



Socialization in the Sunderbans by Implicating Reclamation and Cultivation during the British Period

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Abstract

Jessore Collector Tilman Henkel was the first to show enthusiasm for clearing forests in the Sunderbans to create agricultural land in 1787. The process of clearing forests for cultivation in the Sunderbans during the British era was primarily aimed at increasing revenue, meeting the demand for commercial timber, and protecting settlements from invasive animals like Royal Bengal tigers, crocodiles, venomous snakes, and other wildlife. Then the mangrove forests of Sunderbans were seen as resources, land was systematically cleared and planted with rice and other crops, but in this process the traditional rights of the locals were eroded. And it was regulated and protected by the Forest Act of 1878, which established the forest as government property.

Keywords: Reclamation, Henkel, Mahal, Sunderbans, Molungees, Revenue, Deforestation.

Introduction

The British government surveyed the Sundarbans as a major source of revenue. Clearing the forest to create cultivable land would help increase revenue through rent and lease. For commercial needs and to meet the demand for timber for railways, building houses, and ships, the British systematically cut down forests, and used the land for commercial crops or other cultivation. Clearing the jungle was necessary to protect new settlements and farmland from attacks by tigers and other predators. After the Muslim rulers in Bengal, the British began a highly planned reclaiming of forests, which was part of managing forest, although it was primarily for commercial purposes. The Forest Act of 1878 declared a large part of the Sundarbans as a reserved forest. This made it illegal to cut down or cultivate the forest without government permission, and the responsibility for forest management falls to the government, which limits the traditional rights of locals. In a word, the process of clearing the Sundarbans forest to create farmland was a planned initiative of the British government¹. In this reclamation process for the enhancement of agricultural land in the Sundarbans, Claude Russell and Tilman Henckell pioneered the clearing of forests to prepare arable land. Mr. Claude Russell took charge of the Collector General of the 24 Parganas district in 1770 and in 1781, Mr. Tilman Henkel was appointed as the Judge and Magistrate of Jessore².

Sundarbans before British rules

Megasthenes' Indica mentions a forest like the Sundarbans in southern Bengal, bordering the sea. Megasthenes who visited India during the reign of Emperor Chandragupta Maurya was a European traveler³. Ptolemy, while describing a vast province

called Gangaridi, mentioned a forest similar to the Sundarbans on his map in the first century. Gangaridi refers to the habitat of people living in and around the Ganges basin. In the middle of the 2nd century, Piliytook the initiative and pointed out the exact location of the Ganges River distributaries⁴. In the 6th century, Jeao de Barros prepared a map of Gangetic Basin with more accuracy compiling from several previously drafted maps⁴. James Rennell, through accurate surveys from 1770 to 1776, prepared a series of maps that are considered the first scientific maps of the Sundarbans⁴. The most notable evidence of the existence of the dense forest of the Sundarbans is the naval port built by King Pratapaditya, one of the Bara Bhuiyas. This naval port was built centuries before the British era, and its broken concrete pieces can still be seen littering various parts of the Sundarbans.

Initiatives of Reclamation

Even when Robert Clive received the entire 24 Parganas district, including the Sundarbans, as a gift from Nawab Mirzafar in 1757 or even during the British conquest in 1765, no human settlement could be seen in the Sundarbans⁵. Just as there was a lack of transportation on the various islands of the Sundarbans, surrounded by a network of numerous rivers and canals, there was also a lack of access to the remote forest teeming with animals like Royal Bengal tigers and snakes in the land portion, and crocodiles and sharks in the estuarine river waters. Just as the Sundarbans were uninhabitable for ordinary people, there was no agricultural land to cultivate and provide food. Through the efforts of Claude Russell and Tilman Henkelare taking the initiative to clear the forest and create farmland. Therefore, tribal people were brought from Chotanagpur to clear the forest in the Sundarbans and prepare agricultural land. The landlords

of that time promised to give farmland to the tribal people and arranged to bring them from Chotanagpur through agents. Therefore, the tribal people were the first inhabitants of the reclaimed Sundarbans during the British period. Later, people from the lower classes and communities exploited by the landlords from the districts adjacent to the forests in East Bengal came to settle in the Sundarbans. Over time, many people from Midnapore came and settled in the reclaimed areas of the Sundarbans, cultivating and farming. Currently, all these people living in the Sunderbans make their living by fishing, cutting wood, collecting honey, and the rest are farmers. In terms of character, work, profession, and nature, researchers or social workers can now see diverse and many types of people in the Sundarbans. However, in 1783, the people of the Sundarbans were so grateful to Tilman Henkel that they named a large area along the Ichamati River Henkelganj. Henkelganj was pronounced Hingalganj by the people there⁵. If 1770 is taken as the founding year of Claude Russell's settlement of the almost deserted Sundarbans, the present Sundarbans are over 250 years old.

