Chapter 1

Introduction

Tea is the most widely used beverage in the World. It is the favourite to the rich as well as poor. Tea production in northern part of undivided Bengal in colonial period was concentrated in the following three regions such as Dooars of the Jalpaiguri district and Terai and hill area of the Darjeeling district. These three regions are different among themselves with respect to agro-climatic conditions. This study pertains to these three separate regions of colonial Bengal. Before we proceed any further, let us first have a brief description about the geo-physical settings of the proposed area of our study. The geological feature of the Terai – Dooars region is that a major part of this plain is built up of debris washed down from the Himalayan slopes. The Dooars region is a belt of land of about 16 kilometres in width, running along the foothills of the Himalayan range from the western part of the river Sankosh to the river Tista. The precipitation of the Dooars region is very high and heavy quantum of rainfall is received in short period. The northern boundary of this region is very close to Bhutan and the unkind hills of Kalimpong stand on the way of good cultivation of tea. Terai is an extension part of the Dooars region. Sir Joseph Dalton Hooker, an eminent historian cum Botanist introduced the Terai region as follows – ‘Siligoorie stands on the verge of the Terai, that low Malaria’s belt which strikes the base of Himalaya from the Sultej to the Brahmakoor in the upper Assam’. The physical feature of this region is slightly different from the Dooars region. The tea producing areas of the Terai region starts from the bank of the river Mahananda to the river Mechi. Climatic condition is not favourable much for tea and drought is a nominal feature of this region.

Tea plantation is a large scale, capital intensive and highly specialised commercial enterprise. Entrepreneurship is an integral thing in this field. In this commercial field, we have chosen tea plantation because this is the oldest and biggest investment sector in North – Eastern India. It is true that tea plantation was a typical colonial investment and initiative in this sector was taken by the European merchants and service holders in India and their counterparts in Great Britain. However, before proceed any further it is very important to answer two relevant questions as to why the title of the proposed research dissertation has chosen as “Rise and Fall of the
Bengali entrepreneurship: A Case Study of the Tea Plantation Industry in Himalayan and Sub – Himalayan Region of Bengal (1879 – 2000)”. And secondly the question is why the Himalayan and Sub – Himalayan Region of Bengal have been chosen as an area of my research. The answer of the first question is that Bengalis were the only single largest Indian investors undertaking entrepreneurship in this economic venture in the area under review. Barring this community we could not find any other Indian who showed interest and courage in the European dominated tea plantation industry.

The prime reason for selecting the aforesaid region is that these two areas had some unique features especially in the period under review. As we know, geographically the Himalayan region of Bengal means the hill area of the Darjeeling district and sub – Himalayan means the Terai – Dooars region of both the Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri district. These two districts for its climatic conditions, deep forest attracted the Britishers to start tea plantations in Hill, Terai and the Dooars region, to search for routes to enter Sikkim, Bhutan, Tibet and Assam only with other capital earning objectives. Naturally, Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri was distinct from other part of colonial North Bengal from the point of view of atmosphere, climate, strategic position, administrative feature and economic condition. Nevertheless, excepting these two districts we could not find other areas where tea gardens came into existence in colonial period. Moreover, the Bengali community of the Jalpaiguri and Siliguri town were the single largest Indian community then having the highest number of tea gardens under their ownership and control. This sort of instance is really difficult to find in other districts of Bengal.

The year 1879 has been identified as the starting point of my research dissertation. It is really difficult to periodize a labour intensive industry like tea but for the sake of convenience two cut – off dates have been selected for the present study. We have started the period from 1879 because this was the year when the first Indian Joint Stock Tea Company was promoted by a group of Bengali lawyers of the then Jalpaiguri town. This marked the beginning of the Bengali entrepreneurship in the tea plantation industry of colonial Bengal. Generally speaking, the first half of the twentieth century is particularly important for studying the Bengali entrepreneurship because this period witnessed a rapid growth and development of the Bengali entrepreneurship in the tea plantation industry and growing awareness to establish their national economic identity to establish their legitimate rights and self – respect
in the contemporary tea industry. Further, we have fixed the time period of the proposed dissertation up to 2000 A.D. because from the last phase of the twentieth century we cannot observe any new emergence of Bengali entrepreneurship in this big field of investment. The Ray and Ghosh family of Jalpaiguri town who at once omnipotent ruled the tea industry along with their European counterparts and controlled a lion share of Bengali owned tea estates under their subservience now stand only in one or two. Even nobody knows their where abouts today. These tea estates are now being owned and controlled under the non – Bengali businessmen. Hence, we have decided to do the research dissertation up to 2000 A.D.

