timber. This had taken a toll of Indian forestsⁱⁱ.

One of the achievements of the colonial Government in India was the implementation of scientific forestry in the Indian sub – continent. In Bengal, the British Sikkim or Darjeeling was the nursery of this scientific forestry and the practical experiment was first carried out in

*Assistant Professor, Department of History, Banerjee Sarathibala Mahavidyalaya, Cooch Behar, West Bengal, India. Email: sutulbiswas@gmail.com

Duars. The first step towards the forest management in India was started on the basis of Lord Dalhousie's declaration. McLelland started a system of forest management in India. His system of forest management was transformed into scientific forestry by Brandis. He drew up a set of proposals in consultation with Dr. T. Anderson which made first step towards the conservation of forests in colonial Bengal. It is important to mention that Anderson prepared the first budget of the Forest Department and the first progress report of forest management in Bengalⁱⁱⁱ.

During the period of our study, no standard timber was coming to Calcutta either from Burma or from Northern India to meet the demands of Calcutta port. Moreover, the price of timber and firewood coming from Burma was increased overwhelmingly. The Indian railways constructed for about 1854 happened to be the largest network in the World. It required enormous amount of wood for its sleepers^{iv}. As Brandis reports, by 1878 over two million sleepers in the Himalayan region alone were consumed. Mainly Sal and Teak wood were used for making sleepers. As Gadgil and Guha have observed that the maximum amount of timber was utilised during the era of railway expansion and the two World Wars. Indian forests were ruthlessly exploited for making railway sleepers not only in India, but also in other parts of the empire including the metropolis^v.

Under the circumstances, the Bengal Government carried out preliminary enquiries and investigations to find out other areas of forests. As a consequence, Anderson provided a report to the Government of Bengal about an area covering with 'Sal' trees that is the Terai and Duars region at the foot of the hill. In 1862 and later, Anderson informed the Government about the massive potentiality of the forests lying between the River Tista and Torsa. It is to be cited here that information relating the 'Sal' wood of the Duars region was first given by J. D. Hooker in 1849-50^{vi}.

British Forest Policy in Duars

Prior to the First Anglo-Bhutan War (1773), the whole of western Duars and the Baikunthapur forests area was under the royal state of Cooch Behar. The Bhutia onslaught on the royal state of Cooch Behar was really a threat to the Cooch Kings. They looted the wealth, tortured local people heavily. Even the Bhutias acquired an immense portion of Baikunthapur area lying east of the Teesta river named Ambari – Falakata. The kings of Cooch Behar seek assistance from the British Government to resist the Bhutia aggression. As a consequence, the Anglo – Bhutan treaty was signed in 1774 and the Bhutia forces were completely uprooted from the State of Cooch Behar^{vii}.

After annexing the Duars area from the state of Cooch Behar, the British Government took scientific plan towards the forest area of Cooch Behar and Baikunthapur. Side by side, they also carried out plan for opening tea plantations there. It, however, should be kept in mind that the royal kings had no farsighted view about the importance of such natural repository rather they emphasised much on agriculture. They cleared huge area covered with forests for cultivation. Harendra Narayan Chaudhury gave a finest description about the forests area of Cooch Behar. He stated that 'although bushes and brush woods are plentiful,

there is no forest worth the name. Some patches of land containing Sal trees are there, however, in existence in different part of the country. A few *Sishu* and teak plantation have also been made by the state and there are moreover some good Sishu avenues grown along the important roads. The area under these patches of forests and plantations does not, however, exceed 30,000 Bighas or about 10,000 acres'. By seeing those reports, steps were taken towards the forest management in Cooch Behar and the Baikunthapur region^{viii}.

