



A Perspective on the Beginning of the Tea Plantations on the Northern Bank of Brahmaputra

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Abstract: Tea plantations were a major industry which played an important role in the development of Assam in particular and North East India in general. The northern bank of the River Brahmaputra which came under the Colonial rule lately also witnessed the same. The paper presents the history of the beginnings of the tea plantations in this region and the difficulties it faced in the early stage of its development. The tea industry was the pioneer of development in the districts of North Lakhimpur and Darrang. It has seen the promising start, which was followed by a period of economic depression which affected the tea plantation economy in the decades of 1860's. However, by the end of the nineteenth century the industry again rose to its glory and regains the signs of prosperity.

Keywords: Tea Plantation, Estates, Colonial Government, British, Assam, North Lakhimpur, Darrang.

Tea is indigenous to Assam and the native peoples of North East India used it for making tea by the Burmese method and for medicinal purpose in earlier days.¹ Samuel Baidon, who wrote extensively on the tea industry of India in the nineteenth century, was a proponent of the idea that tea is indigenous only to India and no other country. He further argued that there is only one original species of tea - the Indian tea; and the inferior quality of tea leaves of China were the result of the transportation of the plant from India into an uncongenial climate and into unfavorable conditions of soil and treatment.² Whether to agree or disagree, the geographical and climatic conditions of the region helps in the flourishing of tea industry in the Brahmaputra valley.

As early as 1785 Colonel Robert Kyd and Sir Joseph Banks, both tea-enthusiasts, had tried to interest the British East India Company in the possibilities of growing tea in India, but the Company was averse to any suggestions like that and preferred the easy "exchange and barter" customs of China to the risks and labours of opening tea plantations in India.³ But in 1833, when the monopoly of East India Company of the British trade with China came to an end, the chief item of which was tea, the Company became anxious to obtain an alternative source of supply. And thus, the Company looked towards Assam as tea was reportedly found wildy grown in this region. Consequently, in 1834, the Government appointed a committee to

study "a plan for the accomplishment of the introduction of tea culture in India and for the superintendence of its execution."⁴ Nurseries were established, a small establishment was entertained under the general management of Mr. C. A. Bruce to search the jungle for plots of indigenous tea and cultivate them when discovered, and plants and seeds were brought to Assam from China. Tea makers and trained Chinese were imported in 1837, and, in the following year, some of the manufactured product was sent to England, where it met with a most favourable reception.⁵ Hereafter, a new economic vista is opened up in the Brahmaputra valley.

In 1839, the administration of the areas of Upper Assam was taken over by the British East India Company. The way was, then, opened for private enterprises to carry on the production of tea as the Government decided to withdraw itself from directly running tea plantations and instead allow any other party to have this business by acquiring lands under the Wasteland Grant Rules of 1838. This was the first special Grants Rules, also known as 99 Years Lease Rules, under which wastelands were offered to applicants on a forty-five years' lease on condition that a quarter of the entire area must be in cultivation by the expiry of the fifth year, on the failure of which the whole grant was liable to redemption. One-fourth of the grant was to be held in perpetuity revenue-free. Of the remaining three-fourths, no revenue was to be assessed for the first five years if the land was under grass, ten years if under reeds and high grass, and twenty years if under forests.⁶ Subsequently, the Assam Company was founded in 1839 by the entrepreneurs of Calcutta and London to avail the situation. Following this, in 1859, the Jorehaut Tea Company was incorporated, and by 1860 there were more than 50 private enterprises engaged in the production of tea. Looking at the prospects of tea industry, the Government announced favourable rules for the settlement of the tea industry which led to the wild excitement and speculation in the atmosphere. Looking at the success of the Assam Company, the Government then decided to liberalise the terms for the grants to be purchased. Thus, under such circumstances in 1861, Lord Canning's 'fee-simple rules' had been introduced. Under this rules land was sold for 2.8 to 5 rupees per acre without any clearance conditions attached. Land was also put for sale at auctions. Leases under the former rules were made commutable to fee simple at twenty years purchase payable at the time of commutation. The introduction of the 'fee-simple rules' in Assam led to a mania for almost a decade from 1861 to 1869 which allowed planters to grab grants in Assam and turned it over to tea gardens. However, this resulted in the starting of the plantations with the objective of selling the estates to other companies with immature plantation to earn quick profit. This wild rush led to the depression in tea plantation economy as many companies became defaulters in meeting their liabilities and some sought to get out of their shares, which continued upto 1869. Then some efficiently managed gardens started earning good profit and even some of the defunct gardens reopened under better management. This period is termed as the period of "wild speculation" in the history of tea plantation economy in India. This scenario occurred in the districts of Darrang and North Lakhimpur too, where the tea plantations started with the motive mentioned above. However, the tea industry in Assam, in respect of the number of plantations, the area in possession of the plantations and the total output of tea had been positive despite alternate spells of prosperity and slump.