The present study attempts in providing an enlarged description of the Bengali entrepreneurship in the tea plantation industry in Himalayan and sub – Himalayan region of undivided Bengal in colonial period. The fundamental objective of the study which covers the period from 1879 to 2000 is to explain the rise and fall of the Bengali entrepreneurship in the tea plantation industry in the proposed area of our dissertation in terms of certain key questions such as –

(a) What was the background behind the advent of our Bengali entrepreneurs in the tea plantation industry?

(b) How did they build up their own entrepreneurship in spite of facing challenges from their European counterparts?

(c) How did the economic nationalism emerge under the Bengali entrepreneurs in the tea industry of colonial Bengal?

(d) What part did they play behind the socio – cultural development of the Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling district?

(e) What was the impact of Babu Culture on their life style and its compatibility with colonial hegemonic agenda?

(f) How did the Bengali entrepreneurship come to an end in post independence period?
As we know, the cultivation of tea in India was primarily based on the importation of seeds from China. But during the same period, indigenous tea plant began to flourish in the wild hills of Assam. In 1823 this was traced by an Indian late Maniram Dewan. Incidentally, the second notable tea planter in Assam was late Rosheswar Barua who established a half dozen tea garden in the sixties. But it’s a matter of deep sorrow that East India Company did not acclaim his findings and gave credit for the discovery to Major Robert Bruce, the first British tea planter in Assam. In 1833 East India Company lost its monopoly of tea trade with China and henceforth assumed few astonishing steps to establish a source of supply in India. This attempt was resulted in the creation of a committee headed by the then Governor General Lord William Bentinck in 1834 which recommended the cultivation of tea in various region of India such as Eastern Frontier, the lower hills and valleys of the Himalayas, Nilgiris and Western Ghat of South India. Neither the tea seeds imported from China nor its hybrid did well in Assam but it did a good result in Jalpaiguri Dooars and Darjeeling district as well. This unprecedently success in tea World lured a number of private capitalists of Britain to take interest in this economic venture and they approached the Government, both in London and Calcutta, to transfer the Government plantations to them. This resulted in the formation of various Tea Company both in Calcutta and London and the foremost among them was the Assam Tea Company. Between 1850 and 1880 the Assam Tea Company was followed by many others such as Duncans, Gillanders Arbuthnot, Andrew Yule, Williamson Maogr who later put step in this field in Teai – Dooars and Hill region of colonial Bengal.

Once tea began to be grown outside the Far East, the characteristics of its cultivation changed completely. In China, in particular, tea growing was – and still largely is carried out by many thousands of peasant farmers on marginal land on which they could not grow more staple corps. Sometimes a number of these smallholders would group together to process the raw leaf into the finished product in a single place, whereas many others would undertake the whole process on the home farm from start to finish. When the Indian tea industry was launched on a large scale commercial enterprise by the British in the mid – nineteenth century, the approach had to be different from that of the Chinese, on whose expertise it relied at first.
The ownership and control of the tea planting and manufacturing companies in the Himalayan and sub – Himalayan region of Bengal were enjoyed by two communities, to wit the Europeans and the Indians especially the Bengalis migrated from various part of undivided Eastern and Southern Bengal. In the true sense the Europeans were the harbinger. By obtaining optimum support and other necessities from the ruling government they paved the way of introducing tea plantation industry in the thick forests of the proposed area of our study. Tea is the principal industry in India. Assam by far the foremost region in tea production was closely followed by Bengal whose tea producing areas included the hill areas and the plains of the Terai in Darjeeling district, the Dooars in Jalpaiguri district and Chittagong. Tea production was experimentally started in Darjeeling hill in 1840s and in the plains of the district in the year 1862.

The early European tea planters of India were a colourful, varied and totally inexperienced collection of men, who usually had no idea where were the best places to plant tea bushes, let alone how to cultivate them and process their leaves. Often there mere presence of a few bedraggled wild plants in a patch of neighbouring jungle would be sufficient for one of these optimists to start a garden in the most unhealthy and unpropitious places. New gardens were commenced on impossible sites and by men as managers who not only did know a tea plant from a cabbage, but who were equally ignorant of the commonest rules of agriculture. None were more ignorant than those who went to Northern India. Moreover, the men who tackled this task had to be hardiest of the tea pioneers, for they had no precedent to follow and were the first Europeans to try to settle in these initially inhospitable areas.