The first progress report on the forests of Bengal was prepared by Anderson which was reviewed by Cleghorn the then Inspector General of Forests. Therefore, new proposal came for setting up forest divisions in Bengal, Assam, Bhutan, Chittagaong and Behar. In 1866, Anderson along with Gustav Mann assessed the potentiality of the forests lying between the River Tista and Mechi, bordering on the Bhutan frontier. Mann also proposed to bring the Eastern Duars (area between the river Sankos and Manas) under the category of 'Reserved Forests'. Thus, the British Government realised the importance of appointing another Assistant Conservator of Forests in Duars region. Mr. Dale was appointed on 9th December, 1866. The fundamental objective behind this appointment was to ensure a steady supply of sleepers for constructing Eastern Bengal Railway as well as for doubling the East Indian Railway. In 1869-70, Mr. Leeds gave a list of forest tracts proposed as 'Reserves' in the western Duars (area between the river Tista and Sankos). In order to collect revenue from the forests, a new Revenue Survey was employed^{ix}.

Before forest conservancy was started in Western Duars, it was first introduced in Darjeeling. The British-occupied Sikkim was the key centre of forest management in Bengal. The fundamental objective was to preserve wood for fuel. However, the office of the Forest Conservancy was first set up in Calcutta in 1865. Meanwhile, 'Sal' timber was extensively needed in Assam for the construction of railway lines. Dr. Anderson gently submitted his report to the Government about the potentiality of 'Sal' trees in Duars and simultaneously advised the Government to relinquish the need from the timber of the Duars area.

In 1865, the British Government passed the Forest Act which stipulated that the Government would reserve the right to declare any land covered with trees, brushwood or Jungle as government forest by notification. The high quality teak forest of Lower Burma whetted the greed of British rulers and as a consequence, the Act of 1865 was clamped upon that teak forest for government monopoly of the timber^x. The Act also set up a Forest Bureaucracy and appointed Forest Settlement Officers (FSO) at village level. Their main responsibility was to protect the forests from the local villagers and obsessively from the timber – thieves. The second Indian Forest Act of 1878 gave even greater power to the government. The Act enabled the authorities to convert unoccupied or waste lands belonging to agrarian communities into reserved tracts^{xi}.

It is a well known fact that the Jalpaiguri sub – division during the period of our study, was within the district of Rangpur under the Rajshahi division. The Commissioner of Rajshahi Division sent report to the government concerning the extensive forest of 'Sal' wood situated in the Baikunthapur pargana of the Jalpaiguri district. The information in

regard to the Baikanthapur forest was first given by J.D. Hooker in his 'Himalayan Journals' where he has given a vivid description of the forest area. He enumerated the forest as "Hemmed in as it is on three sides by a dense forest". He also called the Zaminder of Baikunthapur as the 'Raja of Jeelpigoree'. The next information concerning the same topic was given by H. Leeds. According to him, "The Bycunpore forest on the Teesta, the property of the 'Rycot' of that name has this year been delivering its last stock of small timber, little over saplings in size. This forest extended over 90 square miles of country and was favourably situated on the Teesta below the dangerous rapids, where the river issues from the Himalayas into the plains"^{xiii}.

The Commissioner further reported the Government that the Baikanthapur was a Zamindari under the permanent settlement and it possessed rich forests. The Zaminder of Baikunthapur (Raikat family) was the actual proprietor of the Baikunthapur Jungle and ruled under the Cooch Behar state. Extraction of firewood from the forest and sale it were their basic aims. They leased his 'Sal' forests too Messars Dear and Co. for ten years. He might be leased it to the Government after expiring the previous lease. The Divisional Commissioner of Rajshahi Division informed Dr. Anderson that there was a large bazaar where timber merchants used to come for business. The Zaminder had to establish several forest offices located at Salugara, Bodaganj, Shikarpur, Farabari and Pantong to protect forests from the local villagers and timber – thieves. A number of officers were appointed to administer the Baikanthapur Forests area smoothly like Amerendra Nath Chakbarty the Range officer of Shikarpur; Sudhirendra Nath Chakbarty the Deputy Ranger of Salugara; Ananta Kumar Bandhapadhyia the Deputy Ranger of Bodaganj. Prasanna Kumar Das was appointed in 1933 as the Chief Forest Officer of Baikanthapur Estate^{xiii}.