This study is mainly focused on the history of tea plantations during the early colonial period i.e. from 1850s to 1900s, with special reference to the areas of the British Empire, north of

Brahmaputra River. This part of the land comprised of modern day districts of Assam viz. North Lakhimpur and Darrang districts (during colonial period) basically from the tea plantations point of view. The districts of Darrang and North Lakhimpur were the eastern districts on the northern bank of River Brahmaputra. Both are contiguous to each other, having a narrow strip of plain lying between the Himalayas and Brahmaputra. This part of land emerged as a major producer of tea, occupied by large plantations and it never looked back and flourished. For better understanding of the development of tea plantations, the sub-divisional structure of the districts created by the British administration is used in the following pages. Likewise, there were two sub-divisions in the district of erstwhile Darrang viz. Tezpur and Mangaldai. North Lakhimpur, itself was the sub-division of Lakhimpur District at that time.

What is of importance is that the undivided Lakhimpur district was the first place the tea plantations were started and reached its zenith, and B. C. Allen had stated that tea is by far the most important crop in Lakhimpur. But, he is largely considering the part of the district which is in the southern bank of the Brahmaputra. Under the British administration, the northern half of the Lakhimpur district was called the North Lakhimpur sub-division. There were 13 tea estates in this division in 1903. They were Bordeobam, Diju, Dulahat, Harmuti, Hulmari, Jaihing, Kadam, Lilabari, Madhupur, Merbil and Oahat, New Cinnatoli, Pathlipam, and, Silanibari.⁷ Darrang, too, was organized into two sub-divisions i.e. Tezpur sub-division and Mangaldai sub-division under the Colonial administration. In the Tezpur sub-division there were 61 tea gardens and in Mangaldai sub-division, the number is 26.⁸ So, the number of tea gardens in the undivided Darrang district was 87 in 1903 to which B. C. Allen considered a crop which had done so much for the development of Darrang.

There were the districts of Kamrup and Goalpara, also, which formed the parts on the northern bank of River Brahmaputra then and attached to each other, largely consisting of a plain valley, the lower portion of which was intersected by the River Brahmaputra. The tea industry was considered of comparatively small importance in these districts. In Goalpara, B. C. Allen even goes on considering it of 'no importance.' There were only 4 gardens situated at Lalkura, Marnai and Tamai spread in 1, 173 acres. The total area under plant was 700 acres only.⁹ The plantations produced an outturn of 2, 13,498 lbs. in 1904, with the help of a labour force of 508 workers. For Kamrup, B. C. Allen described that "the tea industry, which bulks so largely in the commercial development of Tezpur and Lakhimpur, is of comparatively small importance." The pioneer of tea plantations in Kamrup was W. Robinson who took up a small grant of 155 acres at Phatasil in the Ramsa Pargana in 1853, which in 1858 had yielded only 12 maunds of tea. Once, Colonel Jenkins' prophesized that "though the shrub might not grow so luxuriantly it would yield sufficient produce to make the cultivation reasonably remunerative."¹⁰ But, by 1889, the tea plantations had steadily declined. It then got more concentrated in the districts of Darrang and North Lakhimpur which are contiguous with modern day Arunachal Pradesh.

The pioneer of tea in the north bank of Brahmaputra was a Mr. Martin, who opened up a plantation at Balipara in 1854 and in 1857 started a garden at Haleswar. The garden at Balipara seems to be the Addabarie and Balipara Tea Estates, which are the two divisions of the same divided by the Jorashor River. In 1855, the Assam Company was found starting operations at Singri Parbat, and these were the only plantations in existence when Captain Cumber submitted his report in 1859.¹¹ However, the operations of the Assam Company did not seem to be a

success as there was no reference of the Assam Company holding any tea estates on the north bank of Brahmaputra, neither in the accounts of B. C. Allen nor in the accounts of Gow, Wilson and Stanton.