The Sundarbans division was first established during British rule in the undivided Bengal. In 1828-29, William Dampier and Alexander Hodges surveyed and mapped the Sundarbans, and this division began on the basis of revenue records⁶. This vast territory was divided into about 144 lots, and 64,928 bighas of land were distributed among the raiyats (farmers), which were locally known as Mahal or Golmahal or Madhumahal. According to the Radcliffe Award, the Sundarbans region of undivided Bengal was divided into two parts⁶. A major part (about 60 percent) of it fell into the then East Pakistan (present Bangladesh) and the remaining part (about 40 percent) was included in the Indian state of West Bengal. The Sundarbans Biosphere Reserve is an important biosphere reserve in the Indian state of West Bengal, recognized as a World Heritage Site in 1987 by UNESCO⁷. Covering an area of about 9630 sq km, it is the third largest among the 18 biosphere reserves in India. The Sunderbans is located at the confluence of the Ganges and Brahmaputra rivers and is a unique mix of saltwater and mudflats (Figure-1).

Physiography of Sunderbans

The Sundarbans span the two countries of India and Bangladesh. Its total area is about 10,000 square kilometers, of which about 60% (6,017 square kilometers) is in Bangladesh and the remaining 40% is in India⁸. It is an active delta region. A network of numerous small rivers, canals, and inlets divides the area into hundreds of small islands. The terrain here is not very high above sea level (average elevation is about 0.9 to 2.11 meters). The soil is silty and highly saline due to tidal water. The climate is tropical monsoon, with abundant rainfall and high humidity throughout the year. It is the world's largest mangrove forest, known as Sunderbans (from the beautiful tree). It is home to the Royal Bengal Tiger, various species of birds,

fish, reptiles, mammals, and numerous insects and microorganisms. This area is an excellent example of ongoing ecological processes that protect coastal ecosystems. It has been a protected forest since 1878, and in 1987, it was declared a UNESCO World Heritage Site⁸.



Figure-1: UNESCO declared the Indian Sundarbans, the largest mangrove forest, as a World Heritage Site in 1987.

Process of Reclamation

During the British period, leasing of the Sundarbans was part of colonial economic policy, which facilitated the use and control of the forest from a commercial perspective, but this severely affected the lives and livelihoods of the local population. During the period 1770 – 1800, British Collector General Claude Russell divided the Sundarbans into plots and allocated them to lessees, mainly to increase revenue and develop the forest land in the first phase of reclamation⁹. The first leasing process began around 1770-1773, where the facility of keeping the land rent-free for the first 7 years was provided. Jessore magistrate Tillman Henkel adopted a comprehensive plan for the cultivation of the Sundarbans. He divided the lands into small plots and leased them out; however, this process was hampered by boundary disputes with the old landlords to the north. In 1829, William Dampier and Lieutenant Hodges drew a boundary line to define the boundaries of the Sundarbans, which is known as the Dampier-Hodges Line. The lands to the north were under the landlords and the forest lands to the south were designated as the vest land private property of the government. According to the 1829 rules, land was given to lessees rent-free for 20 years. However, there was a condition that at least one-fourth of the leased land had to be cleared up and made cultivable within 5 years¹⁰.

The vast area of the Sundarbans was leased out by dividing it into various lots or blocks, as a result of which the leaseholders were called *lotdars*. The *lotdars* would again divide their land into smaller portions and sub-lease them on a *gantidar* or

chakdari basis. At the beginning of the 20th century (in 1903), Scottish businessman Sir Daniel Hamilton leased about 9,000 bighas of land in the Gosaba region of the Sundarbans and tried to establish a cooperative-based model village there¹⁰. This leasing system resulted in the destruction of vast tracts of forest in the Sundarbans and their conversion into settlements and agricultural land. This system also came to an end with the abolition of the zamindari system in 1950. During the British period, the people of the tribal communities from Chotanagpur were often forced to clear forests of the Sundarbans due to poverty, to protest the British encroachment on forests, and to escape exploitation by landlords, which was essentially the process of clearing forest land for settlement and cultivation¹¹.