In order to bring the whole Baikanthapur forests under the sway of the colonial Government, the Forest Act of 1910 was implemented there and came under the jurisdiction of the Conservator of forests, Jalpaiguri Division. In spite of little bitterness, Prasanna Dev Raikat finally accepted the proposal and since then the Baikanthapur forests area passed into the hands of the British Government.

The Department was optimistic that Duars timber would replace the more expensive timber from Oudh and Nepal in the markets of East Bengal. The construction of the North Bengal Railway which started in 1874 in response to the demand for transporting tea and timber hastened the policy of cutting woods from Duars forests at a staggering rate. Moreover, number of sleepers supplied from the Duars forests to North Bengal Railway, will be at low rate^{xiv}. The forest policy in Duars was laid down in the following words – "The North Bengal Railway will require large quantities of materials from Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri and at present the demand is much greater than that can be satisfied from the forests". The demand for sleepers for North Bengal Railway compelled the cutting of Sal trees both in 1876-77 and 1877-78. Again in the same year 2,776 green trees had to be felled in the Buxa division to meet the demands of the railway company^{xv}. The rapid depletion of forest to meet the growing demand for railway sleepers is as follows:

Number of Sleepers supplied from the Buxa Forest Division 1879 – 1882

Year	Number of Sleepers supplied
1879	18,449
1880	22,683
1881	29,865
1882	21,602

(Source: Subhajyoti Ray, 2002)

European and Indian Merchants

The large potentiality of 'Sal' wood in Duars and its reasonable price in comparison with Burma or Northern India, massive demand of 'Sal' wood for the purpose of building country – boats and 'budgerow's (luxurious boats used by the native Zaminders), construction of Calcutta port and the Eastern Bengal Railway, demand for 'Sisoo' wood for making furniture, 'Sal' and hardwood for making bullock – carts, carts drawn by horses, palanquins – all these factors opened the eyes for timber traders to take interest in the timber business of the Duars region^{xvi}.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, the European officials were involved in timber business such as George Gray the chief of the Malda factory (1761-63), Richard Barwell who replaced the former in 1765, Sykes the Resident at the Durbar of Murshidabad. They operated their business mainly in Morung (southern part of Nepal) and in the purnea forests^{xvii}. The Court of Directors in London also showed their keen interest in the field^{xviii}. Sir J. D. Hooker in his Journal (1848) wrote that Morung 'supplies Sal and Sisoo timber for Calcutta Market, the logs being floated down the Konki and Cosi rivers to the Ganges'. Several British sources reported that prior to their advent there was timber depot at Jalpaiguri. Immediately after that the British Government had to set up timber depots at Alipurduar, Buxa, Rangpur, Dhubri, Sirajganj and Dacca with the passage of time^{xix}.

There was another area of exploitation of forest by the British capitalists. The government gave easy and long lease to those who wanted to set up saw mills and paper mills. Saw mills were required for processing of timber as planks for furniture and house building materials. Bamboo forest and sabang grassland were leased out to them for making pulp for paper mills^{xx}. Bankim Bihari Roy of Darjeeling set up a small firm where *deshi* tracing paper and black carbon paper was manufactured. However, *deshi* handmade paper could not compete with foreign paper of finer variety and cheaper price^{xxi}.

Dr. Barun De and Pranab Ranjan Roy in their 'Notes for Darjeeling' gave an elaborate description of timber trade in the Baikunthapur pargana of the Jalpaiguri district. They have rightly remarks that "the Baikunthapur Estate was an important centre of the timber – logging trade. Many merchants from Bihar as well as Giri Gossains of the Dasanami sect of Benaras invested in this trade". It seems that to meet heterogeneous demands for wood in East Bengal mentioned earlier, the Dacca merchants used to come at Buxa, Jalpaiguri, Baikunthapur for collecting timber and poles^{xxii}.