Addabarie Tea Estate was one of the first estates in the upper banks of River Brahmaputra. The estate lies a few kilometers away from the 'defence' town of Tezpur on a bouncy road to Balipara, with 'Jorashor' River dividing its two divisions of Addabarie and Balipara on the east, Haruchurah on the south, Sessa on the west and the majestic snow-capped Himalayan peaks overlooking the garden in the north.

It was on 13th June 1892, that the Company changed hands from the then owners The Agra Bank Ltd. to the British Assam Tea Company Limited. The Company was formed on 1891 to acquire the Addabarie and Balipara Estates. Part of the lands was held under fee simple tenures and the rest under renewing leases direct from Government. The sale was completed for 30, 000 pounds for Addabarie and Balipara Assam Tea Company.¹² The sale included all and every land and landed property in any way attached, the bungalows, tea houses, godowns, out offices, and other erections and buildings, machinery and plants, implements, carts, bullocks, horses, boats, elephants and other lives or dead stock.

By 1903, British Assam Tea Company Limited had three tea estates in Balipara mauza viz. Addabarie Tea estate, Balipara Tea Estate and New Addabarie Tea estate. Both Addabarie and New Addabarie had the area of 2, 075 acres of which only 804 acres was planted with a labour force of 1, 028 workers. Balipara was a small estate with 957 acres of land, 475 acres planted employing 657 workers. Till the year 1961 both the estates of Addabarie and Balipara existed separately under totally different management. Addabarie still has an old stock of tea which as per records, was planted in the year 1887. The Balipara estate came to be called as "Buragaon" as it was probably referred to by that name in the early days.

What followed was a period of steady expansion till the introduction of fee simple rules in 1861. After its introduction in 1861, the possibility of making large fortunes out of tea attracted the speculating classes. The idea was to make money, not by manufacturing tea, but by hastily opening gardens to sell at most exorbitant prices to the investor. They obtained the land, cleared the jungle, planted a few, and it was sold to the investor as a flourishing tea garden. During the period most of the tea estates in the northern bank were established.

The success of tea entrepreneurs like the one engaged in Addabarie and the conditions that followed the 1860's initiated the development of more tea plantations in the northern bank of Brahmaputra. One such case could be seen in the Tezpur Tea Estate. In 1864, it was established by a team of enterprising people. Very soon in 1885 the Company was merged with the Gogra Tea Estate owned by W. Skinner to form the Tezpur and Gogra Tea Co. Ltd. But, the Estate does not have any reference in B. C. Allen's account of 1903. The reason could be the depression that appeared because of the "wild speculation" in tea industry of 1860's. Tezpur Tea Estate was started during 1860's, when people were purchasing estates just to grab grants in Assam and turned it over to tea gardens with the objective of selling the estates to other companies with immature plantation to earn quick profit. Such mad rush resulted in a general collapse of the industry as many companies became defaulters in meeting their liabilities and

some sought to get out of their shares. Tezpur Estate too might not have survived the depression and thus, fall to the situation.

The tea companies which were formed under above mentioned conditions soon collapsed and the years 1866, 1867, and 1868 were a years of great depression. Mr. A. C. Campbell, in a note written in 1873, describes how young men, who had been engaged in England, were turned adrift when the collapse came “in a most inhospitable country without a penny or a friend; some died, others had literally to beg their way out of Assam, most had to regret impaired constitutions, and all the loss of some of the best years of their life.”¹³ By 1869, the conditions seem taking some favorable turns. Some properly managed gardens started producing a satisfactory profit. The estates which were bought for small prices during the collapse were doing well under the new owners. And by 1870, there was expansion of the tea industry on the other parts of the north bank of Brahmaputra viz. North Lakhimpur sub-division.

Colonel Gibb had taken up 165 *bighas* of land on an annual rent paying *pattah*, which is afterwards applied and obtained in fee simple 2148 acres of land in North Lakhimpur. The whole area adjoining this *pattah* land (on which he had planted tea in and around 1870) is known as Harmuti grant or the lot no. 95. The grant is dated 2nd August 1866 under the Fee Simple rules.¹⁴ For most of the time, almost for twelve years, Colonel Gibb neglected the whole affairs of the grant. And in between these twelve years, the grant no. 95 and a portion of the land belonging to him, adjoining the grant, lapsed. It was because of the default in payment of government revenue that the lapsed occurred. In 1874, it was contracted for a sale to Balmer Lawrie and Co., who were the agents of John Stewart, for Rupees 1000 subject to the assent of Colonel Gibb.¹⁵ The estate was run by the company of the same name – Harmuti Tea Co. Ltd. with the area of 3, 058 acres. The Company enlarged before the end of the 19th century and had acquired the gardens of Merbil and Oahat also with a labour force of 2, 019 workers.¹⁶ Such cases of growth of tea plantations were frequent and commonly seen in the period after the collapse. The government revenue and the agents of the planters became the main players afterwards.