Human Settlement

The human settlement in the Sundarbans during the British period was essentially a well-planned process of deforestation and revenue collection. People could not establish settlements here in the remote and forested environment. When the British administration started the process of clearing forests to create farmland, some oppressed poor landless people came to live in the Sundarbans region around 1800. In 1770, Claude Russell, the Collector General of 24 Parganas, first took the initiative to clear the jungle of the Sundarbans for cultivation. He began leasing land for forest clearance. In 1787, Jessore magistrate Tillman Henkel adopted a special plan to restore the Sundarbans¹². He divided this vast forest land into several blocks and distributed it among local landowners and farmers, so that settlement and cultivation could begin there. Henkel informed his superiors of his plans in a long letter (Letter 1; Appendix)¹². Upon receiving Henkel's letter, a meeting was held in the Governor General's Council and Henkel's proposal to start cultivation in the Sundarbans was approved (Resolution 1; Appendix)¹². The main objective of the British was to generate revenue by converting this 'abandoned' forest land into cultivable land. People were given various incentives to settle, such as waiving rent for the first few years. Tribals and poor farmers were brought in mainly from the Midnapore, Orissa and Chotanagpur areas and used to clear the forest. This settlement was extremely risky. People had to survive here, battling attacks from tigers, crocodiles and venomous snakes in the deep jungle, as well as salt water and cyclones. To avoid tiger attacks, the British government also announced a reward for killing one tiger at a time. Thus, through British revenue policy, the agricultural areas and permanent settlements of the modern Sundarbans began.

Results of Reclamation

Deforestation has brought vast areas of the Sundarbans under cultivation and increased population. This has increased revenue but has deprived local inhabitants of forest resources and changed their lifestyles. Although the mangrove forest has been declared a reserve, it has been extensively degraded for commercial purposes. Through this process, the British

converted a large part of the Sundarbans into agricultural land and settlements, which played a role in shaping the socio-economic structure of the present-day South 24 Parganas of India and the Khulna and Bagerhat regions of Bangladesh.

The British introduced a special tax system to encourage farmers. Usually, no tax was paid for the first 3 years; half the revenue for the next 3 years, and full revenue from the 7th year. The vast area of the Sundarbans was divided into various Lots. In the 1830s, Dampier and Hodges surveyed the area and assigned lot numbers from 1 to 236, which is known as the Dampier-Hodges Line¹³. These lots were leased to various zamindars or middlemen, who employed labourers to clear the forest. Workers were regularly attacked by tigers during forest clearance. After the remnants of the Sundarbans were declared a reserved forest in 1878, there was a slight increase in uncontrolled forest clearance and cultivation. As a result of this deforestation process and reclamation of agricultural land, the forest areas of the Sundarbans have decreased dramatically.

Socialization of Sunderbans

While deforestation in the Sundarbans has led to the expansion of human settlement and agriculture, it has also complicated socialization—which is mainly due to the shift from forest dependence to agriculture and aquaculture, and the land reforms of the colonial period, the arrival of different populations like scheduled caste and tribes and the impacts of climate change have created livelihoods and social relationships, with people also seeking nature-based solutions to survive¹⁴. During the colonial period, people from different tribes, such as the Santals of Chota Nagpur, came here to clear forests and create agricultural land, which created new social groups and mutual relationships between them. As deforestation began, people became involved in forestry, farming, and later shrimp farming, which created new social occupations and stratifications (e.g. forestry, landless farmers, shrimp farmers, etc.). The lives of the people here were originally dependent on forests and rivers (honey collection, fishing, wood cutting), but this dependence has changed due to agriculture and sheep farming, which also affects social relations. When forest-dependent livelihoods are disrupted due to sea level rise and cyclones, people are forced to choose alternative occupations such as sheep farming, which is a process of adapting to the environment, but it also creates new socio-economic pressures. To prevent natural disasters and coastal erosion, local people use nature-based solutions like vetiver, which reflect their traditional knowledge and their social interactions with the environment¹⁵. As a result of deforestation and cultivation in the Sundarbans, the standard of living and settlement has increased, on the other hand, dependence on forests has decreased, and occupational diversity has emerged, and due to climate change, people are being forced to adapt to new social and environmental challenges, which has made their socialization process complex and multidimensional¹⁶.