An interesting feature of this growing trade was the involvement of Indians especially Bengali people coming from East Bengal. As we know there was no railway line in Duars before 1891 to the east of the river Tista where the tea gardens were located. In 1881, under pressure from the Planter's Association, the Secretary of State entered into a contract with the Octavius Steel Company to construct the Bengal Duars Railway. For a very long time it was exclusively remained for the use of tea gardens^{xxiii}. Naturally the opening of tea gardens and the Bengal Duars Railway encouraged the Bengali youths to get employed there. For this reason, they were granted free railway passes to come in Duars. However, by this time no extra inducements were necessary for immigration in Duars. A large flow of people had already started from the adjoining districts of Rangpur, Dinajpur and the native state of Cooch Behar. They acted there as guards, clerks and managers. Between the census of 1881 and 1891, 32,224 people were migrated to Duars. This was not only the highest among all districts but also constituted one – third of the total immigration to Duars in that decade. The migrants from Rangpur and Dinajpur belonged to the Jotedar and Chuknidar classes, investing in the new profitable tenancies in the area^{xxiv}.

Now, they showed their keen interest in timber trade as it was the most lucrative business in Duars after tea. The Dacca – based merchants played a pivotal role along with their European counterparts in timber trade. References should be made to Rameswar Lahiri, Bihari Lal Ganguly, Durga Mahan Basu and his son Prafulla Kumar Basu, Kshitish Basu, S. K. Majumder, Tulsi Charan Mukherjee, B. N. Guha, M. N. Guha, Satyen Ganguly, Sudhir Sen, Nandalal Agarwala, Durga Mukherjee, Niranjan Sarkar of Jalpaiguri town as well. In Siliguri town, Abdul Gaffar Khan, Ganesh Ray, Suresh Joardar, Rajendra Dutta Majumder, Kiran Chandra Bhattacharya, Madhusadan Chattopadhyay, Nibaran Chandra Ghatak, Atul Chandra Dutta, Manmath Nath Sarkar, Tinkari Kundu, Satya Kinkar Ray are deserved to be mentioned. Many of them later transformed as an entrepreneur in tea industry such as Bihari Lal Ganguly of Mongolkata tea Estate and Kiran Chandra Bhattacharya of Kiran Chandra Tea Estate. They were organised under the banner of the North Bengal Timber Merchants' Association at Jalpaiguri and it had several branches at Damanpur, Alipurduar, Lataguri, Siliguri, Rangpur. It is interesting to note that the dominance of Bengali merchants like Duars was also prevailed in Assam and the Goalpara region is needed to be cited here^{xxv}. The Bengali timber merchants had a nexus with the timber – thieves to avoid governmental restrictions and offered high prices for timber than the local market^{xxvi}.

The British Forest Officer E. P. Stebbing told us that the conservancy of forest in colonial Bengal was first started in Sikkim. The process of conserving the forest in Darjeeling was first introduced in 1864 during the period of Dr. T. Anderson who was the Conservator of Forests in Lower Provinces including the Darjeeling hill. The forestry of Darjeeling district at first was administered under Bhagalpur Division up to 1870. Later it came under the jurisdiction of Cooch Behar Forest Division. This area included the hill forests of the British Sikkim and lower hill forest extended up to Muhanuddy Terai Forest with hill tract. The Divisional Commissioner of Bhagalpur reported to the Conservator of Forests Bhagalpur that the *Jharas* in the Terai is covered with quality of Sal and some Sisoo trees on the bank of river *Mahanadee*^{xxvii}.

It was the year 1877 when the Darjeeling Forest Division was first established along with three sub – divisions such as Darjeeling, Kurseong and *Tista*. It (*Tista*) was later renamed as Kalimpong Division in 1879. By the late nineteenth century, the British Government had to set up its full control over the forests of Darjeeling and commercialisation of forest resources was increased at a staggering rate. Most tea and cinchona plantations were established by clearing natural forests on land acquired or purchased from the Government.

