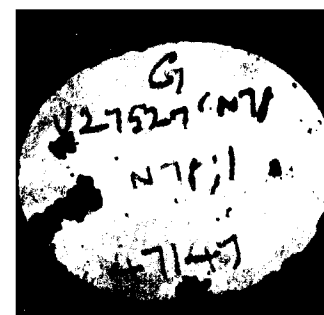




GAZETTEER OF INDIA

WEST BENGAL

NADIĀ

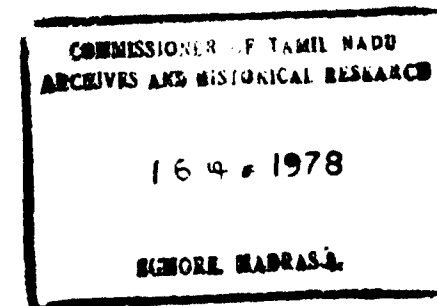
WEST BENGAL DISTRICT GAZETTEERS



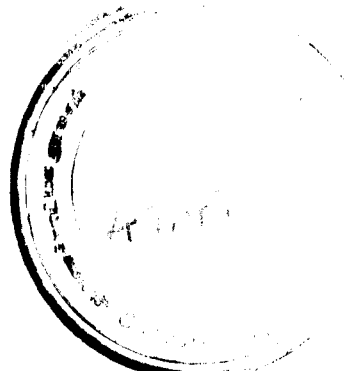
NADIĀ

By

DURGADAS MAJUMDAR, I.A.S. (*retd.*),
former State Editor



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PREFACE

The present volume is the eighth in the series of the West Bengal District Gazetteers now being written under a scheme jointly sponsored by the Government of India and the State Government of West Bengal. The last Gazetteer of the undivided Nadia district was published by J.H.E. Garrett in 1910. The present volume relating to the truncated Nadia district has been planned with an eye to the progress and achievements of the people since Independence.

Among the gentlemen who took part in preparing the preliminary drafts of different chapters of this volume mention should be made of Dr. Sankarananda Mukerji, Deputy State Editor, Shri Pranabranjan Ray and Shri Satyaranjan Sengupta, Assistant Editors of this Unit. Besides, Shri Kiran Sanker Sengupta, Shri Nirendra Nath Sen, Dr. Ramendra Narayan Nag and Shri Biswatosh Chatterjee, who are no longer in this Unit, also prepared the preliminary drafts of some of the chapters. Shri Durgadas Majumdar, IAS (retd.), the then State Editor, revised the drafts and himself wrote a few chapters. I made some unavoidable additions and alterations at the concluding stage.

The draft Gazetteer was scrutinised by the Central Gazetteers Unit under the Ministry of Education, Government of India, headed by Dr. P. N. Chopra, M.A., Ph.D. I avail myself of this opportunity to convey my grateful thanks to Dr. Chopra and his Unit. Shri B. Sarkar, ICS (retd.), Chairman, as well as Dr. S. B. Chaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D. and Dr. P. C. Gupta, M.A., Ph.D., Members, of the Advisory Committee examined the draft thoroughly and made valuable suggestions. I owe them a debt of gratitude.

Many Departments of the State and Central Governments and the district level offices of the State Government in Nadia district assisted us by supplying data for this volume. Shri Tarapada Maity, Research Assistant has prepared the bibliography and the index. Finally, I should place on record my appreciation of the work done by other Research Assistants, the Publication Assistant, the Proof Reader, the Copy Holder, the Stenographers, the Typists, the Comparers and the Head Assistant in the preparation and printing of this volume.

BIMAL RANJAN CHAKRABORTI
State Editor
West Bengal District Gazetteers &
Secretary
Information and Public Relations Department

Calcutta,

The 21st February 1978

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CHAPTER I

GENERAL

Most districts in West Bengal take their name from the headquarters station of the district, but Nadia district takes its name not from Krishnanagar (Krishnagar), the headquarters, but from Nadiā or Navadvīp hallowed by the memory of Lord Śrī-kṛṣṇachaitanya who was born here on 18th February A.D. 1486. The name Navadvīp or Nadiā which is considered to be its abbreviated form does not appear to be an ancient one.¹ The earliest mention of Nadiā spelt Nudiā is in Minhāj-us-Sirāj's *Tabāqat-i-Nāsiri* in connexion with the raid on this city by Bakhtiyar Khilji in circa A.D. 1200. The *Tabāqat* says that it was the capital of Lakshmanasena. But none of the eight copper-plate grant inscriptions of the same king discovered till now mentions this as his capital. The post-Chaitanya Vaishṇava literature and popular tradition however identify Navadvīp with Nadiā.

The district of Nadiā is situated in the heart of the Bengal delta held within the arms of the Gaṅgā, namely, the Bhāgirathī on the west and the Padmā running into the Meghnā estuary on the east. The entire district lies in the alluvial plain of the Gaṅgā and its tributaries. The district has an area of 3,926 sq. km. and a population of 22,30,270 (18,12,211 rural and 4,18,059 urban) according to the Census of 1971 and is predominantly rural. It lies between 22° 52' 30" and 24° 05' 40" parallels of north latitudes and 22° 08' 10" and 88° 48' 15" meridians of east longitudes. The district is included in the Presidency Division. It is bounded on the north and north-west by the district of Murshidābād. On the north-east and east it is bounded by the Bānglādesh districts of Rājshāhi and Kushīā. The mid-line

INTRODUCTORY
Origin of the
name of the
district

Location and
general
boundaries

¹ Some attempts have, however, been made to trace the origin of Navadvīp in earlier periods. The famous Vaishṇava poet Ghanasyāmadāsa in his *Bhaktiratnākara* has tried to identify Navadvīp by interpreting certain *ślokas* of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* indicating the existence of Navadvīp during Purāṇic age. In the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, there is reference to nine islands in these regions, Indradvīpa, Kaserdvīpa, etc. Ghanasyāmadāsa identifies the unnamed ninth island as Navadvīpa. In the *Mahāvamśa* we find the name 'Naggadvīpa' mentioned in connexion with the history of Vijaya Sīṃha, son of Sīṃhabāhu, the king of Rāla Rāṭṭa (or Rāḍha Rāshṭra, i.e. present Bardhamān district) of Bengal in the 6th century B.C. Naggadvīpa may apparently be identified with Navadvīp (*vide* S. P. Dasgupta, 'Early History and Origin of Navadvīpa' in *Proceedings and Transactions of the All-India Oriental Conference*, 1961, pp. 174-75).

of the river Bhāgirathī generally forms the western boundary except for a small strip of land around and including the city of Navadvīp. In the south and south-east, the district is bounded by the district of 24-Parganas. The shape of the district is irregular, lying north to south.

History of
the district

The British district of Nadia was formed as early as 1787. The district at that time included a good part of the present district of Hugli and portions of the present Bongāon subdivision of the district of 24-Parganas. The pre-partition boundaries of the district took shape around 1870. The island of Agradvīp about 15 miles to the north of Navadvīp was transferred to Bardhamān in 1888 as it lay on the western side of the Bhāgirathī at the time. An order was made in 1873 to transfer Navadvīp to Bardhamān also but it was rescinded next year. The present boundary between Nadia and Murshidābād was determined by Notification No. 2947 JUR dated the 17th March 1923 and the boundary between Nadia and Bardhamān and Nadia and Hugli was determined by Notification No. 7874 JUR dated the 24th August 1922. There has been no change in the boundaries on the north, south and west. From the east, however, a portion of the district was given over to East Pākistān (now Bānglādesh) by the Radcliffe Award of 1947. The portion of the award of Sir Cyril Radcliffe dated the 12th August 1947 affecting the boundary of the district is reproduced below :

“From the point of the river Ganges where the channel of the river Mathabhanga takes off, the line shall run along that channel to the northernmost point where it meets the boundary between the thanas of Daulatpur and Karimpur. The middle line of the main channel shall constitute the actual boundary. From this point the boundary between East and West Bengal shall run along the boundaries between the thanas of Daulatpur and Karimpur; Gangni and Karimpur; Meherpur and Karimpur; Meherpur and Tehatta; Meherpur and Chapra; Damurhuda and Chapra; Damurhuda and Krishnaganj; Chuadanga and Krishnaganj; Jibannagar and Krishnaganj; Jibannagar and Hanskhali; Maheśpur and Hanskhali; Maheśpur and Ranaghat.”

On the 14-15th August 1947 the district, as at present constituted, came to West Bengal. Subsequently, there was disagreement with Pākistān over the interpretation of the first two sentences of the portion of the Radcliffe award quoted above. Another boundary tribunal was appointed in 1949 and the latter,

the Bagge tribunal, in 1950 modified the definition of the Radcliffe award in the following words:

“The boundary between India and Pakistan shall run along the middle line of the main channel of the river Mathabhanga which takes off from the river Ganges in or close to the north-western corner of the district of Nadia at a point west-south-west of the police station and camping ground of the village of Jalangi as they are shown on the air photograph map of 1948, and then flows southwards to the northernmost point of the boundary between the thanas of Daulatpur and Karimpur.

“The point of the offtake of the river Mathabhanga shall be connected by a straight and shortest line with a point in the midstream of the main channel of the river Ganges, the said latter point being ascertained as on the date of the award or if not possible on the date of the demarcation of the boundary line in Dispute I. The said point so ascertained shall be the south-easternmost point of the boundary line in Dispute I, this point being a fixed point.”

The present district of Nadia after the partition was formed by Notification No. 545 GA dated the 23rd February 1948 with the following police stations¹: (1) Krishnanagar, (2) Chāprā, (3) Navadvīp, (4) Kālīganj, (5) Nākāśīpāra, (6) Krishnaganj, (7) Karimpur, (8) Tehatta, (9) Rānāghāt, (10) Shāntipur, (11) Chākdaha, (12) Hariṅghāṭā, (13) Hānskhālī.

Karimpur police station was reconstituted by Notification No. 61 GA dated the 17th August 1947 as follows:

“(a) Area now included in the Karimpur P.S. in the district of Nadia, and

“(b) Area now included in the Daulatpur P.S. in the district of Nadia and lying to the west of the river Māthābhāngā up to and including the middle line of the main channel of the said river.”

The Nadia district is divided into two subdivisions — Sadar and Rānāghāt. The Sadar subdivision comprises eight thanas and the Rānāghāt subdivision comprises five thanas. For administrative convenience the sadar subdivision is divided into two parts, each consisting of four thanas and placed under two Subdivisional Officers, both having headquarters at Krishnanagar. The Sub-

Subdivisions

¹ A new police station, Kalyānī, has been carved out of Chakdaha police station *vide* Notification No. 3665-Pl. dt. 27th November 1963. It contains J.L. Nos. 48/193, 51-58, 60, 69, 72-76, 78-92 of Chakdaha police station.

divisional Officer of Rānāghāt has headquarters at Ranaghat. The Sadar (South) subdivision consists of the following thanas : Krishnanagar (Kotwali), Navadwip, Krishnaganj and Chāprā. The Sadar (North) subdivision consists of the following thanas : Nakasipara, Kaliganj, Tehatta and Karimpur. Rānāghāt subdivision consists of Rānāghāt, Shāntipur, Hānskhāli, Chākdaha and Haringhātā.

There are nine Tahasīl circles in the district, each under a Junior Land Reforms Officer, and there are 232 Tahasīl blocks, each in charge of a part-time Tahasildar. The old revenue parganas are distributed amongst the several thanas as below :

- (1) Krishnanagar (Kotwālī) Police Station :
Ukhrā, Bāgwān, Jāhāngirābād, Mahatpur, Māmjoāni.
- (2) Navadwīp P.S. :
Ukhrā, Bāgwān, Jāhāngirābād, Mahabhatpur, Kāshimpur.
- (3) Krishnaganj P.S. :
Ukhrā, Umarpur, Munsibpur, Matīari, Mahatpur.
- (4) Chāprā P.S. :
Bāgwān, Mahabhatpur, Ukhrā, Munsibpur, Mahatpur, Umarpur.
- (5) Nākāsipārā P.S. :
Bāgwān, Belgāon, Kubizpur, Khosalpur, Mamdanipur, Jāhāngirābād, Amirpur, Pātmahal, Mahabhatpur, Rājpur, Fazilpur, Digambarpur, Palāshi.
- (6) Kālīganj P.S. :
Palāshi, Betāi, Bāgwān, Monoharshāhi, Khosalpur, Belgāon, Fatesing.
- (7) Tehatta P.S. :
Bāgwān, Belgāon, Palāshi, Rājpur, Betāi, Fatehjangpur, Patkābāri.
- (8) Karimpur P.S. :
Goas, Taragunia, Rājpur, Patkābāri, Betāi, Fatehjangpur, Kāsimnagar, Hossain-ujjal, Shāhābāzpur, Pipulberīā, Maham-madshāhi.

- (9) Rānāghāt P.S. :
Ukhrā, Māmjoāni, Shāntipur, Kāugāchi, Ālampur, Srinagar, Mulghar, Pātmahal, Pānchpur, Rāypur.
- (10) Shāntipur P.S. :
Ukhrā, Rānihāti, Jaypur, Shāntipur, Krishnanagar, Māmjoāni, Pātmahal, Amirpur.
- (11) Hānskhāli P.S. :
Ukhrā, Māmjoāni, Matīari, Umarpur, Digambarpur.
- (12) Chākdaha P.S. :
Rāypur, Panchnu, Ālampur, Hātikanda-Gauraha, Ukhrā, Havelishar, Baradā, Arsa, Selampur, Zāmirā, Śrīnagar.
- (13) Haringhātā P.S. :
Ukhrā, Panchnu, Havelishar, Ālampur.

The district is a large alluvial plain spreading southwards approximately from the head of the delta formed by the succession of rivers into which the Gaṅgā has from time to time distributed itself. The country is also flat having pockets of villages and clusters of trees and is intersected by rivers, back-waters, minor streams and swamps. Agriculturally, the soil is considered to be high land and bears rice and cold weather crops. To the west of the district is the Kalāntar, a lowlying tract of black clay soil stretching from the Murshidābād district through the gap in the north-western boundary between the Jalangi and Bhāgirathi down into the Kālīganj and Tehatta police stations. This tract bears only winter rice and is much liable to famine, if the monsoon fails. It is liable to injury from inundations from the Bhāgirathī when the Lalitākuri embankment in the Murshidābād district gives way.¹

Natural
configuration

The Bhāgirathī, also called the Hugli from the confluence of the Jalangi, the Bhairab-Jalangi and the Māthābhāngā-Chūrṇī are the rivers of the district and are collectively called the Nadia rivers. Shortly after passing Rājmal, the Gaṅgā enters its deltaic career and gives off its first effluent, the Bhāgirathī, at Geria about 54 km. above Rāmpur-Boāliā and it receives its last tributary, the Mahānandā, a few miles further down. About 29 km. below the Bhāgirathī offtake, the Bhairab spills south-

The Nadia
Rivers

¹ cf. B. Ray, *Census: 1961: West Bengal: District Census Handbook: Nadia*, Calcutta, 1967, p. 9.

wards over the right bank 17 km. above Akriganj and joins the Jalangi. A short distance below the Bhairab offtake, the Siālmāri takes off from the Gaṅgā flowing only during the rains, and also joins the Jalangi. The original offtake of the Jalangi which was below the Bhairab offtake is now ordinarily closed and flows only in exceptionally high floods. About 30 km. above Sarah and from a point very near the original Jalangi offtake, the Māthābhāṅgā takes off from the right bank of the Gaṅgā (Padmā) and flowing south-westerly enters the Bhāgirathī near Chākdaha assuming the name Churni.

The Jalangi

Flowing in a tortuous course forming the western boundary of Karimpur and a part of Tehatta thanas, the Jalangi enters the Tehatta thana below Palāshipārā and traversing that thana in serpentine bends passes along the boundary between Nākāsipārā and Chāprā, and Chāprā and Navadwīp thanas till its southward course is turned westward below Krishnanagar. Flowing almost straight westwards, it discharges into the Bhāgirathī at Swarūpganj opposite Navadwīp. The river bed is alluvial. The length of the course in the district is 166 km. from Muthtiārpur to Swarūpganj.

The Bhairab

Writhing in tortuous bends, the Bhairab, a dead river now, traverses Karimpur thana in a south and south-easterly direction and passes out of the district into Meherpur thana in Bangladesh. It does not re-enter the district.

The Māthā-
bhāṅgā

Flowing along the boundary between Karimpur thana in Nadia district and Daulatpur thana of Bangladesh, it enters Bangladesh. Re-entering the district of Nadia in Krishnaganj thana, it bifurcates into two branches. The western branch under the name of the Churni flows westwards across Hānskālī, Rānāghāt and Chākdaha thanas and discharges into the Bhāgirathī. The eastern branch under the name Ichhāmatī forms the eastern boundary of the district till it enters Bongāon thana in the district of 24-Parganas.

It would be observed that after the eastward shift of the Gaṅgā, all rivers now flowing southwards from the right bank of the Gaṅgā-Padmā between Geriā and Goālundo have been reduced to the position of spill channels. In Nadia district, we are concerned with the Bhairab (including the Kulkuli and the Gobra Nullā and Siālmāri), the Jalangi and the Māthābhāṅgā with its branches, the Churni, the Kumār and the Ichhāmatī. The Bhāgirathī which forms the western boundary of the district now has the character of both a spill stream as well as a permanent

river flowing through a bed of its own formation and subject to tides at the lower end (actually, even now a tide of about a foot is noticeable at Navadwīp). It is learnt from the account of Tavernier that in A.D. 1666 the Bhāgirathī offtake was dry and unnavigable except during the monsoon months. It was so at the time of Rennell's survey (1781). The British Government realized the need of this waterway and investigations were started on the condition of the Nadia rivers. A brief summary of the results of such investigations is given below.

There has been considerable changes in the Nadia rivers in the past three hundred years and only the Bhāgirathī has remained fairly constant in the present direction. The Kumār formerly followed a course something like the present upper course of the Māthābhāṅgā and then flowing in a east-south-easterly course joined the Gaṅgā near Mādārīpur. The Madhumatī and the Chandanā have now cut across this course. Rennell mentions the Chandanā as a very deep and large tributary of the Gaṅgā. It has now deteriorated completely. The Bhairab, which even after the eastward shift of the Gaṅgā flowed as a right bank tributary and a very important river of this area, formerly took off from the Gaṅgā below the Bhāgirathī entrance and traversing south-east through Nadia district went past Jessore and Khulnā into the Madhumatī and Haringhātā estuary. About 300 or 400 years ago the Jalangi opened out usurping a part of the course of the Bhairab and cutting across took the drainage to the south-west into the Bhāgirathī. Somewhat lower down, the Māthābhāṅgā again cut across its course running south-westwards. The upper Bhairab opened again in 1874 and carried the Gaṅgā spill to the Jalangi at Mukhtiārpur. The original entrance of the Jalangi at Jalangi has dried up, while the Māthābhāṅgā which was originally a branch of the Jalangi now takes off from a point slightly lower down the original Jalangi offtake. The intermediate portion of the Bhairab between the Jalangi and the Māthābhāṅgā has completely died out and the lower section decayed. In the lowest portion below Jessore, the Bhairab now takes the spill from the Kumār and the Garāi and being reversed in direction by the Āthārabāṅkā, it now flows into the Rūpsā and thence through the Pusur into the Marjata estuary. The Ichhāmatī was a branch of the old Bhairab flowing south. Since the Māthābhāṅgā opened the Churni branch, the Ichhāmatī has deteriorated. The Jamunā, which took off the Bhāgirathī at Bānsberīā and joined the Ichhāmatī lower down, has completely deteriorated and nearly closed.

Changes in
Nadia Rivers

The Jalangi and the Mathābhāṅga-Churni are comparatively new rivers. The Churni was originally a branch of the Ichhamati as shown by Rennell and it joined the present channel at Āraṅghāṭā. Later, the Mathābhāṅga opened into it and the Ichhamati lost much of the spill it used to get from the Māthābhāṅgā.

Rennell shows the Bhairab on his map as a thread-like channel, draining south from the Kulkuli river at Akriganj and following generally but indefinitely the present course of the Banti and the Suti rivers. The Kulkuli, probably an old spill channel of the Gaṅgā, had in Rennell's time no definite connexion with it and merely flowed as a flood season spill. Passing Akriganj and Maricha it took the general course of the present Siālmāri river. Since Rennell's time, the connexion between Akriganj and Marichā has been destroyed. The Siālmāri has become an independent flood spill of the Gaṅgā and the Bhairab has found an entrance of its own at Akriganj. This connexion at an acute angle to the main stream of the Gaṅgā forced a larger volume of water into it and the Bhairab has worked out a channel of its own eastwards in an area where Rennell shows no stream. This seems to have been effected towards the eighties of the last century giving the Jalangi a new entrance. By 1914, the Bhairab usurped the upper course of the Kulkuli and established an offtake about 10 miles west of Akriganj and flowed nearly parallel to the Gaṅgā for some distance. The upper Jalangi channel has now deteriorated and flows only in high flood and the entrance of the Jalangi has been appropriated by the Māthābhāṅgā.

TOPOGRAPHY

The course of the old Bhairab, as can be traced, shows that the general slope of the district is towards the south-east. The slope at present is very gradual and the area is so interspersed with *jhils* and marshes and old beds of rivers that the general slope is not easily noticed. The Bhāgīrathī with its high bank is the natural western boundary and the slope to the south-east immediately adjacent to the river is so marked that it has been necessary to construct a line of embankments. The slope on the west with the trend from the high right bank of the Gaṅgā, which bounds the Nadia-Murshidābād tract on the north and east to the offtake of the Māthābhāṅgā, forms a basin in the upper portion of the tract. Through the middle of this tract the Bhairab runs following the natural line of drainage and once a satisfactory

entrance to the Gaṅgā was achieved at Akriganj, the river again developed after lying moribund for a long time.

To the east of the Bhairab, the Siālmāri runs at an angle to the drainage slope in a south-easterly course. As an old spill of the Gaṅgā, it was quite well-developed in Rennell's time. It now carries the spill from the Gaṅgā at high flood. Between the Bhāgīrathī and the Bhairab, the Gobrā Nālā took the spill from the Bhāgīrathī and discharged into the Kalāntar area. The upper part of the Gobrā Nālā has now been beheaded by the railway embankment from Jiaganj to Bhagwāngolā. The lower portion of the Gobrā Nālā under the name of the Bhāndārdaha Nālā drains along the line of the Beldāngā-Āmtollā Road into the Suti Nadi. The latter *nulla* (*nala*) is a continuation of the Banti Nadi which is a spill of the Bhairab, taking off at Banti east of Daulat Bāzār and forms the older and western branch of that river, which is shown in Rennell's charts. It re-enters the Bhairab-Jalangi at Bali Tungi at the same point where Rennell shows the confluence in his time. The old Bhairab branch, or Banti Nadi, flows east from the head of the Suti Nadi and under the name of the Kumār Nadi enters the main branch higher up and immediately at its confluence with the Jalangi at Mukhtiārpur.

The Kalāntar area stretches south from Beldāngā in between the Bhāgīrathī and the Jalangi. It consists of large marshes and dead river beds. It has no drainage and during rains forms a large shallow lake. It can be easily seen that this was the spill area of the Bhāgīrathī and the Bhairab. The embankment of the Bhāgīrathī prevented the Bhāgīrathī spill and the decay of the Bhairab denuded the Bhairab spill. The area, therefore, was not formed by silt deposit and remains to this day a shallow lagoon.

The Kalāntar area

Between the Bhairab-Jalangi and the Māthābhāṅgā, the country is intersected by innumerable old Bhairab channels, and *bils*, trending in every direction. The general slope of the country, however, becomes definitely south-eastern and cuts across the Māthābhāṅgā channel at a considerable angle. As a consequence, the greater part of the water of the Māthābhāṅgā is carried away by the Kumār and the attempt to close the Kumār offtake in 1820 to increase the flow of the Māthābhāṅgā merely resulted in another opening of the Kumār by the Pāngāsi river. The south-eastward slope is so pronounced at this place that all attempts to keep the Māthābhāṅgā navigable had been abortive because the Jessore distributaries took away from three-fourths to five-sixths of its spill supply.

The Māthābhāṅgā has changed considerably since Rennell's time. Below Sibniyas, it continued along the present Ichhamati channel for about twenty miles and the Churni, which was a mere *nulla* then, branched off due westwards and passing by the north of Aranghatā went south-westwards into its present channel at Ranāghat. The opening of the Churni in the last century, contrary to the slope of the tract, must, therefore, have been due to some unusual cause.

Rennell conducted his surveys between 1764 and 1781. In his 'Account' of the surveys Rennell does not mention the Māthābhāṅgā, though he shows it as a thin flood stream. Captain Colebrook stated that in 1795 the Māthābhāṅgā was navigable throughout the dry season. The Māthābhāṅgā must have opened during the intervening period and during this period the Tista combining with the Brahmaputra began to flow into the Gaṅgā through the Jamunā channel. This raised the flood level at Goāundo and the backwater pressure must have opened the Māthābhāṅgā. The increased inflow of water through the Māthābhāṅgā in this manner must have helped the opening of the Churni. This backwater pressure later on opened the Garai and also the Kīrtināsā channel of the Padma. The back pressure at the Māthābhāṅgā head was thus relieved and the river began to deteriorate by about 1820.

Due to deterioration of the Māthābhāṅgā, the Calcutta merchants petitioned the Government for taking steps to keep the river navigable. Accordingly, Mr. C. K. Robinson was appointed Superintendent and Collector of the Māthābhāṅgā and this appointment formed the basis of the Nadia River division of the Public Works Department. The Māthābhāṅgā channel was trained by *bandal* and the impediments in the channel in the nature of sunken boats, fallen trees, etc. were removed and trees on the sides of the channel were cut down. The Māthābhāṅgā was thus navigable from the entrance to the mouth of the Kumār and it remained so till March 1821. Since the Kumār took away a large volume of the water of the Māthābhāṅgā, an attempt was made to close its mouth by sinking a caisson and some old boats and a loop of the Māthābhāṅgā was cut at this point to attract more water by increasing the slope. Mr. May, who succeeded Mr. Robinson, started dredging operations but the entrance of the Māthābhāṅgā was so closed that the dredger could not be used. The Jalangi entrance was kept open with a 10 ft. draft in December 1823 and 4 ft. was obtainable throughout the river.

Attempts to
keep Nadia
rivers
navigable

The Bhāgīrathī entrance at this time took off the main channel of the Gaṅgā about 15 km. east of Farākkā and was very favourably placed. The dredging boat was accordingly set up to work there and in 1824 Mr. May was given the additional charge of the Bhāgīrathī and the Jalangi with a regular establishment.

The Bhāgīrathī closed in March and the Jalangi in May 1824. After the rains of that year the Bhāgīrathī entrance shifted 7.5 km. westward towards Farākkā where it lay in the direct line of the main stream current. The entrance was cut through rapidly, widening from 250 ft. to half a mile and deepening to 22 ft. in January 1825. In spite of this, however, its depth in the shoals down to Nadia was kept by bandalling at only 3 ft. throughout the dry season. The Jalangi provided that year a depth of a little over 2 ft., but the Māthābhāṅgā below the Kumār river was practically dry. In 1825, the main Gaṅgā channel cut through a loop and shifted to a more direct course right through the Bhāgīrathī entrance leading diagonally across 7 km. east of Farākkā. This new entrance, 12 km. south-east of the old position, closed early in November 1825 and though a second dredging was applied, all the rivers closed in March 1826. The Bhāgīrathī entrance then gradually worked downstream and in spite of dredging and cuts, was impassable except by small boats before the end of December each year. In November 1829, the depth was only 1½ ft. Meanwhile, the Jalangi, which had closed for a part of 1826-27, improved slightly and in 1827-28 sufficient depth was available during the greater part of the dry season for boats of 2 ft. draught.

After the closing of the Kumār off-take in 1821, the Pāngāsī, which branched off from the Māthābhāṅgā further lower down, began to open out and take a greater portion of the spill into the Kumār and by 1824 the position became the same as before the blocking of the mouth of the Kumār. The Māthābhāṅgā remained in a bad state from 1825 to 1830 and two attempts to divert the water flowing down the Pāngāsī proved unsuccessful. In 1831, an early rainfall increased the discharge of the western tributaries of the Bhāgīrathī and the channel below Baharampur improved. In the flood season of 1832, the entrance of the Jalangi which had shifted 8 km. to the north closed completely in the dry season and the Māthābhāṅgā progressively continued to deteriorate. The work on the Nadia rivers was stopped in 1835 as the Government considered that the results obtained were not worth the cost.

The description of the rivers in Nadia district would show that the district is likely to suffer more from inundation owing to absence of drainage than from floods. From records available from the year 1820, it appears that there was a severe inundation in 1823 when the Bhagirathi rose high at Baharampur, though the level was not recorded. The Bhagirathi embankments were breached for a few miles above Latākuri with the result that the low-lying area in between the Jalangi and the Bhagirathi was inundated badly. The flood water followed the general south-eastern slope of the district, over-topped the Jalangi and the Māthābhāṅgā and cut out a new channel to the river Kumār to a distance of 12 km. The next high flood appears to have occurred in 1838 when the Bhāgīrathī rose to 29 ft. and 3½ inches above zero at Baharampur but the extent of damage or spillage is not on record. Between 1838 and 1856, there seems to have been no flood of importance. In 1856, the Bhāgīrathī level rose 29 ft. 2½ inches at Baharampur when the Latākuri embankments burst and all the low-lying areas were inundated. The next high flood took place in 1867 when the Bhāgīrathī registered a level of 29 ft. 1½ inches above zero at Baharampur. The flood was of short duration and little damage was done. In 1870, the Bhāgīrathī rose to 29 ft. 6 inches over zero at Baharampur and some of the embankments gave way. In 1871, the Bhāgīrathī rose 29 ft. 6½ inches and the Latākuri *bundh* burst causing inundation of low-lying areas. In 1874, the Latākuri embankment again gave way when the Bhāgīrathī rose to 29 ft. ¾ inch. Details of these floods, however, are not available from records.

In recent times, the district was again inundated in 1956. Between the 25th and 27th September 1956, there was unusually heavy rainfall in the catchment area of the Damodar and the Ajay as well as in the Gaṅgā-Bhāgīrathī area of middle Bengal. As a result of the extensive and intensive rainfall, all the low-lying areas of the district became waterlogged. All the rivers and the tributaries were running full at that time with the monsoon water and could not, therefore, drain out the water. The Jalangi and also the Churni were resisted at their outfall into the Bhāgīrathī as a result of excessive flood water coming down the Ajay into the Bhāgīrathī at Katwa (Kāṭoyā). At Krishnanagar, the water level rose to 36.10 ft. on the P.W.D. gauge against the danger level of 26.06 ft. At Swarūpganj, the water level went up to 35.02 ft. on the 30th September 1956 which was 7.02 ft. above the danger level. At Hānskhālī on the Māthābhāṅgā

the highest level recorded was 28.05 ft. on the P.W.D. gauge between the 2nd and 4th October 1956. The flood in the district continued till the 10th October 1956 when the water level gradually came down. Four police stations of the district, namely, Kālīganj, Nākāsipārā, Navadwīp and Shāntipur were severely affected. Chākdaha, Rānāghāt, Chāprā, Tehatta, Kotwālī, Haringhātā and Hānskhālī police stations were partially affected. The total area affected in Nadia district was 966 sq. miles of which 484 sq. miles were inundated by the rivers and the rest by local rainfall.¹

During the latter part of September and early October 1959, another flood occurred in the district caused again by the same factors, namely, banking up of the drainage channels of the district by high level in the Bhāgīrathī caused by flood waters of the Ajay.

As has been mentioned already, the rivers like the Bhāgīrathī, the Bhairab and the younger Māthābhāṅgā and the Jalangi had entered the deltaic phase and consequently, in the district of Nadia there had been quite vigorous oscillations of these rivers. The Bhairab is now dead, the Jalangi appears to have been bounded by firm banks for some time while the Māthābhāṅgā, which has been dying in its upper course, had shown oscillations in its lower course even after Rennell's survey. The result of such oscillations are noticeable in the large number of *bils*, *khāls* and dead river beds lying scattered all over the district. The principal amongst these are enumerated below.

1. Karimpur thana: *Bils*: The Padma *bil* and Gairia *bil*, the Pati *bil*, the Kumāri *bil*, the Dhandi *bil*, the Chakla *bil*, the Chandra *bil*, the Tiarpara *bil*, the Nalgari *bil*, the Dighri *bil*, the Dhopagari *bil*, the Tangrāmāri *bil*, the Kaurā *bil*, the Lakshmijay *bil*, and the Ahighāt *bil*.

Khāls: The Mahesgari *khāl* and Ichhāmāti *khāl*. These *bils* and *khāls* join up during rains and give the appearance of a vast sheet of shallow water dotted with occasional hamlets on slightly elevated portions of the tract.

2. Tehatta thana: *Bils*: the Nalgari *bil*, the Pank *bil*, the Fatehpur *bil*, the Dubrajoy *bil*, the Gabri *bil*, the Mahismāri *bil*, the Chaul *bil*, the Maheskhola *bil*, the Banar *bil*, the Gandagara *bil*, the Chunchakhola *bil*, the Nagar *bil*, the Hārma

Bils, Khāls & dead river beds

¹ Report on the floods of September-October 1956 in Central, Western and Southern Districts of West Bengal, 1958.

bil, the Kanthuli *bil*, the Kulchandi *bil*, the Khalder *bil*, the Amul *bil*, the Phulir *bil*, the Pon *bil*, the Boādiā *bil*, the Chhaturi *bil*, the Maragangni *bil*.

Khāls : the Maragangni *khāl*, the Pāikpārā *khāl*, the Heru-bhāngā-Hanipur *khāl*, the Nanyer *khāl*, the Saraswatī *khāl* and the Belā *khāl*.

During the rainy season, the western side of Jalangi is not much submerged while in the eastern and southern parts of the oscillations to the east of the Jalangi the rain water accumulates forming one continuous sheet of water when the *bils* and the *khāls* are connected. The hamlets in this area are widely separated with occasional growths of bamboos and a sprinkling of mango trees.

3. Kālīganj thana : There are many depressions in this thana area caused by the oscillations of the Bhāgīrathī. These depressions are long and narrow. Away from the Bhāgīrathī the depressions are fewer in number but are deeper and hold water even during summer. These *bils* are the Kutiar *bil*, the Āmir *bil*, the Chāprā *bil*, the Boādiā *bil*, the Mirkuli *bil*, the Chanduriā *bil*, the Chitua *bil*, the Bāgher *bil*, the Boduli *bil*, the Jālār *bil*, the Khālder *bil* and the Pānighātā *bil*.

4. Nākāsipārā thana : The area contains a large number of dead rivers running from north to south which are relics of the oscillations of the Bhāgīrathī as well as of the Jalangi. Most of them are dry in summer but a few are deeper and water remains throughout the season.

The number of *khāls* and *bils* in this area are : *Bils* : the Bara *bil*, the Ganradobar *bil*, the Jālār *bil*, the Pon *bil*, the Khālder *bil*, the Soiti *bil*, the Kuoguri *bil*, the Kalsi *bil*, the Kāogāchi *bil*, the Beledaha *bil* and the Gotpārā *bil*.

Khāls : the Arpara *khāl*, the Khānā *khāl* and the Gurguriā *khāl*.

Lying in between the Bhāgīrathī on the west and the Jalangi in the east this thana is still subject to spills from both rivers. Usually, these *bils* and *khāls* get flushed during high floods every year and silt deposition is still in progress in these areas.

5. Chāprā thana : In this thana there are a large number of dead river courses which apparently belonged to the old Bhairab before the Jalangi cuts across its course. Most of the depressions lie in between the Ichhāmati and the Jalangi.

As stated already, the Māthābhāngā oscillations were noticeable in this area even as late as 1940. The number of *bils* and *khāls* are as follows.

Bils : the Dahakoltā *bil*, the Patra *bil*, the Paiti *bil*, the Piprā-gāchā *bil*, the Bāgdiā *bil*, the Elangi *bil*, the Chāprā *bil*, the De *bil*, the Gokhropotā *bil*, the Bāniākhār *bil* and the Dharmadaha *bil*.

Khāls : the Palda *khāl*, the Daribadi *khāl*, the Paldanadi *khāl*, the Kalannanadi *khāl* and the Jhornadi *khāl*.

6. Krishnanagar thana (Kotwāli) : The westward bend of the Jalangi divides this thana into two halves. In the northern half relics of the Bhāgīrathī oscillations and in the southern half relics of the Jalangi oscillations are noticeable in quite a large number of depressions forming *bils*. The principal amongst them are : the Sujanpur *bil*, the Noāpārā *bil*, the Hansdanga *bil*, the Syāmnagar *bil*, the Āmghātā *bil*, the Bhālukā *bil*, the Nalan *bil*, the Kopae *bil*, the Nadari *bil*, and the Sattuliā *bil*.

Khāls : the Kalannanadi *khāl*, the Gurguriā *khāl* and the Jhornadi *khāl*.

7. Navadwīp thana : Lying in between the Bhāgīrathī and the Jalangi this thana shows evidences of oscillations of both these rivers. The Sujanpur *bil*, the Bāmanpukur *bil*, the Māyāpur *bil*, the Āmghātā *bil*, the Nutan *bil* and the Gurguriā *khāl* are the principal amongst them.

8. Krishnaganj thana : Like Chāprā thana this thana also appears to have been on the course of the old Bhairab. At present, the Ichhāmati flows through the thana and the Churni takes off just from the south. This area was under the oscillations of the Māthābhāngā till very recently. And quite a number of depressions in the nature of *bils* are seen. The Dāmodar *bil*, the Dharmadaha *bil*, the Mājdiā *bil*, the Bānpur *bil* and the Balsakuti *bil* are the principal amongst them.

9. Shāntipur thana : There are wide stretches of low land in this thana which formed old beds of channels of the river Bhāgīrathī. These beds are being gradually filled up. The principal *bils* in this area are the Nutan *bil* and the Pasha *bil*. The *khāls* are the Mansādaha *khāl*, the Margangni *khāl* and the Harinadi. The western side of the area is still subject to some amount of spill from the Bhāgīrathī.

10. Hānskhāli thana : This thana on the lower course of the Māthābhāngā has been subject to frequent changes of the courses of the Ichhāmati, the Churni and the Jhor and the numerous distributaries of these rivers formed a network in this thana area. There are many *bils* and *khāls*, the principal amongst them are : the Padmā *bil*, the Dhabuni *bil*, the Balsākuti *bil*, the Abhangi

bil, the Singā *bil*, the Adhiari *bil*, the Rāmnagar *bil* and the Chātrā *bil*; the principal *khāls* being the Goragangani *khāl*, the Gauriā *khāl* and the Jhornadi.

11. Rānāghāt thana : This thana is traversed by the Churni following a meandering course while the Ichhamati flows along its eastern boundary. The Haṅgar *khāl* and the Gauriā *khāl* drain the eastern half of this thana and join Ichhamati at its right bank. There are comparatively lesser number of *bils* in this thana, the principal amongst them are : the Chakhā *bil*, the Baramāshi *bil*, the Āmdā *bil*, the Paltar *bil*, the Samghara *bil*, the Tatal *bil*, the Hussainpur *bil*, the Changtā *bil*, the Bhabankabali *bil* and the Bāhir *bil*. The *khāls* are the Mangar *khāl* and the Gauriā *khāl*.

12. Chākdaha thana : There are many *khāls* and *bils* in this thana which are mostly the abandoned old courses of the Bhāgīrathī and its distributaries. They are Jayati *bil*, the Godar *bil*, the Jhaker *bil*, the Solākir *bil*, the Chamrakumar *bil*, the Kachur *bil*, the Dubliā *bil*, the Bara *bil*, the Balsar *bil*, the Chandmāri *bil*, the Ghatugāchi *bil*, the Pectar *bil*, the Peror *bil*, the Kuliā *bil*, the Dhokrādaha *bil*, the Mātikāta *bil*, the Datta *bil*, the Mathura *bil*. The principal *khāls* are Murali *khāl* and the Tangrā *khāl*.

13. Haringhātā thana : The river Jāmuriā, which is an extension of the Mathurā *bil*, divides this thana into two halves. The northern half has many *bils*. The principal amongst them are — the Parmājhdiā Māgurā *bil*, the Balli *bil*, the Bhomrā *bil*, the Peechar Khalsi *bil* and the Peror *bil*. In the southern part, the Chandāl *bil*, the Baruni *bil*, the Nārāyan *bil* and the Mediā *bil* are the principal ones.

GEOLOGY

The district of Nadia is an alluvial formation of the rivers belonging to the Gaṅgā-Bhāgīrathī system. On the top surface it appears to be formed of recent alluvium, but below the top surface there is evidence of the existence of an underlying plinth of older alluvium formed of different material. "That before the present upper strata of the delta were laid down, it appears that there was an older delta composed of materials totally different to those deposited by the Ganges. A stratum of yellow clay and sand appears to underlie that upper and newer strata of blue clay and sand. At Chowkhally on the lower Hooghly the yellow clay is about 60 ft. from the surface as shown by the borings taken in 1914. At Kusthia there are outcrops of the same

stratum and the general outcrop appears to be roughly round the extreme edges of the present delta. ... It appears that this delta was laid down by rivers issuing from the north or north-east and that presumably the Ganges had not then become a factor in this case. The old delta was depressed and the Ganges appears to have then entered upon the scene and began forming the new delta on top of the old from the neighbourhood of Rajmahal."¹

The following is a brief summary of the natural soil regions found in this district. The parent material is Ganges (gaṅgā) alluvium which under different conditions form three dissimilar soil associations:

- i) Ganges riverine lands,
- ii) Ganges flat lands, and
- iii) Ganges low lands.

The distribution of these different categories of lands are as follows:

i) Ganges riverine lands: These are formed of soils on recent alluvial fans, flat plains or other secondary deposits having undeveloped profiles below which lie unconsolidated materials. No accumulation of clay or lime is found in the subsoil. This shows the surface to be of recent formation, and downward leaching of calcareous material has not taken place to any appreciable extent. Deposition of alluvium of different textures in different layers in an unsystematic manner is also evident. Soils of this kind occur in the following areas :

Karimpur : In the portion bounded by the road from the ferry to Nārāyanpur to the police station Karimpur and the Jalangi.

Tehatta : (a) The portion lying west and north-west of the road from the post office Betāi to Tehatta and west of the road from Tehatta to the G.T.S. at Palāshipārā.

(b) The area between the Bhairab and its tributary on the left bank.

Palāshi (Plassey): The part on the north of the road from Bhāga to Kālīganj.

Nākāshipārā : (a) West of the road running from Khājuriā via Murāgāchhā G.T.S. and Gotpārā to Bhāga.

¹ C. Addams-Williams, 'History of the Rivers in the Gangetic Delta' quoted in S.C. Majumdar, *Rivers of the Bengal Delta*, p. 21.

(b) East of the road from Khājuriā to Pathiābāri *via* R. S. Bethuādahari.

Krishnanagar : The entire area except the portion lying between the roads to Hānskhāli and Krishnananj.

Chāprā : In the south-eastern part.

Hānskhāli : The portion lying in the area south of the road to Hānskhāli from Krishnanagar and east of the Churni.

Shāntipur : The entire police station.

Rānāghāt : (a) *Via* Nilnagar in the south-west of the road from Chākdaha to Rānāghāt, except the portion on the east of Nilnagar and G.T.S. Paschim Noāpārā and the north of the Churni.

(b) The triangle enclosed by the railway lines going to Bongāon and Bānpur and villages Roynagar and Hijuli.

Chākdaha : On the west and north-west part.

Haringhātā : On the west of Chākdaha-Haringhātā Road.

ii) Ganges flat lands: These are formed of soils on young alluvial fans, old flat plains or other secondary deposits having somewhat developed profiles underlain by unconsolidated material. There is a slight accumulation of clay in this subsoil as a result of leaching from the surface. Soils of this kind are located in the following areas :

Karimpur : Northern part of the police station lying north of the road from Karimpur to the Ferry Ghat on the Māthābhāngā at Raghunāthpur.

Kālīganj : South-western part of the police station lying south-west of the road from Kālīganj to Bhāga.

Nākāsipārā : North-eastern and central part of the police station. The area is roughly from Khājuriā to Gotpārā, to Bhāga to G.T.S. at Chhota Śimuliā to Uttar Bāhīrgāchhi, to Patkiabāri to Nākāsipārā and Khājuriā.