Meanwhile, Tezpur continued to be the centre of tea plantations. One of the oldest tea companies was Borelli Tea Company Limited working in Tezpur, Darrang. It was formed on 13th Febraury, 1874 to acquire the tea estates known as Panupota and Bokagaon. They were held partly under rent payable to Government, but principally under “fee simple” tenure. Expansions were made by the end of 1900s by acquiring the gardens of Hanchara, Phulbari and Thekraji. One of the largest estates that the Company had was Nahorani Tea Estate. It was, however, subsequently taken over by Anglo American Direct Tea Trading Co. Ltd. in 1876, as per the land records available. The Nahorani Tea Estate was named as there were plenty of luscious Nahor trees in the surroundings. It is one of the largest estates in Balipara mauza with an area of 1, 884 acres of land, 799 acres under plantation and with 1, 433 workers by the end of 19th century. The Anglo American Direct Tea Trading Co. Ltd. also owns the gardens of Hathibari, Kolony, Paisajuli in Balipara mauza.

In the late 80's, tea plantations further expanded to Mangaldai sub-division with the establishment of Attareekhat Tea Company Limited on 11th August 1887. It was formed to purchase the then going concerns Attareekhat, Paneery and Dhorum Juli (the estate might had

changed the name to Barrongajuli as it appears in B. C. Allen's account), which at that time comprised some 7, 200 acres, 760 of which under tea cultivation. In 1889 Kasu Bheel Estate, adjoining the Paneery Estate, was purchased, and in 1890 they purchased the Bhergaon Estate, within 7 miles of Attareekhat. The Company was managed by Williamson, Magor & Company. Thus by 1890, it comprised 9, 805 acres of land, the majority held on fee simple. There was 1, 962 acres of land in cultivation, 1, 528 of which were in bearing on 1895. Moderate extensions were made with each year.¹⁷ By 1903, the Company held some of the largest estates in Magaldai. Attareekhat Estate was the largest, covering 6,031 acres, 1, 185 of which were under cultivation with a labour force of 2727. Paneery and Kasu Bheel Estate had 5,331 acres, of which 717 acres are under plantation with 2,517 workers.

Some of the largest estates were established in North Lakhimpur too. The Diju Tea Estate was one of them. It was located at 1000 feet above mean sea level and bordered by the hills of Arunachal Pradesh to the north, with the River Ranga forming the eastern boundary. Some say that the name Diju evolved from the Tibetan word 'dzang', while others say it came from 'di' meaning river and 'zoo' the name given to the rice liquor brewed by the local tribes. The garden was purchased by the Diju Tea Company Limited for £ 25, 000 in 1878. Messrs. Balmer, Lawrie & Co. had arranged the property with Messrs. Stewart, Holl & Co. who were the Secretaries of the Diju Tea Company Limited at that time. In 1878, the estate comprised of some 317 acres of land under tea cultivation. In 1889, the areas in bearing rises to 733 acres, in 1893 to 815 acres and in 1897 there were 950 acres of land under cultivation, nearly all of which is in bearing.¹⁸ The garden had a total area of 2, 713 acres, of which 1, 218 acres were under plantation with the labour force of 2, 444 workers in 1903.¹⁹ William A. Howie was one of the planters of this estate. His parents seem to be someone who were engaged in construction work in UK Baptism. He was born in around 1875 in UK, came to India, get married to a Miri girl named Jamini in either 1909-10, and died on a steamer ship while travelling to UK after 1913. This shows that besides establishing tea estates in the region foreigners were seems to establishing relationships with the locals too.

In North Lakhimpur, the Jokai (Assam) Tea Company Limited was one of the major players. The Company was formed in 1882 and purchased the properties of a then existing Company by the same name, registered in Calcutta.²⁰ That means the gardens under the Company were started on or before 1882, and were brokered by Messrs. Balmer, Lawrie & Co. to the new one. In North Lakhimpur, the Company had the estates of Bordeobam, Jaihing, and Pathalipam till 1900s.