The first working plan for the forests of Darjeeling was prepared by Mr. H. Manison in 1893 and for Singalila Forest by Mr. Trafford in 1908. The forest in Darjeeling was completely classified into three categories – reserved forests, protected forests and tea garden forests. The later kept free from the control of the forest department. The area of the protected forests land was confined within the cantonment area of the Jalapahar and the Birch hill park area in the Lebung spur. The Birch hill park area came under the Bengal Public Park Act in the year 1904 and was notified on 10th January, 1916. The area of the reserve forest overwhelmingly increased in the last phase of the nineteenth century. However, a special area of forest land was given to the British soldiers for shooting and hunting in the reserve forests of the Darjeeling^{xxviii}.

With the growing demand for specified timber of colonial economy, the government speculated the need of a systematic management of forests. As a consequences, the government earmarked few forest areas for supplying timber and fuel. Jalapahar area of forest was identified for Darjeeling; the forests of Sepoydhura, Mamrim and Sureli for Kurseong division; Takdah, Balasan, Chattackpore were identified for railway and tea plantation supplies; Sureli and Rishop forests for supply to Cinchona plantation^{xxix}.

Impact on the Environment and the Local Settlers

The British forest policy adversely affected the daily life of the local people. The government asked them to live in open areas outside the forests. The Meches accepted the proposal and started to live in areas adjacent to forests. Actually the utilisation of reserved forests to meet the demand in North East India and the inception of tea gardens in Duars gradually declined the importance of the Meches and thus found them redundant with the demise of cotton cultivation and the gradual replacement of homespun by factory made clothes^{xxx}.

A civil officer in Buxa was appointed to look after the local dwellers. The Sub – Divisional officer reported that the Garo people settled outside the reserve forest but a large section of Meches inhabited at Boromali demanded compensation unless they would not leave the place. A few of them selected Atrabaree as their new hamlet. However, by way of paying compensation the problem was solved in Buxa. The Garos and Meches were permitted to take ‘Sal’ and ‘Sissoo’ for the purpose of building houses, rice mortars, pestles, yokes but not for sale. They shall only use fallen timber or the stumps of trees remaining on the ground after the tree is felled. Moreover, they shall provide all assistance to the forest Officer for caring the forests carefully. Jhum cultivation was prohibited but somehow

permitted in the *jharas*. By doing so, the Forest Department was immensely benefited. W. Stenhouse reported that “The Forest Department is likely to benefit greatly by the assistance as forest watchers of men residing near the forests, whose local knowledge and means of obtaining information ought to render them much more efficient than a highly paid stranger”^{xxxix}.

Another attempt was made from the Government of keeping some areas reserved for them. In a Government record it was said that “in 1895 the Meches and Garo subjects in the Western Dooars apprehending all the lands hitherto occupied by them were being taken up for tea cultivation, petitioned the Settlement Officer, Jalpaiguri, asking that some specific area might be reserved for them. The Deputy Commissioner of Jalpaiguri and the Commissioner of Rajshahi division supported the proposal and by the Government’s Notification No. 3203 L.R. dated 06/07/1895 a reserve was set up in a block of land measuring about 30.7 square miles in the Alipurduar Subdivision to provide a refuge to the Meches and Garos. This area was declared not to be available for tea plantation”. However, this attempt proved as a futile one. By the turn of the century, a number of Meches migrated to Assam in searching other avenues for their daily livelihood. The 1911 Gazetteer of the Jalpaiguri District gave a finest statement in this respect. It was said that “the Meches are gradually driven towards the East owing to the pressure of most intelligent races”. There is no disagreement on the point that state reservation of forests adversely affected the traditional communities and led to their dislocation. Encroachment on the forest by the state evoked discontent among the forest - dwellers. This resentment led to several major risings against the British^{xxxii}.