The unprecedented development in tea industry started from the commercial to a more extensive and commercial stage since the year 1876. The Rev.T. Boaz, L.L.D. in January 1857 stated that tea had been raised from seed at Takvar by captain Masson, at Kurseong by Mr. Smith, at Hope Town by a company, on the Kurseong flats by Mr. Martin and between kurseong and Pankhabari by Captain Samler, an agent of the Darjeeling tea concern. Development now proceeded at a rapid rate. In 1856 the Alubari tea garden was opened by the Kurseong and the Darjeeling Tea Company and another garden by the Darjeeling Land Mortgage Bank on the Lebong spur. In 1859 Dr. Brougham laid down the Dhutaria garden and between 1860 and 1864 gardens at Ging, Ambutia, Takdah and Phubsering were
established by the Darjeeling Tea Company and at Takvar and Badamtam by the Lebong Tea Company. Nevertheless, other gardens such as Makaibari, Pandam and Steinthal were also opened in this period

Indian enterprise in the tea plantation industry was confined to the second class tea gardens in the Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri district. The pioneer in this field was none other than Prince Dwarakanath Tagore. His first and foremost contribution in this field was the formulation the Assam Tea Company. However, his Carr, Tagore and Company was the first equal partnership between European and Indian businessmen. Dwarakanath’s idea was to prevent Europeans from draining India of her wealth. He wanted to draw as many Indians from agriculture to commerce and industry. It is true that the fall of Union Bank in 1847 came as a rude shock to Indian enterprise but the idea which he scattered all over colonial Bengal was adopted by the Indian entrepreneurs of the Jalpaiguri town later period. This gave rise a new Indian entrepreneurship led by the middle class Bengali people in the tea plantation industry in the middle of the nineteenth century. The establishment of the tea gardens by our Bengali entrepreneurs was the outcome of racial conflict between the European tea planters and their Indian counterparts. Some Indian gardens came into existence in Darjeeling hill by the Bengal entrepreneurs. One company composed entirely of Bengali entrepreneurs and four private gardens had sprung into existence such as Gayabari, Makaibari, Kamalpur, Sourini. These estates were started by individuals on proprietary basis having elegant occupational backgrounds and social origins. Barring these, all the gardens were owned and controlled by the European enterprise. Five years after the first tea garden namely Gazoldoba was started by the British planters, a few Bengali lawyers and clerks of colonial Jalpaiguri town formed the first Indian Tea Company, called the Jalpaiguri Tea Company with one garden Mogolkata Tea Estate in the year 1879. Afterwards many more Indian tea gardens, most of them comparatively small, were set up in the district. There were a good number of Bengali owned tea estates in Darjeeling, Jalapiguri and Assam having their registered offices at Jalpaiguri town. A very few of them, however, had registered offices in Calcutta. In order to safeguard their own interests, the Indian Tea Planters’ Association was formed in 1915 at Jalpaiguri town. At a much later stage, another organisation called Terai Indian Planters’ Association (TIPA) was formed to look after the interests of the Indian planters of the Terai region. Indeed the Bengali tea
planters during this period tried to strengthen their position by harnessing their cause to that of the growing nationalist movement in the two districts under review.

Bengali entrepreneurship in regard to the Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling districts is one of the most neglected segments in socio-economic history of colonial Bengal. It is a well known fact there are some scholarly discourses in this field. Few eminent research works have already been done in regard to the Bengali entrepreneurship of the Jalpaiguri Dooars region such as Ranajit Dasgupta’s legend work “Society, Economy and Politics of Bengal: Jalpaiguri 1869 – 1947”, Sir P.J. Griffiths “The History of the Indian Tea Industry”, Dr. Sib Sankar Mukherjee’s Ph. D. Thesis “Emergence of the Bengali entrepreneurship in the Tea Plantations in Jalpaiguri Duars (1879 – 1933), Subhajyoti Roy’s classical work “Transformations of a Bengal Frontier Jalpaiguri 1765 – 1947” are deserved to be mentioned here.