Chāprā : Southern part lying south of the line from Basanduliā to Padmamālā.

Hānskhāli : In the north-west and southern part.

Rānāghāt : in the northern part and south-east part.

iii) Ganges low lands : This soil shows a good accumulation of clay on the surface which is underlain by unconsolidated material, more often of riverine profile. These are clay pan soils, in which the pans are relatively near to the surface and are partially impervious to the downward movement of water. The subsoil shows in places considerable accumulation of calcareous and calco-ferrous material which do not disintegrate in water. The general distribution of this soil given below would show that it is situated mainly along the course of the old Bhairab. Such soil is situated in the following areas:

Karimpur: Entire southern portion, south of the road taking off from Ferry Ghat Nārāyanpur to Karimpur and to Raghunāthpur on Māthābhāngā.

Tehatta: Entire north and north-eastern part, east of the road from G.T.S. Krishnanagar to Tehatta, to Taranipur and the east of the loop of Jalangi.

Chāprā: North-western corner bounded by Tehatta-Chapra Road and a line approximately from Basanduliā to Padmamālā situated on Chāprā-Bājipur Road.

Hānskhāli: On the south-east and north-west corner.

Rānāghāt: On its east and north-east portion.

Chākdaha: On its south-eastern fringe.

Haringhātā: Its eastern half.

The different soil characteristics which give these soil associations their distinguishing features and which can be easily distinguished in the field are given in the following table.

	GANGES RIVERINE LANDS	GANGES FLAT LANDS	GANGES LOW LANDS
Profile development	Immature	Slightly mature	Lacustrine deposit
Colour	Olive: Olive-brown to light olive-brown. 5Y4/4; 2.5y-4/4 to 2.5Y5/4	Olive to olive-grey, light olive-brown to dark grey-brown and yellowish-brown to dark-brown 5Y5/4 to 5Y5/2, 2.5Y4/4 to 2.5Y/4 and 2.5Y/4 and 10YR4/3 to 10YR5/4	Olive-grey; olive to black; light olive-brown to dark grey-brown. 5Y5/2 to 5Y2.1 to 2.5Y4/4 to 2.5Y4.2 and 10YR4/3.
Concretions	Nil	Nil. In a few places, evidence of beginning of dolomite nodulation can be met, when digging ponds at a depth of 8' to 10'.	Very small gritty particles of iron manganese concretions. Dolomite concretions are rare but may be met at a few places.
Layerization	Distinct, irregular, alluvial layers	Clear cut layers. The layers becoming heavier with depth.	Clear layers.
pH	7.0-8.5	5.5-7.5 (depending upon the degree of leaching)	5.5-8.0 (depending upon the accumulation of partially decomposed organic matter)

NADIA

	GANGES RIVERINE LANDS	GANGES FLAT LANDS	GANGES LOW LANDS
Lime as CaCo₃	1—4 per cent	0.5 per cent	1—4 per cent
Sesquioxide	Immobile	Very slightly mobile, moving downwards	Slightly mobile
Clay per cent	Average to low	Average to low; increase with depth	High, decreases with depth
Sol. Salts	Low, occasional patches of high salinity	Low	Higher
Lime saturation	Above 90 per cent	Above 80 per cent	Above 60 per cent
Drainage	Very good	Good	Impeded

GENERAL

The district is a flat alluvial plain and there are no marked botanical divisions in the district. The vegetation of Nadia district is, therefore, classified by the type of soil and its water-content and other biotic factors. The broad classification, therefore, may be :

- I. Vegetation on roadside and waste places;
- II. Vegetation on agricultural fields; and
- III. Vegetation in pools, ponds and rivers.

I. VEGETATION ON ROADSIDE AND WASTE PLACES :

The most important feature of the roadside vegetation is the numerous exotic or indigenous trees; among these the following are common: *Ficus bengalensis* L, *Ficus religiosa* L, *Tamarindus indica* L, *Mangifera indica* L, *Litchi chinensis* Sonn., *Terminalia catappa* L, *Polvalthia longifolia* (Sonn.) Thw., *Bombay ceiba* L, *Swietenia mahogoni* L, *Swietenia macrophylla* King, *Mimosa elengi* L, *Alstonia scholaris* Br., *Azadirachta indica* Juss., *Pongamia pinnata* (L) Pierre, *Pterygota alata* R. Br., *Putranjiva roxburghii* Wall, *Hibiscus populneus* L., *Samanea saman* (Jacq.) Merr., *Pterospermum acerifolium* Willd, *Kleinhovia Bosipita* L, *Lagerstroemia speciosa* (L.) Pers., *Acacia arabica* Willd, *Artocarpus integra* (Thunb.) Merr., *Delonix regia* Ref., *Spondias pinnata* (L.F.) Kurz., Coconut (*Cocos nucifera* L), Arecanut (*Areca catechu*), Wild date-palm (*Phoenix sylvestris* Roxb.), Palmyra-palm (*Borassus flabellifer* L) and different species of bamboos are also found. Many other exotic palms are grown in the gardens for ornamental purposes.

Flowering plants in the gardens include the following common perennials, besides many indigenous and exotic annuals: *Michelia champaka* L (Chāmpā), *Artabotrys uncinatus* (Lamk) Merr. (Kāñhālī Chāmpā), *Hibiscus mutabilis* L (Sthalpadma), *Hibiscus rosa-sinensis* L (Jabā), *Murraya paniculata* L Jacq. (Kāminī), *Sesbania grandiflora* Pers. (Bak), *Quisqualis indica* L (Rangoon creeper), *Ixora coccinea* Linn., *Ixora parviflora* Vahl (Rangan), *Nyctanthes arbor-tristis* L (Sephālikā), *Jasminum pubescens* Willd (Kunda), *Jasminum sambac* Ait (Bel), *Ervatamia divaricata* (L) Burk (Tagar), *Gardenia florida* Willd (Gandharāj), *Bougainvillea spectabilis* Willd (Bāgān bilās), different species and varieties of Rose (*Rosa centifolia* L, etc.).

The following plants are common on waste places: *Cyperus kyllinga* Endl., *Cyperus rotundus* L, *Cynodon dactylon* Pers., different species of *Panicum*, *Commelina benghalensis* L, *Papieromia pellucida* Kunth, *Pouzolmia indica* Gaud, *Amaranthus spinosus* L, *Boerhavia diffusa* L, *Cassia tora* L, *Cassia fistula* L, *Acalypha indica* L, *Pedilanthus tithymaloides* Poit., *Abutilon indicum* Sweet, *Evolvulus nummularius* L, *Heliotropium indicum* L, *Ecbolium linneanum* Kurz, *Tridax procumbens* L, *Achyranthes aspera* L, *Chrozophora plicata* Juss., *Croton bonplandianum* Bailly, *Euphorbia pilulifera* L, *Oldenlandia corymbosa* L, *Dentella repens* (L) Frost, *Jatropha gossypifolia* L, *Datura metal* L, *Xanthium strumarium* L, *Calotropis gigantea* R. Br., *Clerodendrum viscosum* Vent, *Lantana camara* var. *aculeata* (L) Moldenke, etc.

II. VEGETATION ON AGRICULTURAL FIELDS :

In the agricultural fields many species of plants occur as weeds. The weed flora of the paddy fields on high lands or dried up fields after the paddy season differ from the low marshy fields of the rainy season. On the first types of fields are to be seen: *Croton bonplandianum* Baill, *Phyllanthus niruri* L, *Euphorbia pilulifera* L, *Euphorbia parviflora* L, *Oldenlandia corymbosa* L, *Dentella repens* (L) Forst, *Brachiaria reptans* (L) Gard. et Hubb. *Cyperus rotundus* L, *Cyperus pygmaeus* Rottb are common. In the low agricultural fields, marshy or flooded, besides many algae and two Pteridophytes, *Ceratopteris thalictroides* Brogn. and *Marsilea quadrifolia* L, the following angiosperms are common, *Hygrophila auriculata* (Schumacher) Heine, *Ipomoea aquatica* Forsk., *Nymphoides cristatum* (Roxb.) O. Ktze, *Utricularia stellaris* L. f., *Jussiaea repens* L, *Jussiaea parennis* (L) Brenan, *Aeschynomene indica* L, *Commelina benghalensis*, etc.

The cultivated crops consist of vegetables of various kinds, cereals, pulses, fibre plants, oil-seed crops and other food accessories. Common vegetables are the following: Potato (*Solanum tuberosum* L); Brinjal (*Solanum melongena* L); Patal (*Trichosanthes dioica* Roxb.); Gourd (*Cucurbita maxima* Duch.); White Pumpkin (*Benincasa hispida* Thunb. Cogn.); Bottle Gourd (*Legaria leucantha*) (Duch) Rusby; Cucumber (*Cucumis sativus* L); Pui (Basella rubra L); Tomato (*Lycopersicon esculentum* Mill.); Radish (*Raphanus sativus* L); Carrot (*Daucus carota* L); Beet (*Beta vulgaris* L); Cabbage, Cauliflower and Knol-Khol (different varieties of *Brassica oleracea* L). Rice (*Oryza sativa* L)

is the most important cereal cultivated in the district. Wheat (*Triticum vulgare* Vill); Maize (*Zea mays* L) and Barley (*Hordeum vulgare* L) are occasionally cultivated. *Musur* (*Lens esculenta* Moen), *Khesārī* (*Lathyrus sativas* L); *Mung* (*Phaseolus radiatus* L and *P. radiatus* var. *aureus* Pr.); *Matar* (*Pisum sativum* L) and *Gram* (*Cicer arietinum* L) are cultivated as field crops. *Arhar* (*Cajanus cajan* (L) Mill. sq.) is cultivated to a small extent. Among the oil-yielding crops different varieties of mustard, for example *Brassica nigra* Koch., *Brassica Juncea* Hook. f. et Thom. and *Brassica campestris* L. var. *sarson* Pr. are cultivated as cold weather crop. Cultivation of Sugarcane (*Saccharum officinarum* L) is common in this district.

III. VEGETATION IN POOLS, PONDS AND RIVERS :

Besides many algae, the following *Pteridophytes*—*Azolla pinnata* R. Br., *Salvinia cucullata* Roxb. and *Marsilea quadrifolia* L. are common in the ponds of this district. Among them the first two are free-floating and the third one is commonly found in the edges of ponds and ditches. A list of common aquatic *angiosperms* is given below: *Nymphaea nouchali* Burm. f., *Nymphaea stellata* Willd., *Nelumbo nucifera* Gaertn., *Aeschynomene indica* L., *Aeschynomene aspera* L., *Neptunia oleracea* Lour., *Jussiaea repens* L., *Trapa bispinosa* Roxb., *Enhydra fluctuans* Lour., *Nympoides cristatum* (Roxb.) O. Ktze, *Ipomoea aquatica* Forsk., *Utricularia stilaris* L.f., *Ceratophyllum demersum* L., *Hydrilla verticillata* (L.f.) Royle, *Vallisneria spirrallis* L., *Pistia* L., *Lemna trisulca* L., *Spirodela polyrrhiza* (L) Schleid, *Eichhornia crassipes* (Mart) Solms, etc.

At present there are hardly any forest in the district, but early references show that the Sunderban forest at one time spread northwards up to Nadia. Even as late as the middle of the 18th century there were forest in the south and south-eastern parts of Nadia where Maharaja Krishna Chandra Roy often led hunting expeditions. From the account of Stavorinus (1785) we find that there were forests containing tigers and wild beasts in Chākdaha thana of the district. Over the banks of the Māthābhāngā there were large number of trees like a forest belt and these trees and forests were cut down to prevent their falling into the river to keep the water discharge clear. Bishop Heber's account (1824) show that there was extensive tract of forests in Krishnaganj thana. At present all the forest has been cut down owing to increase of population. But even up to 1942 there was a jungle

Forests

in Betai (P.S. Tehatta) abounding in wild boars where the game of pig-sticking was sometimes practised.

Since 1947, however, some headway has been made by the Forest Department of the State in acquiring pieces of land for forest plantation. The following report of progress made in the matter of planting forests in the district has been obtained by courtesy of the Conservator-General of Forests, West Bengal. There are no reserved or private forests in the district. No area has been vested by private parties yet for raising forest plantations. The Bengal Private Forests Act has not been extended to the district. There are six plantations on Government acquired land, which are as follows:

(1) Bethuādhari and Jagpur plantations, 1946-51. Area: 602.42 acres. The principal species planted in this plantation are teak, *sissoo* and *gāmār* for timber and *minjri*, *bābul* and *arjun* for fuel.

(2) Hijuli at Rānāghāt, 1949-51. Area: 85.33 acres. The principal species planted in this plantation are teak, *sissoo*, *minjri*, *bābul*, *arjun* and *ākāśmani*.

(3) The Debagrām plantation, 1950. Area: 76.59 acres. The principal species planted in this plantation are *gāmār*, *bābul*, *minjri*, etc.

(4) The Mahatpur plantation, 1952. Area: 519.74 acres. The principal species planted are teak, *gāmār*, *sissoo*, *minjri*, *arjun* and *ākāśmani*.

(5) The Bāhādurpur plantation, 1953. Area: 397.00 acres. The principal species planted are the same as in No. (4).

(6) The Khisma Rādhākāntapur plantation. Area: 242.00 acres. The principal species planted are as in No. (4).

The total area under plantation is, therefore, 1,923 acres or about 3 sq. miles. The timber plantations are teak, *sissoo*, *gāmār*, *toon* and *simul*, and the fuel species are *arjun*, *nim*, *bābul*, *cassia siamea*, *jām* and *debdāru*.

The exotic species that are being tried are *nārikel* (*sterculia alata*) and *khair* from North Bengal and wattle from Australia.

The Forest Department has no teak plantation more than 10 years old. The area under pure teak is about 120 acres. Wherever the terrain of the country is undulating, plantations are raised on ridge lines along the contour.

FAUNA

With the advance of cultivation wild animals have become scarce in the district, the only wild animal occasionally to be met with are a few jackals and leopards and some wild pigs. Black-faced monkeys (*hamumān*) are still to be found mostly near human habitation.

Game-birds

Of the game-birds some snipes and wild ducks and a few other kinds of aquatic birds are to be found in the marshy and *bil* areas in the district. Some partridges are to be found within the grassy patches.

Reptiles

Python and cobras are to be found all over the district.

Fish

Fish abounded in most of the rivers and *bils*. Following is a list of different types of fish available.

Scientific Name	English Name	Bengali Name
<i>Catla Catla</i> (Ham)	Catla	<i>Kātlā</i>
<i>Cirrhina Mrigala</i> (Ham)	Hamilton's Carp	<i>Mirgel, Mirkā, Mirik</i>
<i>Labeo Calbasu</i> (Ham buch)	Carp	<i>Kālbāsu, Kalbaus, Kirsā</i>
<i>Labeo Bata</i> (Ham)	Carp	<i>Bhāngan bātā, Bhāgnā</i>
<i>Cirrhina reba</i> (Ham)	Carp	<i>Rāichari bātā, Rāilbātā, Kharke bātā, Reba</i>
<i>Labeo rohita</i> (Ham buch)	Carp	<i>Rohu, Rohit, Rui</i>
<i>Notopterus notopterus</i> (Pallas)	Feather back	<i>Pholoi, Phali</i>
<i>Notopterus chitala</i> (Ham)	Feather back	<i>Chital</i>
<i>Barbus Barma</i> (Ham)	Carp	<i>Saral punti, Sarṇa punti</i>
<i>Barbus conchoni</i> (Ham)	The Rosy (Red) Splendid	<i>Kānchan punti</i>
<i>Barbus tetrapagrus</i> (MC. Clall)	Barb of aquarist	<i>Tit punti, Tite punti</i>
<i>Gadusia chapra</i> (Ham)	Carp Mimow	<i>Khairā, Coori, Chaila</i>
<i>Anabus testudineus</i> (Bloch)	Herring	
	Climbing perch	<i>Koi</i>

Scientific Name	English Name	Bengali Name
<i>Hete ropneustis fossilis</i> (Bloch)	Cat fish	<i>Singh, Singhi</i>
<i>Clarias batrachus</i> (Linn)	Clarid catfish	<i>Māgur</i>
<i>Ophiocephalus punctatus</i> (Bloch)	Black Baboosi of Europeans, Murrel	<i>Laṭā, Ṭāki</i>
<i>Ophicephalus gachua</i> (Ham)	-do-	<i>Chang</i>
<i>Colisa fasciatus</i> (Bl. schm)	The striped/banded Giant Geurami of aquarist	<i>Khalisā</i>
<i>Wallago otter</i> (Bloch)	Fresh water shark	<i>Boāl, Boyāli, Boyāri</i>
<i>Tetrodon cutcutia</i> (Ham Buch)	Globe fish puffer	<i>Ṭepā, Kaṭkaṭe</i>
<i>Lepidocephalichthys Guntea</i> (Ham)	Loaches	<i>Gunṭe, Poiā</i>
<i>Mastacembalus pancalus</i> (Ham)	Mud Eel	<i>Pānkāl, Torsā, Gochi</i>
<i>Amblypharyngodon mola</i> (Ham)	—	<i>Mourālā, Mowā, Mowkū</i>
<i>Pseudentropius muris</i> (Ham)	Cat fish	<i>Gāruā, Garchā, Puniābāchā</i>
<i>Amphipnous Guchia</i> (Hem. Buch)	Mud Eel	<i>Kuchiā, Kunche</i>
<i>Lois gnathus ruconius</i> (Ham Buch)	Slip mouth	<i>Rukunchāndā</i>
<i>Silonia silondia</i> (Ham)	Silver belly fresh water shark	<i>Shilond, Shilon</i>
<i>Ambassis nama</i> (Ham Buch)	Glass Fish	<i>Kāṭchāndā, Ṭākchāndā</i>
<i>Ompok bimaculatus</i> (Bluck)	Butter fish	<i>Kānee Pābdā</i>
<i>Bagarius giuris</i> (Hamilton)	Goonche, Fresh water tiger shark	<i>Bāghā āiḍ, Bag āiḍ</i>
<i>Clossogobius guiris</i> (Hamilton)	Gobies	<i>Bele</i>
<i>Ophioaphalus morulus</i> (Ham)	Merssels, Snake headed Mussel	<i>Sāl, Gajār</i>

Scientific Name	English Name	Bengali Name
<i>Mystus tengra</i> (Ham)	---	Gujri tengrā, Bajari tengrā
<i>Mystus vittatus</i> (Block)	---	Pati tengrā
<i>Mystus Blakesi</i> Dey	---	Tengrā
<i>Pseudentropius</i> <i>garua</i> (Ham)	Cat fish	Bātāsī
<i>Esomus dansuis</i> (Ham)	Flying Barb	Dānrikā, Dadhikā
<i>Anguilla bengalensis</i> (Gray & Handon)	Fresh water Eel	Bāim
<i>Wandus nandus</i> (Cuv. & Val)	The Nandus	Mene, Bhedā
<i>Xonotodon cancala</i> (Hamilton)	Gar Fish	Kānkale, Boge
<i>Mystus seenghala</i> (Sylles)	Fresh water shark	Aiḍ
<i>Hilsa ilisha</i> (Ham)	Indian Shad	Hilsā, Ilish
<i>Engraulis Telara</i> (Ham Buch)	Anchovies	Phessā, Teltāprā, Teltāmpri
<i>Rita Mita</i> (Ham)	Rita	Ritā, Ritē
<i>Pangasius panganius</i> (Ham)	Fresh water shark	Pāngās
<i>Sciæna Coitor</i> (Ham Buch)	---	Bholā
<i>Lates Calcarifer</i> (Bloch)	Cock up	Bhetki
<i>Crossocheilus latia</i> (Ham)	---	Kālā bātā, Bātke
<i>Palaemon careinus</i>	Prawn	Galdā Chingḍi
<i>Panaeus casinatus</i>	---	Bāgdā Chingḍi
<i>Metapenaeus</i> <i>brevicornis</i>	Shrimp	Kucho Chingḍi
<i>Paratelphusa</i> <i>spinigera</i>	Fresh water crab	Kānkḍā

CLIMATE

The climate of this district is characterized by an oppressive hot summer, high humidities all the year round and well distributed rainfall during the south-west monsoon season. The cold season is from about the middle of November to the end of

February. The period from March to May is the summer season. The south-west monsoon season commences about the beginning of June and lasts till the end of September. October and the first half of November constitute the post-monsoon season.

Records of rainfall in the district are available for only three stations for periods ranging from 63 to 91 years. The details of the rainfall at these stations and for the district as a whole are given in tables 1 and 2. The average annual rainfall in the district is 1310.4 mm. (51.59"). The rainfall is not uniform throughout the district. Haringhātā in the southern part of the district gets only 1110.4 mm. (43.72") on the average in a year while Krishnanagar, further north in the middle portion of the district, has an annual rainfall of 1473.6 mm. (58.01"). Unfortunately, all the three rainfall stations are situated in the southern half of the district. However, from the general trend, it would appear that in the northern parts of the district rainfall may be significantly higher than that at Krishnanagar (that is, more than 1473.6 mm. or 58.01"). The rainfall during the monsoon season June to September constitutes about 71 per cent of the annual rainfall, August being the rainiest month. The variation in the rainfall from year to year is not large. In the fifty-year period from 1901 to 1950, the highest annual rainfall amounting to 149 per cent of the normal occurred in 1913, while 1935 was the year with the lowest rainfall which was 65 per cent of the normal. In the same fifty-year period, rainfall less than 80 per cent of the normal occurred in three years, two of them being consecutive. Considering the individual stations, rainfall less than 80 per cent of the normal occurred in five consecutive years during 1934-38 at Rānāghāt and in four consecutive years at Rānāghāt and Haringhātā during 1942-45 and 1918-21 respectively. Two consecutive years of such low rainfall occurred once at Krishnanagar. It will be seen from table 2 that the annual rainfall in the district was between 1100 and 1600 mm. (43.31 and 62.99") in 36 years out of 50.

On an average there are 75 rainy days (that is, days with rainfall of 2.5 mm. or more) in a year. This number varies from 68 at Haringhātā in the south to 81 at Krishnanagar.

The heaviest rainfall in 24 hours recorded at any station in the district was 293.9 mm. (11.57") at Krishnanagar on September 20, 1900.

Temperature

There is only one meteorological observatory in the district and it is located at Krishnanagar. Records of the station are available for a long period of years. Temperatures and other meteorological conditions at this station may be taken as representative of those in the district as a whole. The cold season commences by about the middle of November when temperatures begin to decrease. January is the coldest month with the mean daily maximum temperature at 25.9°C (78.6°F) and the mean daily minimum temperature at 11.0°C (51.8°F). In association with passing western disturbances in the cold season, the district is sometimes affected by cold waves and on such occasions the minimum temperature may go down to 3 or 4°C (37.4 or 39.2°F). By about the end of February the temperatures begin to rise. While the night temperatures reach a maximum only in the south-west monsoon season, day temperatures usually reach a maximum in April when the mean daily maximum temperature is 37.1°C (98.8°F). The heat in summer is often oppressive on account of the high moisture content in the air. There is welcome relief from the heat although only temporarily when thunder-showers occur on some days in this season. With the onset of the south-west monsoon by about the first week of June, the day temperatures drop appreciably but the night temperatures continue to rise. With the increased humidity in the air and continuing high night temperatures, even during the monsoon season, the weather is often uncomfortable in between the rains. The monsoon withdraws early in October and temperatures begin to drop. The drop, particularly in night temperatures, is more rapid from about the middle of November.

The highest maximum temperature recorded at Krishnanagar was 45.9°C (114.8°F) on May 6, 1960. The lowest minimum was 3.9°C (39.0°F) on January 19, 1934 and on February 5, 1886.

Humidity

Humidity is high throughout the year. But in the summer months, March and April, the relative humidity is comparatively less, particularly in the afternoon, being about 40 to 45 per cent.

Cloudiness

Skies are moderately to heavily clouded in May. In the south-west monsoon season the cloudiness increases and skies are heavily clouded or overcast. From October the cloudiness decreases and in the following six months skies are clear or lightly clouded.

Winds

Winds are generally light with a slight increase in force in the summer and monsoon seasons. Winds blow mostly from directions between south and east in May and in the south-west mon-

soon season. In the post-monsoon and the cold seasons winds are light and variable in direction. In March and April they are mainly from directions between south and west.

Storms and depressions from the Bay of Bengal in May and the post-monsoon season often reach the district or its neighbourhood causing high winds and widespread heavy rains. Depressions in the south-west monsoon season also affect the district. Thunderstorms are common in the hot season. These are sometimes violent and are accompanied with heavy rain, occasional hail and squalls. These thundersqualls usually come from the north-west and are hence called 'Nor'westers', locally known as *Kālbaisākhī*. During these thunderstorms there is a sharp drop in temperature. In the south-west monsoon season also, the rainfall is often associated with thunder. Occasional fog occurs in the cold season.

Tables 3, 4 and 5 give the temperature and humidity, mean wind speed and the frequency of special weather phenomena respectively for Krishnanagar.

Special
weather
phenomena

TABLE 1
Normals and Extremes of Rainfall in Nadia District

Station	No. of years of data	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Annual	Highest annual rainfall as % of normal & year**	Lowest annual rainfall as % of normal & year**	Heaviest rainfall in 24 hours*	Date
Ranaghat	a	12.7	27.2	30.0	70.4	140.5	224.8	253.2	276.1	208.3	87.1	13.7	3.6	1347.6	177 (1942)	61 (1942)	254.0	1900 Sep. 20
	b	0.8	1.9	2.0	4.0	7.0	11.7	15.3	15.2	10.8	5.0	0.9	0.3	74.9				
Krishnanagar	a	12.5	27.4	39.9	67.3	159.0	161.4	286.4	271.0	196.6	122.7	25.9	3.6	1473.6	156 (1905)	63 (1904)	293.9	1900 Sep. 20
	b	1.0	1.8	2.2	4.2	8.0	13.0	16.6	15.8	11.2	5.5	1.2	0.3	80.8				
Haringhata	a	9.1	18.0	26.7	48.5	99.3	196.6	207.8	242.3	153.2	89.1	17.5	2.3	1110.4	179 (1939)	52 (1935)	279	1956 Sep. 26
	b	0.8	1.4	1.7	3.5	6.1	10.9	13.7	14.4	9.3	5.0	0.8	0.2	67.8				
Nadia (District)	a	11.4	24.2	32.2	62.1	132.9	227.6	249.1	263.1	186.0	99.6	19.0	3.2	1310.4	149 (1913)	65 (1935)		
	b	0.9	1.7	2.0	3.9	7.0	11.9	15.2	15.1	10.4	5.2	1.0	0.3	74.6				

(a) Normal rainfall in mm. (b) Average number of rainy days (days with rain of 2.5 mm. or more).

*Based on all available data up to 1956.

**Years given in brackets.

TABLE 2

Frequency of Annual Rainfall in Nadia District
(Date 1901-1950)

Range in mm.	No. of years	Range in mm.	No. of years
801-900	1	1401-1500	7
901-1000	1	1501-1600	4
1001-1100	4	1601-1700	4
1101-1200	8	1701-1800	2
1201-1300	8	1801-1900	2
1301-1400	9	1901-2000	1

TABLE 3

Normals of Temperature and Relative Humidity: Krishnanagar

Month	Mean daily maximum temperature	Mean daily minimum temperature	Highest maximum ever recorded		Lowest minimum ever recorded		Relative humidity	
	°C	°C	°C	Date	°C	Date	%	%
January	25.9	11.0	34.4	1912 Jan. 24	3.9	1934 Jan. 19	76	56
February	28.4	13.2	37.8	1896 Feb. 28	3.9	1886 Feb. 5	72	48
March	34.0	18.8	42.2	1941 Mar. 30	7.8	1898 Mar. 5	66	39
April	37.1	23.3	45.0	1954 Apr. 25	13.9	1886 Apr. 6	70	46
May	36.1	24.1	45.9	1960 May 6	16.7	1893 May 8	71	64
June	33.9	25.8	42.8	1957 Jun. 1	20.0	1907 Jun. 1	81	79
July	38.2	25.9	37.2	1949 Jul. 1	22.2	1955 Jul. 2	84	85
August	32.1	25.8	36.7	1957 Aug. 21	21.1	1949 Aug. 6	85	84
September	32.4	25.6	37.2	1955 Sep. 20	21.1	1887 Sep. 25	83	83
October	32.0	22.8	36.7	1960 Oct. 13	14.4	1935 Oct. 31	76	77
November	29.2	16.8	36.1	1952 Nov. 3	8.3	1934 Nov. 30	72	66
December	26.2	11.8	32.2	1954 Dec. 7	5.0	1937 Dec. 28	76	61
Annual	31.6	20.5					76	66

*Hours I.S.T.

TABLE 4

Mean Wind Speed in km./hr.: Krishnanagar

Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Annual
1.9	2.7	5.3	8.9	10.3	8.1	6.4	5.6	4.3	2.9	1.9	1.8	5.0

TABLE 5
Special Weather Phenomena : Krishnanagar

Mean No. of days with	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Annua.
Thunder	1.1	3.4	5.2	9.0	16.2	20.7	16.3	16.4	17.1	7.1	0.1	0.2	112.8
Hail	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.4	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2
Dust-Storm	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.6	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6
Squall	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.7	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.9
Fog	1.7	1.7	2.9	0.5	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	1.4	8.6

CHAPTER II

HISTORY

It is difficult to know the geographical location of the present Nadia district in ancient times as geographical names and boundaries have changed leaving hardly any trace of ancient history in the land at present included in the district. It is well-known that the currents of ancient Indian history flowed through the geographical area known in modern times as Bengal or West Bengal but the connexion between that mainstream of ancient history and what might have been Nadia in ancient times is tenuous. Ancient writers refer to two countries in this region, namely Gauḍa and Vaṅga. The localities forming the Gauḍa country according to the late Purāṇic tradition are: (1) Navadvīp (in Nadia district), (2) Shāntipur (in Nadia district), (3) Maulāpattana (Hugli district) and (4) Kanakapattana (Kātoyā in Bardhamān district). The tradition would comprise in the Gauḍa country the present Murshidābād district together with parts of the Nadia, Bardhamān and Hugli districts of West Bengal.¹ A later work describes the Gauḍa country as lying between the country of Vaṅga and Bhūbaṇṣa. The same work describes Vaṅga as the land extending from the sea (the Bay of Bengal) to the Brahmaputra.² Kālidāsa in *Raghuvamśa* places the Vaṅga amidst the stream of the Gaṅgā. The Vaṅga of Pāla and Sena records seems to have a smaller tract than the old territory known to *Raghuvamśa*. Even a part of the delta embracing Jessore or certain adjoining tracts came to be distinguished as Upavaṅga. Vaṅga proper was now restricted to the eastern part of the Gangetic delta. In a later Sena inscription Vaṅga was divided into Vikrampurabhāga and Nāvya. Nāvya, which means accessible by boat or ship, is a fitting designation of the south-east part of the Gangetic delta which is a labyrinth of rivers and creeks.³ It is worthwhile mentioning here another view: "The indefiniteness of Vaṅga as a geographical appellation noticeable in early literature disappeared. The entire triangular tract bounded by the Bhāgīrathī, Padmā and the Meghnā estuary, definitely came to bear the impress of the ethnic name Vaṅga. Thus in the *Bṛhat-*

ANCIENT
PERIOD

¹ D. C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, Delhi, 1971, p. 122.

² *Loc. cit.*

³ H. C. Roychaudhuri in *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, ed. R. C. Majumdar, Dacca, 1943, pp. 15-16.

Saṁhita, a work of the sixth century A.D., mention is made of Upavaṅga, which is commonly identified with some portions of the Gangetic Delta.¹ From these authorities we come to the conclusion that present Nadia district was sometimes part of Vaṅga and sometimes of Gauḍa, but not always part of one or the other, and this vagueness has to be accepted as the state of things before the attack on Nadia by Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyar in circa A.D. 1202.

The fact that there was a State in the delta of the Gaṅgā which was powerful enough in the 4th century B.C. to strike awe in the indomitable heart of Alexander, the Macedonian conqueror, is known from Greek sources. It was the Gangaridae State which could muster on the field an army of about 20,000 cavalry, 2,00,000 foot soldiers, 2,000 four-horse battle chariots and 3,000 battle elephants. The existence of this State till the end of the first century A.D. is proved by the statement in *Periplus*² and by the *Geographika Indika* of Klaudios Ptolemaios.

Indian sources furnish no material for the history of the Vaṅga country till the rise of the Guptas. But the Greek and Roman sources continue to mention Gangaridae as a powerful State up to the middle of the third century A.D.

History turns a page with the advent of the Imperial Guptas. Vaṅga for the first time finds an epigraphic mention early in this period in the Meherauli Iron Pillar inscription of King Chandra who assumed the title of *ekādhirāja*.³ He engaged in battle in the Vaṅga country his enemies, who, uniting together, came against him. This is the first clear mention in an epigraphic record of the Vaṅga country ever being conquered by an outsider.

We are quite in the dark about the successors of the Gupta line in Vaṅga. Four copper plate grants found in Faridpur district (adjacent to Nadia and in Bānglādesh) and one found in Barddhaman district disclose the names of three independent kings having paramount titles, namely, Gopachandra, Dharmāditya and Samāchāradeva. A seal of Samāchāradeva has been found at Nālandā.⁴ The relation between Vainyagupta and the Gopachandra group of kings cannot be determined, but as many

¹ S. B. Chaudhuri, *Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1955, p. 182.

² W. H. Schoff, *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, New York, 1912, p. 47.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 141, text line 5. *Ekādhirāja* means Supreme King.

⁴ *M.A.S.I.*, No. 66, p. 31.

names of officers are common to both, it may be presumed that this group directly succeeded Vainyagupta in the same territory. The period covered by these four reigns is nearly a hundred years from about A.D. 500 to A.D. 600. The political history of Vaṅga for about 150 years thereafter is obscure till the veil lifts again with the rise of the Pālas.

After the eclipse of the reign of the Guptas of Magadha, Śaśāṅka became a powerful ruler of Gauḍa which generally meant a part of Bengal to the west of the Bhāgīrathī and at times included portions of North Bengal. Śaśāṅka contended for supremacy in Northern India first with the Maukharis and later with Harshavardhana. Shortly after the death of Śaśāṅka, his capital Karnaśuvarṇa, (identified with Rāṅgāmāṭi in Murshidabad district to the west of the Bhāgīrathī) was occupied by Bhāskara-varman, King of Kāmarūpa. The Kingdom of Karnaśuvarṇa might have comprised portions of Nadia, Barddhamān, Birbhum and Murshidabad districts.¹

A *Prākṛita Kāvya Gauḍavaho* by Vākpatirāja shows that Yaśovarman of Kanauj killed the king of Magadha and invaded the Vaṅga country. The king of Vaṅga, whose name cannot be ascertained, admitted defeat after a fierce fight.² The occurrence probably took place between A.D. 734 and 747.

The pall of darkness that hangs over the history of Vaṅga from the death of Samāchāradeva lifts again with the rise of the Pālas in the middle of the eighth century.

The Khalimpur copper plate³ of Dharmapāla states that the noblemen of the country elected Gopāla, son of Vapyata to be the king to obviate the state of anarchy described as *mātsyanyāya*.⁴ Though the Pālas ruled Bengal for about 400 years and a good number of epigraphs of the dynasty have been discovered, yet none of them make any clear statement of their origin or of the place where Gopāla I was elected king. No Pāla epigraph has been discovered in Nadia district. Whether Gopāla I or Dharmapāla held sway over Vaṅga or Nadia can only be surmised from the veiled references to their origin in epigraphs and literature.

¹ H. C. Ray, *The Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1931, p. 274.

² *Gauḍavaho*, ed. Sankar Panduranga Pandit, Verses 365-417.

³ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV, pp. 243-54.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Verse 4.

Dharmapala appears to have reigned for a little over thirty-two years. The last years of Dharmapala were peaceful. Though tolerant of all religious beliefs, Dharmapala was a great patron of Buddhism of the Mahayana school. He founded the Vikramasila Vihara in Magadha and a monastery at Odantapuri. The Somapura Vihara located at Paharpur was also founded by Dharmapala. According to Taranathi, Dharmapala founded fifty religious schools.¹ Dharmapala may rightly be called one of the great luminaries of Bengal. Inheriting a small kingdom of Vaṅga from his father, he, by the might of his arms and by the astuteness of his diplomacy, raised himself to the status of lord paramount of northern India. Dharmapala was succeeded in or about A.D. 810 by his son Devapala.

Devapala ruled for about forty years. His suzerainty was acknowledged from the Bay of Bengal to the borders of Kashmir, from the Himalayas to the Vindhya range and eastward as far as Kāmarūpa. He had diplomatic relationship with the rulers of Java, Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula.

Devapala was succeeded by his cousin Javapala's son Vighrahapala I (otherwise known as Śūrapala I). We know from the Monghyr grant of Devapala that he had a son named Rājyapala. Some authorities take this break in the line of succession as a palace revolution and indicate this as the reason for the decline of the glory of the Pala empire after Devapala.

For about one hundred and forty years after the death of Devapala his five weak successors, namely Vighrahapala I (c. A.D. 850-54), Nārāyaṇapala (c. A.D. 854-900), Rājyapala (c. A.D. 908-40), Gopala II (A.D. 940-60) and Vighrahapala II (c. A.D. 960-88) continued to rule over the Pala empire, gradually losing ground to the Gurjara Pratihāras who occupied Magadha and portions of northern Bengal.

After Vighrahapala II, his son Mahipala I of the Pala dynasty ascended the throne of the Pala empire. About A.D. 1021-25, Rājendra Chola invaded his territory after defeating Dharmapala of Daṇḍabhukti (identified with Dāntan in the Midnapur district), Raṇasūra in South Rāḍha and Govindachandra in Vaṅgāla. The battle between Mahipala I and Rājendra Chola was fought somewhere in North Rāḍha and was either indecisive or Rājendra

Chola was worsted. Anyway, Rājendra Chola retired and did not attempt to found an empire in Vaṅga or Rāḍha. The political fate of Vaṅga, which included Nadia district after this invasion, is not clear.

Mahipala I was succeeded by his son Nayapala, who was succeeded by Vighrahapala III (A.D. 1055-70).

After Vighrahapala III, his son Mahipala II ascended the throne in circa A.D. 1070. He had a short reign of about 5 years and was killed during or soon after a rebellion of Kaivartas in North Bengal by a chief named Divya or Divvoka who became king of North Bengal or Varendrī.

The next real king was Rāmapala who with great effort collected together as allies a number of previous vassals of the Pala empire and with the help of his maternal uncle Mathanadeva carried war into the very heart of Varendrī. It is not known whether Rāmapala occupied Vaṅga or was suzerain of Nadia district. He was in all likelihood in possession of the entire delta up to Murshidabad district. The *Rāmacharita* related the names of the vassal kings and allies who helped Rāmapala in reconquering Varendrī. Nearly all of them belonged to either Rāḍha or Magadha and unless we identify Vikramarāja of Devagrāma with Devagrāma in Nadia district (of which except the identity of the name there is no other proof), not a single ally was from the delta area of Vaṅga in which Nadia district is situated. The only hint of the Palas being in possession of some part of the delta comes from the Kamouli grant of Vaidyadeva who claims to have fought a naval battle on behalf of his master Kumārapala (son of Rāmapala who ascended the Pala throne in circa A.D. 1120) to quell a rebellion in South Bengal.

Kumārapala was succeeded by Gopala III. Hardly any fact of his reign is known. Gopala III was succeeded by his uncle Madanapala in circa A.D. 1140. He was attacked by the Choḍagaṅga from Orissa and by the Gahaḍavālas from the west. Most likely, Vijayasena, the founder of the Sena dynasty also attacked him in North Bengal. It was hardly possible for Madanapala to extend sway over Vaṅga which must have remained under the Varmans.¹ Govindapala, the last Pala king who ruled

Nayapala

(c. A.D. 1038-55)

Mahipala II
(A.D. 1070-75)

Śūrapala II
(c. A.D. 1075-?)

Rāmapala
(A.D. 1077-1120)

Gopala III
(c. A.D. 1125-1140)

Madanapala
(c. A.D. 1140-1155)

Mahipala I
(c. A.D. 988-1038).

¹ About 3 km. from Krishnanagar on the road to Navadwip is a site called Suvarṇa-Vihāra. Broken architectural stone-pieces are scattered over the area.

¹ The Varman dynasty laid the foundation of their kingdom in eastern Bengal on the ruins of the kingdoms of the Chandras about the time of the reign of Nayapala. The history of the Chandra kings of eastern and southern Bengal is far from clear. The third king of the dynasty, Trailokyachandra possibly ruled during A.D. 875-905.

over only a portion of Magadha, lost his kingdom in A.D. 1162. The last king of the Varman dynasty was Bhojavarman. In all likelihood, the Varmans were ousted by Vijayasena. The Sena kings have claimed themselves to be Brahmakshatriyas of Karmāṭa origin.¹ Vijayasena is the first real king of that dynasty. The family migrated to Rāḍha and lived for two generations somewhere in Rāḍha.² It is said that Sāmantasena, the grandfather of Vijayasena, established a hermitage on the bank of the Gaṅgā and lived there after distinguishing himself in battle in the Karmāṭa country.³ Hemantasena, the son of Sāmantasena, was the father of Vijayasena. He has been styled as Mahārājādhirāja in the Barrackpur copper plate of Vijayasena, but we do not know where he reigned. If Hemantasena had ruled at all, it must have been over a small principality, somewhere in Rāḍha.

How the Karmāṭas of South India came to carve out a kingdom in Rāḍha has been the subject matter of much conjecture, but hitherto no satisfactory answer to the question has been found. Two inscriptions of the reign of Vijayasena, two of the reign of Vallālasena, his son, eight of the reign of Lakshmanasena have hitherto come to light. In none of these is any indication given of how they came to occupy a position in Rāḍha. In the absence of any mention in the records of the Senas about the way in which they came to Bengal, we may look into the records of the Karmāṭa Chālukyas who had about the time crushed the Paramāra power and the Kalachuri power and were making a meteoric rise to influence the politics of northern India. A reading of the date of the Barrackpur copper plate of Vijayasena makes his date of accession uncertain by about thirty years. The two proposed dates are A.D. 1095 and A.D. 1125.⁴ It is hardly likely that Vijayasena could have made his debut so long Rāmapāla was alive, for, had he crossed swords with Rāmapāla, it would have been mentioned in the *Rāmacharita*. Moreover, we know that Rāmapāla was successfully meddling in the politics of Orissa and had defeated the eastern Gaṅga king and placed his own nominee there.⁵ Unless Rāmapāla had firm control over Rāḍha, a successful campaign in Orissa

¹ Vide 'Deopārā Inscription' in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, pp. 305 ff. Verse 5.

² Vide 'Sitahati copper plate' in *Inscriptions of Bengal*, No. 68 VV 3, 4.

³ Vide 'Deopara Inscription', Verses 8-9.

⁴ R. C. Majumdar, *Bāṅglā Desher Itihāsa*, p. 82.

⁵ R. C. Majumdar, *History of Bengal*, p. 163.

would have been impossible. We would, therefore, take the date of accession of Vijayasena as A.D. 1125. His grandfather Sāmantasena, therefore, is likely to have come into Rāḍha and founded his hermitage about fifty years earlier. There is reason to believe that Lakshmanasena, the grandson of Vijayasena, took part in the wars of Vijayasena in Kaliṅga and in Varendrī.¹ To have a grandson fit for battle when Vijayasena started his war of aggrandizement, must mean that Vijayasena was advanced in years by the time he occupied Rāḍha and East Bengal. The arrival of Sāmantasena in Rāḍha was thus at least fifty years prior to the accession of Vijayasena.

The rise of Vijayasena was helped by the uncertain political condition following the death of Rāmapāla. Anantavarman Chodagaṅga renewed his attacks and if the *Vallālacharita* is to be believed, Vijayasena helped Anantavarman Chodagaṅga. In all probability, this attack by Anantavarman finished the Varman dynasty and Vijayasena took possession of their territory. Vijayasena must have got hold of the territories of the Varmans without much effort because none of the Sena epigraphs speak of any war with the Varman kings.

Vijayasena was succeeded by his son Vallālasena in *circa* A.D. 1158. Vallālasena is remembered in Bengal for his peaceful pursuits. He is credited to be the author of two books, namely, *Dānasāgara*, a treatise on Smṛiti, and *Adbhutasāgara*, a book on astrology.