There were not only the communities affected by the activities of the forest department, the cultivators also to a large extent. The driftwood on the river *Tista* during the time of flood was the main source of fuel for a majority of people living in Jalpaiguri, Cooch Behar and Rangpur districts. But during the Anglo – Bhutanese war in 1865, the British militaries faced considerable difficulties in collecting driftwood. Therefore, under section 54 of the new forest law the collection of driftwood on the *Tista* was declared illegal. The local people vehemently opposed the law and examples are there of setting fire to the forests^{xxxiii}.

Nevertheless, rapid deforestation and high rainfall accelerated soil erosion and flood. D. H. Lees the Deputy Commissioner of Jalpaiguri alarmed the Commissioner of Rajshahi Division concerning the devastated condition of the areas due to floods in the river Chel and Ghish. The colonial forest policy brought about numerous interceptions in the daily life of the indigenous community ‘Lepchas’. Their usual pattern of livelihood, traditional forest based lifestyle received set back. Unlike other forestry areas of India, the collection of bamboos from forests and shifting cultivation (*Jhuming*) was prohibited. As a result, they fall down into an extremely pitiable condition, left their original places and moved towards south – west part of the district. To solve this crisis, the British Government selected Kalimpong as their new habitat. An area of 999 acres forest land in Lolegaon Reserved Forest was cut down for their resettlement^{xxxiv}.

The denudation of all trees, expansion of tea plantations by clearing forests led to the rapid depletion of forests and it caused havoc pressure on the ecological balance. The indigenous flora and fauna was largely affected by the rapid depletion of the forests. Furthermore, the Forest Department provided facilities for shooting and naturally it became a source of attraction both to the native Zaminders and European. All these factors felt negative impetus in the habits of animals, birds and ultimately led to their extinction.

Conclusion

The colonial forestry certainly marked an ecological, economic and political watershed in Indian forest history. The Hill tract and the Terai region of the Darjeeling district and the Duars region of the Jalpaiguri district was the major supplier of wood in colonial Bengal. European timber – traders including Bengali merchants of East and South Bengal were attracted to the timber trade of the eastern and western Duars. A demographic change took place since immigration of Muslim labourers into this area. Garo and Meches were driven out to the North – East. Timber – thieves were born. New roads were constructed and new stations were set up at various places in Duars like Lataguri, Banarhat, Binnaguri, Chalsa to facilitate the trade in timber, tea.

Endnote

-
- ⁱ Madhav Gadgil and Ramchandra Guha, *This Fissured Land: An Ecological Survey of India*, 1992, New Delhi.
- ⁱⁱ Chittabrata Palit, 'British Forest Policy in India: An Overview', in *Mountains and Forests in Indian History*, Institute of Historical Studies, 2004, Kolkata, p. 108.
- ⁱⁱⁱ Ananda Gopal Ghosh and Diganta Chakrabarty, Forest Policy of the Colonial Government: A Case Study in the Forests of Western Dooars (1864 – 1898), in *Mountains and Forests in Indian History*, op.cit. p. 137.
- ^{iv} Chittabrata Palit, op.cit, p. 108.
- ^v D. Brandis, Memorandum on the Supply of Railway Sleepers of the Himalayan Pines Impregnated in India, *Indian Forests*, Vol. IV, 1879, p. 366.
- ^{vi} Ananda Gopal Ghosh and Diganta Chakrabarty, Forest Policy of the Colonial Government: A Case Study in the Forests of Western Dooars (1864 – 1898), in *Mountains and Forests in Indian History*, op.cit. p. 138.
- ^{vii} J.A. Milligan, Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the Jalpaiguri District, 1906 – 1916, The Bengal Secretariat Press, 1919, p. 06, Reprinted by National Library, Siliguri, W.B.
- ^{viii} Harendra Narayan Chaudhuri, The Cooch Behar and its land Revenue Settlements, Cooch Behar State Press, 1903, p. 106, Reprinted by National Library, Siliguri, W.B.
- ^{ix} Ananda Gopal Ghosh and Diganta Chakrabarty, op.cit, p. 145.
- ^x Chittabrata Palit, op.cit, p. 109.
- ^{xi} Ranjan Chakrabarty, Colonising The Forest 1800 – 1900, in *Mountains and Forests in Indian History*, op.cit. p. 94.
- ^{xii} Ananda Gopal Ghosh and Diganta Chakrabarty, op.cit, p. 144.
- ^{xiii} Jagadindra Deb Raikat, RaikatBamsha O TahaderRajyerSankhiptaBibaran (A Short History of The RaikatDynesty and Their Kingdom), ed. By Nirmal Chandra Chaudhuri, p. 52.
- ^{xiv} Progress Report of the Forest Administration in the Lower Province of Bengal, 1876/77, p. 26.
- ^{xv} Subhajyoti Ray, The Transformation on the Bengal Frontier (1765 – 1948), Routledge Curzon, London, 2002, p. 73.