It is very unfortunate to say that still there are some major gaps pertaining to the Bengali entrepreneurship of the Jalpaiguri Dooars. Their works are only confined with a few tea estates established by the Bengali entrepreneurs. But there were other tea estates also owned and controlled by the Bengali entrepreneurs. Dr. Sibsankar Mukherjee has only paid his attention on the Ghosh, Ray, Raikot, Rahut and the Nawab group of the Jalpaiguri town. It is true to say without any hesitation that they were the stalwarts in Indian industry in the contemporary period and played an important role behind the growth and development of the Indian entrepreneurship. But there were also other Bengali entrepreneurs who attained copious fame along with the Ghosh, Roy and Nawab group in Indian tea industry. References should be made to Neyogi, Bhawmick, Bagchi, Karmakar, Sen, Lahiri, Sanyal, of the Jalpaiguri town and Samaddar family of Alipurduar town. In spite of their entrepreneurial activity, they played an important role in developing the socio-cultural environment of North Bengal. In addition to that the previous research works focused much on the first generation of our Bengali entrepreneurs. They did not emphasise on their second or third generation. Many of them later became a famous tea industrialist and ruled the Indian tea Industry singlehandedly. Tea industrialist Satyendra Prasad Roy (S.P. Roy), Birendra Chandra Ghosh (B.C. Ghosh), Rajendra Kumar Neyogi are deserved to be cited here. We have tried to a large extent in providing an overall description about these tea industrialists through the research work.
Nevertheless, no serious study has yet been made on the growth and development of the Bengali entrepreneurship in the Hill area and Terai region of the Darjeeling district. It is great surprise to see that in regard to the first Bengali garden of the Jalpaiguri Dooars everyone should point out the Mogolkata tea estate established by the Jalpaiguri tea company in the year 1879. But after passing the 150 years of Indian tea industry nobody can say with confidence that which is the first Bengali garden in the Hill area and Terai region of the Darjeeling district? Professor Ranajit Dasgupta in his book ‘Society, Economy and Politics of Bengal: Jalpaiguri 1869 – 1947” put his remarks that the feature of the Bengali entrepreneurship was not present in the Darjeeling or Assam plantations (P. 59) where as the Pal Chaudhury family of Ranaghat (Dist – Nadia) and Banarjee family of Kolkata played an outstanding exordium behind the emergence of a small but growing core of Indian entrepreneurship in the tea plantation industry in both Darjeeling hill and the Terai region. The despatch of the finest teas of Happy valley tea garden owned and controlled by the Banarjee family of Kolkata to the Royal family of Britain at once was really a praise worthy matter of Indian tea industry. The name of tea industrialist Biprodas Pal Chaudhury, Jyotish Chandra Pal Chaudhury, Pashupati Banarjee, Amiya Banarjee is still current in the tea industry in Darjeeling hill. Similar lacuna is still available in regard to the Bengali entrepreneurship in the tea plantation industry of Terai region. Tarapada Banarjee (T.P. Banarjee) of Simulbari tea estate, Ila Pal Chaudhury of Mohorgaon Gulma tea estate draws no attention from the academicians, research scholars as yet. Both of this two tea industrialist along with tea planter B.C. Ghosh of Jalpaiguri town laid the foundation for the first time of an Indianised association in the Terai region namely “Terai Indian Planters Association” (TIPA, 1928). Its main aim was to safeguard the interests of the Indian tea planters of this region. From the beginning, it had a good relation with the Indian Tea Planters’ Association (ITPA, 1915) of the Jalpaiguri town. Barring the entrepreneurial activity, tea industrialist T.P. Banarjee, Kiran Chandra Bhattacharya of Kiran Chandra tea estate, Satish Chandra Kar of Satish Chandra tea estate played an important role in developing the socio – cultural environment of such a dark hamlet like Siliguri town in the contemporary period. Tea industrialist Ajay Bhattacharya, the worthy son of Kiran Chandra Bhattacharya will always be remembered in the tea industry of North Bengal for his immense contribution behind the foundation of Tea Auction Centre at siliguri along with tea industrialist B.C. Ghosh. This study, as we believe, will go far
away to fill up the research gap in regard to the Bengali entrepreneurship of the Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling districts.