One of Jokai's important estates was Jaihing Tea Estate which was the largest estate that the Company holds in the northern banks of Brahmaputra. The estate spreads upto 2, 357 acres of which 1, 008 acres was under plantation employing 2,151 labourers in 1903.²¹ It, also, had a history with the Church. First missionary Rev. John Firth came to North Lakhimpur in 1893, he established two churches at Jaihing Tea Estate. He proclaimed the Gospel from Lakhimpur to Orang-the undivided Darrang district (presently Udalguri district). In 1886, there were two Christian believer's groups established by two local evangelists Nathaniel Horo and John Bagra sent by missionary C. E. Patric from Sibsagar at Jaihing Tea Estate and Angarkhua village. Most probably, H. M. Crowe was the tea planter of Jaihing Tea Estate as he visited Apatani plateau at Hong in 1889. After that more Baptist churches were established in the north bank of River Brahmaputra. By 1950, there were 121 churches. Three local associations namely Lakhimpur

Baptist Christian Association founded in 1902, Darrang Baptist Christian Association founded in 1902, and the Mangaldoi Baptist Christian Association founded in 1915. Thus, we see a high influence of the Christian missionaries in the region onwards.

Jokai's estates were some of the largest in the region. Pthalipam Tea Estate was spread over 2,039 acres, of which 633 acres was under plantation, employing 1,334 workers. Another estate under Jokai was Bardeobam, which had an area of 1,076 acres, plantation in 226 acres and employing 580 workers.

While, referring to the large estates, the Hattigar Tea Estate in Mangaldai sub-division is worth mentioning. It is ensconced between Bhola River in the east, Maranadi River and Beltola village in the west, Joraphukuri village and Majuli Tea Estate in the north, and Purana Hatigarh and Teliapara village in the south. Hattigar, as it is known locally, literally translated means – elephant (hatti) and trench or moat (English translation of the Assamese word 'gurrh'). The tea estate was used for trapping elephants, prior to planting teas. In the ancient times, it was the land for the king of Ahoms to capture elephants. It was in 1893 that the foundation of this estate was laid. The first tea here was planted by Consolidated Tea and Land Company (India) Limited. The prospectus of the Company was dated 26th June, 1896 and took over and amalgamated, as from the 30th November, 1895, The North Sylhet Tea Company, The South Sylhet Tea Company and the Estates of the North Travancore Land Planting and Agricultural Society Limited which had since their formation in 1882 been worked under the same proprietary.

The Consolidated Tea and Land Company (India) Limited expanded plantations with opening up the Majuli and Khoirabari estates by 1903. James Finlay and Company, Secretaries of Consolidated Tea and Land Company (India) Limited, founded the Majuli Tea Estate in the year 1897.²² 'Maj' colloquially means 'in between', and 'juli' means 'hanging in between'. Majuli is nestled in between two rivers – the Bhorola River in the east and the Kulsu River in the west. And that's how the name Majuli came to be. It is surrounded by the mighty Himalayan ranges in the north, the Hatigar tea estate in the south, the Ghaghra basti in the west and Bhorola River in the east. It is said that there used to be a water pipeline sourced from Bhutan. The pipeline was attached to a huge water reservoir at the estate, which was responsible for the supply of water in the estate. The water reservoir is still used for water storage and water supply. This description shows that there were some kind of arrangement in between the states of India and Bhutan regarding the natural resources even during the colonial times.

Another large estate which developed in Magaldai in the 1890's was Orangjuli Tea Estate. Bordered by the Himalayan kingdom of Bhutan to the North, the Estate is one of the oldest tea estates. The name Orangjuli comes from a translation that means the Orang people who live by the 'juli' (a small stream in local dialect), which has converted to Orangjuli. These people comprised the workforce for an English adventurer Mr. Walter Duncan who planted the first tea seeds on 1894. It belonged to the Assam Duars Tea Company Ltd. and Mr. Walter Duncan was the secretary of the Company. It was formed for the purpose of acquiring land in Assam under the ordinary Tea Lease and Waste Land Rules, and to proceed opening up the same with tea and other products. It started with Orangjuli estate in Assam, planted tea in 26 acres of the estate in 1894. The plantation expanded very next year to 146 acres more in 1895. And, by 1903, it had an area of 5, 192 acres, but only 710, under plantation employing 1, 199.