Conclusion

Surrounded by numerous rivers and creeks, the Sunderbans is extremely inaccessible¹⁷. The British government considered the Sundarbans a jungle, which is full of disease-carrying insects and wild animals and is an obstacle to development, so it encouraged killing tigers and clearing forests. Forests were cut down on a large scale to meet the demand for timber and other forest resources, which was known as Mahal or Golmahal in the records of revenue history of the British period. The British rulers cut down large parts of the Sundarbans to create housing and agricultural land, which was one of the main reasons for the shrinkage of the forest area. However, the main objective of the British rulers was to clear the forest and create land for settlement and agriculture. But because of cutting down jungles to make agricultural land, forest areas have decreased in size, and climate change is causing coastal erosion and further deforestation. Mangrove forests act as natural barriers, but as the forest declines, the effects of cyclones and tidal waves are intensifying. In the absence of dense mangroves, rising sea levels and increasing salinity are driving freshwater plants like the Sundari tree to extinction, posing a serious threat to mangrove ecosystems. The habitats of animals such as tigers, snakes, crocodiles, and fish are being destroyed, resulting in their numbers declining and their food and breeding grounds shrinking. Due to habitat loss, tigers and other wildlife are entering localities, resulting in increasing conflicts between humans and wildlife. Fishermen's income has decreased, their protein sources are in crisis, and many are being displaced and forced to move elsewhere. The lack of mangroves has reduced their ability to purify water, absorb carbon, and prevent natural disasters, with economic losses exceeding billions of dollars.

Appendix¹²

The spelling of the letter and resolution remains unchanged, and the space has been left blank because some words are unclear in the handwritten records during the British Rules preserved in the State Archives, Government of WB, India.

Letter – 1

Governor General in Council (Revenue); 9th August 1787

To
John Shore Esqr.
President and Members of the Board of Revenue, Fort William

Gentlemen

Having ... the settlement of the several mahals ... my collectorship, and places the ... in a train, that causes fail of increasing the revenue agreeable to the stated periods, I now take the liberty of calling the Boards alternative to the cultivation of the Sunderbunds, and after submitting for their consideration everything, I have to suggest for its further improvements ... their speedy determination that in the event of the further ... of the undertaking being judged an advisable measure, I may be furnished with that aids and support

necessary for bringing it to perfection or should a contrary opinion be in inter... of it, that I may relinquish the permit and not involve them for individuals who may have been induced to accept of ..., in dilemma and difficulties from which there does not exist a prospect of them being ...

That the Sunderbunds will in the course of life be brought into cultivation, whether the Government derives any advantage from it or not (in respect to revenue) is beyond dispute. Experience justify the assertion, and not till after ... from mature deleteration, and considering calmly everything for and against, the undertaking, and a firm condition in her over brest of it practicability, I ventured to propose the adoption of a plan, on the completion of which without prejudice or development, to any one branch of the Hon'ble Company.

In force ... in the revenue or commercial, I looked for the establishing of my own character and those records I might appear to merit from having suggested, in these years have nearly lapsed since its introduction but owing to the obstacles which have occurred has not yet been brought to perfection. The climate is inimical to long and active exertions, few constitutions are so vigorous as to be able to enter ... fully into the details of business is indispensably ... is undertakings, which have for their objects are increase of revenue to Governments ... from the exposure of circumstances in which the rights of individuals are materially connected with the interests of the state and where opposition on the one side stands contra ... within activity on the other the instruments of Government to ... and the objects of pursuit gradually dies away.

Innovations are always attended with some degree of danger or depots; they should therefore be adopted in the caution and their direct and relative ... be duly considered what I have now to submit in the Board is not entirely effect of my observations from the local experience I have had in the revenue ... but the result also of conversation on this subjects, with there, whose experience and abilities give them just title to attention, they will find nothing advanced here which is not ... and I shall continue myself with aperting them, and not hazard false promises by too ... of promoting a plan in the ... of which I cannot but feel myself ... deeply interested.

The ordinary object to be considered in the cultivation of the Sunderbunds, the advantages Government will derive from its being carried into execution.

1st A ditto revenue agreeable to the prepared acts of assessments from a country that hitherto has guided nothing but served as anytime for vagabonds and dekoits.

2nd A considerable supply of living in case of a family or scarcity from any no foreseen calamity in other parts of Bengal the ... in the woods not of rain from the hearing, the ebbing and

flowing of the tides supplying the ... with water for their dread and ...

3rd An inline suppression falls on these grievances, and difficulties attending the manufacture of the Roymangal salt upon the present ... system.