For source materials the present study has depended on archival materials as well as on published government records, such as district gazetteers and census reports. Materials have also collected from oldest records of various tea gardens as well as Tea Associations. To draw a pen picture in regard to the emergence of Bengali entrepreneurship I have got the opportunity to see the joint stock companies to prepare a complete list of various Bengali owned tea companies having their head offices at Jalpaiguri, Alipurduar town and later in Calcutta.

However, emphasis have given much in this respect on oral sources that is the interviews with persons, still alive, with memories dating back to the days when the companies were formed and transform its ownership to the other Indians especially the Marwaris. Actually in drawing the unwritten history of the Bengali owned gardens of the Darjeeling districts the oral sources are of much importance as there is paucity of primary and secondary sources in this field. The major problem which I have faced during the course of collecting materials from official records was that most of them were labour oriented. Sources in regard to the Bengali tea planters are really difficult to find out from such government official records. Nevertheless, the ex – managers, owners have never written down their memories in detail or maintain a diary. All are in their memories. Hence references have been collected from personal interviews with them. In addition to that the new owners of the Bengali owned tea gardens were never interested to maintain the oldest records for their personal economic interests. In view of this problem, field strips were undertaken in areas where the tea gardens situated. This helped me in getting access to a lot of unused papers related with their gardens. My interaction with the present generation of Bengali tea planters as well as senior managers, staffs of the past gave me helpful insights and perspectives for a better understanding of the decline of the Bengali entrepreneurship in the tea industry in post – independence period. Lastly, through cross – verification of archival documents and field experience, this study has sought to reconstruct an overall history of the Bengali entrepreneurship during the period under study.
The present study attempts to provide an overall description of the tea plantation industry of the proposed area of my research dissertation. The introductory chapter elaborates the history, ecology and the geo–physical settings of the proposed area of our study. This chapter also seeks to elaborate the history of the tea gardens established both by the Europeans and Bengalis. It focuses on the different works of tea plantation industry by eminent historians and specialists of respective fields. It also explains the speciality of the proposed work which makes it different as a whole in comparison with other works of related field. The relevance of the research topic as well as the justification for the period of the dissertation has also been explained here. Nevertheless, sketches have also been drawn pertaining to the primary and secondary sources for writing the thesis and the respective places from where they were collected.

The second chapter tries to explain the advent of the Bengali Hindu and Muslim entrepreneurs from different parts of undivided Bengal in the last phase of the nineteenth century in the tea plantation industry. They have been found to be emerging from a particular social group. This group of people have common origin and uniform social behaviour and unique relation among them. They have similar economic objective that is how to set up a number of tea gardens of their own in spite of hindrances created by their alien counter parts. All these things contributed to a large extent to unite them as a class. It is true that socio–cultural distinction was present in between the Hindu and Muslim entrepreneurs but the strong religious bond lent its weight to consolidate their social strength. The economic environment of this group of people having high social origin, formal education and specialised occupational background had some distinct characteristics. They lent more weight to social position than economic gain. They always gave first preference to social prestige rather than financial gain to do any work.

In the third chapter a brief profile of the growth and development of the Bengali entrepreneurship in the tea plantation industry during the period under study has been given. In the initial years the tea plantation enterprise in North East India was under firm British control is well – known. But that did not mean that all of the tea estates were established under the European entrepreneurship. The discussion shows how our Bengali entrepreneurs had to set up numerous tea estates singlehandedly in spite of facing challenges from their European counterparts.
The fourth chapter deals with the emergence of economic nationalism in the contemporary tea industry. In the initial years the Indian tea planters did not allow to enter into the European Association like Duars Planters’ Association (DPA), Darjeeling Branch Indian Tea Association (DBITA). The membership of this Association was only allowed to the European planters only. There was overt racial prejudice and systematic discrimination on the part of the well – entrenched European planters. Therefore, in order to safeguard their interests and bring the Indian – owned garden under one umbrella “Indian Tea Planters Association” (ITPA), “Terai Indian Planters Association” (TIPA) came into existence which has waged a persistent Jehad right from the moment of its birth against the mechanisation of British influence. This chapter also emphasises the role played by the Bengali tea industrialists of colonial Jalpaiguri town in India’s freedom struggle movement.