Bengal traditions recorded in the *Kulaśāstras* accredit Vallālasena as the creator of *kulinism* in Bengal. But it is strange that none of the two records of Vallālasena, nor any of the eight records of his son Lakshmanasena, make any reference to *kulinism* in naming the Brāhmaṇas who received the grants. This casts doubt on the veracity of the statements of the *Kulaśāstras*.

Vallālasena was succeeded by his son Lakshmanasena in *circa* A.D. 1179.² In the Sena dynasty he, for the first time, assumed the title of Gauḍeśvara. This would mean that the Pāla empire was finally liquidated by him. He defeated the Gahadavala king of Vārāṇasī, obtained subservience of the king of Kāmarūpa and conquered Kaliṅga. An inscription of his son Keśavasena

¹ Madhainagar (*Epi. Ind.* Vol. XXVI p. 1) and Bhowal copper plates (*J.A.S.B.* 1909, p. 467).

² We have not accepted the theory that this era La Sam with its epoch in A.D. 1119 began with the coronation of Lakshmanasena or had anything to do with him.

states that he planted pillars of victory at Puri, Allahabad and Varanasi.¹

Lakshmanasena fought during his entire life-time. In his youth he accompanied his grandfather during the latter's battles against the king of Gauda and against Kaliṅga. As a king he reduced the last vestige of the Pala power and also wrested Magadha from the Gahadavalas. In his old age, he was beset with difficulties. One Dommanapala declared independence in Khāḍi in the Sundarban area. His Magadhan empire was lost to the Turks and shortly before his death Nadia in Bengal proper was subject to a raid by the Turks under Iktiaruddin Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyar.

The attack on Nadia by Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyar² has been the subject-matter of much controversy. The only detailed account of the Muslim raid on Nadia is given by *Tabaqat-i-Nāsiri* written by Minhājuddin Abu Umār-i-Usmān who held high offices under the Sultans of Delhi. In A.D. 1241, he was appointed Chief Quazi of Delhi. The next year he proceeded to Lakhnauti (Gauda, probably renamed Lakshmanāvatī by Lakshmanasena) and resided there for two years. Evidently, during his stay at Lakhnauti he collected the materials of his book which was written later.

The source of information of Minhāj about the raid on Nadia were two brothers Nizamuddin and Samsamuddin whom Minhāj found at Lakhnauti and the description was heard by Minhāj forty-four years after the incident. The informants were two common soldiers and as the statement was made a long time afterwards its veracity is open to much doubt. The story as given by Minhāj is as follows according to the translation of Raverty.

"Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyar Khilji pressed on from Bihar and suddenly appeared before the city of Nudiah in such wise that no more than eighteen horsemen kept up with him, and the other troops followed after him. On reaching the gate of the city, Muhammad did not molest anyone, and proceeded onwards steadily and sedately, in such manner that the people of the place imagined that... his party were merchants and had brought horses for sale, and did not imagine that it was Muhammad

¹ J.A.S.B., 1896, pt. I, p. 11.

² circa A.D. 1202 (vide R. C. Majumdar, *Bāṅglā Desher Itihāsa*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1973 B.S., p. 100).

Bakhtiyar, until he reached the entrance to the palace of Rae Lakhmaniah, when he drew his sword and commenced on onslaught on the unbelievers" (p. 557). It is stated that Lakshmanasena was then taking his meals. So sudden was this surprise that he merely fled away by the back door. In the meantime, the main body of Muhammad's force arrived and the city was sacked. Minhāj further states that "Rai Lakhmaniah got away towards Sankanat and Bang, and there the period of his reign came to a termination shortly afterwards. His descendants up to this time (i.e. c. 1243 A.D.) are rulers in the country of Bang."

R. D. Banerji rejected this story as myth on the following among other grounds:

- (1) There is no proof that Nudiah was Navadvīp.
- (2) Even if we admit the identity, Navadvīp was never a Sena capital.
- (3) It was impossible for an army to march upon Navadvīp without defeating the advance guards of Lakshmanasena. If Muhammad had proceeded from Bihār along the Gaṅgā by the way of Rajmahal, then he would have had to meet the main force of Lakshmanasena near Lakshmanāvatī which at that time lay on the right bank of the Bhāgīrathī. Passage of a small army through the fastnesses of Jhārkhand was at that time well-nigh impossible.

(4) Sultan Mughisuddin Yuzbak conquered Nadia fifty years after Muhammad's alleged raid and issued a new type of coin. Another version of the conquest of Nadia is given by Isāmi in his book *Futuh-us-Salātin*. This states that Muhammad roamed about masquerading as a merchant. Rāi Lakhmaniah heard that a Tartar merchant had brought for sale horses and other commodities. Hearing this, the king went out of his palace to the merchant to see his things. There he was suddenly surrounded and taken prisoner after the body-guards were killed.

Of these two statements, that of Minhāj is at least verified to be correct in part. The sons of Lakshmanasena did rule in East Bengal after the alleged incident. This fact Minhāj knew for certain from the political sources in Lakhnauti to which he had access. Minhāj's account does not say that Lakshmanasena was taken prisoner, while the account of Isāmi compiled fifty years later says so. This obviously means that as with time the

Muslim hold on Bengal was increasing, the story of the attack on and the discomfiture of the last great king of this area was twisted in a manner suited to the vanity of the conquerors.

While later history shows that the raid on Nadia by Muhammad Bakhtiyar started an epoch in the history of Bengal, the immediate effect of that raid on Nadia does not appear to have been very much perceptible. According to the colophon of a manuscript of the *Saduktikarmāṃita*, Lakshmanasena ruled till A.D. 1205, and one or possibly two land grants of Lakshmanasena issued after the raid ascribe all the usual epithets to him. According to *Tabāqat-i-Nāsiri*, the dynasty of Lakshmanasena ruled in Vaṅga (Bang) till at least A.D. 1245 or possibly till A.D. 1260. Two sons of Lakshmanasena are known by their copper plate grants. They are Viśvarūpasena and Keśavasena. In their copper plate grants¹, they have both claimed to have fought victorious battles against the Muslim invaders. It appears from *Tabāqat-i-Nāsiri* that the Muslim kingdom founded by Bakhtiyar included only a portion of Rāḍha and a portion of Varendri.² No portion of Vaṅga was occupied by the Muslims till at least A.D. 1255. Nadia district, therefore, continued to remain under the Sena kings till this date. It appears from commemorative coins issued by Ikhtiaruddin Yuzbak Tughral Khan or Mughisuddin Yuzbak that Nadia was conquered by him in A.D. 1255. This conquest perhaps only was of the territory around Navadvīp for in the list of the *Sarkārs* given in Todar Mall's rent roll of 1582 the area of Nadia district is split into two *Sarkārs*, *Sarkār Mahmudābād* which included northern Nadia and *Sarkār Sātgāon* which included the real deltaic Bengal, that is, 24-parganas, western Nadia, south-western Murshidabad. The remainders of the district of Nadia comprising the southern portion was in *Sarkār Sulaimanabad*.³ The conquest of Sātgāon (Saptagrām) by Bahram-It-gin Zaffar Khan in A.D. 1298 during the reign of Ruknuddin Kaikaus might have extended the sway of the Muslim king of Lakhnauti to the area of Nadia included in *Sarkār Sātgāon* of Todar Mall's rent roll. The last king to bear a Sena name till now known is Madhusena who is mentioned with all the royal epithets in

¹ *Śaśāsa Prithimimān prathitavīra—varggāgrani sagayayavanānvayapralaya-kāla-rudro nripati*, vide *Journal and proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. X, p. 102.

² *Tabāqat-i-Nāsiri*, trans. Raverty, p. 384.

³ H. Blochmann, *Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1968, pp. 8-10.

the colophon of a manuscript of *Pañcharakshā*. He was a Buddhist and is said to have been reigning in A.D. 1289. He is styled as Gauḍeśvara. Whether this is mere pompous vanity or whether he did reoccupy a portion of Gauḍa it is impossible to say. But it is not unlikely that Madhusena could occupy a portion of the Gauḍa country. For this was the time of political turmoil in Lakhnauti. From about A.D. 1244 the Gaṅga kings of Orissa (Jājñagar in the *Tabāqat*) carried out a tremendous onslaught on the Muslim kingdom in Rāḍha and in Lakhnauti. The fort at Lakhnauti (probably Nagar in Birbhum) was devastated and all the Muslim soldiers killed and Lakhnauti itself was besieged.¹ In A.D. 1258, Tajuddin Arslan Khan, the Governor of Kaḍā, attacked Lakhnauti while the Governor of Lakhnauti, Izuddin Balban had led an expedition against East Bengal. Lakhnauti was occupied by Arslan Khan. In 1280-81, Tughral Khan, the Governor of Lakhnauti, rebelled against Ghiyāsuddin Balban, the Emperor in Delhi, and Ghiyāsuddin sent two expeditions to subjugate him. In such turmoil Madhusena might have occupied a portion of the Gauḍa country including a portion of Nadia.

In A.D. 1281, Ghiyāsuddin Balban himself led an expedition against the rebel Tughral Khan who fled to Jājñagar. Ziauddin Barani states that in pursuit of the rebel, Ghiyāsuddin went to Sunnārgāon and concluded a treaty with Danuj Rāi, the independent king, by which the latter agreed to prevent Tughral Khan's escape by the river routes. Barani further states that Ghiyāsuddin reached Jājñagar by a march of 70 *Kros*. Jājñagar of the Muslim writers meant Orissa which is amply proved by the copper plate grant of Nṛsiṃha III of the Gaṅga dynasty which mentions of the attack on Rāḍha and Varendri by his grandfather. The same raid is mentioned as a raid by the king of Jājñagar in the *Tabāqat*. If the Sunnārgāon of Barani is the same as Sonārgāon near Dacca, it is inconceivable why Balban went to that place in pursuit of a fugitive to Jājñagar. Moreover, no place in Orissa could be written 70 *Kros* from Sonārgāon. Blochmann² thinks that the single passage where Sunnārgāon is mentioned might have been a mistake for Sātgāon and the border of Mayūrbhanj will be within 70 *Kros* of Sātgāon.

¹ *Tabāqat-i-Nāsiri* p. 235. Also copper plate of Nṛsiṃhadeva III, vide *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, (old series), p. 232.

² *Ibid.*, p. 32.

If Blochmann's emendation of Barani be accepted we shall have to presume the existence of an independent Hindu king in Sātgaon in A.D. 1280-82. For geographical reasons also Danuj-Rāi should be placed at Sātgaon. Balban had information at Lakhnauti that Tughral Khan had escaped to Jājnagar. He was chasing Tughral with a land army. Sātgaon stood on the river route from Lakhnauti to Orissa. So what Balban wanted to ensure by the treaty was, not prevention of escape of Tughral to Jājnagar but his flight back to Lakhnauti when he got scent of Balban's advance. How a king near Dacca could prevent escape to Orissa from Māldah or prevent return of one already in Orissa cannot be imagined. Blochmann's surmise, therefore, appears to meet the circumstances.

In the Adabadi copper plate¹ we find a king Mahārājadhirāja Arirāja Danuja Mādhava Daśarathadeva whose capital was at Vikramapura but who claims to have become Gaudeśvara by the grace of Nārāyaṇa. If this Danuja Mādhava, mentioned as Nauja in the *Līn-i-Ākbarī*, is the same as Danuja-Rāi of Barani then this statement of having become Gaudeśvara may be taken to mean that he extended his sway to West Bengal up to Sātgaon. The Adabadi copper plate is also additional material to support Blochmann's emendation of Barani. If this view is accepted, it is likely that the southern portion of the district of Nadia was under Danuja Mādhava.

The conquest of Sātgaon by Zaffar Khan² seems to have marked the end of the dynasty of Danuja Mādhava in that area. The interior of Nadia district, however, does not seem to have been intruded upon to any appreciable extent by the Muslim conquerors. If the provenance of Muslim inscriptions be any guide to the infiltration of that area, it would appear that in Nadia district Muslim inscriptions are scarce. Only two Muslim inscriptions have so far been found within the district of Nadia, one at Shāntipur and the other at Chākdaha and none of them is earlier than the 16th century. Small chieftains who had held their lands by grants from the Hindu kings continued to rule in that area. Of these chieftains the kings of Krishnanagar, otherwise known as Nadia Rāj, seem to be important and virtually

¹ N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, p. 181.

² Between A.D. 1301 and 1322 during the reign of Samsuddin Firoz Shah of Lakhnauti (vide R. C. Majumdar, *Bānglā Desher Itihāsa*, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1373 B.S. p. 25).

the history of this family would by and large be the history of the district.

The dynasty claims descent from Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa, a Brahmin versed in Vedic lore who was brought by Ādiśūra, the king of Bengal in about 1000 *Saka* era, i.e. A.D. 1077-78. There are three accounts of the dynasty, two in Bengali and one of unknown authorship in Sanskrit. Only the Sanskrit text gives the complete genealogy from Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa to Krishnachandra, the famous Mahārājā of Krishnanagar, who ascended the throne in A.D. 1728. The account compiled here is mainly from the Sanskrit text *Kshitīśayanīśāvalīcharitam* published by W. Pertsch from Berlin in 1852 collated from two manuscripts in the collection of Albrecht Weber in the Berlin collection.

Some details of the period of the reign of twelve generations starting from Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa is given in the text. These are:

Name	Period of reign (years)
Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa	24
Nipu	28
Halāyudha	15
Harihara	20
Kandarpa	22
Viśvambhara	28
Narahari	27
Nārāyaṇa	24
Priyaṅkara	29
Dharmāṅgada	20
Tārāpati	47
Kāma	32
	—
	316

The total period of reign of these twelve generations as given in the text is 316 years. The four sons of Kāma quarrelled about partitions of the kingdom and they went to Delhi to meet the emperor for arbitration. The name of the emperor given in the text is Mahmud Gazni. This apparently refers to Mahmud Tughlak who was on the throne of Delhi in A.D. 1393-94.

According to *Kshitravanśavalicharitam*, the kingdom of the dynasty of Bhattanarayana had been independent till the time the sons of Kāma went to Mahmud Tughlak for adjudication. Mahmud Tughlak offered to support that son who agreed to pay him tribute and Viśvanāth having agreed to do so was declared king by Mahmud Tughlak. From Viśvanāth to Kaśināth seven generations reigned for a total period of 198 years as follows:

Name	Period of reign (years)
Viśvanāth	31
Rāmachandra	23
Subuddhi	25
Trilochan	30
Kaśisāri	26
Shashthīdāsa	29
Kāśināth	34
	198

A singular misfortune fell to Kāśināth who is stated to have been a contemporary of Akbar. It is stated that a few elephants were being sent from Tripura to Akbar. One of them went astray and started ravaging the villages in Kāśināth's dominion. Kaśināth thereupon hunted and killed the elephant. This account having been reported to the emperor, the emperor ordered Kaśināth and his family to be brought to him in chains. Kaśināth fled from his kingdom but was overtaken and killed at village Andulia near Bagwan. The wife of Kaśināth was then with child and she took shelter in the house of a small chieftain named Harikṛishṇa Samuddhar.¹ In due course, a posthumous son was born to Kaśināth who was named Rāma. Harikṛishṇa Samuddhar adopted him as his child and bequeathed him a small territory near Ballavpur. Four sons were born to Rāma who assumed the title of Samuddhar. Of them Durgādās became famous later as Bhabānanda Majumdār. When Durgādās was

¹ The Bengali text written by Rājiblochan Mukherjee and published from Serampore in 1805 has given this name as Biśvanāth Samadwar while the *Annadāmaṅgala* of Bharat Chandra Roy mentions his title as Samaddar.

about 11 years old he attracted the notice of some admiral of the emperor at Delhi and was taken to Sātgaon where he was educated in Persian and given the post of *Kamungo*. Later, having pleased the *Foujdar* at Sātgaon, Bhabananda acquired some territory and built a palace at Ballavpur. In 1611, the emperor's army was sent to subdue Pratāpāditya, the then king of Jessore. Durgādās who was now known as Bhabānanda Majumdār, helped the Mughal army and as a reward was given 14 *parganās* including the *parganā* of Bagwan. Bhabananda then shifted his residence to Deulia near Matīāri.

There was some backlog of revenue and Bhabananda was summoned to Dacca by the Governor and imprisoned there. His grandson Gopiraman, who had accompanied him, secured his release after having pleased the Governor by his feats of physical strength. Bhabananda ruled his territories for 20 years and was succeeded by his third son Gopāl. Gopāl ruled for 7 years and was succeeded by his youngest son Rāghab. Rāghab shifted his residence from Matīāri to the present town of Krishnanagar, then a small village known as Reui, inhabited by the *goālā* caste. Rāghab built a palace at this place. Rāghab excavated a large tank and for its consecration invited Brahmins from all over India. He was in good terms with the emperor at Delhi and received an elephant as a reward which no vassal king had been able to receive from the emperor. Rāghab reigned over 51 years from A.D. 1632 to 1683 and his reign coincides with the reigns of Shah Jehan and Aurangzeb.

Rāghab died in about A.D. 1683 and was succeeded by his eldest son Rudra Roy. Rudra Roy appears to have been a successful monarch and so pleased the emperor at Delhi that he was awarded the title of Mahārājā. The village Reui to which Rāghab had shifted his capital was named Krishnanagar by Rudra Roy in memory of Lord Kṛishṇa, the God whom the *goālās* (milkmen caste) residing at the place adored. Rudra Roy was very punctual in paying the revenue to Delhi and for a time did not pay homage to the Governor at Dacca. The Governor was annoyed and wrote to the *Foujdar* at Hugli to secure his arrest and send him to Dacca. Rudra Roy was taken to Hugli by the *Foujdar* under some ruse and there put under arrest and sent to Dacca. Rudra Roy seems to have successfully bribed the Governor at Dacca and secured not only his release but the Governor became almost subservient to him. An interesting incident quoted in the Sanskrit text is cited here to illustrate

at the same time the political sagacity of Rudra Roy and the corruption of the Dacca officials. A Muslim shoe-maker insulted Rudra Roy at Dacca whereupon Rudra Roy caused him to be given a good beating by his servants. The Muslim shoe-maker community complained to the Governor against this affront but Rudra Roy paid the Governor a bribe of one lakh silver coins which bought the Governor off. The Governor dismissed the applicants saying that the insolence of the shoe-maker deserved the beating and that he thought no further action was necessary. From Dacca Rudra Roy brought one architect by the name Allahbux whom he engaged in building a new palace for him at Krishnanagar. During his reign a road was constructed from Krishnanagar to Shantipur and a huge temple of Śiva which Raghab had left unfinished was completed by Rudra Roy at Navadvīp and a Śivaliṅga by the name of Rāghaveśvara was installed there. A small stream flowing by the palace was embanked at both ends and made into a lake. Rudra Roy had three sons Rāmchandra and Rāmjiban by his first wife and Rāmkrishṇa by his second wife. Rāmchandra was an athlete and spent his time more in athletic pursuits than in learning kingly duties and was disliked by his father who determined to make Rāmjiban the king. Accordingly, he wrote to the emperor at Delhi for permission to install as his successor not his eldest son Rāmchandra but any other son whom he chose. That consent having been obtained from the emperor, Rudra Roy chose Rāmjiban to be his successor. Rāmchandra protested and said that he knew how to get his sustenance if his brother failed to provide it for him. Rudra Roy died in A.D. 1694 after a reign of 11 years.

The funeral rites of Rudra Roy were observed with great pomp by Rāmjiban and in the assembly of neighbouring princes Rāmchandra claimed a share of the paternal property, namely, the village Matīāri and a few village nearby and a subsistence of Rs. 1000 per annum. As Rāmjiban was unwilling to agree to the proposal, Rāmchandra appealed to the *Faujdar* at Hugli. The *Faujdar* at Hugli obtained the consent of the Governor at Dacca and issued a *firman* installing Rāmchandra to the kingship. Armed with the *firman* Rāmchandra returned to his paternal capital, took physical possession of the palace at Srinagar and for a few years continuous quarrel and skirmishes between the followers of Rāmchandra and Rāmjiban marred the peace of the country. Rāmjiban, however, managed to take Rām-

chandra prisoner and also managed somehow to keep him imprisoned at Dacca.¹ No more is heard of Rāmchandra. Rāmjiban, however, did not fare well with the Governor at Dacca for any length of time. Soon he defaulted revenue and an officer by the name of Radhaballav was sent by the Governor to look into the accounts of Rāmjiban. A violent quarrel ensued between Radhaballav and Rāmjiban and as a sequel Rāmjiban was imprisoned at Dacca. Rāmkrishṇa the youngest son of Rudra Roy was thereafter installed king by the Governor. Rāmkrishṇa appears to have been a successful monarch. About this time Sova Singh, the chieftain of Chitua, rebelled, attacked Barddhamān, killed Kṛishṇa Rām, the king of Barddhamān and ravaged the kingdom. Jagatram, the son of Kṛishṇa Rām, was sheltered by Rāmkrishṇa who kept him concealed at Matīāri. Sova Singh was killed by the daughter of Kṛishṇa Rām to save her honour and thereafter Himmat Singh, brother of Sova Singh, and Rahim Khan, the Commander-in-Chief of Sova Singh's army, attacked the Nadia kingdom on their way to Murshidabad. Rāmkrishṇa successfully resisted Himmat Singh and Rahim Khan. Aurangzeb was then passing through the Deccan and sent his grandson Azim with an army to quell the rebellion. During the campaign of prince Azim, Rāmkrishṇa rendered him vital assistance and at a *darbar* called by prince Azim after the rebellions were put down, Rāmkrishṇa appeared with a stately retinue which impressed the prince very much. From that time a friendship grew between prince Azim and Rāmkrishṇa. Rāmkrishṇa was also on good terms with the English settlement at Calcutta and a garrison of 2,500 soldiers of the English factory remained stationed at Krishnanagar. A border dispute ensued between Rāmkrishṇa and the king of Jessore whereupon Rāmkrishṇa marched on the king of Jessore and subdued him. The Governor at Dacca became jealous of Rāmkrishṇa and called him to Dacca and there imprisoned him. Rāmkrishṇa died of small-pox in imprisonment after a reign of 11 years. When news of the death of Rāmkrishṇa reached Prince Azim he directed that the next kin of Rāmkrishṇa who would be able to look after the family of Rāmkrishṇa be given the kingdom. Jaffar Khan, the Governor, then suggested that Rāmjiban, then imprisoned at Dacca, may be given the kingdom to which Prince Azim agreed and Rāmjiban

¹ The text is silent about the manner in which Rāmchandra was kept the prisoner at Dacca. Perhaps Rāmjiban used his gold in the same manner as his father did to gain his purpose with the Governor at Dacca.

gained the kingdom a second time. Ramjiban was succeeded by his son Raghuram in 1715 and in 1728 Krishnachandra, later on known as Maharaja Krishnachandra of Nadia, was born.

Spread of
Muslim
dominance

The history of the spread of Muslim dominance over the tract of land now comprising Nadia district cannot be clearly outlined in the absence of proper historic material. The history of Bengal during the early Muslim Sultanate has been mainly compiled from inscriptions, coins and some written material. The last besides mentioning the raid on Nadia by Ikhtiaruddin Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar hardly give any further details. The history of the spread of Muslim dominance over this district has, therefore, to be surmised from a consideration of political geography along with the historic material of adjacent places.

The raid on Nadia by Ikhtiaruddin Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar in about A.D. 1200/1202 was more in the nature of a plundering raid than one leading to a permanent acquisition of territory. This raid, however, had the effect of extinguishing the hold of Lakshmanasena over the Rāḍha area; and while the Sena power withdrew into eastern Bengal and the riparian areas of South Bengal, the Muslim conquerors fell back on Lakhnauti near Gauda in Maldah district. The Gaṅga Kings of Orissa, who had been trying to occupy South-West Bengal since the time of Kumārāpala, apparently had succeeded in occupying the whole of Medinipur district and large portions of the present districts of Hugli, Bardhamān, Bankura and Birbhum by about A.D. 1271. From about A.D. 1200/1202 till the end of the thirteenth century, the Muslim power at Lakhnauti was busy fighting the Orissan power. Riverine southern and eastern Bengal escaped from molestation during this period and it may be safe to assume that this part of the country remained under Lakshmanasena and his successors till the reign of Danuja-Mādhava Daśarathadeva (*vide supra*). Some coins of Ikhtiaruddin Yuzbak Tughral Khan (c. A.D. 1251-1257), who declared his independence of Delhi under the title of Mughisuddin Yuzbak Shah, bear the legend that these were minted out of the revenues of Nadia and Arzbadan. This may be taken as an indication of the reconquest of some area around Navadvīp.

According to Ziauddin Barani, Ghiyasuddin Balban contracted a treaty with Danuja-Madhava Daśarathadeva of Sunnārgaon. Even if we do not accept the emendation suggested by Blochmann (*vide supra*) the statement that the borders of the kingdom of Orissa lay within 140 miles of the territory of Danuja Rāi would

lead to the inference that most part of the district of Nadia was still under Danuja-Madhava Daśarathadeva till A.D. 1280-81. During the affair of Mughisuddin Tughral Khan's rebellion (*vide supra*) it must have dawned on the Muslim conquerors that occupation of Tribeni-Saptagram area was strategically necessary to maintain hold over the Orissan territory and over South-West Bengal. Tribeni and Saptagram (Satgaon) were conquered either during the later part of the reign of Ruknuddin Kaikaus (A.D. 1291-1301) or during the early part of the reign of his successor Samsuddin Feroz Shah. The conquest of Sātgaon must have made inroad into the territory occupied by the dynasty of Daśarathadeva.

Ghiyasuddin Balban suppressed the rebellion of Mughisuddin Tughral Khan with great severity. He then installed his youngest son Nasiruddin Mahmud *alias* Bughra Khan as Governor of Lakhnauti about A.D. 1282. Nasiruddin Mahmud was succeeded by his son Ruknuddin Kaikaus in about A.D. 1291. Ruknuddin Kaikaus was succeeded by Samsuddin Feroz Shah whose origin is unknown. Most likely, he was the same as Ikhtiaruddin Feroz Atigin who was the Deputy Governor of Bihar during the governorship of Ruknuddin Kaikaus.¹ There was dispute about the succession after the death of Samsuddin Feroz Shah. Saha-buddin Bughra Shah, his eldest son, succeeded him for a short time. A younger son of Samsuddin Feroz Shah named Ghiyasuddin Bahadur ousted Bughra Shah. Bughra Shah and another son Nasiruddin Ibrahim appealed to Ghiyasuddin Tughlak, the emperor at Delhi. According to Ibn Batuta², Ghiyasuddin Tughlak attacked Lakhnauti and installed Nasiruddin Ibrahim Shah. Ghiyasuddin Bahadur was carried away to Delhi as a prisoner. The kingdom of Bengal was split into three parts. Nasiruddin Ibrahim was made Governor of Lakhnauti; Tatar Khan, later given the honorific Bahram Khan by Muhammed Tughlak, was Governor of Sonargaon, while another whose name is not known was made Governor of Satgaon. Juna Khan, the son of Ghiyasuddin Tughlak who ascended the throne of Delhi as Muhammad Tughlak, released Ghiyasuddin Bahadur and permitted him to return to his governorship of Sonargaon under

¹ R.D. Banerji in his *Bāṅgālār Itihāsa*, Vol. II, p. 88 states that Samsuddin Feroz Shah was the younger brother of Ruknuddin Kaikaus. R.C. Majumdar in his *Bāṅgālā Deśer Itihāsa*, Vol. II, p. 25 gives the view stated above.

² H. Blochmann, *Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal* (Asiatic Society reprint, 1968), p. 116.

certain conditions. But he soon¹ rebelled and Tatar Khan with the help of troops from Delhi took him prisoner and killed him. His skin was stuffed and shown in the streets of Delhi. Thus ended ignobly the last person in whose veins flowed the blood of Qutbuddin Iltutmish. Tatar Khan *alias* Bahram Khan then continued as Governor of Sonargaon and on his death his shield-bearer Fakruddin rebelled successfully and became independent king of Sonargaon. According to Ibn Batuta, Fakruddin had brought under his sway Satgaon also.² This occupation of Satgaon by the ruler of Sonargaon who had also occupied Lakhnauti for a time³ indicates that by this time the occupation of the Nadia region must have been complete. According to numismatic evidence, Fakruddin under the title of Mubarak Shah ruled from A.D. 1338 to 1349.

Coins of Fakruddin Mubarak Shah minted at Sonargaon are available dated till 750 A.H., that is, A.D. 1349. Coins dated 751 to 753 A.H. minted from Sonargaon bear the name of one Ikhtiaruddin Gazi Shah. He styles himself as Sultan, son of Sultan (al Sultan bin Sultan). On this evidence he is generally taken to be the son of Fakruddin Mubarak Shah, though there is no positive proof of this fact.

In about A.D. 1342, an adventurer Samsuddin Ilyas Shah occupied Lakhnauti after killing Alauddin Ali Shah, the Governor of Lakhnauti, and declared independence of Delhi.⁴ In A.D. 1352-53, Samsuddin Ilyas Shah occupied Sonargaon after killing Ikhtiaruddin Gazi Shah. Samsuddin Ilyas Shah had also occupied Satgaon but the date of this event cannot be determined. Satgaon was till at least A.D. 1346 under Fakruddin Mubarak Shah as testified by Ibn Batuta. Probably, Ikhtiaruddin Gazi Shah could not keep his hold on Satgaon and it passed under Samsuddin Ilyas Shah after the death of Fakruddin Mubarak Shah in about A.D. 1347.

Thus, by about A.D. 1352, Samsuddin Ilyas Shah was undisputed sovereign of the whole of Bengal. From this time and until the occupation of Bengal by the Mughals in the reign of Jehangir, Nadia district remained a part of the kingdom of

¹ Ibn Batuta mentions this city as Sodkawan. Some authorities took this to mean Chittagong, but R.D. Banerji in *Bāṅgālār Itihāsa*, Vol. II, p. 106 and Sukhamay Mukherji in *Bāṅgālār Itihāsa Duśo Bachhar*, App. F have shown that Sodkawan could be no other than Sātgaon.

² Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 243.

³ 'Beniapukur Inscription' in *Bibliography of the Muslim Sultans of Bengal* by A.H. Dani.

Lakhnauti. Samsuddin Ilyas Shah reigned till A.D. 1358 and was succeeded by his son Sikandar Shah who reigned till A.D. 1390.

According to the *Kshitiśavānśavalicharitam*, the original seat of the Nadia Rāj was in *pargana* Haveli which is in the Chākdaha P.S. (*vide* Chapter I). Kaśināth left his family in Ānuliā which is in Ranaghat P.S. and the territory of Patkābāri inherited by Rām Samuddhar was in Karimpur P.S. on the left bank of the Jalangi. The area around Navadwip upto the right bank of the Jalangi was most likely under direct governance of the Muslim rulers whose head-quarters was in Ambuā (present Kalna). This appears to have been the political situation about the time immediately prior to the occupation of the whole of Bengal by Fakruddin Mubarak Shah. Nadia district appears to have been under the sway of Ilyas Shahi dynasty.

A scion of the dynasty of Ilyas Shah ascended the throne under the name of Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah. Nadia district appears to have remained within his territory for an inscription of this king has been found at Sātgaon.¹ The next king was Ruknuddin Barbak Shah, son of Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah who jointly reigned with his father from A.D. 1455 and independently from A.D. 1460 to 1473. From A.D. 1474 to 1476, he jointly reigned with his son Samsuddin Yusuf Shah. Literary activity in Bengal, which was stunned by the Muslim conquest, appears to have received fresh impetus during the reign of Ganesh.² The works of some of the writers of the period has survived. The most famous of these writers are Kṛittivāsa whose Bengali *Rāmāyaṇa* became very popular in Bengal. Kṛittivāsa was a resident of Phuliā in Shāntipur thana in Nadia district.³

Concrete epigraphic proof of the occupation of South Bengal is available in the reign of Ruknuddin Barbak Shah. One inscription of this king has been found at Basirhat in 24-Parganas district dated 871 A.H. or A.D. 1466.⁴ Ruknuddin Barbak Shah was succeeded by his son Samsuddin Yusuf Shah in A.D. 1477. The next king was Jalaluddin Fateh Shah, the uncle of Ruknuddin

¹ No. 28 of the list in *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. IX, (1960), ed. Samsuddin Ahmed.

² The Hindu king of Bengal who ruled between A.D. 1415 and 1418.

³ There is a good deal of controversy about the date of Kṛittivāsa. The view given here is according to *Bāṅglā Deśer Itihāsa*, ed. R. C. Majumdar, Vol. II, pp. 382-85.

⁴ No. 47 of the list in *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. IV, (1960), ed. Samsuddin Ahmed.

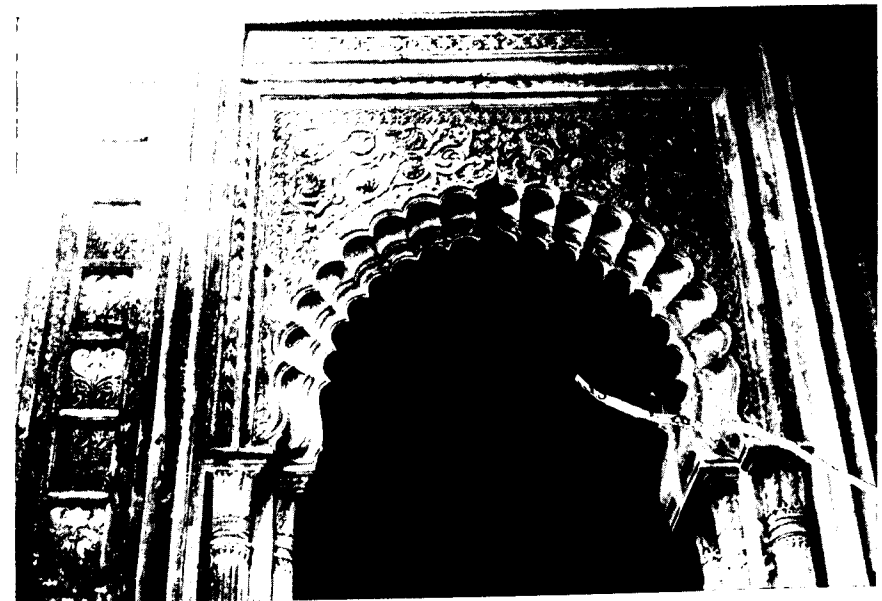
Barbak Shah. The great Śrī Chaitanya was born at Navadvīp on 18th February A.D. 1486 during the reign of this king. Statements made in the *Chaitanya-āṅgā* of Jayasānā and in the *Manasamaṅgala* of Bijayagupta to show that there was some oppression and forcible conversion of the Hindus in and around Navadvīp during the reign of this king. There was a rumour in Navadvīp that a Brahmin would be the king of Navadvīp. This rumour and the recent history of the rise of Ganesh must have impelled the Sultan to continue the oppressions.

Jalaluddin Fateh Shah was killed by his African slave who ascended the throne with the title of Sultan Shahzāda. He reigned for a few months and was in turn killed by Malik Indil, another African nobleman who ascended the throne under the title of Saifuddin Feroz Shah. The latter reigned till about A.D. 1490. Two inscriptions of this king has been found at old Kālā which seem to indicate that the district of Nadia was under his suzerainty. The next king was Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah II. His parentage is unknown. He reigned for about two years and was killed by one Sidi Badr who ascended the throne under the title of Samsuddin Muzaffar Shah and reigned for about two years when he was killed by his minister Sayid Hussain who ascended the throne under the title of Alauddin Hossain Shah. The active life of Śrī Chaitanya at Navadvīp was lived during the reign of this king. Though this king had on occasions oppressed the Hindus and during his campaign in Orissa had demolished many Hindu temples, yet on the whole he appears to have been somewhat tolerant to the Hindus. Once Śrī Chaitanya was staying at Rāmkelī. Hossain Shah issued an order directing that none of the officers should molest him. Alauddin Hossain Shah spent much time in fruitless wars which told upon the resources of the State. He died in about A.D. 1519 and was succeeded by son Nasiruddin Nasrat Shah. During the reign of this king, Babar entered India. In A.D. 1526, Babar defeated Ibrahim Lodi at Panipat and occupied northern India as far east as the left bank of the Gogra bounding the territory of Nasrat Shah. Babar sent an envoy to Nasrat Shah for alliance. Nasrat Shah prevaricked for about a year and then concluded a pact with Babar who thereupon did not invade Bengal. Nasrat Shah was killed by a slave whom he had punished.

Nasrat Shah's son Alauddin Feroz Shah II ascended the throne in A.D. 1532 but about a year later was assassinated by his uncle Abdul Badr who ascended the throne with the title Ghiyas-



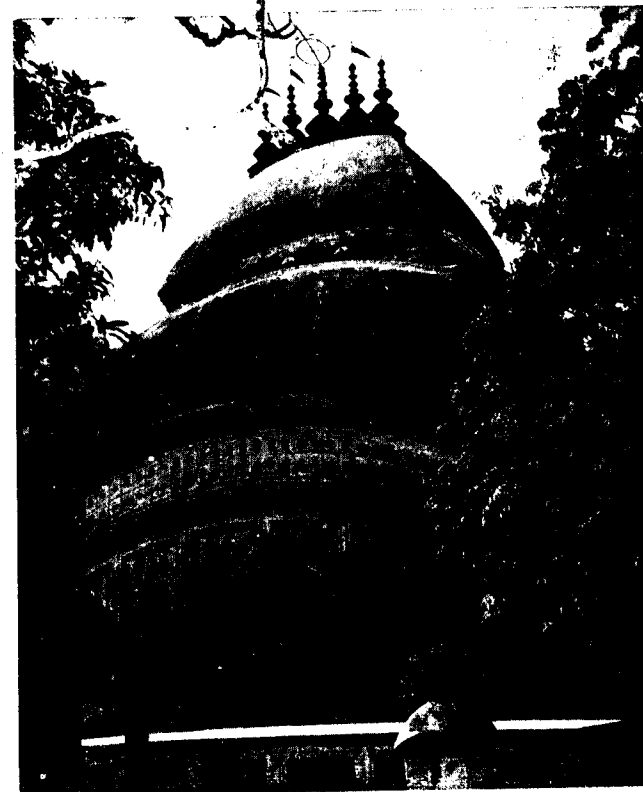
1. (left) Woodcarving on the doors of an old temple of Dharmadah, now kept in Krishnanagar Sahitya Parishad.
2. (right) Stucco work on a Śiva temple at Nākāśipārā.



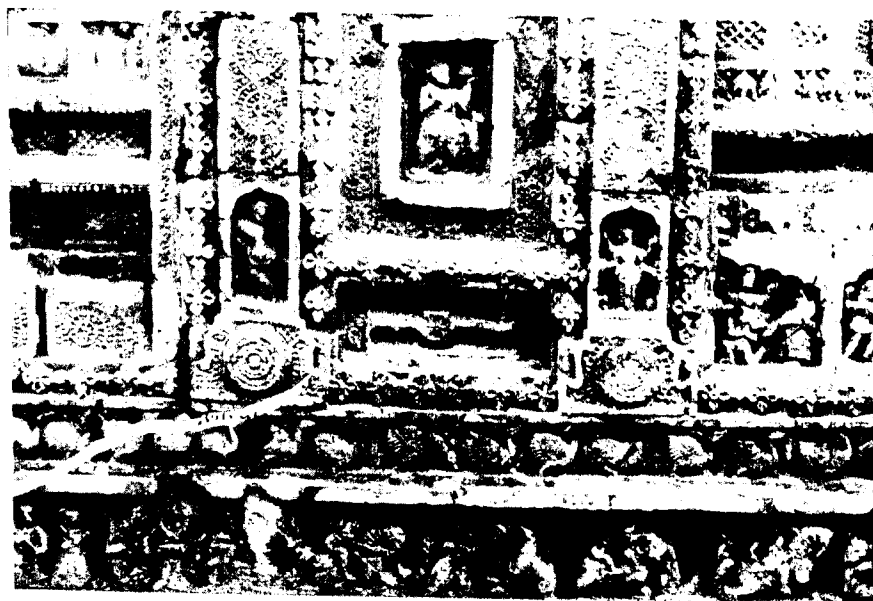
3. Nāṭmañcha of Krishnanagar Rājbaḍi.



1. Palpara temple



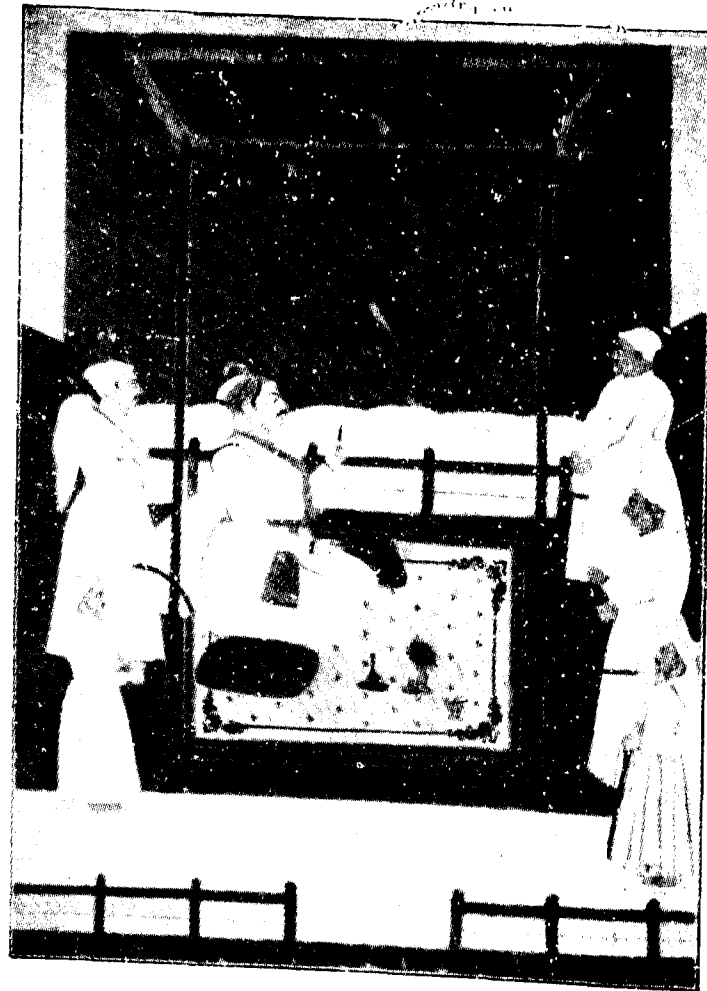
1. Syāmhānd temple, Shantipur.



2. Terracotta panel at Jor Baṅlā, Birnagar.



2. An old *paṭ* kept at Śrīvās Aṅgan, Navadvīp.



Portrait of Maharaja Krishnachandra and Gopal Bhām at Krishnanagar Rajbadi.

uddin Mahmud Shah. He was a foolish prince and Sher Khan, who later ascended the throne of Delhi defeating Humayun, played cat and mouse with him and fleeced him of a good deal of money. Ultimately, Ghiyasuddin Mahmud Shah fell in battle with Sher Khan. Ghiyasuddin Mahmud Shah allowed the Portuguese to lay the foundations of two settlements in Bengal, one at Chittagong and the other at Sātgaon. With this foothold the Portuguese pirates in later years laid the whole of South Bengal waste by their cupidity and rapacity.

The family to which Śrī Chaitanya belonged migrated to Navadwip from Sylhet. Śrī Chaitanya was born at Navadwip on 23rd Falgun 1407 *Saka* corresponding to 18th February A.D. 1486 according to the Julian calendar then in force. The corrected date according to the Gregorian calendar would be 27th February A.D. 1486. He was named Bīśvambhar and nicknamed Nīmāi. The baby was very fair and showed auspicious marks at birth. Because of his fair complexion he was called Gour or Gorā. Bīśvambhar gradually grew up to be a turbulent child.

Śrī
Chaitanya

At the age of sixteen, Bīśvambhar took his degree in grammar and started his own seminary in the house of Mukunda Sañjay. Sachi, the mother of Bīśvambhar was on the look out for a suitable bride for him. Soon a bride was found and in A.D. 1505 Bīśvambhar was married to Vishṇupriyā, a daughter of Rāja-Paṇḍit Sanātan.