The tea estates were running on the model favoured back then by the British: the army. The management structure is strictly hierarchical and so naturally taken the form of a pyramid. The Senior Manager, in this case, acts as a Brigadier. His words are law in the tea estate and due respect is shown to him. He has a layered management team which deals with the day to day management of the estate, acting as his commissioned officers. The workers are his troops and the problem encountered is dealt with by a process of upward filtration through the levels of management depending on their severity. Positions within the tea garden operate what is in effect a closed shop.²³ The description provides a view of what the British administration would be like under the British management. Further, when they established tea estates, they brought their British customs and building style too as the management accommodation were typically a bungalow.

Till 1900, tea industry was booming. By 1896, many of the owners of the excellent private gardens started selling their gardens to joint stock companies. The profit obtained was then employed in the extension of the cultivated areas, and within 1899 the area under plant increased. But, from 1900, the industry re-entered into a period of depression because of the abnormal rapid expansion of the production, the large increase in the duty imposed in England, and the difficulty in obtaining labour.

The late 19th century shows even or uneven development in the northern banks of the Brahmaputra. The two districts Darrang and North Lakhimpur had developed positively on account of tea plantations. But as S. B. Medhi had put that the development of a region or area has been responsible for the development of communication cannot be witnessed. In the 1850s, carts and carriages were unknown and the roads were few and bad. The tea industry had to survive on their own with canoes and country boats through the waterways till the end of the 19th century. Besides such obstacles, it survived and prospered that we can see some of the largest tea estates in the region.

¹ It was known that the Singphos and the Khamptis used to make drink of tea leaves, locally known as 'finap', for medicinal purpose. Harold H. Mann, *The Early History of The Tea Industry in North-East India*, Bengal Economic Journal, Calcutta 1918, p.6.

² Samuel Baidon, *The Tea Industry in India*, W. H. Allen & Co., London, 1882, pp.11-19.

³ Priyam Goswami, *Assam in the Nineteenth Century: Industrialisation and Colonial Penetration*, Spectrum Publications, Guwahati, 1999, p.18.

⁴ R. C. Awasthi, *Economics of Tea Industry in India*, United Publishers, Gauhati, 1975, p.33.

⁵ B. C. Allen, *Assam District Gazetteers, Volume VIII, Lakhimpur*, Calcutta, 1905, pp.167-68.

⁶ Priyam Goswami, *op.cit.*, p.68.

⁷ B. C. Allen, *Assam District Gazetteers, Volume VIII, Lakhimpur*, Calcutta, 1905, p.5.

⁸ B. C. Allen, *Assam District Gazetteers, Volume V, Darrang*, Calcutta, 1905.

⁹ B. C. Allen, *Assam District Gazetteers, Volume III, Goalpara*, Calcutta, 1905, p.75.

¹⁰ B. C. Allen, *ibid.*, p.145.

¹¹ B. C. Allen, *Assam District Gazetteers, Volume V, Darrang*, Calcutta, 1905, p.136.

¹² Gow, Wilson and Stanton, *Tea Producing Companies of India and Ceylon*, London, 1897, p.10.

¹³ B. C. Allen, *ibid.*, p.139.

¹⁴ Assam Commissioners Office, Land Revenue Department, 1882/5, *Redemarcation of Certain Wastelands Grants in the North Lakhimpur District*, Land Revenue Department, (Assam State Archive)

¹⁵ Letter no. 716, Letter from the Administrator General of Bengal to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, dated 28th June 1878, Assam Commissioners Office, Revenue Department, 1878/38, *Harmati Grant*, 1878 (Assam State Archives)

¹⁶ B. C. Allen, *ibid.*, Appendix, p.5.

¹⁷ Gow, Wilson and Stanton, *Tea Producing Companies of India and Ceylon*, London, 1897, p.9.

¹⁸ Gow, Wilson and Stanton, *ibid.*, p.41.

¹⁹ B. C. Allen, *ibid.*, Appendix, p.5.

²⁰ Gow, Wilson and Stanton, *ibid.*, p.59.

²¹ B. C. Allen, *ibid.*, Appendix, p.5.

²² It should not be confused with Majuli Island and Majuli Tea Company. Majuli Tea Company was one of the major Companies in Darrang district which was managed by the Messrs. Williamson, Magor & Co. The Company was formed in 1889 in order to purchase and amalgamate the two going concerns – Majuligarh and Ghilladree. In the following year the capital of the Company increased and they purchased the Kolapani Garden. By 1903, it had acquired the gardens of Bedetti, Behali, Mijika and Bheer.

²³ Christian Hazlewood, Assam Part II: A visit to Orangjuli Tea Estate, *The Snob*, 2016.