The fifth chapter explains the benevolent activities of our Bengali entrepreneurs behind the socio – cultural development of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling district in colonial and post - colonial period. The Bengali immigrants who settled in different parts of the Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri districts in the 19th and 20th centuries, had established cultural and religious organisations, promoting Bengali culture and sentiment in the process. In addition to that they also acted as torch – bearers of Bengali culture in the province. By the 1930’s Jalpaiguri had already achieved the status of a prospering town in the matter of literature. Jalpaiguri could rightly claim to be the ‘Venus of Bengal’ in that era. This chapter lays emphasis on how a colonial town which accounts for a large number of Bengali entrepreneurs could delve into the sea of literature and initiate a golden era of literary practice.

In the sixth chapter we will discuss the life – style of the Bengali tea planters in the context of our study. They enjoyed great social distinction in the contemporary society of both the Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling districts. The Bengali Hindus among them were predominantly upper caste Hindus; the Muslim also too enjoyed social distinction and were highly conscious of this fact. However, both of them formed an exclusive group placed on the highest stratum of the contemporary society. The prime mode of transport of the Bengali Entrepreneurs was horses, elephants, palanquins, barge, and motor car and so on. Their financial solvencies were highlighted in many of their activities. In spite of their entrepreneurial activities the Bengali tea planters left their mark in the field of sports and culture. Voluntary donations were one of the
main ingredients of the life style of the Bengali entrepreneurs. They were very cordial and open minded. The key to success of these first generation Bengali planters were strict discipline. They were also very punctual and strived to complete any work within the specific span of time. Their dress code was an exhibition of aristocracy. A knee light loose trousers along with dhuti and pump shoe were the traditional dress of a good number of Bengali tea planters in the contemporary period. During festivals and occasions the premises of the households of the Bengali entrepreneurs became a place of congregation of people coming from different regions. The kitchens of these Bengali tea planters household were used to made adequate provisions to feed not only their relatives but also persons who came from their own native land daily. In order to carry out extensive musical practices, connoisseurs of music used to visit Jalpaiguri town of and on from every nook and corner of the country. They used to stay for months and their prime objective was to further the cause of music. Finally, the social obligation towards the employees at the tea estate was always at the back of their mind. Hence they preferred to provide assistance in any form to their garden employees for organizing cultural programmes or inter – garden football tournaments through which they could get recreation. Nevertheless, the Bengali tea planters sometime enacted in the dramas organized by their garden employees. Moreover, they did not hesitate to take part as a player in the inter – garden football tournaments. This behavioural pattern of the Bengali tea planters obviously cemented a co – relation with their garden employees.

How the different socio – economic and political reasons made the platform behind the fall of the Bengali entrepreneurship in post – independence period forms the subject of the last chapter of the research dissertation. Till the second generation of the Jalpaiguri Bengali entrepreneurs the tea industry did not require any serious effort to run the estates. But since their third or fourth generation the scenario began to change. We cannot see such predominance holding by them over the tea industry of North Bengal which was set up long before days by their forefathers. The price of tea continued to fall over the years until it reached the rock-bottom. The financial liabilities of the weak tea-estates began to mount on a large scale. Financial institutions lent out their funds to the tea companies which failed to repay the loans. In such a changing environment the system of direction and control was required to be changed. But the entrepreneurial behavior remains unchanged. They faltered, failing
to keep pass with the tempo of change. Therefore the entrepreneurial function of the Bengalis came to an end. Today they have few tea estates exist of their own. Almost every tea estates are transferred to other Indians especially to the non-Bengalis. In short, their whereabouts are unknown as if they have disappeared into oblivion.

The study closes with the concluding chapter which provides a general feature of the Bengali entrepreneurship in the tea plantation industry both in the Himalayan and sub – Himalayan region of colonial Bengal. It also brings into light their bitter relation with the European tea planters which later on stimulated our Bengali entrepreneurs in setting up their own tea associations in order to safeguard their own interest. In addition to that this chapter also discuss elaborately the lifestyle of the Bengali entrepreneurs as well their managers. The commendable role played by them behind the growth and development of socio – cultural atmosphere in the proposed area of our research is also a luminant phase of this chapter. The sunset of the Bengali entrepreneurship and the major cause’s responsible behind it has also been depicted here. The emergence of the non – Bengali entrepreneurship in post – independence period in tea plantation industry is an important subject of discussion of the chapter. Lastly, re - entry of the Bengali entrepreneurs in twenty first century in different manner such as small tea growers have also been examined here.
References