-
- ^{xvi} Souvenir, North Bengal Timber Merchants Association, Jalpaiguri, 1885, p. 05.
- ^{xvii} Ananda Gopal Ghosh, *The Factory of the English East India Company at Malda (1757 – 1833)*, un – published Ph. D. Thesis, University of North Bengal, p. 209 – 10.
- ^{xviii} Tapash Kumar Ray Chaudhury, ‘The Eastern Morung: A Disputed Territory in Anglo – Nepalese Relations (1770 – 1816)’, *The Indian Historical Review*, Vol. XVII, p. 211.
- ^{xix} Ananda Gopal Ghosh and Diganta Chakrabarty, *op.cit*, p. 154.
- ^{xx} Chittabrata Palit, *op.cit*, p. 110.
- ^{xxi} Amit Bhattacharyya, *Swadeshi Enterprise in Bengal 1921 – 47 (Vol.2)*, SetuPrakashani, Kolkata, 2007, P.18
- ^{xxii} Ananda Gopal Ghosh, *Sekaler Uttarbange Kather Byabsa (Timber Trade in North Bengal)*, Souvenir, North Bengal Timber Merchants Association, 1987, p. 04.
- ^{xxiii} Sir Percival Griffiths, *A History of The Indian Tea Industry*, London, 1967, pp. 647 -648.
- ^{xxiv} Progress Report of Forest Administration in the Lower Provinces of Bengal for the years 1882 – 1883, Bengal Secretariat Press, Calcutta, 1883, p. viii.
- ^{xxv} Souvenir, North Bengal Timber Merchants Association, 1987, pp. 60 – 72.
- ^{xxvi} Diganta Chakrabarty, *Forest Policy of the Colonial government: A Case study in two districts in North Bengal (1835 – 1990)*, Un – Published PhD. thesis, University of North Bengal, 2006.
- ^{xxvii} E.P. Stebbing, *forests of India*, Vol. I, II, & III, Reprinted by A.J. Reprints Agency, New Delhi, 1982, p. 32.
- ^{xxviii} Final Report on the Settlement of the Reserved Forests No. 996 TR, dated 29th October 1896.
- ^{xxix} Progress Report of Forest Administration in the Lower Provinces of Bengal for the years 1882 – 1883, Bengal Secretariat Press, Calcutta, 1883, p. viii.
- ^{xxx} Bengal Revenue Proceedings, Forest Branch, Miscellaneous, Nos. 45 – 46, 1882.
- ^{xxxi} Subhajyoti Ray, *op.cit*, p.79.
- ^{xxxii} *Ibid*, p.75.
- ^{xxxiii} Letter of D.H. Lees the Deputy Commissioner of Jalpaiguri to the Commissioner of Rajshahi Division, dated 1st August, 1911, Jalpaiguri.
- ^{xxxiv} A.R. Foning, *Lepcha: My Vanishing Tribe*, Sterling, New Delhi, 1987.