The great and what I once considered as an almost in accountable ... to the further production of the place is at long the entirely unmoved by the zamindars in the vicinity of the Sunderbunds having manifested a deposition to take grands for a considerable quantity of lands in the woods, by which the interests of the kustalooksdars and the neighbouring zamindars being to daily united all the little sea busies and disputes of boundaries will be easily removed and cooperating and oppositions. In the present point no greater quantity than 24000 big has of lands has been brought into cultivation that since has not been done is obvious and even this has chiefly been brought to operation by an advance of my own property that there will be found from subtana disposed to take grant provided their tenure is severe is self-incident but Government must support them in the full and undisturbed enjoyments of all those qrierledges and immunities held in common by other zamindars and land holders in the protection of the properly and that of their ... or everything must fall to the grands the first year the Talookdars will be necessitated to make an advance of succauney, to the ryotts for the purpose of supplying them with implements of husbandry purchasing yea vea ... and goods treatment must be the regulating principle of conduct from the Talookdar to the ryotts everything went upon it his success in the cultivation at a total ... of the ... he has been induced to lay it upon the lands must be the consequence and the support of Government should be proportioned to the risk. In matters of nature half measures will not to do or they will operate in so severe all a degree that their effects will not be felt the Sunderbunds once cleared and inhabited would rumour all shadow of protection to the dekoits and other disturbers of the peace and if the plan I formerly submitted to the Board for the employment of the dekoits in the cultivation and clearing of the woods should be deemed a solitary measure the labour of their idlers might be rendered serviceable to the slade and after a certain periods of servitude those who appeared reclaimable might have portions of lands allotted to them for a residence and real the fruits of that land they have been compelled to cultivate, the saving to Government would be considerable in this article of erpina which have of late have very enormous and without rendering any service whatever to the state I am still disposed to take change of the pressure upon the allowance I take mentioned when this matter was in contemplation before the Boards and continued in my address to them undertake the 23rd March 1785 by which Government will save at least 1500 rupees for whom the those dekoits of a different diversification and who are sentenced to confinement in a ... jail for life for over ... the severe furnish ... but for want of any specific charge cannot offer any principle of justice be carried into execution. I would ... with all the ... should be ... out of the casualty and by

being transported to ... place merely situation from Bengal totally ... that ... and connection they still preserve with the individuals of their own sum and deposition in different parts of the country ... revolts at the idea of depriving a fellow creature of the precious enjoyment of life if other life rigorous and equally effective measures can be derived for the preservation of good cadre in the state and the idea the natives entertain of transportation is a dreadful that I would not hesitate to give an opinion that if able to their choice they would ... to a more clearly suffer the ... ignominious deaths rather than submit to perpetual exits the present mode of punishments again all to the mahenndar draw by the amputation of a day or a ... for crime of a ... nature is cruel and inhuman to the greatest degree in dependant thereof at depriving Government of the services of a subject without operating as a check to the commission of future exormities in matters of a ... serious nature than the foregoing imprisonment for a ... periods or corporal ... punishment follows convection confinements to a nature if he has sufficient ... to support nature is as punishment and the zamindars within whom lands ... people formerly resided innumerable refusing to recover him again in the enlargement arouse as they are unaccustomed to manual labour they generally revert to their former illicit practicer the adaption of the present proposed system of employing these idlers in the Sunderbunds appears but calculated to check a further commission of such a ... acts and underlying service to the state by the employment of so many individuals.

In support of the second article I beg leave to submit to the Boards consideration the following records – the great ... of the Sunderbunds is agriculture the ryott ... very region supplies the nil is so palate that are bigha of lands in the Sunderbunds will produce more grain than two bighas in any other parts of Bengal the absolutely with fists and their lands will supply then with a surplus of production to dispose of whereby weather is gradually unaccumulated since pre wood charisol and are ponds in the woods and shells for churam and gosh two great articles of trade are to be ... with in great abundance in the pieces ends the collecting of their allow water a week of the trouble instant that when a ... people thought at all in themselves in a wilderness country they trust encounter at first some difficulties and ... however as the colony thing there and the cultivation increase there will gradually diminish where the earth begins to reward their labor and furnish liberally for their subsistence and is favourable is the Sunderbunds for cultivation that is I before observed a famine or scarcity are even do not likely to occur for the lands are supplied with water by the ebbing and flowing of the fider therefore let the season be favorable otherwise. There will always be province enough for the inhabitants that great identity to spare for the inhabitants that great identity to spare for exportation and the laws the ryott possesses continually using in value with the increase of population and cultivation.