In October A.D. 1508 Bīśvambhar started for Gaya, thirteen years after the death of his father, for the purpose of performing his *śrāddha* at Gaya. By a strange coincidence Īśvar Purī was also at Gaya at the time Bīśvambhar reached Gaya. After the *śrāddha* ceremony, Bīśvambhar asked for *mantra* from Īśvar Purī who initiated him in the ten-syllable Gopāla *mantra*. He resolved to go to Mathurā to find his beloved Kṛishṇa but returned on hearing a celestial voice asking him to go back. On his way back, at the village Kānāi-Nāśāl (in Māldāh district), he had the vision that the boy Kṛishṇa of Vṛindāban came and embraced him and disappeared. To the end of his days Bīśvambhar yearned for this meeting and wept saying *first* he found Kṛishṇa but lost him. Bīśvambhar returned to Navadwip in January A.D. 1509.

There were Vaishṇavas in Navadwip even before Śrī Chaitanya propagated his doctrine of love. This group was led by Advaita-Āchārya, Śrīvāsa Āchārya and others. It has been said that

Jalaluddin Fateh Shah had ordered torture of the Brahmanas of Navadvip. The poet Jayadeva had predicted the Kalki incarnation of Vishnu to rid the earth of the *Mlechchhas*. Advaita-Acharya was impatiently awaiting that incarnation to come. On the metamorphosis of the proud *pandit* into a meek Vaishnava, Advaita-Acharya thought his dream was realized. He for the first time accepted Bisvambhar as Krishna incarnate. Bisvambhar who was in the habit of taunting the Vaishnavas, now sought their company and started joining in the *kirtan* in the house of Srivasa. The *Kazi* (magistrate) of the Muslim ruler was approached by people of other sects who are called heretics (*Pashandā*) to stop the *kirtan* and the *Kazi* ordered that *kirtan* should stop. Bisvambhar was not cowed down by threats and resolved to disobey the order and start a public *kirtan*. With a large following singing and dancing in frenzied ecstasy, Bisvambhar went to the house of the *Kazi* in Simuliā. The *Kazi* was thoroughly cowed down and withdrew his order. But the memory of the vision at Kānāi-Nāśāl was gradually working in the mind of Bisvambhar and changing him into a love-lorn Rādhā and gradually detaching him from all worldly ties. He failed to teach in his seminary and talked of Krishna all the while. One day his students revolted and he abolished the seminary. Thereafter, he decided to become an ascetic. His well-wishers, friends, his mother and wife all tried to dissuade him but to no avail. On 3rd February A.D. 1533 he was ordained as a monk by Keśava Bhāratī at Kātoyā. His name after ordination became Śrī-kṛṣṇachaitanya. After ordination he roamed about in Rādhā area for four days and reached at Shāntipur the house of Advaita-Acharya. His mother and others (biographers are silent about his wife) came to see him there. After staying at Shāntipur for three or four days he left for Puri.

Seeing the spire of the temple of Jagannāth from a distance he shouted in glee and rushed to the temple. Entering the temple he tried to embrace the deity and was very likely hit by the *Pāṇḍās* and fell down in a swoon. Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, a Vedantist *pandit* of Navadvip who had earlier migrated to Puri for fear of Muslim oppression, happened to be there at the time and he carried Śrī Chaitanya to his own house. At the house of Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, Śrī Chaitanya had a theological discourse with him and converted the Vedantist philosopher to his own faith of devotion to God. In Baisākh 1432

Śaka (A.D. 1510), Śrī Chaitanya started on a tour of South India. On the bank of the Godāvarī, Śrī Chaitanya met Rāi Rāmānanda and had a discourse with him. The latter expounded the principle of devotion according to Sakhi-bhāva. Completing a tour of most part of southern India, Śrī Chaitanya returned to Puri before rains in 1434 *Śaka* and met Pratāparudra, the King of Orissa who became his devotee. In 1435 *Śaka*, he started for Gauḍa in autumn and met Rūp Gosvāmī at Rāmkeli. He had intended to go to Vṛndāban but changed his mind and returned and on his way back came to the house of Advaita-Acharya at Shāntipur. His mother went and met him there. (Again there is no mention of his wife Vishṇupriyā.) He returned to Puri in April A.D. 1514. In October A.D. 1514, he started for Vṛndāban along an unfrequented route through the fastnesses of Jhārkhand (probably to avoid the Muslim territory). At Allahabad (Prayāga) he instructed Rūp Gosvāmī to write a treatise on his faith and mission. Having visited Vṛndāban he came to Vārānaśi and stayed there till about March A.D. 1515. Sanātan Gosvāmī, the brother of Rūp Gosvāmī, met him there after his escape from the prison of the Sultan of Bengal. In about April-May A.D. 1515, Śrī Chaitanya returned to Puri and did not move from Puri till his mysterious disappearance on 29th June A.D. 1533.¹

The district of Nadia remained practically unaffected during great upheavals in northern India which began with the defeat of Humayun at Chowsa in A.D. 1539. Sher Shah became Emperor of Delhi after final defeat of Humayun at Kanauj. During the weak reign of Muhammad Shah Adil, a nephew of Sher Shah, who had killed the grandson of Sher Shah and ascended the throne, Muhammad Khan, the Governor of Bengal, declared independence. He was killed in A.D. 1555 and Muhammad Shah Adil appointed Shahabaz Khan as Governor of Bengal. In the meantime, Humayun had returned and after defeating Sikandar Shah, the son of Sher Shah, had occupied Delhi. In A.D. 1556, at Panipat the power of Muhammad Shah Adil was crushed in battle by Akbar. Ghiyasuddin Bahadur Shah, son of Muhammad Khan, had in the meantime declared

¹ This date is generally taken as the date of his death. But how he died remains a mystery, for the body was not found. Jayānanda in his *Chaitanyamaṅgal* recorded that he died of tetanus caused by a wound in the foot. But the common saying recorded in the *Sūnya Saṁhitā* of Achyutānanda is that he disappeared in the idol Jagannāth. The mystery remains.

independence and after the battle of Panipat, while Muhammad Shah Adil was retreating towards Bengal. Ghiyasuddin Bahadur Shah killed him at Fatehpur. About this time an Afghan family, the Karranis had occupied portions of West Bengal, probably, part of Nadia district also. In 1563, Ghiyasuddin II, the brother of Ghiyasuddin Bahadur Shah died, and his son, whose name is not known, was killed and the assassin ascended the throne with the title of Ghiyasuddin III. Taj Khan Karrani killed him and became Sultan of Bengal. Taj Khan died within a year and was succeeded by his brother Sulaiman Karrani. Nadia district appears to have been under the sway of Sulaiman Karrani. Sulaiman Karrani was succeeded in A.D. 1572 by Bayazid Karrani, his son, who accepted the suzerainty of Akbar. Bayazid was killed by Honsu and the latter was killed by Daud Karrani, another son of Sulaiman Karrani, who ascended the throne of Bengal in A.D. 1573. Nadia continued to remain under his suzerainty. Daud Khan was defeated by the Mughal General Munim Khan at Tukaroi on 3rd March A.D. 1575 and finally lost Bengal, though he was allowed to retain Orissa. But he broke the peace and in the battle at Rajmahal on 10th July A.D. 1576 he was defeated, taken prisoner and executed by Khan-i-Jahan, the Mughal General.

Though after the defeat of Daud Karrani at Tukaroi, Akbar became formally emperor of Bengal, yet subjugation of Bengal was not completed during his lifetime. Nadia district figured in this campaign of subjugation in A.D. 1612 during the reign of Jehangir when under the governorship of Man Singh an expedition was led against Pratāpāditya. Ghiyas Khan, Commander of the land force, started from Alapsing, crossed the Padma near Alaipur and marching along the Jalangi reached Bagwan. Mirza Nathan with the Mughal fleet also came at Bagwan. The fleet moved by the Bhairab and the Ichhāmati and the land army followed along the banks. Tradition recorded in the *Kshītīśavaiśāvalīcharitam* (vide *supra*) says that Bhavānanda Majumdār rendered active help to the Mughal army in this campaign which obtained for him the reward of 14 *parganas*. It is generally believed that Pratāpāditya had occupied the southern part of Nadia district. With the defeat of Pratāpāditya in this campaign the Mughal rule was firmly established in Nadia district and Bhavānanda Majumdār and his dynasty continued to rule as Zamindars with the title of Rājā from this time onwards till the establishment of the British suzerainty.

Between A.D. 1710 and 1712, Sitārām Rāy, Rājā of Mahmudābād, rose in revolt and marauded parts of Nadia district. He was apprehended and executed in A.D. 1712. In A.D. 1728, Mahārāja Krishnachandra Ray came to the *gadi*. During the early part of his administration, Nadia district was constantly raided by Marhatta bands of *Bargirs* locally known as *Bargis*. For safety, Krishnachandra shifted his residence to Sibnivas on the Churni in Krishnaganj thana.

During the reign of the weak successors of Aurangzeb, Jafar Khan, the Governor of Bengal, became practically independent of Delhi and styled himself as Nawab Murshid Kuli Khan. From his time to the advent of the British Rule the Bengal Nawabs were independent of Delhi. The history of Nadia district from this time enters into the modern period with the entry of the British in Bengal.

In A.D. 1680, when Aurangzeb cancelled the right of free trade of the English East India Company granted by Prince Shuja and levied instead a 2 per cent duty and 1½ per cent *jezia*, Sir Josiah Child, the then Governor of the said Company, conceived the idea of conquering Bengal and accordingly, a strong fleet was fitted out with the consent of the King of England in charge of Admiral Nicholson to begin an attack on Bengal from Chittagong. In October A.D. 1686, the projected offensive began and by May A.D. 1687, the Mughal Imperial forces had crushed it. Aurangzeb regarded this as a petty affair and never dreamed that after his death his empire will fall to pieces and within fifty years of his death the Nawab of Bengal would be defeated by the English in a mockery of a battle in the mango grove at Palāshi.

MODERN
PERIOD

The Bengal events of A.D. 1756-65 tell a fascinating story of how blunders turned out to be the foundation stones of the British empire. If the Company's executives in Bengal did not contravene the Directors' instructions about fortification of Fort William, and if Drake, the then Governor of the English settlement, did not commit a grave error, as it was regarded by the leading men of the Company, in arrogantly provoking the Bengal Nawab, Sirajuddowla, there would have been no invasion of Calcutta, and no Palāshi. If the English merchants in Bengal had obeyed in letter and spirit the Court of Directors' orders forbidding them from dealing in inland trade and from indulging in fraudulent use of the custom-free concessions both of which practices violated the terms of the Mughal *firman* granted to

the Company, there would have been no quarrels with the Nawabs, no war with Mir Kasim, and no occasion for the events which ultimately led to the granting of the *Diwani* of Bengal to the Company by the Mughal emperor, Shah Alam. If there were no bribing, no forgery, no cheating, no avarice, on the part of the Company's servants again to the consternation of the Directors there would have been no revolution making every Nawab ever more subservient to the English, and laying brick by brick, the foundation of the British Empire.¹

The game of interfering in the politics of Indian courts started by Dupleix was successfully imitated by the English in Bengal. The English servants of the Company in Calcutta believed that Sirajuddowla would never be able to sit on the throne of grandfather Alivardi Khan. Ghasiti Begum was the favourite of the English. By a master stroke of audacious tact, Sirajuddowla neutralized Ghasiti Begum, seized all her treasures and transferred her from her palace at Moti Jhil to his own palace. In May A.D. 1756, Siraj marched against his other rival Saukat Jang who offered his submission. Siraj now turned his attention to the English. Shortly before his departure for Purnea (to fight against Saukat Jang), Siraj was informed that the English and the French were raising fortifications. He called the agents of both and directed them to pull down the fortifications immediately. The French complied but the English did not. The English gave a very offensive reply. Sirajuddowla decided upon a show of force to bring the English to their senses. The factory at Kāshimbāzār was surrounded by troops and Watts and Collet summoned to his presence to give an undertaking that they would use their office to induce the English in Calcutta to agree to the demands made by him. The Kāshimbāzār factory was seized on the 4th June 1756 and on the 5th June Sirajuddowla set out for Calcutta with his army. On 7th June, an attempt at conciliation was made by Siva Babu, agent of Khwaja Wajid, a merchant. But Drake and his Council made no answer to the demand made by the Nawab. Another attempt at conciliation on the 17th through the same Siva Babu failed and Drake reacted by starting a token offensive on Sukhsāgar. The English had therefore started the war before the Nawab. But when the attack on Fort William actually began on the 19th June, Drake was the first man to fly away on board a ship making no arrange-

¹ Ram Gopal, *How the British Occupied Bengal*, p. 23.

ment for others' rescue if the fort fell. The fort surrendered on the 20th June A.D. 1756. After the surrender of Fort William, some of the English were taken prisoners but many were allowed to go to Fulda where Drake and others had taken refuge.

The English knew that Sirajuddowla was capable of military feats as his previous campaign against Fort William revealed. They, therefore, decided to remove him and place a stooge on the throne. On the 1st May A.D. 1757, the Fort William Select Committee approved a plan to raise a 'revolution' in Bengal to replace Sirajuddowla.

On 13th June 1757, Clive started with his force consisting of 650 European soldiers, 100 *topasses*,¹ 150 of the train (including fifty sailors), eight pieces of 6 pounder cannon and 2,100 Indian sepoys. On 18th June A.D. 1757, the English force arrived at Kātōyā and on the 22nd June at 3 p.m. Clive received a communication from Mir Jafar, his secret ally, informing him that the Nawab is on the march and that Mir Jafar would join the English after they come near the Nawab's forces. On 22nd June A.D. 1757, Clive crossed the Bhāgīrathī and reached Palāshi grove at midnight. At day-break, Sirajuddowla began his attack with heavy cannonade. Clive's forces were sheltered in the mango-grove and Clive had misgivings about the fidelity of Mir Jafar as his previous communication requesting the latter to come to Dāudpur had remained unanswered. This cannonade continued till 2 p.m. and then the Nawab's army began to retire. At this time, Clive was not on the battle field and Major Killpatrick gave the order for his army to advance. The retiring of the Nawab's army was due to treachery as the note received by Clive at 5 p.m. on the same day from Mir Jafar suggests. The Nawab's army was headed by the following Generals, Mir Jafar, Ray Durlabh Ram, Khudadad Khan Latty (Yar Latif Khan), Manick Chand, Mir Kasim, Mohan Lal, Mir Madan and Bahadur Ali Khan. Of these, the first five betrayed the Nawab, did not fight and deserted. Mir Madan and Bahadur Ali Khan were killed. At this juncture Siraj called Mir Jafar and implored him to save the honour of the Nawab of Bengal. Mir Jafar

¹ A name used in the 17th and 18th centuries for dark-skinned or half-caste claimants of Portuguese descent; soldiers of this class—a corruption of Persian *top-chi*, 'a gunner'. (H. Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, Delhi reprint, 1968, p. 933).

advised Sirajuddowla to call off the battle for the day for regrouping of forces for a battle next day. Siraj in the height of his folly recalled Mohan Lal who alone was fighting the English. Mohan Lal reluctantly turned back. Clive then pushed on, armed by the information he received from Mir Jafar. The most inglorious battle was then won easily by the English. Sirajuddowla fled but was captured at Bhagwāngolā and was later put to death by the son of Mir Jafar through one Muhammad Beg.

Mir Jafar, who became the Nawab, had made promises of payments to the extent of Rs. 227 lakhs, a huge sum which most likely he knew he would be unable to pay. Mir Jafar wrote to Clive that he was unable to make full payments to the Company and wanted more time. But Clive pressed on and ultimately the Nawab assigned the revenues of Bardhamān, Nadia and Hugli to the Company. In the zamindari of those districts, the English Company now became the revenue collector instead of the Nawab and appropriated all collections towards the payment of the treaty obligations. Luke Sraffton was placed in charge of the collections of revenues of the three districts and he made the collections with extreme severity. The deteriorating conditions of these districts made the Nawab anxious and in the beginning of the summer of 1760, he demanded the restoration of those districts to him. About this time Miran, Mir Jafar's son, died, and the question of succession immediately came to the forefront. The English Company at Fort William began thinking of another revolution. Holwell, the acting Governor, suggested taking over the administration but this was not ultimately approved. On 27th September 1760, a secret treaty was concluded with Mir Kasim, and Mir Jafar was pressed by Vansittart and Gailloud to accept Mir Kasim as Deputy Subahdar. After a fruitless discussion for five days, Mir Jafar finally refused to accept Mir Kasim as Deputy Subahdar, and Gailloud was ordered to occupy the Nawab's palace. Mir Jafar then decided to abdicate, and Mir Kasim was declared Nawab and the revolution of 1760 was effected without any bloodshed.

It is rather peculiar that neither the English nor Mir Kasim took any step to clear up their mutual relations in the agreement of 1760. While Mir Kasim claimed to be an independent ruler, the English authorities in Bengal had been acting in a manner which was incompatible with that position.

The abuse of the *dustucks*¹ which had been resented by all Nawabs since the time of Sirajuddowla again came to a head and Mir Kasim by his royal decree completely abolished the *sair*² duties. This brought the English at par with the Indian merchants and the dishonest earnings of the Company's servants by selling the *dustucks* was put a stop to. This infuriated the English and Ellis, the chief of the Patna factory, threatened to seize the city. The attempt, however, failed, but the events led to the out-break of war between the English and Mir Kasim in 1763. Although Mir Kasim had assembled a 15,000 strong army, yet the English gained successive victories over him at Kātoyā, Murshidābād, Gria, Suti, Udainālā and Monghyr. Mir Kasim fled to Pātnā and thence to Oudh where he formed a confederacy with Nawab Sujauddowla and Emperor Shah Alam II. At the Battle of Buxar, Major Munroe defeated the combined forces on 22nd October 1764. Shah Alam II surrendered to the English. Immediately after the outbreak of war with Mir Kasim, the English made another treaty with Mir Jafar and declared him Nawab. Mir Jafar, however, died early in 1765 and his son Nizamuddowla was allowed to succeed his father on the stipulation that he would abide by the treaty of 28th February 1765 made with Mir Jafar which required that the management of the administration should be left in the hands of a minister to be styled Deputy Subahdar who would be a person nominated by the English and not removable without their consent. The supreme control of the administration thus passed into the hands of the English and the Nawab merely remained a figure-head. In May, 1765, Clive became Governor of Fort William. With Shah Alam II under the tutelage of the English, Clive's genius invented the plan of using the authority of the Emperor to further the cause of the English in Bengal. Oudh was restored to Sujauddowla in lieu of Rs. 50 lakhs, and Allahabad and the surrounding tracts detached from Oudh was given to Emperor Shah Alam II for maintenance. In return for these cessions the Emperor granted a *firman* on 12th August 1765 by which the East India Company became the *Diwan* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

¹ A permit or pass granted by the Company's covenanted servants in the early half of the 18th century (H. Yule and A. C. Burnell, *ibid.* p. 334).

² A variety of imposts other than land-tax (H. H. Wilson, *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue terms*, Delhi reprint, 1968. p. 454).

The East India Company after getting the *Sanad* for *Diwani* did not attempt the collection of revenues by their own officials. Instead, they appointed Muhammad Reza Khan, the Deputy Subahdar, as *Naib-Diwan* on a remuneration of Rs. 9 lakhs a year. Out of the revenues to be collected by the *Naib-Diwan*, 2½ per cent were to go as commission to the Members of the Council at Fort William, Rs. 26 lakhs were to be paid to Emperor Shah Alam II and Rs. 32 lakhs to the Nawab of Bengal.

The dual government of Clive, as this arrangement is called, led to the destitution of the people, and Reza Khan has been accused of too much oppression in the collection of revenues. There was a general failure of crop in 1769, and famine conditions became apparent in 1770. But no attempt was made to alleviate the distress of the people. The collection of revenues during the year 1770-71 showed an increase over the previous year. Reza Khan was accused of buying up the available rice at the rate of 20 to 30 seers per rupee in the Murshidabad-Nadia region which he later sold at 3 to 4 seers a rupee.¹ About a third of the population of Bengal died in this famine.

The unsatisfactory state under which revenue was being collected under the dual administration was being apparent almost since the beginning of the experiment. The serious famine of 1770-71 put an end to this experiment and by a proclamation of 11th May 1772 the post of *Naib-Diwan* was abolished and the Company decided to stand forth as *Diwan* themselves.

Warren Hastings was appointed Governor in 1772 with full powers to reform the administration. A Collector and an Indian *Diwan* were appointed in each district to supervise the revenue administration. Lands were farmed out by public auction and assessment was made for a period of five years. The result of this experiment was again disastrous.

The famine of 1770-71 and the general uncertain condition of the country led to a large increase in the number of robberies and dacoities. Mr. Blaquire, the Magistrate of Nadia, dealt with the dacoits quite effectively employing spies to watch their movements.

The freedom struggle of 1857-58 did not affect Nadia district because there was no garrison stationed there.

¹ W. K. Firminger, *Historical Introduction to the Bengal Portion of the Fifth Report* (Reprint, 1960), p. 204.

The blue vegetable dye, indigo, as it was called by the Greeks, appears to have been an ancient article of export from the Indian port of Barbaricum. But *Periplus* does not mention this as an item of commerce from the port of Gange. This makes its cultivation in deltaic Bengal doubtful in the first century A.D.

In modern times the earliest cultivation of indigo along modern lines was started in Bengal by the Frenchman Louis Bonnaud at Taldāngā and Gondalpārā in 1777. The first Englishman to start indigo plantation was Carol Bloome who established his concern in 1778. In 1779, the East India Company permitted all Europeans to establish indigo plantations. The cultivation of such a profitable cash crop as indigo should have brought prosperity to the cultivators in Bengal but in fact this led to the first uprising of the *ryots* in British occupied Bengal. The cause lay not in the crop or its cultivation but in the manner in which the European planters forced the local *ryots* to cultivate indigo. The planters advanced money to the *ryots* for cultivation of indigo and in theory the advance was to be written off against the crop supplied. But the rapacious planters manipulated accounts in such manner that the *ryot* was ever left a debtor to the planter and year after year the debt increased and he practically became a serf of the planter. This practice made the *ryots* refuse to accept the advances and the planters used all possible means of coercion to force the *ryot* to take the advances. Their cattle were seized, the *ryot* was confined and physically tortured, their houses were set fire too and their paddy crop destroyed. In those days the arm of law was not long enough to reach the rapacious planters. The hands of the planters were further strengthened by *Regulation VI of 1823* which gave a lien interest of the planter on the land of the *ryot* who had taken advance and by *Regulation V of 1830* the *ryots* were liable to be imprisoned if they failed to grow indigo after taking the advance. On 10th April 1832, the Court of Directors of the East India Company in London wrote to the Governor-General expressing their deep concern at reports reaching them of the rapacity of the planters. The report of Mr. Turnbull, the Magistrate of Nadia, may be quoted, "The contract formed with the *ryot* is sometimes not in writing, is frequently insufficiently defined and is generally extremely unfavourable to the *ryot* rendering him in fact a slave to the establishment with which he was once engaged ... I had some opportunity of witnessing the scenes of contentious strife. ... The disorders

Indigo cultivation and the disturbance of 1860

which then prevailed in the neighbouring indigo districts have. I believe, nothing abated to the present day and they are certainly such as to call for the serious interposition of government. ... The most daring breaches of peace are committed in the face of our police officers, and even the magistrate himself. In utter defiance of all law and authority, large bodies of armed men are avowedly entertained for the express purpose for taking or retaining forcible possession of land or crops. Violent affrays or regular pitched battles ensue attended with blood-shed or homicide. ... Private assassination occasionally occurs and forgery and perjury have their full sway, in short every species of crime are committed."¹ According to law then prevalent the European British subjects were not under the jurisdiction of the mofussil courts. The magistrates were also cowed down by fear or prosecution before the Supreme Court. In 1849, John Drinkwater Bethune, Law Secretary to the Government of India, prepared a draft of a law by which the jurisdiction of the mofussil court was to be extended to the European British subjects. But in the teeth of strong opposition by the European community the draft never became law. Mr. Sconce, Judge-Magistrate of Nadia sent a report on 20th April 1854 to the Government about the oppressions by the planters and requested that a Commission be constituted to inquire into the matter. The Government, however, turned down the proposal.²

By 1859, the ferment which had been brewing for about 30 years suddenly exploded. Resistance groups grew up in a larger number of villages in Jessore and Nadia. Some of the planters and their men were attacked, some villages so organized themselves that the *lāṭhiāls* of the planters dared not enter there. Near Krishnanagar the movement was organized by two redoubtable men, Bishnucharan Biswas and Digambar Biswas of Chaugāchhā. Chaugāchhā and the adjacent villages declared that they would not cultivate indigo. The planters of the Katgara concern attacked those villages with 1,000 *lāṭhiāls*. Many were injured and killed and many were arrested and prosecuted. So widespread and deep was public resentment against indigo cultivation that the Governor-General Lord Canning wrote, "I assure you that for about a week it caused me more anxiety than I have had since the days of Delhi and from that day I felt that

¹ Indigo Commission Report, Appendix 16.

² Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal: Papers relating to the Indigo cultivation in Bengal, Calcutta, 1860, pp. 2-3, 5-6.

a shot fired in anger or fear by a foolish planter might put every factory in Lower Bengal in flames."¹ In 1860, the Government constituted the Indigo Commission. A notification also issued warning all parties concerned against having recourse to violent or unlawful proceedings. In 1880, Adolf von Bayer synthesized indigo (*Indigotin*) and indigo cultivation and its attendant troubles died a natural death.

Nationalist sentiment continued to be high after the Indigo Revolt. The Krishnanagar students' trial of 1884 displayed the mood of revolt against foreign rule.

Tarapada Bandyopadhyay, a son of the district, helped in the spread of political consciousness during the last two decades of the nineteenth and first decade of the twentieth century. He suggested the raising of a National Fund at the time of Surendranath Banerjea's imprisonment in 1883. The fund (Rs. 20,000) so collected was spent in the anti-partition agitation of Bengal. Tarapada was a leader of the boycott movement in Krishnanagar. He convened a public meeting at the Krishnanagar Town Hall in 1905 which was addressed by Surendranath Banerjea and others. At this meeting a large number of people took the vow of *swadeshi* under the leadership of Tarapada.² The religious sentiments of the people were exploited in the *swadeshi* or economic boycott movement. The *paṇḍits* of Navadvīp lent their support to the movement of boycotting foreign salt and sugar. In Nadia district the family priests carried the boycott from dusk to dawn. A man of Nadia district using foreign sugar was boycotted by his castemen.³

Institutes for physical culture grew up. The younger generation was inspired by the ideal of freedom propounded by Bankimchandra, the noted novelist. People drew inspiration from the nationalist poems and songs of Rajani Sen and Rabindranath. At that time a very prominent person participating in the freedom movement was Jatindranath Mukherjee or *Bāghā* Jatin. He had his early education at his maternal uncle's place and passed the Entrance examination from Krishnanagar A. V. School. He founded an institute for physical culture behind Krishnanagar Public Library building possibly to train up his associates for the

Unrest in
1905

Bāghā Jatin

¹ J.H.E. Garrett, *Nadia District Gazetteer*, 1910.

² R.C. Majumdar, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1962, p. 377; N. Sinha, *Freedom Movement in Bengal: 1818-1904: Who's who*, Calcutta, 1968, p. 333.

³ R.C. Majumdar, *Struggle for Freedom*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1969, pp. 35, 39.

imminent fight. The terrorist movement was afoot and Jatindranath had connexions with his associates in Calcutta. Some political dacoities also took place to provide funds for the revolutionaries. For instance, a dacoity took place at Raita¹ on 29th November 1908 involving a loot of Rs. 1,915 and at Haludbari² in Daulatpur police station area (now in Bangladesh) on 28th October 1909 involving a loot of Rs. 1,400. A sum of Rs. 2,700 was also looted for political purposes at Pragpur in Daulatpur police station area on 30th April 1915.³ A river dacoity also took place at Sibpur in Kotwali police station area on 30th September 1915 involving a loot of Rs. 20,700. Nine terrorists headed by Naren Ghosh Chaudhuri were arrested in this connexion. Police arrested Lalit Chatterji, the maternal uncle of Jatindranath, and two others, but for want of evidence they were released.

Jatindranath's encounter with the police on the bank of Budi Balam river in Orissa on 9th September 1915 along with his associate Jatish of Khoksa of this district and others is an important landmark in the struggle for freedom. The idea of social service was growing and institutions like Daridra Bhandar (Poor Fund), Krishnanagar, Shāntipur Public Library, Bandhu Sabha, Sahitya Sabha, etc. came to be established.

Anantahari Mitra was an active member of the terrorists' organization. In 1924, he shifted his secret office to Dakshineswar, though connexions were maintained with the organizers at Krishnanagar. Anantahari used to stay at the house named District Association, situated to the north of the District Judge's court. Workers of the secret organization used to stay there and it was purchased in December 1922. At present the house is called Anantahari Smriti Sadan. At that time mail service by horse-drawn coaches used to function between Krishnanagar Post Office and Navadwip. On 16th July 1924 the mail bags were

¹ *Sedition Committee (S.A.T. Rowlett) : 1908 : Report, Calcutta, 1973 (reprint), p. 39.*

² *Ibid.*, p. 41: "Another important dacoity committed this autumn ... was at Haludbari in the Nadia District. On October 28th, ten or twelve youths armed with pistols and a gun, with faces muffled and some with false beards, raided two houses and carried off in ornaments and money Rs. 1,400. Five of them were intercepted on their way to a railway station and arrested. In the house of one of them 35 loaded revolver cartridges were found. Five of these men were convicted. In the possession of one of them, Upendra Deb, were pills containing fatal doses of cyanide of potassium. One of the others in his statement said that such pills had been given ... in order that they might commit suicide if necessary."

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 72-73.

looted though they had not much cash. The police could not trace the persons involved though it was supposed to be the work of the party of Anantahari.

Enthusiasm in the wake of the Chittagong armoury raid of 18th April 1930 shook this part of the province. The young terrorists reorganized the secret organizations and on the night of 17th March 1931 bombs were thrown simultaneously in the bungalow of the Superintendent of Police at Krishnanagar, on Kotwali thana building and on the house of an Inspector of the District Intelligence Branch. One of the most important ingredients of bombs was picric acid and some local terrorists arranged to bring it from other provinces as it was in short supply with the pharmaceutical firms in the district. Pamphlets written by women voicing protest against torture inflicted on the political prisoners at Andaman and other jails were pasted in the walls of Krishnanagar town on the night of the bombing. The pamphlets said that the revolutionaries like Bharat Singh should not be hanged, and that the organizers were having recourse to bombing as constitutional methods were failing to bring about any redress. The case named Krishnanagar Bomb Case, however, could not be proved against the accused persons. Some of them were later made political prisoners and kept in detention.

The non-Cooperation movement initiated in the Nagpur Congress was launched here and fiery speeches were delivered by Bepin Chandra Pal in the Public Library maidan and in the town hall on the occasion. Later, Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das visited Krishnanagar and other places to raise fund for the Tilak Swarajya Fund. The secret training Centre for the nationalists was started at Garabini Cottage, Krishnanagar in 1921. It was considered a haunted house, and hence the nationalists could occupy it at a monthly rent of Rs. 28 only. The late Prof. Hemanta Kumar Sarkar sided with Chittaranjan and took up the management of the District Congress party. Branches of the Congress organization were set up at different places and organizers were sent there to run them. The Congress then organized campaigns against liquor shops and foreign goods and arranged for the boycott of educational institutions.

In 1926, the annual session of the Bengal Provincial Conference was held in Krishnanagar. Nazrul Islam, the Bengali poet, was then residing there and he formed a volunteer corps and made a great stir by his national songs.

Anantahari
in 1930

Krishnanagar
Bomb cases
1931

Non-
Cooperation
Movement
1920

Terrorists
in 1924

The first all Bengal Youth and all Bengal Students' convention were held in Krishnanagar in 1926 under the Chairmanship of Sri Tulsi Goswami and Sm. Sarojini Naidu respectively. Parades and route marches were held by organizing Red-shirt volunteers in Krishnanagar, Kushtia and other places. In 1927, the Red-shirt movement was followed by a library movement which spread throughout the district.

In the thirties, the late Tarakdas Banerjee was at the helm of the Nadia Congress. The Satyagrahis coming from Kushtia to Krishnanagar were looked after by Sri Banerjee. He organized many night schools, libraries, etc. in Krishnanagar town.

The day on which the judgement of the Krishnanagar Bomb case was delivered was remarkable because on that very day Subhas Chandra attended a big public meeting at Krishnanagar. Leaders like Rajendra Prasad, K. F. Nariman, M. S. Aney also delivered lectures in that meeting.

The no-tax movement first began at Chanderghat on 13th April 1932 wherefrom it spread over a large part of the district.¹

The Quit India movement of 1942 found expression through strikes and protests against prohibitive orders in the district. Many students took part in the movement and were arrested and given different terms of jail sentences after trial. There were picketing in front of wine shops in Krishnanagar and hoisting of Congress flags on top of public buildings. Violent activities like the burning of trains in the railway siding at Krishnanagar and of some Government hutments at Ranaghat were resorted to. The Muragacha railway station was attacked and burnt. *Muktir Dāk*, the journal of the district congress became the forum of underground activity of the party workers. In some places communications were cut off. Political leaders and organizations were subjected to repressions. Some leaders were taken into custody under the Defence of India Act.²

Nadia was partitioned in 1947 in pursuance of the Radcliffe award details of which have been given in Chapter I.

Quit India
1942

Independence
1947

¹ B. Ray, *Census 1961: West Bengal: District Census Handbook: Nadia*, Calcutta, 1967, pp. 25-26.

² Nadia Jela Nagarik Parishad, *Swādhīnatā Saṅgrāme Nadiā* (in Bengali), Krishnanagar, 1973, pp. 186-99.

CHAPTER III

PEOPLE

The district of Nadia, which nearly extended over an area of 2,800 sq. miles since 1870, was partitioned in 1947, and now contains an area of 3,926 sq. km.¹ (1,509 sq. miles) showing depletion of a sizable portion of its land. But there has not been a proportionate decrease in its population. The population rather increased from 8,40,303 in 1941 (in the undivided district) to 11,44,924 in 1951 and then to 17,13,324 in 1961 till in 1971 it became 22,30,270. The story was otherwise prior to and immediately following the first Census count of 1872.

Although a few estimates of the population of the district were made right from the beginning of the nineteenth century, the first authentic figures were available from the Census count of 1872. Paucity of water supply, ravages of the Burdwan Fever between 1860 and 1872, poor agricultural activities and progressive infertility of the soil due to dying rivers had resulted in depopulation through large-scale death and emigration in the late nineteenth century. Fever and Cholera broke out sporadically, hampering the growth of population in the last decade of the nineteenth century. In the next decade, Cholera broke out again and famine conditions prevailed for sometime. Influenza in an epidemic form took a great toll of lives in 1918-19. But in the 1921-31 decade, the supply of filtered water attracted many rural folk to settle in Krishnanagar. Many towns like Navadvīp and Shāntipur also attracted people from the rural areas with the opening and extension of bridges and railways. Fall in population figures due to floods, famines, epidemics, drought and distress continued in later decades till the district was partitioned in 1947, when more people migrated into the district than those who vacated it. While there had been a percentage increase of 36.25 in 1951 over the population of 1941 in the district palpably caused by immigration, there was an overwhelming percentage increase of 49.65 in 1961 over the population of 1951 caused by immigration from within and without the country, and natural growth. In 1971, the population registered a percentage increase of 30.14 over the population of 1961, which was above the increase in the figure for the State

POPULATION

Growth of
population
in the
district

¹ As on 1st July 1971.

(26.87) during the same period (1961-71). The growth of population in the district and its police stations may be visualized from the table in Appendix A.

While the absolute figures of population in different decades have been given in the aforesaid table, the table in Appendix B will reveal the percentage variations in population from decade to decade.

Both the absolute and percentage figures reveal that in the 1881-91 decade there had been decrease in population in every police station except in Karimpur and Shāntipur police stations. The decrease continued in some police stations during the next two decades, which reached its climax in the 1911-21 decade when all the police stations recorded considerable decreases. The position improved to some extent in the next decade when eight police stations recorded increases and five decreases. In the 1931-41 decade, the position improved and increases were found in each police station. In the 1941-51 decade, only two police stations, namely, Tehatta and Karimpur recorded decreases caused by emigration. The increases elsewhere in this decade and everywhere in the next decade may have been caused by immigration, natural growth, etc. as has been stated earlier.

The density of population in the district was around five hundred persons to a sq. mile for decades beginning with 1872. Navadwīp and Shāntipur police stations, including the towns of the same names, had sufficient density right from the early years of this century, and Krishnanagar, the headquarters town of the district, displayed high density figures only in 1951 and 1961.

In the early years of this century, density was conditioned by several factors, like paucity of drinking water supply, decay of distributary rivers and consequent ill health and death of people till the figures reached their minimum in 1921. The figures then continued to grow up till in 1951 and 1961 they were sufficiently high everywhere owing to immigration as a result of the partition. While in 1951, Krishnanagar recorded very high density figures in comparison with those for earlier years, in 1961 a number of police stations, incorporating refugee colonies and planned townships, recorded high density figures. They were Rānāghāt, Chākdaha and Haringhātā police stations, all belonging to Rānāghāt Subdivision, which since 1951 outnumbered the only other subdivision of the district in density figures. The growth of Navadwīp police station in Sadar Sub-

division and Shāntipur in Rānāghāt Subdivision continued unabated, and the former had the highest density figures (3,113 per sq. mile) in 1961.

The district with 1,135 persons per sq. mile has a density higher than the overall average for West Bengal, which is 1,021 persons per sq. mile. As to the density of rural population, Nadia ranks fifth in the State of West Bengal. In urban areas it has only 7,183 persons per sq. mile as against the average of 12,978 persons per sq. mile of urban areas in the entire State (*vide* 1961 Census count).

The density figures of the district along with its police stations beginning from 1872 are set forth in the table in Appendix C. The table shows that some areas have greater concentrations than others and that there has been a rapid growth following the partition.

The density of population in the district was greater in the urban area than in the rural, and the figures below will indicate that while the density in the rural areas has nearly trebled between 1941 and 1971, it has nearly quadrupled in the urban areas during the same period.

DENSITY IN THE RURAL-URBAN SECTOR IN NADIA DISTRICT: 1901-71*

	1971	1961	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901
Rural	1,238	954	639	494	434	431	475	473
Urban	9,249	7,183	4,740	2,649	2,649	1,819	1,824	1,815

The towns in the district are growing, sometimes absorbing villages; and they numbered 12 in 1961 spread over 44.0 sq. miles (113.7 sq. km.) with a population of 3,15,338 (1,63,166 males and 1,52,172 females), which formed 18.41 per cent of the total district population.

The growth of towns and refugee townships in the wake of the partition has been a feature of the district in recent years. The table in Appendix D would indicate the growth of population in the towns, conterminous with municipal areas since 1901 and newly laid out refugee colonies or planned townships in 1971.

*Density per sq. mile.

Density of
population

Growth of
towns

While industries attract people to towns elsewhere, in this district refugee immigrants have inflated the size of the population. In some cases, new townships have grown up with the refugees who came over from East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). Townships like Taherpur, Kātāganj and Gokulpur have absorbed villages to accommodate refugees in Government colonies there.

Pilgrim Centres and municipal areas like Navadwīp and Shāntipur have had always large populations, and have increased more in recent years. Krishnanagar, the headquarters station of the district and a municipal town, has also attracted people for long. People have also flocked in other municipal areas like Rānāghāt, a subdivisional town, Chākdaha and Bīrnagar in search of non-agricultural economic pursuits.

Some planned townships like Kalyāṇī, which has absorbed many villages and has many industries, described in Chapter V, and Haringhātā, with its civil offices and livestock centre have also a sizable population. Other townships like Phulīā and Bagulā have also grown in recent years, populated mostly by refugees from East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). Thus immigration, rather than natural growth, has a large part to play in the composition of the population of the district.

According to the Census of 1961, there were 13,97,986 persons (7,16,264 males and 6,81,722 females) in the rural areas of the district, spread over 1,465.1 sq. miles (3,794.8 sq. km.). They inhabited 1,282 villages and formed 81.59 per cent of the total district population. The following table¹ shows the rural population and other allied data as obtaining in the district according to the Census of 1961. The table also reveals that the largest number of villages (184) are in Rānāghāt police station, followed by Chākdaha (156) and Karimpur (132). The largest average incidence of population in village is to be found in Navadwīp (1,936) and Tehatta (1,538) police stations, followed by others. Within an area of 100 sq. miles each, Chākdaha police station has the largest number of inhabited villages (141), followed by Haringhātā (137) and Rānāghāt (111) police stations.

¹ B. Ray, *Census 1961 : West Bengal, District Handbook : Nadia*, Calcutta, 1967, p. 42.

RURAL POPULATION IN NADIA DISTRICT : 1961¹

Administrative Unit 1	Rural area sq. miles 2	sq. km. 3	No. of inhabited villages 4	Population (rural) 5	Average no. of persons per in- habited village 6	No. of in- habited villages per 100 sq. miles (rural) 7
West Bengal	33,553.0	—	38,465 (38,074)	2,65,85,437 (3,33,44,978)	686	115
Nadia District	1,465.1	3,794.8	1,282 (1,275)	13,97,986 (18,12,211)	1,090	88
Sadar Subdivision	966.6	2,503.4	712 (707)	8,68,507 (11,23,066)	1,220	74
Krishnanagar P.S.	140.8	364.7	119 (127)	1,48,941 (1,87,035)	1,252	85
Navadwīp P.S.	35.7	92.4	27	52,281 (66,366)	1,936	76
Chāprā P.S.	130.8	338.8	91 (78)	1,10,754 (1,35,634)	1,217	70
Krishnanagar P.S.	58.4	151.2	52	52,034 (68,756)	1,001	89
Nākāsipārā P.S.	139.9	362.3	99 (100)	1,19,176 (1,52,317)	1,204	71
Kālīganj P.S.	124.0	321.2	105	1,12,325 (1,48,465)	1,070	85
Tehatta P.S.	163.4	23.2	87 (88)	1,33,803 (1,77,013)	1,538	53
Karimpur P.S.	173.6	449.6	132 (130)	1,39,193 (1,87,480)	1,054	76
Rānāghāt Sub- division	498.5	1,291.4	570 (568)	5,29,479 (6,89,145)	929	114
Rānāghāt P.S.	165.2	427.9	184 (182)	1,96,557 (2,39,560)	1,068	111
Chākdaha P.S.	110.6	286.5	156 (131)	1,28,632 (1,39,699)	825	141
Haringhātā P.S.	65.0	168.4	89 (86)	67,324 (95,583)	756	137
Hānskhālī P.S.	93.5	242.2	78 (77)	79,535 (1,07,407)	1,020	83
Shāntipur P.S.	64.2	166.4	63 (64)	57,431 (78,518)	912	98

The Census figures indicate that villages with smaller number of people are becoming further small. It may be that bigger villages with better economic facilities, are attracting people from smaller villages, eventually to be grasped by bigger cities

¹ Figures in brackets are those for Census 1971. In cols. 4 and 5 where the figures are the same during Census 1971, such figures have not been repeated. The newly formed Kalyani P.S. had 28 inhabited villages in 1971 with a total rural population of 28,378.

in the future. The following table would indicate the depletion in villages having less than 500 people, and in villages where people number between 500 and 999 during the 1951-61 decade. The number of people is almost static in 1,000-1,999 population-group, while a large increase is to be found in 2,000-4,999; 5,000-9,999 and 10,000+ population-groups during the same decade.

VARIATION IN RURAL POPULATION IN NADIA DISTRICT : 1951-61¹

Villages (according to the size of population)	Percentage of			
	No. of villages in this class to total no. of villages in the district		Population in this class to total rural population of the district	
	1951	1961	1951	1961
Less than 500	53.47	34.32	18.64	8.27
500-999	24.96	28.46	23.37	18.69
1,000-1,999	16.16	23.14	29.62	29.50
2,000-4,999	4.93	12.59	18.74	32.74
5,000-9,999	0.24	1.33	2.17	7.59
10,000+	0.24	0.16	7.46	3.21

Emigration
and Immi-
gration

Immigrants form a sizable population of the district. The number of emigrants is also considerable. To avail of the opportunities for economic gain rural people have flocked to the recently grown towns of the district; besides, a good number of migrants have come over from East Pakistan (now Bānglādes̄h) following the partition and have settled in urbanized colonies and urban areas. There are also immigrants from other districts of West Bengal and from other States of India. According to the Census of 1961, 70,122 persons, born in other districts of West Bengal, migrated into the district, of whom 26,077 were males and 44,045 females. The increase in the number of females indicates that a large number of females were taken in as brides from other districts. The contiguous Murshidābād and 24-Parganas districts sent 18,300 and 16,640 migrants respectively forming 26.10 and 23.73 per cent of the total number

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 43. In 1971, there were 1,275 inhabited villages in the district, and the total rural population there numbered 18,12,211. Villages having less than 200 people numbered 100, between 200 and 499 numbered 212, between 500 and 999 numbered 331, between 1,000 and 1,999 numbered 349, between 2,000 and 4,999 numbered 249, between 5,000 and 9,999 numbered 29 and having 10,000 and above numbered 5.

of immigrants. Barddhamān, Calcutta and Hugli districts sent respectively 9,664, 7,531 and 4,498 migrants who formed 13.78, 10.74 and 7.84 per cent of the total number of immigrants into the district.

There were also 27,251 immigrants from other States of India in the district, of whom persons from Bihār, Uttar Pradesh, Orissa and Assam respectively numbered 16,990, 3,419, 2,736 and 1,940, the rest having come from other States.

As to the immigrants from East Pakistan (now Bānglādes̄h), the Census of 1961 enumerated as many as 5,02,645 persons in the district.

The Census of 1961 recorded 1,17,269 emigrants from the district to other districts of the State, of whom 33,107, 23,572, 17,495, 15,553, 11,008 and 6,565 migrated to 24-Parganas, Calcutta, Barddhamān, Murshidābād, Hugli and Howrah districts respectively forming 28.23, 20.10, 14.92, 13.26, 9.39 and 5.60 per cent of the total number of immigrants to other districts. The districts attracting the emigrants are mainly industrialized and urbanized, and offered better employment opportunities to such persons than are available in Nadia district.

The Census of 1951 enumerated 4,24,656 persons (2,18,712 males and 2,05,944 females) belonging to the minority communities in East Pakistan (now Bānglādes̄h) as those who had come to the district between 1946 and 1951. In another report¹, it is seen that such persons numbering 4,03,804² migrated to the district during the same period, of whom 16.76 per cent (67,696) settled in the urban areas. The migrants mostly came from the ceded portion of Nadia district (42.0%), Faridpur (12.6%), Jessore (11.6%), Dacca (10.7%) and other districts of East Pakistan (now Bānglādes̄h) with lower percentage figures.

The following table gives detailed figures about the distribution of refugees outside Government camps in the district in 1955.

¹ Government of West Bengal, State Statistical Bureau, *Report on the sample survey for estimating the socio-economic characteristics of displaced persons migrating from Eastern Pākistān to the State of West Bengal*, Calcutta, 1951, p. 13. The discrepancy in figures may have been due to the fact that the latter Census was undertaken earlier — when the migrants were still pouring in.

² The District Magistrate, Nadia, had recorded 5,90,760 immigrants between 1947 and 1951 (*vide* A. Mitra, *Census 1951: District Handbook: Nadia*, Calcutta, 1953, p. XXXVII).

Displaced
persons

DISTRIBUTION OF DISPLACED PERSONS IN NADIA DISTRICT: 1951¹
(OUTSIDE GOVERNMENT CAMPS)

	No. of families	No. of members
Nadia district	1,05,841	4,66,608
Sadar Subdivision	50,238	2,16,861
Krishnanagar P.S.	10,794	47,838
Krishnanagar Town	4,454	22,364
Navadwip P.S.	9,165	38,927
Navadwip Town	6,096	26,575
Chāprā P.S.	5,642	23,445
Krishnaganj P.S.	5,117	21,015
Nākāsipārā P.S.	3,386	15,485
Kāliaganj P.S.	1,668	7,781
Tehatta P.S.	5,646	23,115
Karimpur P.S.	8,820	39,255
Rānāghāt Subdivision	55,603	2,49,747
Rānāghāt P.S.	20,426	93,123
Rānāghāt Town	2,154	11,015
Bīrnagar Town	928	4,246
Chākdaha P.S.	14,681	65,437
Chākdaha Town	4,052	18,735
Haringhātā P.S.	2,641	12,473
Hānskhālī P.S.	10,799	47,532
Shāntipur P.S.	7,056	31,182
Shāntipur Town	2,670	12,346

Age-com-
position

The following table shows the age-composition of the people in both the rural and urban areas of the district. Leaving aside the children below 10, the others have been grouped in a five-year span each. It will be seen that the number of people in each group declines with the advance of age.

¹ Government of West Bengal, State Statistical Bureau — *Rehabilitation of Refugees : A statistical survey*, 1955, Calcutta, 1956, pp. 90-91.

NO. OF PEOPLE IN DIFFERENT AGE-GROUPS IN NADIA DISTRICT:
1961

Age-group	Locality	Persons	Males	Females
All ages	Rural	13,97,986	7,16,264	6,81,722
	Urban	3,15,338	1,63,166	1,52,172
0-9	R	4,69,899	2,33,508	2,36,391
	U	89,482	45,059	44,423
10-14	R	1,51,511	82,255	69,286
	U	36,956	19,194	17,762
15-19	R	1,13,502	59,438	54,064
	U	29,256	15,340	13,916
20-24	R	1,11,664	54,719	56,945
	U	28,008	14,778	13,230
25-29	R	1,08,783	55,262	53,521
	U	24,268	12,718	11,550
30-34	R	88,862	46,149	42,713
	U	21,296	11,174	10,122
35-39	R	74,119	41,115	33,004
	U	16,807	9,657	7,150
40-44	R	67,957	36,069	31,888
	U	17,079	9,110	7,969
45-49	R	51,237	28,030	23,207
	U	11,835	6,343	5,492
50-54	R	50,452	25,684	24,768
	U	13,046	6,810	6,236
55-59	R	30,949	16,474	14,475
	U	7,894	4,203	3,691
60-64	R	34,147	16,207	17,940
	U	8,515	3,784	4,731
65-69	R	15,821	7,959	7,862
	U	4,232	1,894	2,338
70+	R	28,114	12,862	15,252
	U	6,652	3,092	3,560
Age not stated	R	969	563	406
	U	12	10	2

Males outnumber females both in the State of West Bengal and in Nadia district. The following table would indicate the distribution of females per 1,000 males in the district between 1901 and 1961.

Male-female
ratio

NO. OF FEMALES PER 1,000 MALES IN NADIA DISTRICT : 1901-61

Year	West Bengal			Nadia district		
	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
1901	945	994	652	1,014	1,006	1,082
1911	925	982	614	996	988	1,067
1921	905	971	591	956	946	1,035
1931	890	961	578	951	947	981
1941	652	945	559	945	941	973
1951	965	939	660	937	940	927
1961	878	943	701	948	952	933

The foregoing table reveals that in 1901 females outnumbered males both in the rural and urban areas of the district. While increased number of females continued during 1911 and 1931 in the urban areas, their number declined in the rural areas in every decade beginning from 1911. Since 1931, however, their numbers have declined in the urban areas also.

The following table shows a detailed distribution of females per 1,000 males in the district during 1961.

NO. OF FEMALES PER 1,000 MALES IN NADIA DISTRICT: 1961

	Total	Rural	Urban
Sadar Subdivision	956	959	936
Krishnanagar P.S.	967	993	915
Navadwip P.S.	948	935	957
Chāprā P.S.	955	955	—
Krishnaganj P.S.	939	939	—
Nākāsipārā P.S.	948	948	—
Kāliganj P.S.	950	950	—
Tehatta P.S.	957	957	—
Karimpur P.S.	960	960	—
Rānāghāt Subdivision	938	940	929
Rānāghāt P.S.	945	957	906
Chākdaha P.S.	919	917	923
Haringhātā P.S.	929	929	—
Hānskhālī P.S.	935	937	900
Shāntipur P.S.	960	957	964

From the foregoing table it appears that the largest number of females (967) per 1,000 males are to be found in Krishnanagar police station. Rural females per 1,000 males are the largest in number (993) in Krishnanagar police station, while urban females for the same number of males are most numerous (964) in Shāntipur police station.

LANGUAGES

According to the Census of 1961, 45 languages as spoken in the district, could be identified. Of them, Bengali, being the language of the State, is naturally the predominant language, followed by Hindi. The languages next in numerical importance are Sāntālī and Orāon spoken by the Sāntāls and the Orāons of the district. These tribes came to the district in not very distant past, their main work being reclamation of land and agricultural pursuits. The Oriyā speakers form the next numerous group, followed by Muṇḍārī, again a tribal language. Urdu speakers come next in numerical importance. These languages, combined with several others, both Indian and foreign, form the linguistic background of the district.

According to the Census of 1961, Bengali speakers (including Mālpāhārīā speakers) numbered 16,73,511 (8,53,286 males and 8,20,162 females), of whom 13,70,418 were in rural and 3,03,093 in urban areas of the district. They form 97.67 per cent of the population of the district. In 1901, they numbered 16,53,956 forming 99.18 per cent of the district population, which figure declined to 15,12,326 in 1931 forming 98.86 per cent of the then district population and recording a percentage decrease of 8.56 over the thirty-year period beginning from 1901. During the next thirty-year period (1931-61), a percentage increase of 10.65 is perceptible over the figures obtaining in 1931.

Bengali, as spoken in the district, is said to be the Central dialect of Bengali. It is spoken by the educated classes and is usually taken as the standard of polite conversation. It is the same language as spoken in the town of Calcutta and other adjoining districts like 24-Parganas, Murshidābād, Hugli and Howrah.¹ This dialect is the eastern form of Rāḍha (West Bengali) proper,² and is distinguished from the former regions of East Nadia, which are now in Bānglādesh, where the Rāḍha and Vaṅga forms of Bengali intermingle, the former influencing the latter.

Though there has been migration of people from one region to another in recent years under various circumstances, obliterating regional characters of speech-forms, the following may be cited as an illustration of the language as it was spoken in the district in the early parts of this century.

পাঁচু সেখ ও মালি মণ্ডলের কথোপকথন³

পাঁচু—ভুইকম্পটা পেরথম পশ্চিম দিক হতে এলো। তার পর ঘর দোর সব কাঁপতে নাগলো। তার পর কেরমেসে জল নড়তে নাগলো। তার পর গরু বাছুর জীব জানোয়ার সব কাঁপতে নাগলো। তুই কি কচ্ছিলি? মালি—আমি আমার মহাজনের বাড়ী ধানের জন্য গিয়াছিলাম। খুঁটি হেলান দিয়া বসেছিলাম। এমন ধারা ভুইকম্প আমার গেন্নানেতে দেখিনি কখন। তুই সে সময় কোথায় ছিলি?

¹ G. A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. V, Part I*, Calcutta, 1903, p. 37.

² S. K. Chatterji, *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language, Part I*, Calcutta, 1926, p. 140 (table).

³ G. A. Grierson, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-63.

Indo-Aryan
Bengali

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

Pānchu Sēkh O Māli Maṇḍalēr kathōpakathan
(Pānchu Sēkh and Māli Maṇḍal's dialogue).

Pānchu — Bhui-kampa-jā pērtham paśchim dik hatē
Earthquake the-first west side from
clo. Tār par ghar dōr sab kānptē nāglō
came. Of-that after house doors all to-shake began.
Tār par kērmēsē jal naṭtē nāglō.
Of-that after gradually water to-shake began.
Tār par garu bāchhur jīb jānwār
Of-that after cows calves living animals
sab kānptē nāglō. Tui ki kachehhili ?
al to-shake began. You what were-doing ?

Māli — Āmi āmār mahājanēr baḍi dhānēr
I my of-mahajan house of-paddy
janya giyāchhilām. Sēkhānē khūṇṭi
for went. There post
hēlān-diyā, basē
(reclining-giving, i.e. reclining), having-sat-down
chhilām. Eman dhārā bhui-kampa āmār
I-was. This like earthquake my
gēyānētē dēkhi-ni kakhana. Tui
in-knowledge saw not-ever. You
sē samay kōthāy chhili ?
that time where were ?

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING

CONVERSATION BETWEEN PĀNCHU SEKH AND MĀLI MAṆḌAL.

Pānchu — The first shaking of the earth came from the west.
After that all the houses began to shake. After that the water
began gradually to shake. Then all living animals, such as,
cows and calves began to shake. What were you doing?

Māli — I had gone to the house of my banker for paddy.
I had sat down and was leaning against a post.
To my knowledge, I never saw such an earthquake.
Where were you at the time?

Hindi is spoken by different classes of people, specially in the urban areas. In 1901, the Hindi speakers of the district numbered 12,319 forming 0.73 per cent of the district population, which figure declined to 11,485 in 1931 forming 0.75 per cent of the then district population. It recorded a percentage decrease of 6.77 over the thirty-year period beginning from 1901. In 1961, the Hindi speakers numbered 26,452 forming 1.54 per cent of the district population and recording a phenomenal percentage increase of 130.31 over the thirty-year period beginning from 1931.

Of the several other Indo-Aryan languages spoken in the district, the Oriyā speakers number 1,676 (1,389 males and 287 females) according to the Census of 1961. There are also 509 Urdu speakers, 474 Nepālī speakers, 158 Gurmukhi speakers, 94 Gujarati speakers and a few speakers of other languages whose number does not exceed fifty each.

It was said that there was a large class of people in the district who were aborigines brought from Hāzāribāgh and Sāntāl Parganas to work as labourers in the manufacture of indigo, and that they had settled and cultivated their own land. They also worked as labourers, fishermen, palanquin-carriers, etc. They went under the general name Buna, which included Ghātswāls, Sāntāls, Rājbaṅsis and Bāgdis.¹ No more classed under a general group, it appears that the Sāntāls of the district, hailing as they do from Sāntāl Parganas, speak Northern Sāntālī and not Southern Sāntālī, the other form of the language. Belonging to the Muṇḍā branch of the Austric family of languages prevalent in the country, the language as spoken in the district has borrowed many words from the Bengali vocabulary, while its grammatical and phonological structure remains traditional. In 1901, the Santali speakers numbered only 81 in the district, and the figure rose to 541 in 1931. In 1961, they numbered 4,605 (including figures for Māhāli and Pāhāriā) forming 0.27 per cent to total population and recording great percentage increase over the earlier figures.

Muṇḍāri speakers of the district numbered 726 (339 males and 387 females) in 1961. Belonging to the Muṇḍā branch of the Austric family, the Muṇḍāri language is akin to Sāntālī in many respects, though not interchangeable.

¹ J. M. Pringle and A. H. Kemm, *Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the District of Nadia, 1918-1926*, Calcutta, 1928, p. 23.

Dravidian
Tāmil,
Telugu, etc.
Orāon

Of the Dravidian languages there are only 110 Telugu speakers, 38 Tamil speakers, 37 Malayalam speakers and 13 Kannada speakers in the district.

According to the Census of 1961, the Oraon speakers number 4,297 (2,173 males and 2,124 females) in the district. Like the Santals, the Oraon speakers have also migrated into the district in not very distant past in search of livelihood. Belonging to the Dravidian stock, the language remains a spoken one in the district.

Foreign
languages

According to the Census of 1961, there are 44 Persian speakers, 38 English speakers (including 2 Americans), 9 Italian speakers, 5 Chinese speakers, 4 Afghani speakers and only 1 speaker each for the Burmese, Dutch, German, Japanese and Spanish languages.

The following table reveals the number of speakers of some selected languages in absolute figures spread throughout the district.

NO. OF SPEAKERS OF SELECTED LANGUAGES IN NADIA DISTRICT:
1961

Administrative Unit	Bengali	Hindi	Sāntālī	Orāon
Nadia district	16,73,448	26,446	4,605	4,297
Sadar Subdivision	9,96,563	10,965	1,236	1,479
Krishnanagar P.S.	2,11,025	5,545	667	1,479
Navadwip P.S.	1,21,573	2,995	33	—
Chāprā P.S.	1,10,511	223	—	—
Krishnaganj P.S.	51,500	426	41	—
Nākāsipārā P.S.	1,18,549	364	241	—
Kāliganj P.S.	1,11,326	848	108	—
Tehatta P.S.	1,33,472	246	29	—
Karimpur P.S.	1,38,607	318	117	—
Rānāghāt Subdivision	6,76,885	15,481	3,318	2,818
Rānāghāt P.S.	2,45,717	4,994	26	18
Chākdaha P.S.	1,74,086	7,317	1,683	1,597
Haringhātā P.S.	63,965	1,136	1,575	261
Hānskhālī P.S.	82,945	412	50	601
Shāntipur P.S.	56,126	1,622	35	341

Bilingualism

According to the Census of 1961, out of the total speakers numbering 17,13,304 in the district, subsidiary languages are spoken by 59,910 persons, forming 3.49 per cent of the total. Of the speakers of subsidiary languages, as many as 48,643 forming 81.19 per cent of them, speak English as a subsidiary language. English being the main subsidiary language, it seems

that only the elites of society in this district are numerically important as the speakers of a subsidiary language. Bengali, being the language of the State, quite naturally forms the next subsidiary language for speakers of other languages, and is spoken as such by 8,123 persons forming 13.55 per cent of the speakers of subsidiary languages. Hindi as a subsidiary language comes next, spoken by as many as 2,163 speakers, forming 3.64 per cent of the speakers of subsidiary languages.

Of the total Bengali speakers numbering 2,94,08,246 in the State, subsidiary languages are spoken by only 16,50,905 persons, who form 5.61 per cent of the said total. In this district, out of a total number of 16,73,448 Bengali speakers, only 51,162 Bengali speakers, forming 3.05 per cent of the former speak subsidiary languages. Bengali being the State language, it is natural that a large number of Bengali speakers need not speak a subsidiary language in the performance of their daily avocations. Of the Bengali speakers of subsidiary languages in the district, as many as 48,260 persons forming 94.32 per cent of the Bengali speakers of subsidiary languages speak English, a foreign tongue.

Of the Bengali speakers who speak subsidiary languages also only 3.85 per cent numbering 1,973 speaks Hindi, which figure is insignificant in comparison with those who speak English also.

According to the Census of 1961, out of 18,94,039 Hindi speakers in the State, only 3,37,529 persons, forming 17.82 per cent of the former speak subsidiary languages. Of the Hindi speakers of subsidiary languages in the district as many as 2,27,277 persons, forming 67.33 per cent of them, speak Bengali. Of them 88,970 persons, forming 26.35 per cent, speak English.

Of the total speakers of Sāntālī numbering 11,21,447 in the State, 4,60,658 persons, forming 41.08 per cent of the former speak subsidiary languages. Of the speakers of Sāntālī (Māhālī and Pāhārīā excepted) numbering 4,410 in the district, 1,327 persons, forming 30.09 per cent of the former, speak subsidiary languages. Almost 100 per cent of the Sāntālī speakers (numbering 1,320 persons) of subsidiary languages speak Bengali, the State language.

Of the total Orāon speakers numbering 2,15,636 in the State, 54,531 persons, forming 25.28 per cent of the former, speak subsidiary languages. In the district, out of 4,297 Orāon speakers, as many as 1,891 persons, forming 44.00 per cent speak subsidiary languages, and of them almost 100 per cent and numbering 1,873 persons speak Bengali.

Among Bengali
mother-tongue
group

Among Hindi
mother-tongue
group

Among tribal
mother-tongue
groups
Sāntālī

Orāon

Mundari

Of the total Mundari speakers numbering 31,486 in the State, 10,189 persons, forming 32.36 per cent of the former, speak subsidiary languages. In the district, however, out of 726 Mundari speakers, 359 persons forming 49.44 per cent of the former, speak subsidiary languages, of whom 358 persons, forming 100 per cent speak Bengali.

RELIGION

The Census of 1961 enumerated 6 religious groups in the district, namely, Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Jains and Buddhists, spread over the different administrative units as set forth in the table below.

NO. OF PERSONS OF DIFFERENT RELIGIOUS GROUPS IN NADIA DISTRICT : 1961*

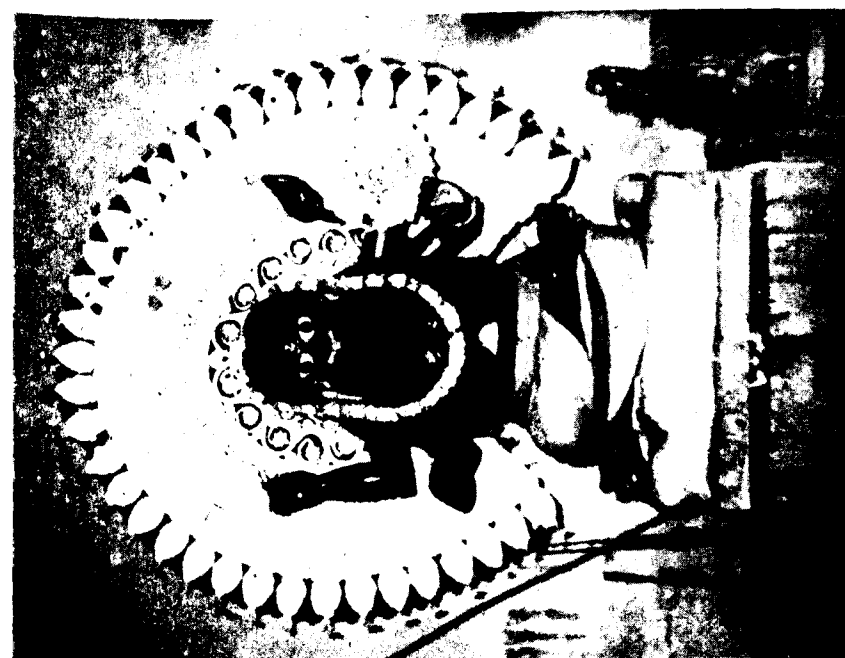
District/ Subdivision/	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Sikhs	Jains	Buddhists
Nadia District	12,84,173 (74.95)	4,17,706 (24.38)	10,840 (0.63)	400	126	38
Sadar Subdivision	6,81,044 (67.31)	3,22,135 (31.84)	8,193 (0.89)	294	118	24
Ranaghat Subdivision	6,03,129 (85.98)	95,571 (13.62)	2,647 (0.37)	106	8	14

The foregoing table indicates that almost three-fourths of the district population consist of Hindus, while Muslims consist of a little less than one-fourth. The Christians of the district form 0.63 per cent of the total district population and are most numerous in Chāprā P.S. forming 3.75 per cent of the total population of that area. As to the other religious groups, namely, Sikhs, Jains and Buddhists, it will be seen from the table that they are mostly to be found in the subdivisional towns, including the Sadar subdivisional headquarters which is also the district headquarters. The Census of 1961 enumerated 16 Brahmos (5 males and 11 females) living in the urban areas of Chākdaha police station. It may be that the Brahmos, as such, have now been returning themselves as Hindus, the parent body of old. The census also enumerated 7 Sāntāl males living in the rural areas of Chākdaha police station. As the Sāntāls as an ethnic group in the district consist of more persons, it may be that most of them also returned themselves as Hindus. The census further returned 18 persons as professing the faith of Mārānburu, which

*The figures in brackets indicate the percentage in relation to the total population of the relevant administrative unit.



2. Buḍō Siva icon in Buḍō Siva temple, Navadwip.



1. Bhabatārinī icon in Bhabatārinī temple, Navadwip.

1. Pōḍa Mānālā, a sacred site at Navadvīp.



2. Śrīcāitānya temple, Māvāpur.



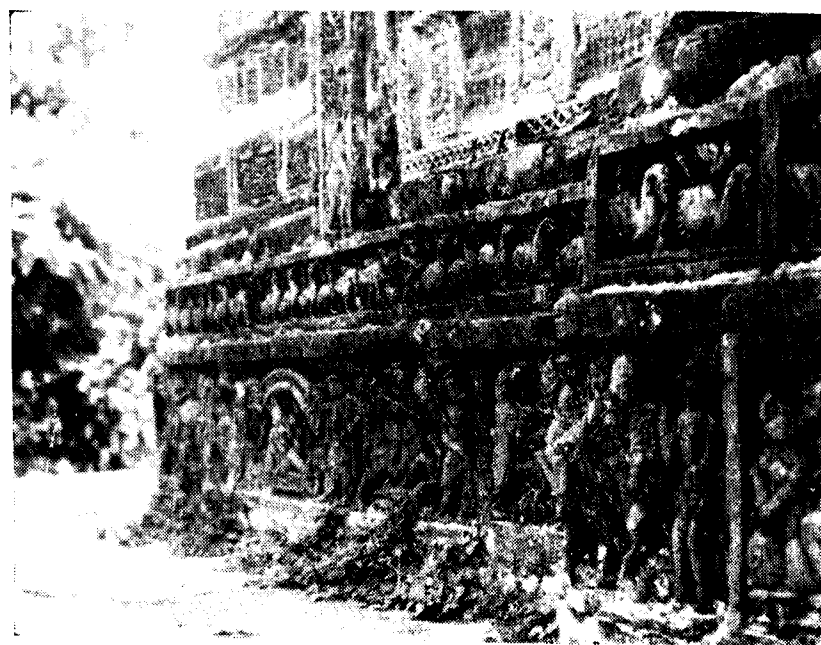
1. Dignagar Siva temple.



2. Terracotta plaques in Dignagar temple.



1. A terracotta plaque in Dignagar temple.



2. Terracotta panels in Dignagar Rāghaveśvara temple.

is a deity of the Sāntāls. They live in the rural areas of Chakdaha.

Hinduism as professed by the Hindus is the Great eclectic religion which finds expression through diverse forms, namely, Vaishṇavism, Śāktaism, Śaivism and other folk-worship. Abounding in many age-old fairs and festivals and intersected by the Gaṅgā, sacred to the Hindus, the district is renowned for having within its geographical limits Navadvīp, the birth-place of Śrī Chaitanya, the Vaishṇavite savant of the medieval days. A brief outline of the different forms of worship under Hinduism, along with their places of worship, is given below.

Vaishṇavism in the district found expression through Gauḍīya Vaishṇavism, or to be more precise, through Chaitanyaism, the religion propagated by the disciples of Śrī Chaitanya. His erudite disciples, that is, the *Gosvāmins* of Vṛindāvan also made large contributions to delineate his philosophy.

Chaitanya was born at a time (A.D. 1486) when the Bhakti cult had not much sway over the common people, barring a few stalwarts of the cult like Advaitāchārya, Śrīvāsa, Murārī Gupta, Haridāsa, etc. Folk-gods on the one hand and Brahmanical pomp on the other flourished during that time. Conversion to Islam through force or royal patronage also continued. Śrī Chaitanya, being initiated into the Bhakti cult, became a changed man singing the name of Hari or Kṛishṇa and suffering mental pains for separation from Him. He organized *Saṅkīrtana*, or community singing, of the name of God and thus reached the heart of all and sundry, rich or poor. He disregarded all distinction of caste and creed so far as religious initiation was concerned. The itinerant Chaitanya continued to spread his doctrines of love and devotion to Kṛishṇa at various places of the country. The Rādhā-Kṛishṇa cult as seen in Bengal first found expression in Mādhavendra Purī, though the background was set by the writings of Jayadeva, Vidyāpati, Chāṇḍīdāsa, Umāpati Dhar, etc. The preachings of love were then inherited by Īśvara Purī from Mādhavendra Purī. Śrī Chaitanya in his turn got a taste of it from Īśvara Purī. The practical side of the movement was organized by Advaita and Nityānanda,¹ while the theoretical side was developed by the writings of the *Gosvāmins* (Rūp, Sanātana and Jīva) of Vṛindāvana and the great Vaishṇava scholar

¹ Cf. R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *The Delhi Sultanate*, Bombay, 1960, p. 568: "The descendants of Nityānanda living at Navadvīpa, and those of Advaita residing at Sāntipur, are the spiritual heads of the sect."

Hinduism

Vaishṇavism

Kṛishṇadāsa Kavirāja who wrote *Śrī Chaitanya Charitamṛita*, a book dealing with the life and philosophy of Śrī Chaitanya. Other biographies of Śrī Chaitanya like Vrindāvana Dās's *Chaitanya Bhāgavata* and Jayānanda's *Chaitanyamaṅgala* and a host of others have helped in the study of the life and philosophy of Śrī Chaitanya. Śrī Chaitanya embodies Kṛishṇa, and Rādhā combined. He is considered to be an *avatāra* of Kṛishṇa, nay Kṛishṇa himself. But love for Kṛishṇa can be tasted deeply only by Rādhā, the eternal consort of Kṛishṇa — and hence Chaitanya considered himself to be Rādhā, enjoying the pleasures of communion with Kṛishṇa. He displayed his love for Kṛishṇa through tears and love-trances.

The love of Rādhā falls within the category of *madhura rasa* (a taste for sweetness), which is the highest and the most difficult of the five principal categories of the manner in which God can be worshipped, namely, *śānta rasa* (a taste for quietness), *dāsyā rasa* (a taste of the devotion of a servant), *sakhya rasa* (a taste of the love of a friend), and *vātsalya rasa* (a taste of affection for the junior). All this is, however, immersed in *bhakti* or love for God, who enjoys it through frolics with his associates. Śrī Chaitanya highlighted *madhura rasa*, which formed the basis of Gaudīya Vaiṣṇavism.

Śrī Chaitanya advocated that one should keep company with the people worshipping Kṛishṇa, sing his name, listen to the stories of Kṛishṇa's frolics, reside at Vrindāvana, at least, mentally and worship his image. The worshipper should also consider himself to be Kṛishṇa, be tolerant and respectful to others and live a restrained life. The Vaiṣṇavite followers thus only tried to imitate Śrī Chaitanya for religious attainments, the initial prerequisites being love and kindness for mankind, irrespective of caste or creed, and surrender to Lord Kṛishṇa.

The Rādhā-Kṛishṇa cult which developed amidst the free life of the Sahajiyā sect gave rise to the Vairāgī-Vairāginī sect, showing signs of degeneration in some quarters from time to time.

The basic simplicity of the Gaudīya Vaiṣṇavism or Chaitanyaism has still its appeal to the common people who attend various Vaishnava festivals of the district.

A visit to Navadvīp, the birth place of Śrī Chaitanya, and an *itineraire* through nine villages in the neighbourhood, have always been considered sacred to the Vaiṣṇavas and the Hindus in general. The *Bāradol* festival of Krishnanagar, said to be 200

years old, attracts a large number of pilgrims from all corners of the State, as the *Rās* festival of Shāntipur draws thousands of persons every year. Numerous *Ratha-yātrā*, *Dol-yātrā*, *Jhulan-yātrā*, *Rās-yātrā*, *Gosh!hāsh!amī*, *Jammāsh!amī* festivals are celebrated in the district. All these festivals centre mainly upon the activities of Kṛishṇa, the legendary hero, whose images under different names appear in the district. Of course, a new fillip to the worship of Kṛishṇa was given by Śrī Chaitanya.

Sāktism or Śakti worship in the district has its historicity since the days of Kṛishṇānanda Āgambāgīś, the author of *Tantra-sāra* a treatise on *Tantra*, who flourished in Navadvīp in the sixteenth century A.D. The image of Kālī in which she is worshipped now is said to have been delineated by him. In Navadvīp town, Kālī is worshipped in different localities under various names like Bhadrakālī, Śabśivā, Rāpakālī, Kṛishṇakālī, etc. As in other places of West Bengal, the worship of Kālī takes place in many other places of the district, sometimes under various forms. For instance, in *mauza* Rūpdaha (J.L. No. 24) in Krishnanagar police station, Kālī is worshipped in the Bengali month of *Baiśākhā*, and has no image of its own, only a stone-piece serving as the image. Similar worship takes place in *mauza* Jasra in Chākdaha police station, where Kālī takes the name of Buro-Mā. Strangely enough, Kālī images of Shāntipur join the procession during the Vaiṣṇavite *Rās* festival — probably, displaying a close association of Vaiṣṇavite and Śākta worship in the district.

Sāktism also finds expression through the worship of Jagad-dhātṛī in Krishnanagar town. Said to have been started by Rājā Kṛishṇachandra or one of his descendants, the worship of the goddess takes place for a day in autumn. Other images of Śakti in the district in which she is worshipped are Durgā, Yaśa-dāyinī, etc.

Saivism finds expression best through the worship of Śiva, and the festivals following such worship. The *Gājan* festival held in the Bengali month of *Chaitra* with its stress on voluntary physical torture on the body of the devotee is popular among the lower echelon of the Hindu society. In Navadvīp, Śiva is taken on an elevated seat by night, and the devotees dance with much enthusiasm taking the seat of Śiva on their head. There the bathing ceremony of seven images of Śiva takes place under the name of Satgājan, Phul, Phal, Nīl and Chaḍak. Similar worships styled Chaḍak, Gājan and Nīl take place in *mauzas*

Sāktism
and Śākta
festivals

Saivism and
Śaiva fes-
tivals

Kalyandaha (J.L. No. 43) in Chapra police station, Fungi (J.L. No. 55) in Krishnaganj police station and in many other places. *Sivaratri* is a common festival held in the name of Śiva throughout the district.

Other Hindu
deities

Of the numerous folk deities, worshipped by different classes of people in the district, mention may be made of Pañchānanda, the little god of the ghosts who also looks after ailing children. He is worshipped at *mauza* Harişpur (J.L. No. 54) in Krishnanagar police station and at *mauza* Bekoail (J.L. No. 79) in Nakāsipārā police station in the Bengali months of *Magh* and *Jyāishṭha* respectively. Manasa and Khedāiṭhākūr, the snake-goddess and snake-god, are worshipped in *mauza* Jalkar Mathurāpur (J.L. No. 71) in Chāprā police station and in *mauza* Mathurgāchhi (J.L. No. 152) in Chākdaha police station in the Bengali months of *Jyāishṭha* and *Śrāvāṇa* respectively. Ulai Chāṇḍī, Śitalā and Dharmarāj are also worshipped in different *mauzas* of the district.

Islam

Islamic influence in the district began with the conversion of people during the Afghan rule in the pre-Mughal days. The district was also centrally located on the highway between Murshidābād and Dacca, the great Muslim settlements of those days. A large number of Muslims of the district left for East Pakistan (now Bānglādesh) some of whom returned subsequently, and a good number of police stations with Muslim concentration have gone over to East Pakistan (now Bānglādesh) during the partition in 1947. As in older days, the Muslim population is divided into several classes, namely, Śaikhs, Jolāhas, Asrafs, Pāṭhāns and Saiyads.

Muslim
fairs &
festivals

The Sufis, who were called Pirs in popular parlance, played an important role in the propagation of Islam among the masses in the medieval days. They imparted instructions, made disciples and sometimes settled and died here. Their seats and tombs are still held in reverence and are visited by pilgrims of all classes on certain days every year. Fairs and festivals are also held in memory of those Sufis.

Christianity

The early history of the spread of Christianity in the district can be traced from 1822 when three Church of England missionaries visited Shāntipur and opined that it would make a suitable mission station. In 1838, several people were baptized in Krishnanagar, Ānandābās and other places. A large number of people were earlier distressed by floods in 1838 and they hoped that by admitting themselves to the Church they

would get economic relief. In 1840, mission houses were built at Chāprā and elsewhere and in 1841, the churches at Chāprā and Krishnanagar began to be constructed. Subscriptions were raised for the construction of the church at Krishnanagar on condition that services would be held both in English and Bengali. The churches were opened in 1843. In 1886, a meeting of the Nadia District Native Church Council was held to congregate the native christians of the district. Steps were also taken to spread Christianity in the northern part of the district the same year. The churches continued to serve the congregation by opening new schools, dispensaries, etc.

In 1893, the Ranaghat Medical Mission was established and it continued to work along the principles of the Church of England. In 1906, it was made over to the Church Missionary Society.

In Krishnanagar, the Cathedral Church of the Divine Saviour was built in 1898 along with boarding schools and orphanages for Bengali boys and girls.

As a result of the activities of the Christian missionaries in the district right from the beginning of the last century, Christians have become an important constituent of the social structure of the district.

The district has seen the rise of many big and small religious movements from time to time. In recent years also some religious movements, based upon the birth and death of some religious leaders, have found expression through fairs and festivals in different parts of the district as stated below.

NEW RELIGIOUS
LEADERS AND
MOVEMENTS

Kartābhajās (worshippers of the lord) forming a religious sect peculiar to the district, are located in Ghoshpārā (J.L. No. 63) in Kalyāṇī police station. Likened to the Āliyā system of Vaishṇava-vite worship which seeks for *maner mānush* (the man of the mind's choice), the sect with Śrīmad Ālchānd as its preceptor considers the *guru* as the representative of God and does not differentiate between man and man. With the death of Ālchānd in A.D. 1769, Rāmsaraṇ Pāl, one of the twenty-two disciples of Ālchānd, became *guru* and on his death his wife worshipped as *Satī-mā* by thousands of her disciples. The initiates gather, especially during Dol-pūrṇimā (full-moon day in the Bengali month of *Phālgun*) at the dilapidated residence of Rāmsaraṇ Pāl to pay respect to the memory of *Satī-mā* who is said to have attained spiritual enlightenment there. The members of the sect emphasize practice of the true or the easy religion (Satya Dharma or Sahaj

Kartābhajās

Dharma) in order to develop the hidden divinity in man. Such development can be accomplished 'not by renouncing the world and its cares as something transitory and illusive, but by going through life's struggles manfully and heroically, sustained throughout with love for mankind and reverence for nature'.¹ They are not atheists and believe in a personal God whom they love and adore. The democratic and liberal character of the sect has drawn members from different religious groups as also from the lower classes of the Hindus.

Matuās The Matuās are the followers of Harithākūr, composed mainly of Namasudras who have come over to this State from East Bengal (now Bānglādesh) in the wake of the partition. In *mauza* Barachāndghar in Kālīganj police station, the festival in memory of the birth of Harithākūr is held in the Bengali month of *Chaitra* every year.

The religion advocated by Harithākūr is simple and understandable to the common folk who become immersed in love for the *guru* (preceptor) and for the common man.

CASTE The upper caste Hindus like the Brahmins and Kāyasthas do not find mention in the recent Census reports, though there is ample reference to them in earlier reports.

Brahmin The Brahmins of the district are mainly divided into two classes, namely, Rāḍhī and Vārendra. While the former came from the districts west of the Bhāgīrathī, the latter came from the country north of the Padmā. They held honoured position and had considerable influence in old-time society, and even to this day they are numerous in the Rānāghāt Subdivision and in the southern part of the Sadar Subdivision, but scarce in the centre of the district. They are thus numerous in those parts of the district where the influence of the Nadia Rāj was the strongest. The Rāj family, and especially Rājā Krishṇachandra Ray, always patronized the Brahmins by granting *sanads* to them; and a saying is current that a Brahmin, whose house is not on rent-free land granted by Krishṇachandra, is not a true Brahmin at all.

Kāyastha In *Bṛihaddharma Purāṇa* and in *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* the Kāyasthas have been described as Karaṇas or persons doing clerical duties. By the end of the Sena period in Bengal, they attained the status of *śat-śūdras* of the highest order being engaged

¹ J.H.E. Garrett, *Bengal District Gazetteers : Nadia*, Calcutta, 1910, pp. 48-9.

in administrative duties under the ruler. They are most numerous in the Kālīganj, Krishnanagar and Nākāsipāra police stations of the district.

The Māhishyas claim a higher status in caste hierarchy, which the higher castes are reluctant to accept. It has been said that the Māhishyas are none but Hālīā or Chāshi-Kaibartas, one of the three endogamous groups of Kaibartas of Bengal, the other two being Ādi or Jālīā Kaibartas and Pāṇi Kaibartas. As the Chāshi-Kaibartas or Māhishyas became engaged in agricultural pursuits, they gained a higher status in caste hierarchy than the Kaibartas of other types doing fishing, etc.

In the district, they came to prominence since the days of the East India Company when plantation of indigo was undertaken. They worked under the planters and were considered to be good cultivators since that time.

The Goālās or the cow-herds form a sizable population of the district. They were inducted from outside the district for working as guards or *lāḥiāls* of the Nadia Rāj. In course of time, their descendants became cultivators and makers of butter, cheese and *ghee* — the last three things being sent to Calcutta markets daily.

Apart from many other Hindu castes and classes, the district is inhabited by 3,50,162 persons belonging to the Scheduled Castes according to the Census of 1961. They form 20.44 per cent of the total district population and 5.08 per cent of the State Scheduled Castes population.

The number of different classes of Scheduled Caste people inhabiting the district according to the Census of 1961 has been given in Appendix E.

The district is inhabited by 21,923 Scheduled Tribes people according to the Census of 1961. They formed 1.28 per cent of the total population of the district and 1.07 per cent of the State Scheduled Tribes population.

The number of different Scheduled Tribes people, as found in the district, according to the Census count of 1961 has been given in Appendix F.

It has been surmised that conversion to Islam in this district was prior to conversion in Eastern Bengal (now Bānglādesh); that in Nadia the Afghans first preached Islam, while on the east the Mughals did the preaching.¹ Chaitanyaism, a product

¹ J.M. Pringle and A.H. Kemm, *Government of Bengal : Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the District of Nadia : 1918-1926*, Calcutta, 1928, p. 22.

of the district, which advocates universal brotherhood like Islam, may also have influenced the Muslims of the district and brought them closer to the Hindus.¹

Divided into two groups, Protestants and Roman Catholics, the early converts to both groups came mostly from among the Muslims, and not the Hindus as in other parts of Bengal.

In the early period of the spread of Christianity, that is, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the Protestants put stress on education, technical or otherwise, both for boys and girls. The Roman Catholics tried to improve the existing conditions of life of the converts by paying off their debts to landlords.

The Catholic Church has spread itself out in Krishnanagar, and has built a big church. The Church Missionary Society has also a long history in the district and has extensive colonies in Chāprā and Tehatta.²

A sample survey based on 20% of the households in the district undertaken during the 1961 Census gives an idea about the size of households in the rural and urban areas of the district.

NO. OF MEMBERS IN 20% OF RURAL AND URBAN HOUSEHOLDS IN NADIA DISTRICT : 1961

	Total No. of sample House- holds	Size of Sample Households				
		Single Member House- holds	2-3 Member House- holds	4-6 Member House- holds	7-9 Member House- holds	10 Members and over House- holds
Total	63,643	4,529	13,824	27,067	13,180	5,043
Rural Areas	50,866	3,355	10,768	21,963	10,748	4,032
Urban Areas	12,777	1,174	3,056	5,104	2,432	1,011

It appears that households with 4-6 members are greater in number than with 2-3 members in both the rural and urban

¹ B. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 54. Also cf. "The Church Missionary Society began work in Bengal in 1807.... Burdwan became an important educational centre of the C.M.S. in Bengal. From Burdwan, the missionaries went to Culna in 1825, Krishnanagar and Nadia in 1831" (K. P. Sengupta, *The Christian Missionaries in Bengal : 1793-1833*, Calcutta, 1971, pp. 38-39.)

² *Loc. cit.*

areas of the district. Households with 7-9 members and 10 members and over progressively decline in number. Single-member households apart, 2-3 member and 4-6 member households appear to be constituted of nuclear families, while 7-9 member and 10+ member households may stand for extended families.

The dwellers of one-roomed houses constitute 74.46 per cent of the district population, thus topping the list of dwellers in one-roomed houses in all the districts of the State. The dwellers of two-roomed and three-roomed houses, on the other hand, constitute 17.04 and 4.46 per cent respectively of the district population. The number of dwellers of three-roomed houses is the lowest in this district in relation to such dwellers of all the other districts. All this shows the low standard of living in the rural areas.¹

In rural areas most of the houses are bereft of any furniture. While the richer agriculturists are found to use bedsteads, a stool or bench, the poorer section use *chālāi* or *pālī* (mat) as the main item of furniture. In urban areas, chairs, tables and stools are commonly found in middle class families. Rural women decorate their houses with *ālpamā* drawings on festive occasions. Framed photographs of deities may also be found hanging on the walls. In town areas the middle class families use door and window screens and sometimes grow gardens if there is space in front of their houses.

The table in Appendix G, based on 20% sample, indicates the composition of households in the rural and urban areas of the district as revealed during the 1961 Census. The table indicates that males, rather than females, constitute the heads of households in a large number of cases. Females, on the other hand, outnumber males as spouses of the heads of households, possibly revealing that whenever there are female heads of households they are mostly widows. The table will also indicate that unrelated persons have a large part to play in the composition of households. Such persons may be servants or helping hands and are mostly to be found in the rural households.