The greatest and I might add the only renewable objection to the projection of the plan is the idea that has been entertained that the cultivation of the Sunderbunds would materially affect the

revenue of the adjacent districts by the desertion of ryotts it would occasion and that whole Government would acquire in the addition of revenue by the cultivation of the Sunderbunds on the one hand would be inadequate to the ... it may sustain by a discussion of the revenue of the neighbouring district by the depopulation occasioned by their division in the other for this may be adjusted conclusion. I find myself somewhat at a ... stop to give a decided opinion. I must confess from the experiences I have had of the nature of the business. I am led to think otherwise for the Sunderbunds have been regularly advancing to a state of cultivation for these some years past and here of these evils have occurred and I can positively affirm from my own knowledge of the state of the districts and my control as collector and which are situated immediately on the border of the Sunderbunds that there is not the least cause to draw such a conclusion.

I shall now intrude upon the Board's patience by submitting for their consideration a few remarks in support of the short article which immediately relates to the manufacture of the salt in the Roymangal.

Convinced that neither the manufacture of salt in the Roymangal nor the quantity manufactured is oppressed, the weight of oppression must arise from the mode of manufacture. Thus, mode however is the same that existed when a large quantity was made consequently the superintendency must be faulty. The plea of want of myhendars is corneous. The mode of processing them produces the want. It is public duty and people know it must be done and when properly treated will not object to the advances that are made to mulungas who are under no security for their behaviour or their advances. They are allowed to overuse the adjacent countries in search of my hindars and the chief outfit of their engagement lies in relating in lieu of employing proper people. So obtuse he will obviate almost every impediment to the manufacture of the salt of the Roymungul my first object would be to dismiss this intermediate people and either make my advances directly to the myhindars taking responsible security for the fulfilling of the engagement or when the Sunderbunds cultivation is in a more forward state provide the salt through the medium of the Talookdar.

The apparent difficulty in the preferred system lies in the charge owing to the natural objection the natives have to any alteration in what has been established time immemorial the risk of the public concerns in an alteration of an established system renders it necessary to guard against ... that may happen from the displeasure of the concerned in it, and to provide against the evil machinations of interested men as the intact of this plan is the provision of myhindars and cause quantity the salt manufacture independent of the molungies by means of the agent people, the disgust of disappointed interested me will naturally throw many obstacles in the way. The present is the season for guarding against these measures taken now to procure correct lists of myhindars actually in the woods will

facilitate and ascertain those lists that may be attained on their return from the woods of their names and places of abode. By this mode all who wish secretly to oppose the provision of them next year when the new plan is intended to commence will find their solemn defeat.

The change here proposed being of great importance to the public concern where assistance should be allowed by Governments, mature reflection requires time and the immediate commencement of the season, for making the advance is too late to commence on the alteration. It must be gradually brought almost, and present time will allow an opportunity for much information to arise from the many examples that may be discovered of evils at present existing which the proposed system is meant to prevent and for the adoption of many measures towards ensuring success to the new plan. No lime should therefore be lost for this purpose.

Firstly, the members of the my hindars regularise for the land should be ascertained and the respective zamindars should be informed of the number required from them.

Secondly, the advances were made at an earlier period than at present to allow time for the assemblage of the myhendars by means of the agent people and not there the malungis.

Thirdly, Mokaums or fired places should be established for assembling the myhendars appointing to the aurrung in which they are to work each of which should be under the superintendence of a trusty person to investigate the claims of the salt departments on them. The investigation to be regularly kept and transmitted to the agent.

Fourthly, the generality of the myhendars are concerned in the payment of revenue more or less, the investigation of debt and demands now made upon myhendars by molungis by the agent will tend to the security of their ... to Government as it will be another convincing proof to them of the security of their profits of the diseased will be certain of the rewards that is due to them and it is to be hoped that with this in view Government will obtain the voluntary services of those who are the ground work of the whole.

Fifthly, Justice and moderation are the principal requisites in the completion of this new proposed system. The agent in the course of one year's save will learn matter to firm further regulation with respect to an administration of justice will establish a mofussil cukerry to hear and try all complaints on the return of the myhendars from the woods and will be enabled to ensure stability to the proposed change by a strict adherence to such measure as may appear from local experience best calculated to obviate all those evils arising from the present system of manufacture.

Sixthly, The provisions of boats, stores, provision utensils yea being at present found by the village in the adjacent countries

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