While human abodes during the days of feudal overlords or during the early days of British rule gave Krishnanagar a sophisticated look in spite of its division into several overpopulated

Composition
of house-
holds

Settlement
pattern

¹ *Nadia : Svādhīnatār Rajat Jayantī Smāvak Grantha* (in Bengali), (ed.) Nadia Jela Nagarik Parishad, Krishnanagar, 1973, p. 13.

municipal wards, pilgrim centres like Shāntipur, Navadvīp, etc. had a dingy appearance with the permanent residents and periodic visitors. Displaced persons coming from East Pakistan (now Bānglādesh) over the last twenty years have added to the overcrowding of the urban areas. The only planned township is to be found in Kalyānī, followed by the Haringhātā farming area and other Government sponsored colonies for refugees.

The urban houses are mostly built of brick and mortar having *pucca* roofs or roofs made of corrugated iron-sheets, etc.

In the rural areas, the picture remains as in older times. The settlement pattern is sometimes linear, houses being situated by a broad road. Sometimes the houses are situated around a big pond or a village market.

The rural houses are mostly made of mud or split-bamboo, besmeared with mud, having a thatched roof above. Houses with roofs of corrugated iron sheets, tiles or asbestos sheets are also to be found. The well-to-do and the middle class also live in *pucca* houses built of brick and mortar. Bamboo, palmyra palms, straw and mango-wood are freely used in the construction of rural houses. The houses in the rural areas are mostly one-storeyed with four sheds (*chār-chālā*) or with two four-shed structures (*āl-chālā*), one standing upon another. Two-storeyed mud-houses can also be seen there. The houses are mostly of a traditional pattern with rooms facing a big courtyard within.

The table in Appendix H gives an idea of the marital status and marriageable age for both males and females as prevailing in the district according to the Census of 1961.

The said table reveals that persons below ten are generally unmarried, they being so treated in the Census of 1961. Figures for unmarried males progressively declined beginning from the 10-14 age-group. Married males were the largest in number in the 20-34 age-group both in the rural and urban areas. Widowers, comparatively in large numbers, are to be found in the age-group above 70. Cases of divorce or separation are negligible, and are largest only in the 20-34 age-group.

Leaving aside the 0-9 age-group, unmarried females are most numerous in the 10-14 age-group. The figures for unmarried females declined over the following age-groups. Married females recorded highest figures in the 20-34 age-group, while widows were most numerous in the 50-54 age-group.

The following table gives an idea of the civil condition of 1,000 persons of each sex during 1901 and 1961. The figures

for 1961 do not include the persons who have been enumerated as divorced or separated, but their figures are negligible. It will be seen that the number of unmarried males and females is the highest in the 0-10 age-group in both the Census counts of 1901 and 1961. Married males were most numerous in the 15-40 age-group in 1901. In 1961, they predominated in the age-group beyond 40, leading to the conclusion that favourable economic conditions delayed marriages on the part of the males at the end of the sixty years beginning from 1901. The position of married females remains static in 1961 as in 1901, the largest number of married females being found only in the 15-40 age-group.

CIVIL CONDITION OF 1,000 PERSONS OF EACH SEX IN
NADIA DISTRICT : 1901-61

		Males			Females		
		Unmarried	Married	Widower	Unmarried	Married	Widower
All ages	1901	527	438	35	282	456	262
	1961	589	381	26	452	397	149
0-10	1901	286	1	—	257	22	1
	1961	1,000	—	—	1,000	—	—
10-15	1901	128	5	—	22	75	3
	1961	993	5	—	813	182	1
15-40	1901	108	255	7	3	306	30
	1961	420	566	9	77	847	68
40+	1901	5	177	28	—	53	178
	1961	24	857	114	15	378	601

Monogamy is usually the accepted form of married life. The restrictions on marriage alliance, based on castes, sub-castes and *gotras*, still prevail among the Hindus. Traditional marriage customs and rituals with the utterance of *mantras* by the priest still characterize Hindu marriages. Among the Muslims, marriage is likewise solemnized by the *mullas* or *kāzis*. Though inter-caste and inter-religious marriages are now permissible under Act XXI of 1949 and the Hindu Marriage Act of 1955, such marriages are not very popular.

Though legalized since 1856, widow remarriage has not been popular among the Hindus of the district as in other places. It appears that out of 32 marriages registered between 1955 and 1959 there were only 5 widow marriages.

Widow re-marriage

Marriage

Age at marriage

Divorce

Though not a custom among the Hindus, divorce was permitted under Act XIX of 1946, the Special Marriage Act of 1954 and the Hindu Marriage Act of 1955. Divorce is, however, mostly confined to the urban educated classes. The following table would reveal the number of divorce cases among the Hindus and Muslims of the district about a decade ago.

DIVORCE CASES IN NADIA DISTRICT : 1954-60

		Cases			
		Filed	Decreed	Rejected	Otherwise disposed of
Hindu Marriage Act	1954	—	—	—	—
	1955	3	3	—	—
	1956	4	—	—	4
	1957	15	5	1	9
	1958	9	3	—	6
	1959	7	1	—	6
	1960	12	1	—	2
Muslim Marriage	1954	12	4	1	7
	1955	17	8	1	10
	1956	17	8	1	8
	1957	9	3	—	6
	1958	4	—	—	4
	1959	19	8	1	10
	1960	10	2	—	—

By and large the womenfolk are economically dependent on the male members of the family. In the urban and semi-urban areas, however, women of the middle class and lower middle class families are now working on the same footing with men to supplement the income of a family. Women of the lower class families also engage themselves as day labourers and wage earners.

Prostitution is non-existent except very sparsely in some municipal areas. Instances of traffic in women are hardly noticed.

The inheritance of property is guided by Hindu Law (*Dāya-bhāga* system) as amended by the Hindu Succession Act so far as the Hindus are concerned, while for the property of the Muslims, Muslim Law is applicable.

While joint families are still to be found in rural areas, economic and other pressures are splitting up such families in urban areas.

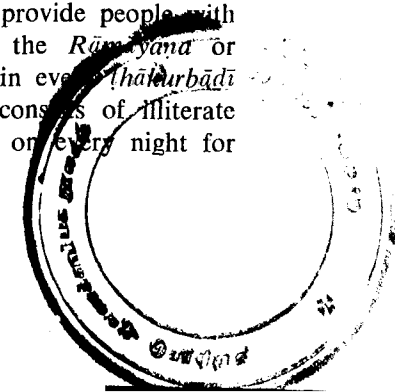
Property inheritance

In their food habits and dresses the people are simple and unassuming. A cloth or a *luñgi* and half-shirt for males and *śāri* for females are the general dress of the common people in rural areas. A blouse and undergarments have been accepted in some families. In middleclass families *dhuti*, *pānjābi*, shirt, pump-shoes or sleepers are generally used. Of late, use of trousers, Hawaian shirts, *pāijāmā* are very much in use in place of old *dhuti* and *pānjābi*. The womenfolk usually dress in *śāri*, blouse, undergarments with slippers as foot-wear. They prefer the handloom variety of *śāri* to mill-made ones. Small girls use frocks and underpants. Young girls are fond of using coloured ribbons as a part of their hair dressing.

Womenfolk of the middleclass families use golden *churi*, necklace and ear-rings. In poorer families, the use of *churi* made of plastic or glass is in vogue. In well-off houses, the ladies use gold ornaments of various designs decorating more profusely their arms and necks. Generally, the Hindu married women use conch and iron bangle (ঝোঁড়া). Use of silver ornaments is in vogue amongst the ordinary Muslims and tribals.

Rice, *dāl*, vegetables and fish are the principal items of food. Egg, meat, butter, etc. are taken only in well-to-do families. To the common people it is a luxury. Because of scarcity of rice, the people, particularly the town-dwellers, have developed the habit of taking wheat products as a principal or secondary meal. The habit of taking tea is fast spreading even among the common people in rural areas. Even in *hāls* and *bāzārs* in remote corners of the district tea-stalls are found. Fruit is taken only by the richer people, except when fruits are available in plenty during particular seasons, for example, mango, jack-fruit, black-berry, etc. when the poorer section also share them.

Cinema in the towns provides the people with cheap amusement. Its attraction is very much on the increase and has made inroad even into the adjacent rural areas. The public stages in urban areas afford opportunity to the dramatic clubs to stage dramas and occasional performances in those stages are also another source of amusement to the people. Apart from this, the performance of *jātrā*, *kīrtan* and occasional cultural functions organized by different institutions also provide people with amusement. *Kathakatā* and recitals from the *Rāmāyana* or *Mahābhārata*, are performed by a Brahmin in even *Thākurbādi* in Navadvīp town. The audience mainly consists of illiterate females and old men. Such *Kathakatās* go on every night for



about three hours at a stretch. Navadvīp and Māyāpur are famous for such *kathakatās*. In the rural areas, *kīrtan*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* songs, *yātrā*, *kabi* are the principal sources of amusement. Besides these, the traditional *Durgā-utsav*, *Dól*, etc. for Hindus and Id or Mohurram for Muslims and *melās* associated with them, attract streams of people even from the distant areas. They provide recreation to them. Independence Day, Republic Day, etc. are also observed all over the district in a befitting manner.

Drinking is prevalent among the backward sections of the people, particularly the tribals. Gambling is prevalent to a small extent in *hāṭs*, *bāzārs* and fairs.

APPENDIX A

POPULATION OF ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS OF NADIA DISTRICT : 1872-1971

	1971**	1961*	1951*	1941*	1931*	1921*	1911*	1901*	1891+	1881+	1872+
Nadia District	22,30,270	17,13,324	11,44,924	8,40,303	7,21,907	7,11,706	7,75,986	7,73,202	7,73,016	8,08,092	7,46,884
Sadar Subdivision	13,11,108	10,11,808	7,06,616	5,80,657	5,49,684	4,73,728	5,25,692	5,27,866	5,05,616	5,21,547	4,79,884
Krishnanagar P.S.	2,72,958	2,19,381	1,61,726	97,997	85,451	84,805	93,005	88,965	76,355	79,494	68,557
Navadvīp P.S.	1,60,570	1,25,142	91,380	54,208	39,962	34,120	36,914	35,411	36,318	37,810	32,606
Chāprā P.S.	1,35,634	1,10,754	77,675	70,321	62,990	59,263	64,116	61,506	63,082	65,674	56,630
Krishnaganj P.S.	68,756	52,034	38,696	34,102	28,846	28,492	35,752	37,681	32,658	32,701	29,712
Nakāshipārā P.S.	1,60,232	1,19,176	81,747	66,827	56,749	52,898	56,103	56,719	56,385	59,762	55,904
Kāliganj P.S.	1,48,465	1,12,325	77,305	63,391	53,247	47,414	53,122	52,792	46,845	54,192	50,633
Tehatta P.S.	1,77,013	1,33,803	90,402	92,539	80,683	83,441	92,270	93,848	87,121	89,160	88,500
Karimpur P.S.	1,87,480	1,39,193	87,685	1,01,272	88,717	83,295	94,350	1,00,944	1,06,852	1,02,754	97,340
Rānāghāt Subdivision	9,19,162	7,01,516	4,38,308	2,59,646	2,25,862	2,37,976	2,50,294	2,45,336	2,67,400	2,86,545	2,67,002
Rānāghāt P.S.	3,11,039	2,51,657	1,51,852	82,073	71,988	75,152	80,438	76,144	77,307	84,415	79,762
Chākdaha P.S.	1,86,044	1,86,038	1,17,495	63,862	55,206	61,803	62,755	62,755	67,831	70,689	66,462
Haringhātā P.S.	95,583	67,324	37,927	27,498	24,361	28,185	28,617	28,619	30,934	32,237	30,309
Hānskhālī P.S.	1,14,206	84,065	51,370	31,127	27,142	26,936	29,542	28,259	37,364	45,340	40,034
Shāntipur P.S.	1,44,311	1,12,432	79,664	55,086	47,165	45,902	48,947	49,559	53,934	53,864	50,435
Kalyāṇi P.S.	67,979	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

**Vide Census of India, 1971, West Bengal, General Population Tables, Delhi, 1973, pp. 20-21.

*Vide B. Ray, Census : 1961 : West Bengal : Census Hand Book : Nadia, Calcutta, 1967, p. 33.

+Vide A. Mitra, Census : 1951 : West Bengal : District Hand Books : Nadia, Calcutta, 1953, p. xiii.

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APPENDIX D
GROWTH OF POPULATION IN THE TOWNS OF NADIA DISTRICT : 1901-71

	1971	1961	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901
Navadwip*	94,204 (+29,29)	72,861 (+29,42)	56,298 (+84,08)	30,583 (+62,15)	18,861 (+21,03)	15,854 (+24,87)	12,480 (+14,71)	10,880
Krishnanagar*	85,923 (+21,98)	70,440 (+40,76)	50,042 (+56,30)	32,016 (+31,84)	24,284 (+8,85)	22,309 (-4,97)	23,475 (-4,37)	24,547
Shāntipur*	61,166 (+19,49)	51,190 (+20,69)	42,413 (+41,89)	29,892 (+19,61)	24,992 (+0,81)	24,792 (-7,16)	26,703 (-0,72)	26,898
Rānāghāt*	47,815 (+35,58)	35,266 (+25,66)	28,064 (+70,21)	16,488 (+44,70)	11,395 (+18,06)	9,652 (-2,01)	9,850 (+12,65)	8,744
Chākdaha*	46,345 (+32,08)	35,089 (+128,27)	15,372 (+179,80)	5,494 (+37,83)	3,986 (-23,58)	6,216 (+5,78)	4,931 (-10,05)	5,482
Birnagar*	10,560 (+38,53)	7,623 (+95,81)	3,893 (+114,73)	1,813 (-22,55)	2,341 (+1,56)	2,305 (-13,15)	2,654 (-15,04)	3,124
Tāherpur*	13,104 (+7,03)	12,211	—	—	—	—	—	—
Gayespur Government Colony	13,082 (+28,80)	10,157	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kātāgānj & Gokulpur Government Colony	8,209 (+8,81)	7,544	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kalyāñi +	18,310 (+296,16)	4,616	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bagulā +	6,799 (+5,09)	4,530	—	—	—	—	—	—
Phuliā +	4,627 (+21,41)	3,811	—	—	—	—	—	—

*Municipal areas. +Non-municipal areas. (The figures in brackets indicate percentage decade variations).

APPENDIX E

NO. OF SCHEDULED CASTES PEOPLE IN NADIA DISTRICT : 1961

Name of Scheduled Caste		Total		
		Persons	Males	Females
Total ¹	Rural Urban	3,24,921 25,241	1,67,579 13,425	1,57,242 11,816
Bāgdi or Duley	R U	38,581 1,862	20,261 951	18,320 911
Bāheliā	R U	911 —	433 —	478 —
Bāiti	R U	1,020 17	501 16	519 1
Bāuri	R U	1,680 157	822 58	858 99
Bediyā	R U	397 14	201 14	196 —
Beldār	R U	76 —	43 —	33 —
Bhuaimali	R U	2,598 196	1,296 96	1,302 100
Bhuiyā	R U	994 111	493 99	501 12
	R U	2,534 158	1,301 83	1,233 75
Chāmār, Muchi, Ruidās or Rishi	R U	27,900 2,212	14,478 1,359	13,422 853
Dhobā or Dhobi	R U	4,006 1,677	2,066 937	1,940 740
Doai	R U	325 1	159 —	166 1
Dom or Dhāngal	R U	722 373	392 182	330 191
Dosādh or Dusādh including Dhārī or Dhārhi	R U	279 19	234 14	45 5
Ghāsi	R U	46 91	28 61	18 30
Gonrhi	R U	42 44	26 32	16 12

In 1971, there was a total of 4,35,972 (2,24,448 males and 2,11,524 females) Scheduled castes people in the rural areas of the district. In the urban areas they numbered 39,157 (20,629 males and 18,888 females).

APPENDIX E		Total (Contd.)		
Name of Scheduled Caste		Persons	Males	Females
Hārr	R	2,539	1,270	1,269
	U	586	388	198
Jālīā Kaibartta	R	5,008	2,656	2,352
	U	974	629	345
Jhālo Mālo or Mālo	R	27,079	13,985	13,094
	U	1,395	475	920
Kadar	R	—	—	—
	U	25	4	21
Kandra	R	117	53	64
	U	31	31	—
Kaorā	R	735	363	372
	U	22	20	2
Kaur	R	—	—	—
	U	3	3	—
Keot or Keyot	R	97	86	11
	U	88	28	60
Khairā	R	326	168	158
	U	5	1	4
Koch	R	1	1	—
	U	—	—	—
Kotāl	R	39	24	15
	U	11	11	—
Lālbegi	R	—	—	—
	U	4	3	1
Lohār	R	1,086	563	523
	U	7	7	—
Mahar	R	7	3	4
	U	49	17	32
Māl	R	284	138	146
	U	39	22	17
Mallah	R	277	159	118
	U	355	257	98
Mehtor	R	444	303	141
	U	448	300	148

APPENDIX E		Total (Contd.)		
Name of Schedule Caste		Persons	Males	Females
Musāhar	R	109	64	45
	U	1	—	1
Namasudra	R	1,59,952	82,623	77,329
	U	7,960	3,844	4,116
Nuniya	R	352	253	99
	U	38	38	—
Pāliyā	R	13	13	—
	U	—	—	—
Pasi	R	232	128	104
	U	94	49	45
Pātni	R	2,154	1,144	1,010
	U	18	10	8
Pod or Poundra	R	7,794	3,615	4,179
	U	128	31	97
Rājibansi	R	11,788	5,968	5,820
	U	951	430	521
Rājwār	R	6,421	3,182	3,239
	U	8	3	5
Sunri excluding Saha	R	388	211	177
	U	294	130	164
Tiyar	R	286	149	137
	U	7	7	—
Turi	R	119	69	50
	U	59	53	6
Unclassified	R	15,163	7,654	7,509
	U	4,709	2,732	1,977

APPENDIX F

NO. OF SCHEDULED TRIBES PEOPLE IN NADIA DISTRICT : 1961

Name of Scheduled Tribe		Total		
		Persons	Males	Females
Total ¹	Rural	21,043	10,697	10,346
	Urban	880	463	417
Bhūmij	R	937	457	480
	U	—	—	—
Chākmā	R	22	20	2
	U	—	—	—
Gāro	R	29	14	15
	U	—	—	—
Korā	R	—	—	—
	U	13	8	5
Lodhā or Kheriā	R	243	122	121
	U	2	2	—
Māhāli	R	25	15	10
	U	—	—	—
Māl Pāhāriyā	R	352	197	155
	U	20	16	4
Mru	R	372	215	157
	U	—	—	—
Muṇḍā	R	3,185	1,557	1,628
	U	18	15	3
Orāon	R	9,766	4,956	4,810
	U	28	12	16
Sāntāl	R	3,909	2,016	1,893
	U	634	326	308
Unclassified	R	2,202	1,128	1,075
	U	165	84	81

¹In 1971, the scheduled tribes numbered 29,509 (15,099 males and 14,410 females) in the rural areas and 2,290 (1,179 males and 1,111 females) in the urban areas of the district.

APPENDIX G

COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS IN NADIA DISTRICT : 1961 (BASED ON 20 % SAMPLE)

Total sample Households population	Heads of Households		Spouses of heads of households		Married Relations			Never married Widowed and Divorced or Separated Relations		Unrelated Persons			
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Other Males	Other Females	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Total	1,72,524	1,65,168	56,338	7,169	255	47,351	8,931	6,512	17,699	97,649	92,046	2,839	903
Rural	1,39,611	1,33,031	45,726	5,048	177	38,829	7,716	5,289	14,668	78,386	73,798	2,377	688
Urban	32,913	32,137	10,612	2,121	138	8,522	1,215	1,223	3,031	19,263	18,248	462	215

APPENDIX H

MARITAL STATUS ACCORDING TO AGE-GROUPS IN NADIA DISTRICT : 1961

Age group		Unmarried percentage of		Married percentage of		Widowed percentage of		Divorced/Separated percentage of	
		Males to total male population of the district	Females to total female population of the district	Males to total male population of the district	Females to total female population of the district	Males to total male population of the district	Females to total female population of the district	Males to total male population of the district	Females to total female population of the district
All ages	Total	58.95	45.22	38.14	39.72	2.69	14.69	.17	.31
	Rural	47.50	36.24	31.58	33.07	2.19	12.15	.14	.23
	Urban	11.45	8.98	6.56	6.65	.51	2.53	.03	.08
0-9	T	31.68	33.68	—	—	—	—	—	—
	R	26.55	28.35	—	—	—	—	—	—
	U	5.12	5.23	—	—	—	—	—	—
10-14	T	11.46	8.49	.06	1.90	—	.01	—	—
	R	9.28	6.47	.06	1.80	—	.01	—	.02
	U	2.18	2.02	—	.11	—	—	—	.02
15-19	T	7.87	1.99	.61	6.04	—	.06	—	.05
	R	6.22	1.07	.53	5.31	—	.05	—	.04
	U	1.65	.92	.09	.74	—	.01	—	.01
20-34	T	7.23	.71	14.61	20.36	.22	1.34	.08	.13
	R	5.04	.30	12.47	16.82	.17	1.13	.07	.10
	U	2.19	.41	2.14	3.54	.05	.21	.01	.03
35-39	T	.22	.05	5.40	3.71	.13	1.02	.02	.03
	R	.11	—	4.44	3.09	.10	.84	.02	.02
	U	.11	.05	.95	.62	.03	.18	—	.01

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40-44	T	.18	.07	4.72	3.03	.21	1.65	.02	.03
	R	.09	—	3.83	2.46	.71	1.34	.01	.02
	U	.10	.06	.89	.57	.05	.31	—	.01
45-49	T	.09	.03	3.56	1.77	.25	1.62	.01	.02
	R	.05	—	2.92	1.42	.20	1.35	.01	.01
	U	.04	.03	.64	.36	.05	.27	—	.01
50-54	T	.08	.07	3.24	1.40	.36	2.23	.01	.02
	R	.05	—	2.56	1.07	.29	1.88	.01	.01
	U	.03	.07	.68	.32	.06	.35	—	.01
55-59	T	.04	.03	1.99	.66	.31	1.54	.01	.01
	R	.03	—	1.59	.46	.25	1.27	.01	—
	U	.02	.03	.40	.13	.06	.28	—	—
60-64	T	.04	.03	1.81	.50	.42	2.18	.01	.10
	R	.02	—	1.46	.36	.35	1.78	.01	.01
	U	.01	.03	.35	.13	.07	.40	—	.01
65-69	T	.01	.03	.87	.21	.24	.97	—	—
	R	.01	—	.70	.14	.19	.80	—	—
	U	—	.03	.17	.07	.04	.17	—	—
70+	T	.02	.02	1.24	.18	.55	2.05	.01	.01
	R	.01	—	1.00	.13	.45	1.70	.01	—
	U	.01	.02	.24	.05	.10	.35	—	.01

CHAPTER IV

AGRICULTURE AND IRRIGATION

LAND RECLAMATION AND UTILIZATION

Agriculture is the chief occupation of the people of Nadia district and a little more than three fourths of the total workers of the district are engaged in agricultural pursuits either as a cultivator or an agricultural labourer. According to Census 1961, while only 54 per cent of the total working population of this State are engaged in agriculture, the district has at least 76 per cent of its working population in the agricultural sector. The proportion between the cultivators and agricultural labourers in the district is 2.6 : 1 while it is only 2.5 : 1 in the State which indicates that the cultivators of this district bear a larger proportion to the agricultural labourers than in the State as a whole.¹

In general, the district is an alluvial plain dotted with villages surrounded by clusters of groves and intersected by numerous small rivers, abandoned river courses, minor streams and *bils* or lakes. At the time of the settlement of 1918-26, about 70 per cent of the district's total area was cultivated. The extent of culturable area other than current fallows was 1,24,144 acres, the area for current fallows being 89,414 acres. According to Ishaque survey² of 1944-45, the culturable waste lands of the district occurred to the extent of 1,25,868.50 acres and out of this, 17,670 acres in 1,202 blocks had an area between 5 to 100 acres. There were only 74 blocks, which had an area of over 100 acres occupying a total of 17,695 acres.³ During the first quarter of the present century the agricultural conditions of the district was far from satisfactory owing to various causes, such as, the decay of the river system, the growing poverty of the soil and extremely low state of health of the working population. Besides, the prevalent *utbandi*⁴ tenancy introduced an element of insecurity and the consequent reluctance on the part of the cultivators to improve their land also added to the difficulties. This will appear from the statement given below⁵.

Cultivable waste

¹ B. Ray, *District Census Handbook: Nadia*, 1961, p. 85.

² Figures for the unpartitioned district.

³ B. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

⁴ The word means that the cultivators are mere tenants at will.

⁵ B. Ray, *loc. cit.*

Description of waste lands	Ishaque survey of 1944-45 (in acres)	Settlement Report of 1918-26 (in acres)
Culturable waste	1,61,239	1,24,144
Unculturable waste	1,08,963	1,02,874
Net cultivated area	6,68,570	7,17,179

Both culturable and unculturable wastes of the district increased during the period under reference. While culturable waste land increased chiefly owing to depopulation, certain areas of unculturable waste increased owing to the opening of new roads, factories, deposition of sands, etc.

During the past two or three decades efforts were made to bring more and more area under tillage through the process of land reclamation. It is common knowledge that the pattern of land utilization does not remain constant all through the years. It changes with the lapse of time. Waste lands are reclaimed every year; roads, buildings and irrigation channels are constructed which create new waste areas from year to year. In recent years, more areas have been reclaimed by private bodies and individuals both for agriculture and other purposes. The table below shows land utilization in the district from 1960-61 to 1964-65.

LAND UTILIZATION IN NADIA DISTRICT (IN ACRES): 1960-65¹

	1960-61	1961-62	1962-63	1963-64	1964-65
Total area of the district	9,65,800	9,65,800	9,65,800	9,65,800	9,65,800
Area under forest	800	1,200	1,200	2,000	2,000
Area not available for cultivation	1,42,200	1,42,300	1,42,300	1,41,700	1,41,700
Other uncultivated land excluding current fallow	47,100	41,000	40,800	39,800	38,500
Current fallow	12,000	8,500	7,200	7,000	6,500
Net area sown	7,63,700	7,72,800	7,74,300	7,75,300	7,77,100
Area sown more than once	3,89,600	4,12,400	4,17,100	4,21,900	4,54,900
Total cropped area	11,53,300	11,85,200	11,91,400	11,97,200	12,32,000

¹ Source : Statistical Officer, Socio-Economic & Evaluation Branch, Agriculture & Community Development Department, Government of West Bengal.

A fairly large proportion of the net area sown is being used in this district to raise more than one crop. The area of double cropping has been gradually increasing. In 1947-48, only 32.65 per cent of net area sown was subjected to yielding more than one crop while this percentage has since been on the increase. As there is not much of land left as margin in the district, more emphasis has been laid on intensive cultivation and the use of high-yielding seeds in recent years.

There are numerous *khāls* and *bils* lying scattered in various police stations of the district. Many of these *bils* and *khāls* join up during rains which give an appearance of a big sheet of water dotted with occasional villages and hamlets on a slightly higher land over them. Paddy grows well in the shallow areas. The *khāls* provide outlet for the excess of water.

IRRIGATION

Agriculture of the district is almost entirely dependent on rainfall. Hence, when the rainfall is scanty or very late, the district suffers from failure of crops, the *Kalāntar* tract suffering most. The district was without any coordinated irrigation system in the pre-Independence period and in the early fifties, as a district, Nadia had the smallest irrigation area.¹ In recent years, however, the situation has changed to a considerable extent with the spread of irrigation facilities over a wide area.

Rivers

The rivers of the district do not contribute directly to build up an effective irrigation system. The whole district is a network of moribund rivers and streams, but the Bhagirathi, the Jalangi and the Mathabhanga are the three which are commonly known as the 'Nadia rivers'. As the river system of the district has been elaborately dealt with in Chapter I we need not repeat the same thing here. It may, however, be added that in recent years lift irrigation by pumping river water has been put into practice in selected areas. Details of such irrigation has been given in a separate section where the sources of irrigation of the district have been discussed.

Lakes, marshes and *bils*

There are numerous lakes, marshes and *bils* in the district and the names of the chief lakes and marshes have been listed in Chapter I. Of the many *bils* found in the district, some are of small size, while others are practically inland lakes. Some

¹ S. N. Mukherjee, *A Brief Agricultural Geography of West Bengal*, Calcutta, 1956, p. 48.

are mere accumulations of water upon low-lying ground, while others are natural drainage basins, the level of which does not admit of drainage. In this connexion the *Nadia District Gazetteer* of 1910 states: 'No irrigation is practised in the district, the chief reason being that the surface is so uniformly level as to afford little or no scope for canals and distributaries.' *The Settlement Report* of 1918-1926 also states: 'Agriculture is totally dependent on the rainfall. Artificial irrigation is practically unknown. It is resorted to occasionally to foster the growth of special crops such as sugarcane.' The picture has since changed to some extent with the introduction of new irrigation schemes in recent years for obtaining better crops and higher yields.

While well irrigation is not in practice in this district, the scope of tank irrigation is also limited as the land is very sandy having little capacity for holding water. Irrigation facilities made available in recent years are mainly lift irrigation, either from deep tube-wells or from shallow *bils* and shallow tube-wells.

The following two tables will indicate the extent of irrigation facilities available in the district.³

Irrigation Schemes

1. AREA UNDER IRRIGATED CROPS IN NADIA DISTRICT (IN ACRES)⁴

Name of crop	1960-61	1961-62	1962-63	1963-64	1964-65
Rice	8,200	9,600	8,800	9,500	9,700
Wheat	4,700	4,900	5,600	5,200	5,400
Barley	1,900	1,500	1,500	1,000	1,000
Jowar	—	—	—	100	100
Other cereals and pulses	1,100	1,200	1,200	1,000	1,300
Sugarcane	4,000	3,500	3,200	3,500	3,300
Other food crops including fruits and vegetables	1,900	1,800	2,000	1,900	2,100
Other non-food crops including tobacco	—	—	—	300	200
TOTAL	21,800	22,500	22,300	22,500	23,100

¹ J.H.E. Garrett, *Bengal District Gazetteers: Nadia*, Calcutta, 1910, p. 68.

² J.M. Pringle & A.H. Kemm, *Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the District of Nadia, 1918-1926*, Calcutta, 1928, p. 16.

³ Source: Principal Agricultural Officer, Nadia.

⁴ Source: Statistical Officer, Socio-Economic & Evaluation Branch, Department of Agriculture & Community Development, Government of West Bengal.

2. AREA IRRIGATED THROUGH DIFFERENT AGENCIES IN NADIA DISTRICT (IN ACRES)¹

Year	Private Canals	Tanks	Wells	Other sources	Total
1960-61	14,000	1,000	—	4,300	19,300
1961-62	14,100	1,000	—	4,300	19,400
1962-63	14,000	900	—	4,100	19,000
1963-64	14,000	1,100	—	4,100	19,200
1964-65	14,900	1,300	—	4,300	20,500

Tank improvement work

It has already been stated that the scope of tank irrigation in the district is limited as the land is sandy having little capacity for holding water. This is why tank improvement work has never been a special feature so far as irrigation of the district is concerned. During the third Five Year Plan period, however, a number of schemes were taken up by the Tanks Improvement Department and the Department of Fisheries of the State Government for increasing agricultural production and developing pisciculture in the district. Tanks are departmentally selected and their owners are given loans under certain conditions for their development. These schemes are usually implemented through the Development Blocks of the district. The following statement gives the numbers of tanks improved and the cost involved in each case during the Third Five Year Plan

Year	No. of tanks improved	Cost involved Rs.
1963-64	25	1,14,036.74
1964-65	11	46,036.78
1965-66	12	42,703.81
1966-67	3	8,684.14
1967-68	3	17,466.42

During the period from 1965-66 to 1966-67, 14 tanks were improved under the supervision of different Anchal Panchayats of the district.

As the rainfall is uncertain and the farmers of the district have to depend to a great extent on the mercy of nature, attempts are being made to increase the area under assured irrigation through various irrigation projects. Statistical information regarding irrigation by different methods is given in the table below.²

¹ Source: Tanks Improvement Officer, Nadia.
² Source: Principal Agricultural Officer, Nadia.

AREA UNDER DIFFERENT TYPES OF IRRIGATION IN NADIA DISTRICT (IN HECTARES): 1964-69

Sources of Irrigation	1964-65	1965-66	1966-67	1967-68	1968-69
Tanks	320	300	300	300	300
Wells	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Deep Tube-Wells	1,060	2,984	5,409	5,527	8,793
Government Canals	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Other sources	4,720	5,400	4,275	4,173	7,907

Deep tube-wells may be a useful source of irrigation in areas not served by any river valley project and it has been possible to provide perennial irrigation to an extensive area by installing such tube-wells. As compared to the big river valley project, the deep tube-well scheme is likely to involve a lower cost in relation to the command area. In 1965-66, 449 deep tube-wells were sanctioned for the district of which 231 deep tube-wells were energized in 1965-66. The number of energized tube-wells for the years 1966-67 and 1967-68 were 328 and 359 respectively. In 1968-69, there were altogether 401 energized tube-wells in the district. The following table gives an idea of the energized and completed tube-wells in the district for the period from 1965-66 to 1968-69 and the area likely to be benefited by such tube-wells.¹

Deep tube-wells

Year	No. of energized tube-wells	No. of completed tube-wells	Area benefited (in hectares)	
			Kharif	Rabi
1965-66	231	96	1,289.89	1,860.18
1966-67	328	116	2,210.30	2,560.05
1967-68	359	171	4,457.81	5,070.21
1968-69	401	297	5,070.21	9,665.97

The full command area can be irrigated only when these deep tube-wells are complete in all respects. It may be added that one tube-well is expected to irrigate about 200 acres when fully completed. It has been found from the data available after sinking of exploratory tube-wells that this district is very suitable for such irrigation by tapping underground water.

Lift pumps have been used to draw water from the rivers for irrigation purposes during the Third Five Year Plan. The following statement gives the number of pumps distributed and the expenditure incurred during the period from 1964-65 to 1968-69.²

Lift irrigation by pump-ing plant

¹ & ² Source: Principal Agricultural Officer, Nadia.

Source of irrigation

Year	No. of pumps distributed	Expenditure incurred Rs.
1964-65	3	10,759.75
1965-66	66	1,98,462.30
1966-67	214	7,47,431.45
1967-68	113	3,47,646.00
1968-69	625	21,87,883.50

The percentage of gross irrigated area to total area under crops was 1.25 in 1963-64, while the same was 8.20 in 1968. The following table shows the total area under irrigation in the district for the year 1963-64 to 1968-69 and also shows the gradual increase in the percentage of irrigated area through these years.¹

THE AREA UNDER IRRIGATION IN NADIA DISTRICT
(IN HECTARES): 1963-69

Year	Net area irrigated in the district	Percentage of net area irrigated to the net area sown	Area irrigated more than once in the same year	Gross irrigated area	Percentage of gross irrigated area to total area under crops
1963-64	2,296	0.82	1,686	5,890	1.25
1964-65	6,100	2.15	5,328	12,500	2.65
1965-66	8,684	3.12	7,884	17,897	4.66
1966-67	9,984	4.11	8,856	20,896	5.87
1967-68	11,000	4.03	9,005	22,545	5.84
1968-69	17,000	7.00	15,207	35,350	8.20

The following table, again, gives an idea of the irrigated area under *rabi* and *kharif* crops in the district for the period from 1964-65 to 1968-69.²

Year	Under <i>rabi</i> crop (in hectares)	Under <i>kharif</i> crop (in hectares)	Total area (in hectares)
1964-65	6,100	6,400	12,500
1965-66	8,684	9,211	17,895
1966-67	9,984	10,861	20,845
1967-68	11,000	11,545	22,545
1968-69	17,000	18,350	35,350

The soil varies but little all over the district. Excepting portions under Karimpur police station of the Sadar subdivision and the tract commonly known as *Kalāntar*, the soil of the district is light sandy loam. The tract, known as *Kalāntar*, is a low lying

¹ & ² Source: Principal Agricultural Officer, Nadia.

area which starting from Mursidabad district stretches into Nadia between the Bhagirathi and the Jalangi and runs further in the south-easterly direction covering an area about 15 miles long and 8 miles wide. The tract under suitable weather conditions can grow good *aman* rice, but often either water-logging makes it unsuitable for *rabi* cultivation or cultivation is threatened by inadequate rainfall.

The natural soil regions found in the district, formed as a result of the physical features, watershed and the climate may be broadly classified into three soil associations, namely, Ganga riverine lands, Ganga flat lands and Ganga low lands. The association of Ganga riverine lands has again two phases which include the inundated phase covering Ganga riverine *char* lands and the highland phase bordering Ganga riverine ridges.¹ Ganga low lands are formed of soils on recent alluvial fans, flood plains or other secondary deposits having undeveloped profiles and underlain by unconsolidated material. Their profiles show no accumulation of clay or lime in the sub-soil resulting from weathering and the downward movement of water from surface horizon. Deposition of alluvium having different texture in different layers in an unsystematic manner is evident on observation. The soils of this association occur in the police stations of Karimpur, Kaliganj, Tehatta, Nakasipara, Krishnanagar, Chapra, Hanskhali, Shantipur, Ranaghat, Chakdaha and Haringhata. Ganga flat lands, on the other hand, are formed of young alluvial fans, old flood plains or other secondary deposits having somewhat developed profiles underlain by unconsolidated material. These profiles show slight compaction and slight accumulation of clay in the sub-soils as a result of leaching from the surface horizon. The soils of this association can be found in the police stations of Karimpur, Kaliganj, Nakasipara, Chapra, Hanskhali and Ranaghat. Ganga low lands, again, comprise soils on lower plains, depressions and left river beds having a good accumulation of clay in the surface soil and underlain by unconsolidated material or more often riverine profile. These are clay-pan soils in which pans are relatively near the surface and relatively impervious to the downward movement of water. Water moves through big cracks in the soil. This is underlain by a horizon, at places of lime or lime-iron, which do not soften or disintegrate in water. Soil of this association occurs in the police stations

¹ Government of West Bengal, Directorate of Agriculture, *A Report on the Soil Work in West Bengal*, Calcutta, 1960, p. 4.

of Karimpur, Tehatta, Chapra, Hanskhali, Ranaghat, Chakdaha and Haringhata.

The soils which form the Ganga riverine lands contain an average amount of potash and phosphate, but are poor in organic matter and nitrogen. In spite of these soils being sandy and having an open texture, the sub-soil has a good moisture retentive capacity. The occasional sand layers stop the loss of moisture from the sub-soil owing to interception of capillary rise in sand and maintain a good moisture status. This helps the deep-rooted crops like sugarcane to stand the summer drought very well. The calcareous well-aerated silty soil having a good sub-soil moisture affords a good medium for growing sugarcane. The excellent permeability and capacity of holding water of the sub-soil layers coupled with the climatic benefit of the summer rains make the area comprising Ganga flat lands ideally suitable for growing deep-rooted crops like sugarcane, jute, etc. This area grows *aus* paddy and jute in *kharif* season and pulses or barley in *rabi* season. A period of fallowing to recoup the fertility of the soil by weathering down of the soil material to produce plant nutrients is, as a rule, practised widely. Since these soils are subjected to heavy leaching during rains, loss of nutrients owing to surface run-off and vertical movements of nutrients in the profile, it becomes essential to allow the fields to consolidate and recoup by the rotation of crops.

The association of soils comprising Ganga low lands occur in places where depressions have been created by the swinging movement of different rivers. The abandoned river courses and areas thus enclosed by high river banks receive the washing from the surrounding flat or riverine lands. During rains, these appear as big sheets of shallow water, where, in deeper places, mostly reeds and other weeds grow and cultivation is restricted to the peripheries. Shallower ones are put to *aman* or deep water paddy (*boro*). During winter, this area gets dried up, when pulses are grown in many places. During summer, when the sub-soil dries up, shrinkage of the soil gives rise to large and long cracks. This behaviour of the soil makes *rabi* crops suffer as a result of tearing of their roots. Small patches of high salt concentration occur here and there, which give the standing *rabi* crops a patchy appearance. The inundated phase of Ganga riverine lands consists of Ganga *char* lands adjacent to the banks of the Ganga, Jalangi, Mathabhanga, Churni and Ichhamati representing a soil which remains invariably submerged below water during the

rainy season. The soil is generally of a sandy nature, typical of the sand bed of the river. The soils are shallow and are of calcareous nature. No progress of soil-forming processes is visible in these areas. Wherever thin layers of silt have been deposited, cultivation of early *aus*, water-melon and *patal* is widely practised. Yearly deposition of silt keeps up fertility. The highland phase covering Ganga ridges have soils which are brown in colour, but its sub-soil being usually sandy, the region generally suffers from lack of irrigation.

In 1960-61, about 47 per cent of the cropped area of the district was under paddy while 6 per cent of it was covered by jute and 10 per cent by gram. Other food grains occupied about 22 per cent of the cropped area. Besides, some area was also under linseed, mustard and sugarcane. The distribution of the general crops in the district in 1960-61 is given below.

CROPS

DISTRIBUTION OF VARIOUS CROPS IN NADIA DISTRICT
(IN ACRES): 1960-61¹

Total Rice	5,44,373
<i>Bhadoi</i> or <i>aus</i>	2,81,206
<i>Aman</i>	2,61,190
<i>Boro</i>	1,977
Wheat	10,131
Barley	10,131
<i>Jower</i>	247
Maize	247
Gram	1,24,788
Other food grains	2,50,070
Sugarcane	17,792
Other crops grown for sugar	494
Rape and mustard	22,734
<i>Til</i>	741
Linseed	37,313
Other oil seeds	494
Condiments and spices	1,236
Jute	73,884
Other fibres	45,962
Tobacco	247
Fodder crops	2,965
Fruits and vegetables	8,896
Miscellaneous	741

¹ B. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

Throughout the district cereals, cash crops, pulses and oil seeds are grown in all areas which are under cultivation. Among cereals, mention may be made of *aman* rice, *aus* rice, wheat, barley, maize and to some extent *boro* rice. The cash crops include vegetables, jute, potato, chillis and sugarcane. Gram, *masur*, *māshkalāi*, *khesāri*, *arhar*, *mug*, mustard are the common pulses and oilseeds. Orchards, which are often found in the district, mainly consist of mango groves and bamboo growing areas. There are, again, certain areas where natural environment changes with the change of seasons. In Tehatta P.S., for instance, the landscape is one of a vast plain dotted with *khāils* and *bils*. Villages surrounded by groves stand widely separated from each other on comparatively higher lands. During rainy season, the western side of the Jalangi gives an appearance of vast stretches of paddy fields where villages look like small islands. The eastern and northern parts of this police station look like a huge water sheet, having paddy tops peeping out of them from places having higher level of land. The hamlets are widely separated and have a canopy of mango and bamboo groves. During winter, the western half gets covered by *rabi* cereals and the landscape is one of a mixture of purple, green and yellow colour of the *rabi* pulses. The eastern half, on the other hand, is harvested for late paddy. In summer, the land, looking like an unending chess-board of small bunds, is bare and affords good pasture.

Rice is the main crop of the district and occupies about 73.11 per cent of the net cropped area. The following table would give an idea of the volume of production of the principal crop in relation to other important food and non-food crops of the district between 1964-65 and 1968-69.

AREA UNDER MAJOR AND SUBSIDIARY CROPS (IN THOUSAND ACRES) IN NADIA DISTRICT: 1964-69¹

Name of crop	1964-65	1965-66	1966-67	1967-68	1968-69
Rice	484.0	515.7	506.2	514.3	576.5
Wheat	11.4	10.1	10.1	13.7	37.3
Barley	3.8	4.8	8.0	7.3	8.2
Maize	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.2	0.2
<i>Kharif</i> pulses	37.0	42.0	26.5	27.3	30.2
<i>Rabi</i> pulses	189.2	172.2	147.0	134.6	73.8
Gram & Turmeric	166.0	174.2	226.3	190.0	177.1
Sugarcane	16.3	20.4	16.0	12.6	14.2
Potato	1.2	1.6	1.4	1.0	2.1

¹ Source : Principal Agricultural Officer, Nadia.

AREA UNDER MAJOR AND SUBSIDIARY CROPS (IN THOUSAND ACRES) IN NADIA DISTRICT: 1964-69 (Contd.)

Name of crop	1964-65	1965-66	1966-67	1967-68	1968-69
Ground-nut	0.02	0.025	0.026	not available	not available
Rape & Mustard	44.2	45.7	37.8	200.0	36.0
Linseed	40.2	38.2	38.8	23.5	5.3
Tobacco	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.4
Jute	163.6	135.5	147.3	182.4	86.2

The district has a considerable area under pulses and *rabi* cereals. A good quality pulse commonly known as *soyā mug* valued for its smell and colour is grown here.

The following picture of thanawise cropping pattern of the district is available from a survey report.¹

Cropping pattern

Subdivision Krishnanagar

Police Station

Karimpur

The area grows both *aman* and *aus* paddy. *Aman* grows in the Ganga low lands and *aus* in the Ganga riverine lands. *Aman-fallow-aman* and *aus-pulses-aus*, jute-pulses-jute are the more common rotations. *Arhar-wheat-arhar* rotation is also followed.

Tehatta

Aus-sugarcane-ratoon-aus, *aus-masur-aus* and *aus-gram-aus* are the more common rotations. *Aus-jute*, sugarcane and *arhar* alternate in the same lot. *Aus* and *arhar* are often broadcast together.

Nakāsipara

The common rotation is *aus-gram-aus* or *aus-masur-aus* with two years' fallow after four years of cropping to recoup soil fertility. *Aman-fallow-aman* is the more common rotation but *aman-khesari-aman* is also followed.

¹ Government of West Bengal, Directorate of Agriculture, *A Report on the Soil Work in West Bengal*, Vol. II, 1960, pp. 13-33.

Chapra	Jute-pulses-jute, jute-fallow-jute, <i>aman-fallow-aman</i> , <i>aus-fallow-aus</i> , <i>aus-gram-aus</i> are the more common rotations.
Kaliganj	<i>Aus-sugarcane-ratoon-aus</i> , <i>aus-masur-aus</i> and <i>aus-gram-aus</i> are the more common rotations. <i>Aus-jute-sugarcane</i> and <i>arhar</i> alternate in the same plot. <i>Aus</i> and <i>arhar</i> are often broadcast together.
Krishnanagar	<i>Aus-vegetable</i> or gram or <i>masur-aus</i> is the most common rotation. <i>Aus</i> and <i>arhar</i> are sown together. <i>Aman</i> lands are allowed to remain fallow in <i>rabi</i> season.
Navadwip	<i>Aus-pulses-aus</i> and <i>aman-fallow-aman</i> are usually practised. <i>Pachan</i> or fallowing of <i>aus</i> lands for recouping soil fertility is widely practised. Vegetable is grown in <i>aus</i> lands.
Krishnaganj	<i>Aus</i> is the principal paddy crop. <i>Aus-gram</i> or <i>masur-aus</i> and <i>aus-vegetables-aus</i> are the more common rotations. <i>Aus</i> or jute is grown alternatively. <i>Pachan</i> or allowing the land to remain fallow after every three or four successive crops of <i>aus</i> is the common practice. <i>Aman-fallow-aman</i> is the rotation followed. <i>Aus</i> and <i>arhar</i> , mustard, barley and gram are broadcast together. <i>Boro</i> is grown in the bed of <i>bils</i> . Growing of chillis in <i>aus</i> land is very common.
Subdivision Ranaghat	
Police Station	
Shantipur	<i>Aus</i> is the predominating paddy grown here. <i>Aus-gram</i> or <i>masur-aus</i> is a common rotation. <i>Aus-arhar</i> , barley-mustard and gram-mustard are broadcast together. The practice of <i>pachan</i>

	is a known phenomenon. <i>Aus-vegetable-aus</i> and <i>jute-vegetable-jute</i> rotations are also followed.
Hanskhali	<i>Aman</i> and <i>aus</i> areas in this police station are almost equal. <i>Aus-vegetable-aus</i> , and <i>aus-pulses-aus</i> are the more common rotations. Gram and mustard are broadcast together. <i>Aus</i> is also broadcast and <i>pachan</i> is practised.
Ranaghat	<i>Aus-gram</i> or <i>masur</i> or <i>bagoon-aus</i> is a common rotation. <i>Jute-vegetable-jute</i> is another rotation; and <i>aman-fallow-aman</i> is the general practice. A sizable area is under coconut.
Chakdaha	The area grows more <i>aman</i> than <i>aus</i> unlike the other police stations of the district. <i>Aman-fallow-aman</i> and <i>aus-masur-aman</i> , <i>Aus-vegetable</i> or <i>chillis-aman</i> are the more common rotations. <i>Masur-mustard-barley</i> , <i>gram-mustard-barley</i> and <i>aus-arhar</i> are broadcast together. Tobacco is grown in more fertile patches, specially near homestead, where it can be manured heavily and irrigated from easily accessible water source.
Haringhata	<i>Aman-fallow-aman</i> , <i>aus-gram</i> or <i>masur</i> or <i>vegetable-aus</i> is the usual rotation. Vegetables, specially pumpkin, brinjals and chillis are grown in <i>aus</i> plots. Tobacco is grown near the homestead lands where facilities for irrigation exist.

Unlike some other districts of this State where the people generally depend upon *aman* rice, that is, the winter variety, Nadia depends more upon the autumn that is, *aus* rice than upon the former. In the early fifties, the autumn crop occupied 58.4 per cent of the normal net cropped area while winter crop

Major and
subsidiary
crops

covered 36.1 per cent of the normal net cropped area. *Rabi* crops which include gram and other *rabi* cereals and pulses occupied 45.5 per cent. The total of these percentages exceeds 100 owing to the fact that as much as three-fourths of the total cropped area was twice cropped.¹

The crops in the district are classified according to their respective harvesting seasons into three broad categories, namely, *bhadoi* or *aus* (the autumn crop), *aghrahi* or *aman* (the winter crop) and *rabi* (the late winter crop). *Aus* or autumn rice is by far the most important crop which is grown in the district. It requires less water than the other varieties of rice commonly found in the district and unlike the long stemmed varieties it does not possess the power of accommodating its growth to the depth of water surrounding it. In fact, it can hardly be grown on land which is liable to be flooded during the rains to a depth of more than three or three-and-a-half inches. Cultivation of land for this variety starts as soon as the early showers permit ploughing and the seed is sown broadcast in April or May. As soon as the young plants grow to a height of 5 or 6 inches, the field is harrowed for the purpose of thinning out the crop, and also to prepare the way for first weeding. During the whole of May and the first two weeks of June it is essential that the field should be kept clear of weeds. The amount of labour involved in this operation makes the *aus* a more troublesome crop even than the transplanted *aman*. Under favourable conditions, the crop becomes ready for reaping in August or early September. The quality of rice yielded is coarse, difficult to digest and is usually consumed by the poorer section of the people. The outturn is also less in weight and thus fetches a lower price. The straw, however, provides the cattle with good fodder at a time of the year when both food grain and fodder are scarce. The other advantage of this crop is that being off the ground early, it provides for the preparation of the land for *rabi* or winter crop. In 1960, the normal outturn of *aus* rice in Nadia was 8 maunds per acre which compares unfavourably with the yields in other districts.

Aman or winter rice with all its varieties offer all the finest qualities of rice. The preparation of the land for this crop begins in the early part of the year. The seed is sown very thick in a nursery in April or May and as soon as the seedlings

¹ B. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. xxx.

make their appearance, another field is prepared for their transplantation. For this purpose, the embankments round the field are repaired so that it may retain all the water when it rains. The field is then ploughed several times until the surface is reduced to thick mud. The seedlings are then taken out of the nursery and transplanted into rows about nine inches apart, where they are left to mature, one or two weedings being done in a subsequent operation sometime in the second fortnight of August. The crop is harvested in November or December. The most critical period for this crop is when it begins to blossom in the later part of October. If there is no sufficient moisture at this time, no grain will form in the year. In Nadia, *aman* rice is nearly the sole crop in the *Kalāntar*.

The cultivation of jute has been increasing during the past thirty years and at present this crop occupies a fair share of the normal net cropped area. It is generally grown on lands which are suitable for *aus* crop. The preparation of the land for this crop begins as soon as there is sufficient rainfall to moisten it. It is ploughed twice or thrice in the initial stage and then allowed to rest for a time while the farmer manures it with cow-dung and fertilizers. In May, the land is ploughed again and the surface is made as fine as possible. The seed is then sown. When the seedlings reach a height of five or six inches, a harrow is passed over the field with a view to thinning out the plants where they are too thick, and also to help absorption of moisture by breaking up the surface of the ground. The first weeding takes place when the plants are about a foot high and every effort is made at this stage to eliminate the weeds. If the work is done well, no further weeding is required. The crop matures in late August or early September, and it is then cut and tied up in bundles about 15 inches in diameter. They are then steeped in the nearest stagnant water for about a fortnight until the stalks have become sufficiently decomposed to admit of the extraction of the fibre from them. In recent years, higher yields have been obtained by adopting improved practices of cultivation and there has been a definite improvement in quality also. Formerly, the quality of the jute grown in Nadia was inferior to that grown in the districts north of the Ganga, but use of better seeds has helped to improve the quality to a certain extent in recent years. The following table gives the production figures for some of the more important crops of the district for the year 1960.

Jute cultivation

PRODUCTION OF *AMAN* AND *AUS* RICE, WHEAT AND JUTE
IN NADIA DISTRICT: 1960¹

Name of Police Station	Name of Crop (in acres)			
	<i>Aman</i>	<i>Aus</i>	Wheat	Jute
Karimpur	20,580.35	41,093.63	3,855.64	3,265.84
Tehatta	32,838.03	39,383.89	1,667.55	2,348.95
Kālīganj	19,216.25	20,963.78	565.93	982.19
Nākāsipārā	13,604.08	23,663.91	613.09	722.33
Chāprā	24,508.08	27,749.57	192.74	2,741.96
Krishnanagar	14,962.35	25,889.21	27.39	745.64
Navadwīp	63.30	10,594.09	234.01	664.33
Krishnaganj	5,815.10	12,648.11	130.49	1,065.54
Shāntipur	6,171.12	10,311.21	132.91	1,605.94
Hānskhālī	17,314.59	17,638.49	18.07	1,326.82
Rānāghāt	25,473.64	29,770.17	265.47	1,659.46
Chākdahā	20,430.47	12,383.47	86.23	3,066.36
Haringhātā	14,009.91	7,986.45	0.18	1,387.42

PROGRESS OF
SCIENTIFIC
AGRICULTURE

With the launching of the First Five Year Plan, efforts were made by the Agricultural Department of the district to acquaint the agriculturists with the practices of scientific agriculture. Use of improved implements, improved seeds and adoption of plant protection measures are some of the new practices which were introduced.

Agricultural
implements

Although mostly indigenous implements are still in use, the cultivators of the district have, during the various Plan periods, gradually shown keen interest in the use of some modern implements which include mould-board ploughs, seed-drills, wheel-hoes and paddy-weeders. The farmers are also to a great extent conversant with the use of plant protection equipments such as dusters and sprayers. In the early days of the Five Year Plan, these were manufactured and supplied by firms in Calcutta which did not have any distributing agencies in the district. During the Third Plan period, arrangements were made for repair of the improved implements locally by supplying spare parts from the Block Development Offices where a Fitter Mechanic was posted for attending all repair works on receipt of requisition from cultivators.

Use of
tractors

During the early sixties, thirteen tractors were placed at the disposal of the local Agriculture Department for ploughing lands of the farmers on payment of usual charges. Besides, fifteen tractors were also maintained by private parties and were made

¹ Government of West Bengal, Directorate of Agriculture — *A Report on the Soil Work in West Bengal*, Calcutta, 1960. pp. 11-33.

available for use of the cultivators as and when required. The tractor was extensively employed for cultivation in the Sadar subdivision and has since become very popular. The following statement shows the distribution of improved agricultural implements in the district for the period from 1964-65 to 1968-69.

DISTRIBUTION OF IMPROVED AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS IN
NADIA DISTRICT: 1964-69¹

Name of Implements	1964-65	1965-66	1966-67	1967-68	1968-69
Seed-drill	8	144	455	528	426
Wheel-hoe	25	179	417	463	424
Paddy-weeder	7	82	53	49	55
Mould-board plough	394	128	87	40	144
Seed-dresser	—	—	—	—	—
Done	51	265	212	118	291

The Agriculture Department of the district paid serious attention to the work of procurement and distribution of improved seeds during the various Plan periods, specially, during the Third Plan when the foundation seeds of the Seed Multiplication Farms of the district became very popular among the farmers. The different types of seeds usually produced are *aus* (autumn paddy), *aman* (winter paddy), jute, wheat, pulses and oilseeds. The following statement gives an idea of seed distribution work in the district from 1964-65 to 1967-68.

Seeds &
manures

QUANTITY OF SEEDS DISTRIBUTED IN NADIA DISTRICT: 1964-68²

Kind of improved seed	1964-65		1965-66		1966-67		1967-68	
	Quantity (Quintals)	Area (hectares)	Quantity (Quintals)	Area (hectares)	Quantity (Quintals)	Area (hectares)	Quantity (Quintals)	Area (hectares)
Paddy	662	1,324	1,128	2,256	1,543	3,086	1,648	3,299
Wheat	17	18	631	630	715	714	827	826
Pulses	81	265	639	2,044	407	1,302	66	211
Sugarcane	4,200	24	44,000	252	2,200	13	9,600	55
Potato	750	60	410	32	334	26	251	20
Mustard	29	383	30	396	83	1,095	131	1,729
Jute	31	409	39	514	117	1,544	873	1,108

¹ & ² Source: Principal Agricultural Officer, Nadia.

There was a time when the poor cultivators had to depend on rich farmers for the supply of quality seeds as they were unable to keep a part of their seeds earmarked for use in the next season. This situation has since changed and improved varieties of seeds are now being supplied to the cultivators from the Thana Seed Farms and seed stores and local cooperative societies are also working as agencies for storing and distributing them.

Manures

In order to increase the quantity of good quality organic manure in the rural areas, arrangements were made during the Third Plan period for training farm leaders in improved and scientific methods of compost production. Attention has also been paid in recent years to increasing village compost production under a scheme for augmenting local manurial resources. This scheme envisages construction of an adequate number of compost pits for every village. The following table gives an idea of the progress under the scheme for the five-year period from 1964-65 to 1968-69.

Year	No. of farm leaders trained	No. of pucca pits constructed	No. of cattle sheds constructed	Quantity of compost produced (in tonnes)
1964-65	230	275	233	15,722
1965-66	1,307	432	298	26,714
1966-67	1,140	592	477	45,834
1967-68	800	398	310	53,685
1968-69	1,007	302	221	45,519

Green manuring is one of the cheapest methods of improving soil fertility. In order to extend the acreage under green manuring, *dhainchā* seeds are being raised in all Government farms for subsequent distribution. Cultivators have also been encouraged to grow *dhainchā* seeds for their own use. The following statement shows the quantity of *dhainchā* seeds distributed and area green-manured for the period from 1964-65 to 1968-69.

Year	Quantity of <i>dhainchā</i> seeds distributed (in metric tons)	Area green-manured (in acres)
1964-65	18.1	1,601
1965-66	40.6	3,161
1966-67	23.8	1,677
1967-68	12.4	1,193
1968-69	4.6	915

With the gradual depletion of soil fertility by intensive cultivation, the cultivators have become conscious of replenishing the plant food by use of organic and inorganic manure, *dhainchā*, *kalāi* and compost manure. Various types of inorganic fertilizers, such as, Ammonium Sulphate, Super Phosphate, Bone meal are also being used. Fertilizer mixtures for paddy and jute, recommended by the Agriculture Department, have become popular to a great extent.

Fertilizers

Fertilizer plays an important role in increasing agricultural production and the cultivators have by now been quite alive to the utility of fertilizers. In order to ensure adequate supply of fertilizers to the farmers at the time of need, more and more depots were established in remote villages, specially during the Third Five Year Plan period. Since the cultivators are not in a position to meet the financial liabilities for the purchase of fertilizers, credit arrangements have also been made. Fertilizer loan is sanctioned and disbursed by the Block Development Officer. Besides, there are the cooperative societies which also advance loans to the deserving farmers. A part of the fertilizer loan is paid in cash, while about 75 per cent is given in the form of a permit for fertilizer. In 1966-67, there were 185 fertilizer depot-holders in the district. This number increased to 229 in 1967-68, while it was 296 for the year 1968-69. The total quantity of fertilizers handled by the depot-holders in 1966-67 was 7,650 metric tons, while the same for 1967-68 and 1968-69 was 1,018 MT and 814 MT respectively. The total quantity of fertilizers actually distributed during 1966-67, 1967-68 and 1968-69 was 968 MT, 1,018 MT and 814 MT respectively. The following table shows the consumption of fertilizers in the district for the period from 1966-67 to 1968-69.

CONSUMPTION (IN TONNES) OF FERTILIZERS IN NADIA DISTRICT: 1966-69¹

Name of fertilizer	1966-67	1967-68	1968-69
Ammonium Sulphate	2,369	2,569	2,328
Calcium Ammonium Nitrate	20	89	95
Urea	1,849	1,847	2,068
Ammonium Sulphate Nitrate	20	29	35
Di-Ammonium Phosphate	40	126	138
Ammonium Phosphate	—	—	98
Super Phosphate	1,458	1,492	1,530
Ammonium Chloride	—	—	60
Potassium Chloride	19	146	250.5
Fertilizer Mixture	1,588	1,676	1,894

¹ Source : Principal Agricultural Officer, Nadia.

While outbreak of plant diseases on a large scale is not a common phenomenon, the incidence of pest is almost a regular feature. Every year pests appear on crops like jute and *aus* paddy on a large scale and also on sugarcane to some extent. The cultivators appear to be well conversant with control measures and they apply these chemicals on an extensive scale whenever there is any outbreak. To encourage the use of various insecticides and fungicides among the cultivators, these are sold to them at 50 per cent subsidized price. In recent years, the demand for insecticides has become so great that many private firms have come forward with various brands of insecticides and fungicides to meet the needs of the farmers. The following statement shows the progress made in the field of plant protection work in Nadia district for the years 1965-66 and 1966-67.

Name of plant protection materials	1965-66		1966-67			
	Quantity distributed (in quintals)	Area treated (in hectares)	Quantity treated (in quintals)	Quantity distributed (in quintals)	Area treated (in hectares)	Quantity treated (in quintals)
Insecticides	3,445	13,760	175	3,260	13,640	154
Fungicides	14	40	—	20	400	—

The plant protection materials are also in use in the district. In 1964-65, the number of hand sprayer distributed was 365, while the same for hand duster was 18. The following table gives an idea of the distribution of sprayers and dusters in the district during the period from 1964-65 to 1967-68.

Name of materials	1964-65	1965-66	1966-67	1967-68
Hand sprayer	365	685	384	218
Hand duster	36	22	48	8

Rice grasshopper, rice swarming caterpillar, rice hispa, rice bug, rice stem borer and rice case worm are the usual pests which attack and destroy paddy. Jute semilooper, jute hairy caterpillar and jute apion are the pests which harm the fibre crop, while sugarcane is affected by the attack of stem borer and leaf hopper. Cut worm, leaf folder, stem borer and lady bird beetles are the enemies of vegetables. While leaf spot is the indication of disease in paddy, stem rot is the disease in the case of jute. In case of vegetables, viruses and early blight are some of the indications of diseases.

Farms serve as effective demonstration centres of progressive agriculture. Since 1962-63, a vigorous drive was launched to improve the working of the Block Seed Farms in the district. In 1965-66, there were seven Block Seed Farms in the district where good results were obtained by adopting various measures. The following table will show the total expenditure including the pay of staff and the total value of produce of these Block Seed Farms for the years from 1965-66 to 1967-68.

Name of the Block Seed Farm with area (in acres)	1965-66		1966-67		1967-68	
	Expen- diture Rs.	Receipt Rs.	Expen- diture Rs.	Receipt Rs.	Expen- diture Rs.	Receipt Rs.
Nakasipara (22.61 acres)	20,577.31	28,812.97	27,858.50	51,411.00	34,496.97	51,622.66
Kaliganj (27.30 acres)	20,664.46	21,053.77	24,778.57	47,642.00	28,312.54	54,365.36
Tehatta (24.30 acres)	20,297.79	22,496.50	25,000.03	33,237.00	35,696.40	37,289.22
Karimpur (25.46 acres)	18,070.81	19,792.03	24,734.53	33,547.00	30,922.85	38,695.26
Chakdaha (26.03 acres)	25,717.73	49,227.87	29,524.15	58,284.00	37,094.29	17,993.37
Hanskhali (26.06 acres)	23,144.33	28,660.55	29,166.30	40,435.00	28,823.43	58,931.51
Krishnaganj (25.51 acres)	15,912.67	16,692.85	20,409.14	22,725.00	21,752.45	19,584.86

Formerly, the farms were running at a loss but it will be seen from the above table that there has been some improvement in recent years. The average yield per acre of paddy in some of these farms went up to 35 maunds (13.063 quintals), that of jute as fibre to over 30 maunds (11.197 quintals) and that of wheat to 20 maunds (7.465 quintals). Experiments were also made with certain new varieties of paddy and the results obtained were satisfactory. With the availability of better irrigation facilities, various types of multiple cropping patterns were also introduced, such as, jute followed by *aus* followed by wheat, *aus* followed by *aus* followed by wheat, etc. In one of such triple crops programmes in the Nakasipara Farm, 30 maunds (11.197 quintals) of paddy were obtained from the first *aus* crop of *dular* variety, 37 maunds (13.809 quintals) of *aus* paddy were obtained from the second crop of Ch. 45 and about 20 maunds (7.465 quintals) of wheat per acre was obtained from the third crop. Thus, in all, about 87 maunds (32.471 quintals) of paddy and wheat could be obtained from one acre of land.

Jute Seed
Multiplication
Farm,
Krishnanagar

The Jute Seed Multiplication Farm with an area of 250 acres was established in Krishnanagar in 1951 for multiplication of jute seeds to cope with the growing demand of the agriculturists. It was possible to put 60 acres under jute for seed multiplication in the *kharif* season of the same year, while nearly 162 acres were brought under cultivation in the *kharif* season of 1953. The main work of the Farm was the production of jute seeds of high-yielding varieties, but advantage of crop rotation was also taken soon for production of seeds of recommended varieties of food crops, such as, paddy, wheat, pulses, oil-seeds, etc.

Block Seed
Stores

In order to ensure timely supply to the cultivators of the district, Block Seed Stores were constructed in different Development Blocks during the Third Plan period. Where construction was not possible, accommodation was hired for storing seeds. In 1967-68, there were altogether 39 Block Seed Stores in the 15 Blocks of the district with a total capacity of about 500 tonnes.

The Horti-
cultural
Research
Station,
Krishnanagar

The Horticultural Research Station at Krishnanagar, which is the only Horticultural Research Station of its kind in this State, was established in 1934 for carrying out research work on fruit growing in the plains of Bengal. Krishnanagar was specially selected as a site of the station as this place was well within the fruit growing belt of Bengal and was already well-known for the quality of mango, *lichi* and other fruits produced in this zone. Initially, the work was taken up on 16 acres of *Khāsmahal* land adjoining the Government Demonstration Farm and was expanded in 1946 by the inclusion of the 40-acre Demonstration Farm. It was then planned to make this a Central Horticultural Research and Fruit Technological Station. The main work of the station consists of breeding and selection work to evolve better varieties of fruits and vegetables with high yield, good quality, early and late maturity, resistance to insect pests and diseases, etc. as well as cultural and manurial trials to determine the best cultural methods and manurial practices for different horticultural crops. Another very important object was the production of reliable and true to type planting materials of fruits. Lastly, the work also included advisory work regarding various aspects of fruit and vegetable culture in the State. The fruits under study and research were mango, *lichi*, citrus fruits, guava, jack-fruit, custard-apple, banana, papaya and pine-apple, while vegetables included pumpkin, cucumber, lady's finger, cauliflower, tomato, brinjal, spinach, garden pea, etc. A large quantity of seeds of

vegetables are produced and distributed to the growers through the Block Extension staff at a moderate price.

In 1961, the livestock population of the district consisted of 5,36,865 cattle, 45,675 buffaloes, 32,784 sheep, 2,67,236 goats, 2,700 pigs and 778 horses and ponies. Though the district is fairly uniform, the internal distribution of cattle is interesting. The fallow lands in the west of the district provide the greatest facilities for grazing, while cattle are not, as in other countries, concentrated on the best feeding grounds. In Nadia, the largest grazing areas carry the smallest number of cattle. Cattle are used not as a source of dairy product or meat but for the purpose of agriculture. The cows supply very little milk to the population. The buffaloes are also used for ploughing as well as for drawing carts. Many of them are employed on the heavy road traffic, which runs from Palashi to the east and is the main cross country arterial road of the district. The goats are kept by ordinary people of limited means. Pigs are generally reared by the people of the lower caste and are used mostly for food.

During the different Plan periods, attempts were made to improve the quality of livestock through cross-breeding and artificial insemination. To improve the quality of breeds through cross-breeding is considered difficult as it is very expensive to import bulls of a good stock in sufficient numbers while an odd bull here and there can hardly serve the purpose. In recent years, however, with the establishment of the Development Blocks under the Community Development Project, the Veterinary Assistant Surgeons posted at different Block Offices of the district are working for the implementation of a number of schemes initiated by the Dairy Development and Animal Husbandry wing of the Department of Animal Husbandry and Veterinary Services. The following statement gives an idea of the progress in artificial insemination in the district for the five-year period from 1963-64 to 1967-68.

PROGRESS OF ARTIFICIAL INSEMINATION IN NADIA DISTRICT :

Year	No. of cows involved
1963-64	874
1964-65	985
1965-66	1,275
1966-67	1,853
1967-68	1,897

ANIMAL
HUSBANDRY

Livestock and
measures to
improve
quality of
breeds

Prior to Independence, the livestock improvement programme was limited to the upgrading of local breeds of cattle through stud bulls and the distribution of improved stock of poultry. There were two veterinary hospitals located at Krishnanagar and Ranaghat where general treatment and surgical operations were done. Two more hospitals, one at Navadwip and the other at Shantipur, were established during the Plan periods. During the First Five Year Plan period, two Artificial Insemination Centres were established, while six more Aid Centres were set up during the Second Plan. During the Third Plan period, three new Aid Centres were opened for the treatment of livestock.

Besides the 16 veterinary dispensaries attached to the 16 Development Blocks of the district, the total number of Aid Centres attached to the Blocks was 18 in 1967-68. There was also a mobile van equipped with medicines and surgical instruments for attending emergency cases in distant places. The veterinary dispensary in the Development Blocks are normally stocked with medicines and appliances for effective treatment and control of various cattle diseases. The following table shows the particulars of animal treated and castrated by the Veterinary Assistant Surgeons on tour in 1960.¹

Year	No. of villages visited	No. of Veterinary Assistants employed	No. treated for contagious diseases	No. treated for non-contagious diseases	Castration performed	Total number of cases treated and castration performed
1960	2,455	14	5,364	10,900	46	5,516

Anthrax, Black Quarter, foot and mouth diseases are the usual infectious ailments of cattle, while Fowl cholera, Ranikhet disease and Fowl pox are the maladies affecting poultry. Apart from the services rendered at the various Aid Centres, veterinary aid is now extended to the village people in the interior villages through mobile vans sufficiently equipped with modern appliances and medicines. The following statement gives the particulars of outbreak of cattle diseases attended by the veterinary staff during the period from 1963-64 to 1967-68.²

¹ Source: Department of Animal Husbandry & Veterinary services, Government of West Bengal.
² Source: District Veterinary Officer, Nadia.

Name of disease	1963-64	1964-65	1965-66	1966-67	1967-68
Anthrax	3	—	1	1	1
Haemorrhagic Septicemia	8	6	7	1	—
Black Quarter	3	5	3	5	5
Foot and Mouth disease	45	41	21	60	6
Rinderpest	—	—	—	10	8

Besides the treatment of cattle and birds, preventive measures are also taken to tackle the growth of low grade cattle. The statement below shows the progress of veterinary work of the district for the period from 1963-64 to 1967-68.¹

Nature of work	1963-64	1964-65	1965-66	1966-67	1967-68
No. of cattle and birds treated	27,117	20,512	25,920	40,341	61,293
No. of cows inseminated by artificial insemination	—	874	985	1,275	1,853
No. of cattle involved in preventive measures taken to tackle the growth of low grade cattle	95,192	80,675	85,890	91,491	27,920

The scheme for the establishment of a Central Livestock Research-cum-Breeding Station at Haringhata was sanctioned in 1945 with the twin aims of breeding quality livestock and of carrying out research in the breeding, feeding and management of livestock and dairying. The work of implementation of the scheme started late in 1945 and while this work was in progress, came the partition of Bengal. Active implementation of the scheme started again after a time lag in 1949 and by the middle of that year the cattle, dairy and poultry sections started functioning.

The cattle section was started with 102 Haryana cows and 8 buffaloes purchased from East Punjab in June 1949 and a good number has been added by fresh purchases from time to time since then. In 1953, the herd consisted of some 430 milch cows and buffaloes, 10 bulls and about 1,000 young stock of all ages. The strength of this herd has since been increased.

While the primary aim of the cattle section is to raise breeding bulls which are required for improving the cattle of this State, the poultry section which keeps poultry of white Leghorn and Rhode Island Red breeds and ducks of Khaki Campbell breed

Dairy farming
Haringhata Dairy

¹ Source: District Veterinary Officer, Nadia.

aims at raising quality poultry which are to be sold to the public for breeding purposes. Besides, there is also the goat section where goats of local type are kept, the purpose being to improve them by selective breeding or crossing.

Apart from the milk produced by the herd of cattle belonging to the station, milk is purchased from the neighbouring villages and such milk, after pasteurization and standardization is disposed of with the milk produced at the Haringhata station. The centres from which milk is collected are known as milk collection-cum-chilling stations. In Milk Colony units at Haringhata, there are arrangements to house cattle owners with their cattle for rearing in an ideal colony unit. At present, only buffaloes are kept in Milk Colony units. All the milk is purchased by Government for processing in Haringhata dairy.

The Haringhata dairy has two important functions, namely, to receive raw milk from different milk collection-cum-chilling stations for rechilling, a portion of which is diverted to the Central dairy at Belgachia, and to prepare pasteurized milk in bottles and cans. The dairy sells two grades of milk, namely, pure cows' and toned, the latter being processed buffalo milk. Milk is sold to the public from Government milk depots working in different parts of the city of Calcutta. The depots are mostly staffed by part-time women college students, two at each depot, working for nearly two hours daily. Some quantity of butter and *ghee* is also manufactured in Haringhata dairy. Distribution of processed milk in Kalyani is made only at Kalyani and Kanchrapara through four milk distribution depots. In rural areas of Nadia, there are also four milk collection-cum-chilling stations located at Phulia, Bethuadahari, Palashi and Tehatta. Milk from rural producers are procured through these milk chilling stations against payment of remunerative price.

Under the Fourth Plan, there is a proposal for remodelling the Haringhata dairy in order to increase its raw milk reception capacity to 1,00,000 litres per day and to reach the target of its milk producing capacity to 50,000 litres a day. To achieve these objectives considerable progress in regard to procurement and installation of plant and machines has already been made. It is expected that the work of expansion and remodelling will be completed by 1971. For the purpose of procuring raw milk in larger quantity as well as to create marketing facilities for rural milk producers, the work of opening some more milk collection-cum-

Scheme for
future
development

chilling stations is also in progress. One such new milk chilling station has been established at Chakdaha.¹

Sheep rearing has not developed much in the district since Independence and it remains the monopoly of a class of herders still following this profession in the same manner as did their ancestors in the past. In this district, therefore, sheep is reared as backyard farming. According to the 1966 Livestock Census, there were 43,809 sheep in the district. Considering the difficulties in the procurement of better stock of sheep, two sheep breeding farms have since been established in this State, one being located at Kalyani. During the latter part of the Third Five Year Plan, Kalyani had 1,000 ewes under the cash programme intended for introduction of sheep amongst the farming communities.

Sheep rearing

Simultaneously, a farm has also been established in recent years at Kalyani on 25 acres of grazing land where 1,000 ewes have been reared. Different breeds, mainly, mutton breeds, such as, Mandya Nellore and Sahawadi were selected for the supply of improved seed stock as well as mutton.

Along with dairies, poultry farms are also gradually expanding in the district. The State Government runs two poultry multiplication farms, one at Haringhata, the other at Ranaghat, where mainly Leghorns and Rhode Island Reds are bred and their eggs sold. Besides, there are also many private poultry farms now in the district. During the various plan periods, the emphasis was laid on the improvement of the general standard of poultry and duck as well. A sum of Rs. 400/- is advanced as loan by the Block Development Officers to persons who need such financial assistance for running poultry. During the Third Plan Period, poultry birds of improved types were distributed by the Block Development Officers in their localities to deserving persons for the development of poultry farming.

Poultry
farming

In recent years, the Animal Husbandary department of the State Government has initiated certain measures for developing pisciculture in the district. Several fish farms have been set up in Krishnanagar and Kalyani for demonstration purpose. The activities of Anjana Fish Farm located at Krishnanagar and Dherorda Fish Seed Farm at Kalyani may be mentioned in this connection while the Experimental Fish Farm at Kulia near Kalyani and Fresh Water Research Station, also located at Kalyani, are also

FISHERIES

¹ Source: Milk Commissioner, West Bengal.

important as research centres. The following table shows the various schemes implemented in the district during the First, Second and Third Plan periods.¹

	Name of Scheme	Loans paid Rs.	Subsidy paid Rs.
First Plan Period 1949-50 & 1955-56	Unionwar tank fisheries development scheme	1,47,025.00	Nil
1950-51 to 1955-56	Dry district scheme	1,32,075.00	2,199.47
Second Plan Period 1957-58 to 1960-61	Assisting needy fishermen scheme	24,400.00	1,270.65
1956-57 to 1960-61	Short term loan scheme	18,705.00	Nil
1957-58 to 1960-61	Medium term loan scheme	39,295.00	1,421.04
Third Plan Period 1961-62 to 1965-66	Medium term loan scheme	57,600.00	Nil
	Short term loan scheme	7,000.00	Nil
	Assisting needy fishermen scheme	19,500.00	2,478.79

The payment of loans and subsidies were also made to a considerable extent even after the end of the Third Plan period. The following table gives an idea of loans paid to the private farmers for the development of fisheries in the district between 1966-67 and 1968-69.

Year	Name of Scheme	Loans paid Rs.
1966-67	Development of fisheries through private farmers	25,900.00
1967-68	" "	95,000.00
1968-69	" "	30,540.00

In order to rehabilitate the fishermen families economically, a sum of Rs. 2,982.40 was paid towards free distribution of yarn and a sum of Rs. 12,000.00 was distributed as house building grant in 1967-68. Besides, a sum of Rs. 5,667.35 was also spent for sinking tube-wells. The number of fishermen families benefited during the three plan periods is shown below.

Name of Plan	No. of fishermen benefited
First Plan	820
Second Plan	390
Third Plan	273

¹ Source : District Fishery Officer, Nadia.

During the period from 1966-67 to 1970-71, the number of fishermen benefited under various schemes was 3,878. It may be mentioned also that in 1970-71 a sum of Rs. 50,500.00 was paid to the deserving fishermen families under Flood loan scheme while Rs. 10,000 were distributed as grant. A sum of Rs. 4,000.00 was also paid to some of these families in the same year.

The two principal wholesale fish markets of the district are located in the municipal towns of Krishnanagar and Ranaghat. Besides, there are many retail fish markets in each police station, the total number of such markets in the district being 66.¹ The staff of the District Fishery Office consists of the District Fishery Officer, one Assistant Fishery Officer and two Fishery Sub-Overseers, while there are 16 Fishery Extension Officers in 16 Block Development Offices of the district who are responsible for implementation of various schemes concerning the development of fisheries in their respective areas.

The types of fish available in the district are *Rui*, *Mrigal*, *Katla*, *Kalbaus*, *Hilsa*, *Koi*, *Chital*, *Singhi*, *Magur*, *Telapia*, *Pholoi*, *Aid*, *Khaira*, *Tangra*, *Punti*, *Lobster*, *Boal*, etc. Of these, only the principal varieties of carp, namely, *Rui*, *Katla* and *Mrigal* are available in relatively larger quantities.

There were 56 fishermen's cooperative societies in the district towards the end of 1967. These organizations take lease of rivers, *bils*, and tanks from the Land Reforms and Tank Improvement departments as also from private parties. During the Third Plan period, a sum of Rs. 3,08,250.00 was sanctioned as loans to these cooperatives, the number of families benefited being 320.

There is no record to show the extent to which the district suffered in the famine of 1769-70. The famine of 1866 was felt severely by the people of the district. In 1864, the district was swept across by a cyclone and a severe drought occurred in the following year. Towards the end of October 1885, the Collector reported that the outturn of the rice crop was expected to be less than half of that produced in normal years, and that there was absolutely no hope for the winter crops. The price of rice began to rise gradually and by the beginning of 1866 prices became almost double, resulting in acute distress among the common population of the district. In March of that year, Rev. T. G. Lineke, a missionary of the Church Missionary Society of the district, invited the attention of the then Governor-General on

¹ Source : District Fishery Officer, Nadia.

the subject, while another missionary, Rev. F. Schurr of Kapasdanga, pointed out to the Administration that respectable farmers were so much reduced in circumstances that they could not employ nearly so many day-labourers as they used to do in former times. He also pointed out that under such circumstances the labouring classes were also reduced to the point of starvation.

This appeal of the missionaries resulted in the calling for a report on the situation and after a thorough enquiry it appeared that the distress was severest in the central part of the district. It also appeared that the distress was least felt in those parts where much of the land had been devoted to date trees, chillis, tobacco, and other more lucrative crops. Rice was not altogether scarce in the district but the working class had little money to buy it at the prevailing prices. As a result, these poor people had to remain satisfied with only one meal a day for months, and it was feared that many had not had even that.

On the basis of information received by Government, a sum of Rs. 20,000 was sanctioned and spent on road-making and other relief measures. Besides, subscriptions were also raised by non-official agencies for the relief of the sufferers in May after organizing public meetings at Ranaghat, Krishnanagar and other places. Before the end of the month, relief operations were started at different places where they were most needed and a sum of Rs. 5,000/- was allotted to the district by the Government from the unexpended balance of the North-West Provinces Famine Fund. With the coming of June, the distress became severe and a total of about 2,500 persons was employed on the special relief works, while 4,000 persons were employed on public works of all kinds. In August, the District authorities received a further sum of Rs. 30,000/- for relief works. For the purpose of distribution of cooked food, kitchens were established at different centres and in special cases food was also supplied to a limited number of people at their own homes.

The district was affected to a considerable extent by the famine of 1896-97 and as usual the *Kalāntar*, in which only *aman* rice is grown, suffered the most. The average outturn of paddy was on the decline during the years between 1894 and 1895. In most of these years, owing to the failure of the monsoon and the absence of the usual inundations, there was no moisture to swell the grain. In 1896, the outturn was further less. The portion of the district which was first affected was the *Kalāntar*, where test relief works were opened as early as 15th November. Four

more police stations were affected by the end of the year and between June and September of the following year it was found necessary to provide relief work to two more thanas. The total area affected covered 1,182 sq. miles of the undivided district, with a population of 6,25,840. The distress was very acute over an area of 503 sq. miles covering a population of 2,66,777. The relief operations started in the middle of November 1896 and continued till the middle of September 1897. During the period, altogether three million persons were employed who excavated about 105 million cubic feet of earth, the money spent on that account being a little over three lakhs of rupees. The average daily attendance on the relief works ranged from 573 in the last week of November 1896 to 29,545 in the third week of June 1897. The Public Works department supervised 5 major works while about 48 minor operations were conducted under the civil agency. The most important work done by the Public Works department through the relief schemes was the excavation of a channel to connect the Bhairab with the Mathabhanga near Sikārpur. The project was completed in time to carry the flood waters of the Mathabhanga into the Bhairab, which greatly improved for a time the water supply of a large part of Meherpur subdivision (now partly in Bangladesh). The canal, however, has since been silted up to a great extent and the Bhairab has lapsed into its old condition of stagnancy.

Gratuitous relief was given to the affected persons from January till September, the aggregate number of persons given such relief being a little over six millions. The daily average relieved ranged from 1,675 in the third week in January to 77,233 by the third week of June. The gratuitous relief given was in the form of doles of cleaned rice at the rate of half seer per diem for adults and quarter of a seer per diem for children. "In return for the doles, those who were fit for light work were required to either twist $3\frac{1}{2}$ seers of jute into string, or spin one seer of cotton into thread per week. Some of the string and cotton thus obtained was issued to a few weavers who were in distress, and the matting and cloths woven by them were sold." Arrangements were also made by the first day of August for opening kitchens for the issue of cooked food to the dependents of workers. The total expenditure on relief amounted to about 8.25 lakhs.

According to the Collector of the district, the famine of 1896-

¹ J.H.E. Garrett *op. cit.*, p. 79.

97 was far more severe in this district than was that of 1873-74. In spite of this, it was possible in 1896-97 to close Government relief a month to six weeks earlier than was possible in 1873-74 and it was chiefly because by "somewhat liberal administration during the time of cultivation of the *aus* crop, the people were enabled to obtain a better outturn than would otherwise have been possible, that it was not necessary to continue Government relief for a month or six weeks more."¹

In 1908, famine conditions prevailed again in the district owing to almost complete failure of the monsoon in the months of September and October, whereby the outturn of the *aman* rice was reduced to only 13 per cent of a normal crop. The distress spread over an area of 800 square miles with a population of 4,35,000, the *Kalāntar* being the tract which had to suffer the most. When the relief work was started in January, there was little response from the working population. But with the advent of March the distress was acute and induced many people to participate in relief operations. In April, the number of people attending the relief works was 3,400 per day and this number swelled to 5,677 in June. By the end of September, it was felt unnecessary to keep the relief works open any longer and as such these were discontinued. A total amount of Rs. 9,859 was spent on gratuitous relief during this period and a total sum of Rs. 6,69,535 was distributed as loans under the Land Improvement and Agriculturists' Loans Acts. The total amount expended on relief works was Rs. 1,59,414, the total quantity of earth work executed being 63.5 million cubic feet.

During the year 1927-28, parts of the district suffered from deficient rainfall, resulting in failure of winter crops which caused acute distress, particularly, to the cultivating classes and landless labourers. To meet the situation, relief operations were started by the District Boards concerned with their own funds, supplemented by advances from Government. Land Improvement and Agriculturists' loans were also distributed according to requirements. Besides, various relief committees were organized to help the affected people. Government supplemented the resources of the Local Bodies by allotting fund for gratuitous relief. But most of these measures were undertaken in the year 1928-29. In the year 1930-31 also unseasonable weather did some damage in some parts of the district.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

Apprehensions felt at the end of 1935 that acute distress would later prevail in parts of the district proved unfortunately to be true, and relief operations had to be undertaken by Government over a wide area, practically, throughout the first nine months of 1936. During this period, almost every district in the undivided Presidency and Burdwan Divisions was affected in varying degrees. In fact, a total area of more than 7,000 sq. miles inhabited by over three million people was affected. Nadia was one of the districts where the distress was acute and relief measures had to be undertaken.

Historically, the famine of 1943 was building up since the declaration of the Second World War in 1939 which kept the Government machinery pre-occupied in fighting. With the spread of armed conflict in South-east Asia in 1941, the import of rice from Burma was stopped wholly and in the country the demand for food increased considerably on account of the presence of the fighting forces and the large number of refugees fleeing from areas which fell to Japan. The partial failure of *aman* crop in 1941 added to the difficulty of the situation. The next *aman* crop with a much better yield helped to make up the previous year's deficit, but did not permit any saving or accumulation of stocks. The year 1943 witnessed another widespread failure in agricultural production which, coupled with the visitation of a devastating cyclone in some parts of lower Bengal, created a food crisis of an unprecedented nature.

The food prices began to rise steeply from November 1942 and continued till August 1943 when they soared far beyond the reach of the average consumer. Rice in the district was quoted at Rs. 40 to Rs. 50 per maund, a situation which forced the common people to starve. The starving people left their homes in the villages and came to urban areas, specially to Calcutta in search of food and it is at this stage that the Administration, both at the Centre and also in the Province, found itself unprepared to meet the challenge. Though details are not available, it may be said that along with other parts of the Province Nadia district also had to suffer to a great extent, the number of starvation deaths being quite high. Relief measures were started on a wide scale about the middle of August 1943 and by the end of that year the army was called to help the Civil authorities to combat the menace. With better organization and promptitude, it ensured quick distribution of food grains and ultimately brought the situation under control.

Distress of
1935-36

Famine of
1943

Distress
of 1908

Drought of
1927-28

FLOODS

Floods and
droughts of
1958 & 1959

Nadia district was almost devastated by floods during the year 1956 when it caused severe damage to standing *aman* crops. As a relief measure, the Agriculture department distributed *rabi* seeds, wheat and pulses to the affected village people free of cost. The flood year was followed by severe drought in 1958. *Aus*, Jute and *aman* crops were badly damaged. The Agriculture department distributed *rabi* seeds on subsidy. The year 1959 also witnessed floods of unprecedented nature which caused serious damage to standing crops inundating village huts, roads and buildings. About one lakh acres of *aman* paddy throughout the whole district was almost destroyed. As a relief measure, Government undertook distribution of *rabi* seeds, such as, wheat, pulses, potato, etc. to the distressed cultivators. To counteract droughts, small irrigation schemes and sinking of shallow and deep tube-wells have been undertaken in recent years and these measures have yielded some beneficial results.

Floods of
1970

The flood situation in 1970 has been the worst in recent times. All the major rivers including the Bhagirathi, Jalangi and Mathabhanga were in spate. About 750 km. of roads was washed away and a number of bridges were declared unsafe for heavy vehicles. The town of Navadwip was under two to three metres of water. Many parts of Krishnanagar town were also affected. The floods affected about 18,000 sq. km. of the area of the district.¹

CHAPTER V

INDUSTRIES

The district of Nadia is essentially an agricultural district, the bulk of the working population being engaged in various agricultural pursuits. According to Census 1961, a little more than three-fourths of its workers are engaged in the agricultural sector either as a cultivator or an agricultural labourer. In this district 172 for every thousand male workers are engaged as agricultural labourers while this number for the entire State of West Bengal is only 144.¹ More men are engaged in this district in household industries than in other parts of the State. In Nadia, every fifteenth male worker is employed in household industries whereas this proportion is only 30 per thousand in the entire State. The incidence of handlooms chiefly carried on as a household industry has principally contributed to the high percentage of workers in this particular sector.

OLD-TIME
INDUSTRIES

Of the old-time industries, mention may be made, firstly, of the cotton weaving industry located mainly at Shantipur. This industry was very prosperous towards the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. Owing to the importance of Shantipur in those days, a Resident's headquarters under the East India Company was established there. During the first few years of the nineteenth century, the company purchased here £ 1,50,000 worth of cotton cloths annually.² This industry was on the decline by 1813 owing to the introduction of cheaper piece-goods from Manchester in the Indian market and in 1825 it received a severe set-back due to the introduction of British yarn which was ultimately responsible for the complete extinction of country yarn in later years.

Cotton
Weaving

Basket-weaving was also an old-time industry where both sexes worked together.³

During the first half of the nineteenth century the manufacture of indigo was perhaps the most important industry of Nadia district. The British business community took over the small indigenous industries of the district paying the original owners their dues and invested large sums for the development of this

Indigo
Industry

¹ United Bank of India, *Report of the fact-finding Survey on Nadia District, West Bengal*, Calcutta, 1971, p. 11.

² B. Ray, *Census 1961: District Census Handbook: Nadia*, Calcutta.

³ J. H. Garrett, *Bengal District Gazetteers: Nadia*, Calcutta, 1910, p. 92.

1967, p. 61.

³ *Loc. cit.*

industry. Large factories rapidly sprang up and the district soon became dotted with indigo concerns. The British planters had enough money for investment and paid large sums as advances to the *ryots* to grow indigo. With the spread of cultivation, the European planter gained for himself an important position in the district. There were also occasional clashes between the planters and the large native landlords, and holders of sub-tenures who had found that their influence was interfered with by the planters. The managers and assistant managers of the indigo concerns could hardly find time for effective supervision of their work and had to leave it to their subordinate employees who used to fleece the cultivators. As the planters often refused to hear complaints from the cultivators and redress their wrongs, a very bitter feeling was generated against the factories. Besides, the illegal practices committed in the badly managed factories to enforce cultivation of the plant coupled with the sudden rise of other agricultural produce brought home to the cultivators the loss which they had sustained by the cultivation of indigo. The chronic indebtedness of the *ryots* which was recorded in the books of the indigo concerns from father to son added to the growing restlessness of the cultivators. When a rumour was started that the Bengal Government had declared itself against indigo-planting, the whole district got into a ferment leading ultimately to the uprising of 1860. After the storm was over, the industry was carried on for some more time though the glamour of the industry had already gone. Meanwhile, the invention of synthetic indigo reduced the price of the natural dye to such a great extent that it led ultimately to the destruction of the indigo industry.

Sola hat industry

The manufacture of *sola* hat is another old-time industry of the district during the days of East India Company when the craft was very flourishing. Europeans almost universally used the *sola* hat as protection against the tropical sun. The production centres are at present located mainly at Kaliganj and Harināthpur villages under Kaliganj Development Block. It is gathered on local enquiries that one Fakir Chānd Mālākār introduced the craft in this locality about two hundred years ago. The principal products of the industry were *sola* hats for which there was a ready market at Calcutta. At one time a good number of hats were also exported to different colonies of the British Empire situated in the Torrid Zone.

The principal raw material used in this industry is *sola* grown in marshy lands which is also available in plenty from the local *bils* in water-logged areas. The technique of production is also simple. Dry *sola* plants are served by sharp knife and then *sola* planks are made. These planks are placed upon the hat mould one after the other with gum mixed with Copper Sulphate. When the hat takes a complete shape it is plastered with paper and put into the sun for about 6 or 7 hours and the frames thus prepared are sent to Calcutta market in the Chandni Chawk area. There are tailors who cover the frames with various types of cloth according to the shape and quality of the *sola* hat frames. There was a time when this industry could employ about 2,500 persons though at present only 50 or 60 persons are engaged in the industry. The industry is on the verge of extinction because there is no demand for the product in these days.

Other old-time industries include brass and bell-metal industry, household pottery, etc. which provided employment to a good number of people in the past. These industries have been elaborately dealt with under the sub-section cottage industries and need not be discussed here. It may only be said that the old-time industries received a setback with the gradual increase in the cost of raw materials, the introduction of mill-made goods and above all, owing to the change in taste which turned the buyers away from traditional products. The introduction of mechanical and electric powers in recent times led to the rise of such new industries as rice and oilmilling and other industrial enterprises depending on power. According to Census 1961 the total number of persons primarily engaged in any household industry in the district is 41,909. In household industries workers are mostly engaged in manufacturing of foodstuffs, tobacco products, cotton textiles, manufacture of wood and wooden products, non-metallic mineral products other than petroleum and coal, basic metals and their products except machinery and transport equipment and other miscellaneous manufacturing industries.¹ The development of Kalyani Township in recent years has also contributed to the growth of various new industries in the district. Manufacturing of plants and machinery for tea industries and manufacturing of cycle parts, production of yarn, re-rolling of steel rods, angles, etc.

Other industries

Rise of new industries

¹ B. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

and fabrication of steel materials are some of the new industries which are likely to create greater employment for the working population in near future. The following statement shows the number of registered factories with average daily number of workers employed in each case for some selected years between 1955 and 1971.

NO. OF REGISTERED FACTORIES IN NADIA DISTRICT SHOWING AVERAGE DAILY NUMBER OF WORKERS EMPLOYED IN EACH CASE: 1955-71¹

Year	No. of registered factories in the district	Average daily number of workers employed
1955	6	748
1960	21	1,784
1965	55	5,443
1969	68	6,106
1971	55	5,562

POWER

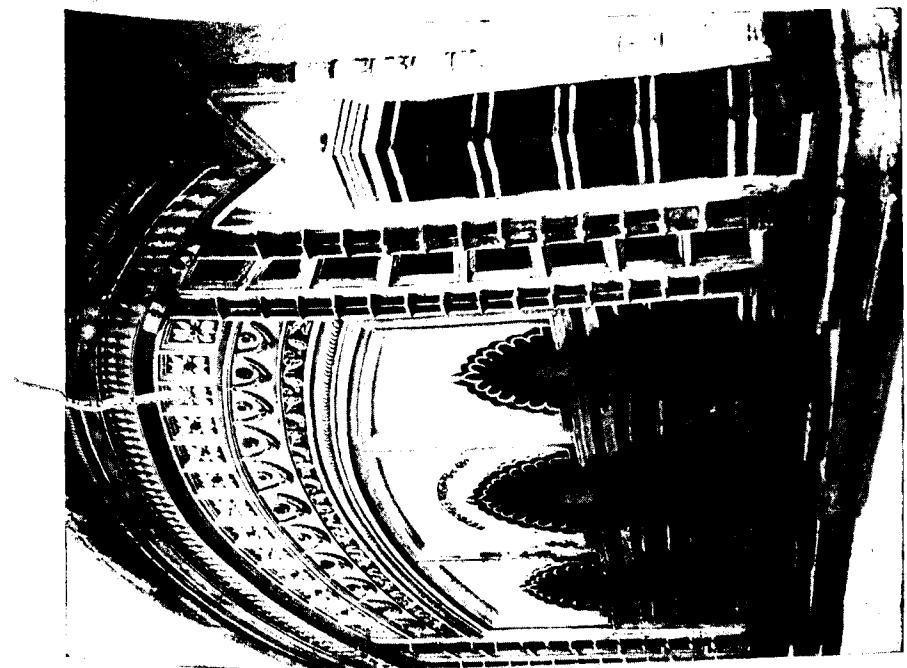
There is no hydro-electric or thermal power station in the district. Electricity had been generated in the past only in some small isolated areas by licensees under the Electricity Act, 1910. The areas of supply did not in most cases extend beyond the municipal boundary. As such it may be said that before Independence the supply of electricity was restricted only to municipal towns.

Developments of Electricity in the district

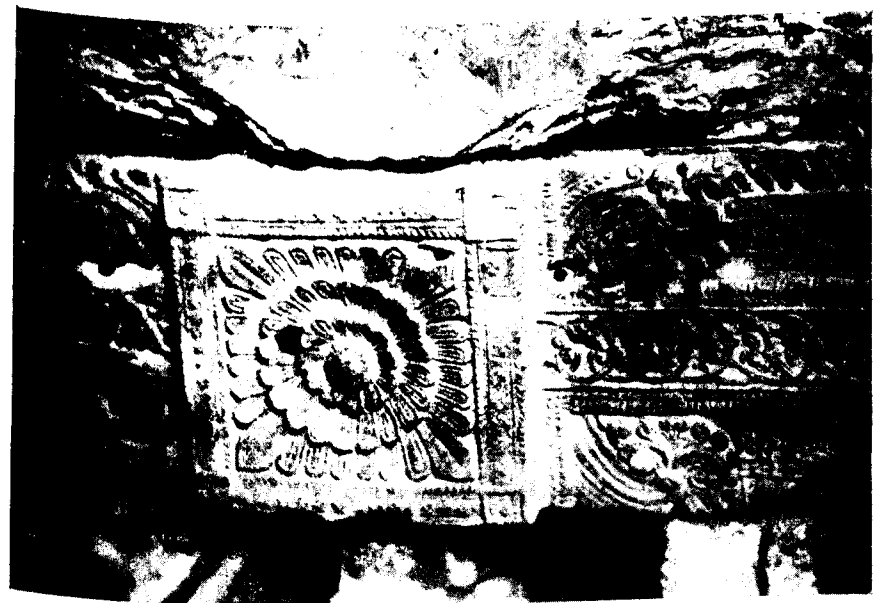
The first licence for distributing electricity in Nadia district was granted to M/s. B. N. Elias & Co. in 1933 for supply of electricity in the town of Krishnanagar. The licensee erected a small diesel electric power station and started supply of energy from the month of April 1937. Another licence was also granted to the same Company in 1937 for distribution of electricity in Navadwip. Supply commenced in Navadwip from 6th August 1940. Thereafter, there had been no appreciable growth in the electricity business in the district of Nadia.

The Central Government enacted the Electricity (Supply) Act in the year 1948 and under this Act provision was made for constitution of Electricity Boards in States with a view to rationalization of the production, distribution and supply of elec-

¹ Source: Deputy Chief Inspector of Factories, West Bengal.



2. Gokulchānd temple, Shantipur.



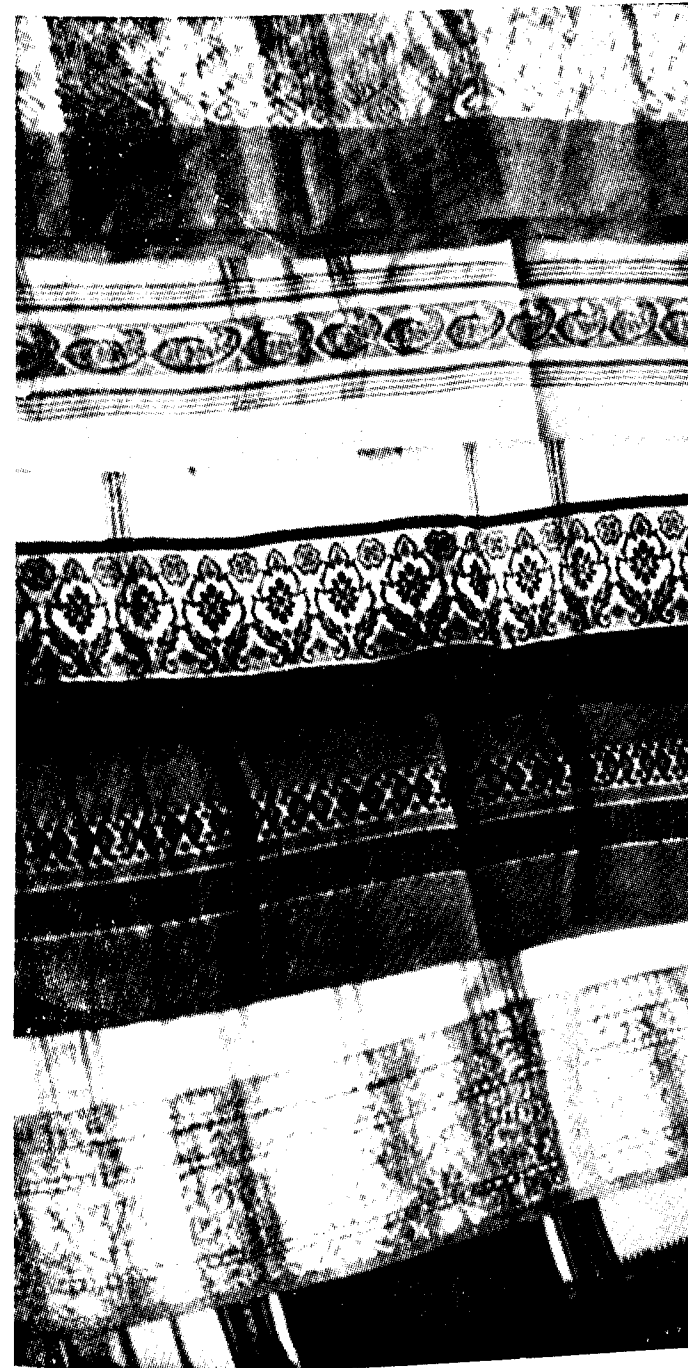
1. Wooden pillars of the Chandimandap in Birnagar temple complex.



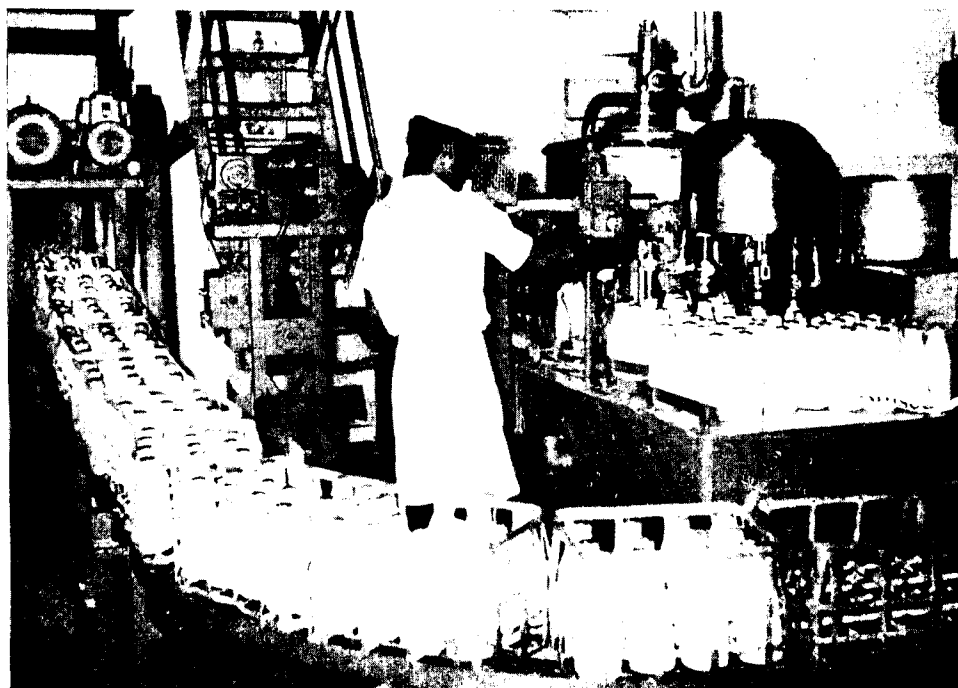
1. Clay model of Krishnagan



2. Clay models on display at Ghurni, Krishnagan



Handloom *Sadis* of Shantipur.



1. Bottling plant, Haringhata Dairy.



2. Cowshed at Haringhata Dairy.

tricity and taking other conducive measures for electrical development. Pending the formation of the Electricity Board, the then Electricity Development Directorate of the State Government anticipated this function and started to plan and execute schemes with particular reference to unelectrified areas. Under a scheme known as the Diesel Electrical Pool Nursery Development, pending supply of power from extra High Transmission System, small diesel generating sets were installed in several towns and semi-rural areas in order to develop load in these places. Ranaghat and Shantipur were electrified in this way. There was another scheme known as North Calcutta Rural Electrification Scheme for transmission and distribution of electricity over an area of about 3,000 sq. km. to the north of Calcutta. Power is purchased in bulk under this scheme from the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation and distributed to the districts of Nadia, Murshidabad and a portion of Bardhaman. The main line was at 66 KV single circuit. In the district of Nadia step-down sub-stations were erected at Haringhata, Ranaghat, Shantipur and Krishnanagar. From these sub-stations 33 KV and 11 KV lines were drawn to distribute electricity to different undertakings. Within the First Five Year Plan period Kalyani, Gayespur, Birnagar, Badkulla, Chakdaha, Matiari, Bethuadahari and Palashi were provided with electricity.

Another undertaking was also provided with electricity at Karimpur by installation of small diesel power station. With the completion of the North Calcutta Rural Electrification Scheme, the Electricity Development Directorate also arranged for high voltage supply to the Krishnanagar Electric Supply Company Ltd., the date of commencement of the supply being 24th May 1950. Within a short period, the supply at Ranaghat and Shantipur was also changed over from diesel generation to the grid system.

Under the provision of Electricity (Supply) Act, 1948 the State Electricity Board was constituted in West Bengal on 1st May 1955. After formation of the Board, great stress was given on expansion of electricity in rural areas with the object of developing rural industry as well as agriculture. An extensive net-work of 33 KV and 11 KV lines were drawn throughout the district and quite a number of places were electrified.

At Kalyani arrangement was made for supply of electricity to small and medium industries. Arrangement was also made to give connexion to deep tube-wells for irrigation purposes, especially, in the Police Stations of Kaliganj, Nakasipara and

Expansion of
electricity after
formation of
the Board

Ranaghat. The total number of deep tube-wells connected as on 31st March 1971 was 447. It may be added in this connexion that with the commencement of the Board's first Super Thermal Power station at Bandel during 1965-66 extra High Transmission line at 132 KV was also commissioned to bring power directly from Bandel to Ranaghat. The total quantities of energy consumed in the district from 1966-67 to 1968-69 are shown in the statement below.¹

(In thousand Kilowatt-hours)

	1966-67	1967-68	1968-69
Energy consumed	3,83,25,201	4,22,71,351	4,94,24,707
Industrial Consumption	2,79,47,583	2,88,07,389	3,31,84,088
Non-Industrial Consumption	1,03,77,618	1,34,64,462	1,62,40,619

Of the places electrified by the private licensees in the early thirties, mention may be made of Krishnanagar, Ghurni, Sandya and Roypukur which were provided with power in April 1937. In 1940 Navadwip town was electrified while other areas under the Navadwip police station, such as, Maheshganj and Tior-khali were electrified in 1948. Gadigacha, another village within this police station, was electrified after Independence on 29th June 1953.

The following statement furnishes data relating to sale of electricity to ultimate consumers in the district during the period from 1964-65 to 1968-69. (The figures are in Kilowatt hours).

Year	Agency	Total Units sold	Industrial consumption	Non-Industrial consumption
1964-65	State Electricity Board Private	2,47,99,819 37,56,238	2,08,06,642 9,11,916	39,93,177 28,44,322
1965-66	State Electricity Board Private	2,95,46,226 41,35,225	2,48,89,245 11,04,871	46,56,981 30,30,354
1966-67	State Electricity Board Private	3,36,37,263 46,87,938	2,66,37,356 13,10,227	69,99,907 33,77,711
1967-68	State Electricity Board Private	3,75,68,856 47,02,995	2,76,17,453 11,89,936	99,51,403 35,13,059
1968-69	State Electricity Board Private	4,44,17,752 50,06,955	3,19,73,726 12,10,362	1,24,44,026 37,96,593

¹ Source : West Bengal State Electricity Board.

In the last decade there has been a steady progress of the village electrification scheme in the district. Up to 1968-69, 359 places have been electrified. Such places (*mauzas*) numbered 62 in Ranaghat P.S., 44 in Krishnanagar P.S., 21 in Kaliganj P.S., 52 in Chakdaha P.S., 32 in Shantipur P.S., 7 in Navadwip P.S., 17 in Chapra P.S., 24 in Hanskhali P.S., 21 in Nakasipara P.S., 18 in Tehatta P.S., 29 in Haringhata P.S., 24 in Karimpur P.S. and 8 in Krishnananj P.S.

Progress of rural electrification

As a result of partition of Bengal in 1947, the district of Nadia was also partitioned when a vast area having considerable industrial potentiality was transferred to East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). At the same time, a large number of people being uprooted from their home and hearth in East Bengal (now Bangladesh) migrated to and settled in this district. Thus a new problem for the district was created. The number of people was found to be much more than the land could absorb, and for providing economic employment to all concerned, the need for rapid and extensive industrialization was keenly felt. Emphasis was laid on the growth of small-scale and village industries, considering that these industries are labour-intensive requiring less capital investment and are capable of uplifting the rural economy in a comparatively short period.

INDUSTRIES AND MANUFACTURES

While there are no mining and heavy industries in the district there has been a steady growth of a few large-scale industries in recent years. Immediately after Independence there was only one large-scale industry in the district. By the end of 1960, however, at least six large-scale industrial units were established. More industrial units have been added in recent years and the number of such units employing 100 workers or above was 14 in 1970. The Kalyani Spinning Mills Ltd. located at Kalyani employed the highest number of workers in 1970, the number of persons being 1,337. In the same year, M/s. Sen & Pandit Industries Ltd. employed 530 workers while Ramnagar Cane & Sugar Co. Ltd. at Teznagar, Palashi gave employment to 344 workers. The following statement which gives the list of industrial units employing 100 persons or above in 1970, indicates that new industries have developed in the district in recent years.¹

Large-Scale Industries

¹ Source : Deputy Chief Inspector of Factories, West Bengal.

Name of the Industrial Units with addresses	No. of persons employed in 1970
Ruttonjee & Co. Ltd., Kalyani Breweries, Block 'D', Industrial Estate, P.O. Kalyani	131
Nadia Textile Mills, Old Berham-pur Road, P.O. Ranaghat	146
Bengal Fine Spinning & Weaving Mills Ltd., Mill No. 2, Kataganj Government Colony, P.O. Kata-ganj	188
Shree Durga Processing & Finish-ing Mills, 34, National High Way, P.O. Ranaghat	109
The Rehabilitation Industries Corporation Ltd., Gayespur Pro-duction Centre, P.O. Gayespur	264
The Rehabilitation Industries Corporation Ltd., Khosh Bash Mahalla Production Centre, P.O. Chakdaha	370
The Rehabilitation Industries Corporation Ltd., Taherpur Pro-duction Centre, P.O. Taherpur	208
Tape & Dies Ltd., 4/1, Navadwip Road, P.O. Krishnanagar	180
Davidson of India Private Ltd., Kalyani Industrial Estate, Block 'D', P.O. Kalyani	362
Ancillary Industries Cranks Private Ltd., Industrial Estate, Block 'D', P.O. Kalyani	113

Most of these industries, excepting the sugar mill procure raw materials from outside the district while a good quantity of the same is imported from other countries. The products of these industries have a good market in this country and some entre-preneurs are also trying to export a portion of their products.

The Kalyani Spinning Mills is a State undertaking which is located at Kalyani and engaged in the production of fine cotton yarns (605 and above). It was registered under Company's Act on 1st April 1960 and started production on 31st March 1961. In 1965-66 the Kalyani Spinning Mills produced 10,32,070 kgs. of yarn and sold goods over Rs. 1.26 crores for use in the handlooms and powerlooms of West Bengal.¹ During this period the Mills operated 50,000 spindles working in three shifts, employ-ing about 1,300 workers. Cotton used by the mills was mostly imported and was worth over Rs. 48.78 lakhs.² According to an estimate of 1967 West Bengal requires about 178 lakh kgs. of yarn for her handlooms in both the cooperative sector and outside and about 33 lakh kgs. of yarn for powerlooms in the cooperative sector. The number of handlooms in the State is about 1,60,000 in addition to 1,600 powerlooms in the co-operative sector. The main purpose of setting up the Kalyani Spinning Mills was to feed the handloom weavers and the hosiery trade, primarily of West Bengal. But the production of the Kalyani Spinning Mills being inadequate the authorities decided to establish a second unit at Habra with an installed capacity of 25,000 spindles for production of coarser yarn. The work there is still in progress. Meanwhile, the existing unit of Kalyani is being expanded by an additional 25,000 spindles for the produc-tion of 100 per cent combed hosiery yarn.

The Kalyani Spinning Mills

The workshop of M/s. Sen & Pandit Industries is located at Kalyani. The products are bicycle rims and brackets, most of which are supplied to M/s. Sen Raleigh Industries. This is a Private Limited concern. The raw materials are mostly imported.

Sen & Pandit Industries

Quite a good number of units in the small-scale sector are working in this district. These industries, which are mostly dependent upon power, are located in urban and semi-urban areas. A brief description of some of these industries is given below.

Small-scale Industries

Powerloom units are usually found in Ranaghat, Shantipur, Phulia, and Birnagar. In 1960, about 35 units were operating in this district. The products are mainly *dhutis* which are sent to Calcutta for calendering. Most of these units are proprietary concerns, though some are also working within the cooperative fold. In 1960, the total capital investment in this sector was

Powerloom

¹ & ² Government of West Bengal, *Economic Review*, 1966-67, pp. 28-29.

Rs. 10 lakhs approximately. In 1965-66, there were at least seven powerloom units, each of which actually produced over 2,00,000 metres of cloth.

Flour and Rice Mills

In 1965-66, there were 13 registered units for paddy husking, wheat crushing and oil pressing in the district besides numerous unregistered units. In 1970, 20 units were working throughout the district consuming oil-seed procured locally and also from the Calcutta market. Rate of wages of the workers varied from Rs. 100/- to Rs. 150/- per month in this industry during this period.

Carpentry and Saw-mill

In 1960, about 25 units relating to carpentry and saw-mill were working both in the public and private sectors. These units were located at Kalyani, Navadwip, Krishnanagar, Taherpur, Karimpur, Chakdaha and Ranaghat. The total capital investment was nearly 20 lakhs of rupees.

Paper and Board Mill

While one Board Mill is working in the Phulia Township in the private sector, there is also one more mill for production of hand-made paper in the public sector. In 1965-66, Messrs Phulia Paper and Board Mill located at Phulia Colony produced about 360 tons of mill board and the number of workers employed in this industry was 40, the total capital investment being about Rs. 20 lakhs.

Bricks and tiles

In 1965-66, about 400 persons were engaged in the manufacture of structural clay products of which bricks and tiles are the most important. During the period, three industrial units were functioning and these were located at Krishnanagar.

Fireworks

One factory located at Char-Kanchrapara is engaged in the production of different types of fireworks. It is a proprietary concern, the capital investment being nearly five lakhs of rupees. The factory employed about 80 persons in 1965-66.

Other industries

Among other small-scale industries mention may be made of one clock manufacturing unit which is working in the private sector at Navadwip. The capital investment is about one lakh of rupees. One mechanical toy manufacturing unit is also working at Kalyani in the cooperative sector. There are small working centres of machine shops having lathes, drills and other machines. These units are mainly engaged in production of watch repairing tools, pressure gauge, etc. About six such units are working in Krishnanagar, Ranaghat, Navadwip and Kalyani, the total outlay in these units being Rs. 1.5 lakhs. There are at least five registered units which manufacture celluloid articles, chiefly, celluloid combs. These units are located at Chakdaha

and the number of persons employed in these units in 1965-66 was 48. In the same year there were five units for the manufacture of metal products such as metal containers and steel trunks employing 64 workers. There were also three ancillary industrial units located at Kalyani Industrial Estate for manufacturing various types of metal products in 1965-66. These units provided employment to 207 persons.

Most of the enterprises in the small-scale industries mentioned above are run in the private sector. The raw materials are procured mostly from outside the district with the exception of some special types of industries. In 1961, about 2,100 persons were employed in this sector.

Cotton weaving was once a very important industry of the district. It has already been stated that Shantipur was the centre of a great and prosperous weaving industry at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century. Towards the end of this century the weaving industry received a great set-back owing to the introduction of manufactured cloth from England. The number of weavers gradually decreased as many of them, finding the business unprofitable, took to other professions. In 1898, in almost all villages in this district, there were a few families of *tantis* and *jolahas* who used to turn out coarse cloth for the use of cultivators and the poorer section of the village community. Several villages which had a reputation for doing business in weaving, such as, Chakdaha, Tehatta, Dumurdaha and Dagalbi, lost their importance with the decline of the weaving industry, though in some of these places the profession is still lingering. Shantipur remained the most important centre all through these years and towards the beginning of the present century it was the only place where fine *muslin* was manufactured. The speciality of this place is commonly known as Shantipur cloth, and it is specially admired for its thin texture, and embroidered and flowered border work. It is reported that in 1898 the outturn of the cotton cloths in Shantipur was worth about Rs. 3.25 lakhs annually but this was followed by a great decline during the next ten or twelve years.

According to a survey conducted by the Directorate of Industries, Bengal in 1940 it was observed that Shantipur was probably the only municipal area in undivided Bengal where extensive handloom industry existed. At that time out of a total of about 27,000 persons in the town as many as 10,000 were reported to be members of weaving families. That year

Cottage industries

out of a total of 9,996 weavers in the whole undivided district of Nadia as many as 4,000 were concentrated in Shantipur town. The handloom industry of this place adapted itself quickly to changing patterns of production and market through the extensive use of Jacquard machines which in its turn saved the industry at Shantipur from decaying. The total number of looms in 1940 at this centre was estimated to be 3,450 of which 2,500 were fly-shuttle Jacquard fitted looms, 800 Dobby looms, and 150 throw-shuttle looms. Indeed, the weavers were and are still very much alive to changes in variation and design. Since Independence, the district has attracted expert immigrant weaving families from East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) who are now settled in areas like Phulia, Taherpur, Birnagar, Badkulla and Ranaghat, swelling the number of Shantipur *mahājans* and weavers.

The products of Shantipur include the famous Shantipur *sāris* which are very fine in texture with beautiful borders of *jari*, silver or gold. The perfect whiteness and elegance of the products and the artistry of the borders have a special market all over the State. The artistic side has been well recognized and there is a conscious effort on the part of each weaver to weave a really good and artistic fabric. Under the supervision of the Directorate of Industries of the State Government the productive technique at Shantipur has reached a fairly high degree of perfection.

The cotton weaving centres of the district are mostly located under Sadar and Ranaghat subdivisions as shown below :¹

Name of subdivision	Name of Police Station	No. of Weaving Centres
Sadar	Krishnaganj	1
	Navadwip	10
	Kotwali	2
	Kaliganj	2
	Tehatta	3
	Chapra	2
	Nakasipara	1
Ranaghat	Ranaghat	8
	Shantipur	4
	Chakdaha	1

¹ Source: Handloom Development Officers, Shantipur and Navadwip.

In recent years, substantial technological changes have taken place in the handloom industry in respect of weaving and preparatory process. Primitive and throw-shuttle looms have been converted into fly-shuttle looms and semi-automatic looms to raise production per loom and for the purpose of standard and quality production. For quick preparatory work, the wrapping drum has been introduced eliminating the primitive *hāt tānā* process and thereby lowering the labour charges. It has already been stated that for making better designed fabrics, Dobby and Jacquard machines have been introduced.

The units of this industry can be found in different villages and municipal areas under Sadar and Rānāghāt subdivisions. The following table gives the total number of handlooms with quantity of cloth produced and their value for some selected years.

NO. OF HANDLOOMS OPERATING IN THE SADAR SUBDIVISION WITH QUANTITY OF CLOTH PRODUCED AND THEIR VALUE : 1965-70

Year	No. of handlooms	Quantity of cloth produced (in metres)	Approximate value (in rupees)
1965-66	11,550	1,38,60,000	1,52,50,000
1966-67	9,300	1,11,60,000	1,34,00,000
1967-68	11,750	1,41,00,000	1,76,00,000
1968-69	12,000	1,44,00,000	2,16,00,000
1969-70	12,250	1,47,00,000	2,20,00,000

In Ranaghat subdivision the weaving centres are primarily located at the police stations of Ranaghat, Shantipur and Chakdaha. The following statement gives the names of the police stations and the villages or municipal areas where the centres were in existence in 1970.

Name of police station under Ranaghat Subdivision	Village or municipal area where the weaving Centres are located
Ranaghat	Aishtala, Sim-Aishtala, Birnagar, Taherpur, Nasherkuli, Saugasi Bagan, Krishnapur Chak, Ramnagar.
Shantipur	Shantipur, Phulia, Paliadanga, Nrishinghapur.
Chakdaha	Silinda.

While a good number of handloom cooperatives are functioning in the district with adequate assistance from the Industries Directorate of the State Government, there are also individuals who are running the trade independently with their own resources. The following statement gives an idea of the number of handlooms operating in the cooperative sector with quantity of cloth produced for the period from 1965-66 to 1969-70 in the subdivision.

Year	No. of handlooms in the cooperative sector	Quantity of cloth produced (in metres)
1965-66	788	9,93,018 approx.
1966-67	788	9,91,420 ..
1967-68	400	5,04,069 ..
1968-69	400	5,03,150 ..
1969-70	383	4,82,646 ..

The number of handlooms working outside the Cooperative sector is greater than those under the Cooperative sector as can be seen from the table given below:¹

NO. OF HANDLOOMS WORKING OUTSIDE THE COOPERATIVE SECTOR IN RANAGHAT SUBDIVISION WITH QUANTITY OF CLOTH PRODUCED : 1965-70

Year	No. of handlooms outside cooperative sector	Quantity of cloth produced (in metres)
1965-66	11,142	1,93,87,500
1966-67	11,142	1,83,06,400
1967-68	11,530	2,00,62,200
1968-69	11,530	2,10,03,400
1969-70	11,547	2,00,92,200

The jacquard looms as well as ordinary fly-shuttle looms can still be seen side by side at different weaving centres of the district. Whereas, the jacquards are specialized in design *śāris*, the others still weave *dure* (*mūḥā śāri*) and ordinary *dhuti*. The jacquard looms were introduced in the area in the late twenties and it is reported that one Bhupati Charan Pramanik introduced it. Before the introduction of jacquards, the weavers were used to produce designs by hand only (*hāte tolā buti*) in ordinary throw-shuttle looms as embroidery work. During this period, the weavers were mostly designers themselves. This posi-

¹ Source: Handloom Development Officer, Nadia.

tion has changed since. At present, the designs are on punched card set on Jacquard machine and the weaver is not necessarily a designer himself. The designs are being evolved as a separate job and the weavers mostly start with designs converted on punched cards by them. There are, however, some weavers who are also good designers themselves. Most of the existing design-weavers belong to the age-group of 25-40 as the heavy jacquard looms can only be conveniently operated by the younger group possessing more stamina.

Brass and bell-metal industry was once a flourishing industry of the district employing a large number of rural artisans. According to a report of the Directorate of Industries of the Provincial Government published in 1939, Navadwip was reported to produce in that year 130 maunds of brass and 125 maunds of bell-metal articles, valued at Rs. 3,800 and Rs. 8,500 respectively. In the same year, while Matiari was reported to produce 12,000 maunds of brass articles, valued at Rs. 3,00,000, Dharmada and Barakandua were reported to produce 900 maunds of brass and 400 maunds of bell-metal articles, valued at Rs. 18,000 and Rs. 28,000 respectively. Ranaghat also produced 900 maunds of brass products, valued at Rs. 18,000. In Matiari alone, over 300 families were estimated to be engaged in this trade. At this centre there were 6 *mahājan* factories and 40 family factories in 1940 employing about 1,000 workers. In the same year, there were 60 family factories in Navadwip engaging 200 workers. Sadhanpara and Bahirgachi had 50 and 41 family factories engaging 274 and 200 artisans respectively. Ranaghat had 8 family factories providing employment to 40 persons. The economic condition of the workers in those days, however, was not very satisfactory. It was estimated that the extent of indebtedness in 1940 was Rs. 50 to Rs. 60 per head in Ranaghat and in Sadhanpara Rs. 30 to Rs. 40 per head.¹

In the years that followed the industry received a set-back owing to the introduction of aluminium utensils in the market. At present it is hardly possible for it to compete with aluminium and stainless steel utensils made in the large and small scale sectors. Scarcity and high price of raw materials have added to the difficulty of the situation. The requisite amount of working capital required at present for mechanization of the units and import of raw materials is not also readily available in most

Brass and bell-metal industry

¹ A. Mitra, *Census 1951, West Bengal District Hand Book : Nadia*, Calcutta, 1953, p. xxxiii.

cases. At present about 5,000 artisans are engaged in this trade in the district, the number of industrial units which are located mostly in the village of Matiari being 87.

In 1966, Messrs Harinarayan Sen & Ram Prosad Sen of village Matiari produced 79,673 kgs. of brass utensils providing employment to 32 artisans which was the maximum employment given by any single unit in that year. The following statement gives the principal items manufactured, quantity and the number of persons employed in a single unit for the year 1966. Only those units which provided employment to 10 persons and above have been taken into consideration.¹

Name of the Unit	Principal items manufactured	No. of persons employed	Quantity manufactured
M/s. Bhawani Prosad Das, Vill. Matiari	Brass and copper utensils	15	15,600 kg.
M/s. Bhawani Prosad Barman, Vill. Matiari	Brass metal utensils	16	15,600 kg.
M/s. Chatterjee & Dutt Bros., Vill. Matiari	Brass and bell-metal utensils	16	73,200 kg.
M/s. Harinarayan Sen & Ram Prosad Sen, Vill. Matiari	Brass utensils	32	79,673 kg.
M/s. Narayan Chandra Raha, Vill. Matiari	Brass utensils	12	20,400 kg.
M/s. Panchu Gopal Das & Renupada Das, Vill. Matiari	Brass and copper utensils	10	12,000 kg.

Pottery Industry

The wage of an artisan engaged in this industry varied from Rs. 3.00 to Rs. 5.00 per day in 1966. The industry is at present languishing for want of adequate supply of raw materials at cheaper rate and finance.

There are certain centres in the district which are famous for ordinary household pottery. These places include Ranaghat, Habibpur, Navadwip, Kaitpara, Briddhapur and Goari in Krishnanagar. Production in this industry is carried on with the help of simple machineries and tools, the principal raw materials being earth and sand. In 1951, the total number of establishments in the district was 187 engaging 548 persons including women and children under 15 years and less.² There has not

¹ Source: *Directory of Small Scale Industrial Units in West Bengal*, Calcutta, 1968, pp. 798-804.
² A. Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

been any substantial improvement in the employment situation since, owing to non-expansion of the trade. The artisans usually face competition from lighter and more durable aluminium and enamelled products. From a survey conducted by the State Statistical Bureau, Government of West Bengal,¹ it has been found that most of the establishments of the district sell their finished products directly. In some cases, however, these establishments also work only partly for other customers like *mahājans* and other such middlemen, a part of the sale being effected through these agencies. Most of the establishments are run entirely by family labour and some artisans of the district sell their products hawking from door to door.

Ghurni, the north-eastern suburb of Krishnanagar, has been famous for several centuries for the manufacture of clay figures and models of remarkable excellence. The industry is carried on by a few men of the *Kumar* caste and their skill has received wide recognition. This trade, however, is on the decline owing to the absence of newcomers in the field. The younger people of the new generation are gradually engaging themselves in other trades or vocations for securing better livelihood. It is becoming difficult for the few artisans who are still engaged in this trade to improve their economic condition because the high price of their products is leading more and more people to purchase cheaper handicraft products for room-decoration and such other purposes. The dolls and other models being easily breakable, it is difficult to send them for sale in distant places. The artisans are carrying on the trade in their houses and arrange sales through their shops at Ghurni. The raw materials are available locally or from Calcutta. In recent years the Directorate of Cottage & Small Scale Industries of the State Government have arranged to market the products through the different Government Sales Emporia and through different exhibitions in the country.

Clay modelling
at Ghurni

Mat industry does not appear to be well-organised in this district. A survey made in 1958 revealed that there were 55 individual craftsmen, some in Navadwip and some in Chakdaha and Haringhata police stations. The profit-margin was only Rs. 272 per year per establishment owing mainly to the low outturn.³

Mat industry

¹ *Report on the Pottery Industry — A Type-study*, Calcutta, 1963.
³ Government of West Bengal, State Statistical Bureau, *Mat Industry: A Type-Study*, Calcutta, 1964, preface.

The industry, though of long standing, was in a more or less moribund condition and only 16 establishments, 6 manufacturing *pati* from *pati-bet* and 10 preparing mats from mat-sticks proper, all products of poor quality, were found in Navadwip town; outside Navadwip town only 3 establishments were found. There was also a group of 15 units engaged in the manufacture of coarse quality *chatai* from the date palm leaves in Tehatia and Kaniapar *thanas*. They consumed on an average 5.3 mds. of date palm leaves produced locally and provided on an average annual income of Rs 35. In Ranaghat subdivision, out of 71 establishments as many as 33 were located in Cooper's camp, a refugee transit camp, where the refugees had taken to this trade as a subsidiary occupation.¹

INDUSTRIAL
POTENTIAL AND
PLANS FOR FUTURE
DEVELOPMENT

The growth and development of industries usually depend upon certain factors which must exist for creating a favourable condition for industrialization. The population of Nadia district had increased considerably in recent years and the land available for agriculture can hardly support the people. Moreover, being situated very near the industrial belt of Calcutta, the higher cost of living as well as rapid urbanization cannot perhaps be prevented. This necessitates the setting up and development of industries, mostly of consumer goods. Though this district has no mining products and other industrial raw materials of importance, the availability of a large quantity of jute, sugarcane, raw hides, skins, etc. justify the setting up of certain types of industries based on such raw materials. Facilities for communication have also increased considerably in recent times. Apart from the large net-work of railways, the construction of good roads has made most of the interior places of the district easily accessible. The highway linking Calcutta and Siliguri passes through this district providing a ready link with both Calcutta and North Bengal. The opening of D.V.C.'s navigation canal has linked this district with the mining belt of our country. A section has already been devoted to describe the growth and development of power in Nadia district. There is a great demand for power in the district for development of the rural industries. In the recent past, there was a good demand of power from the industrial consumers of certain places, namely, Kalyani, Shantipur, Ranaghat, Chakdaha, Navadwip, Krishna-

¹ *Ibid*, p. 1.

nagar, Phulia, etc. It is expected that new types of modern industries will develop with further extension of power supply in the district.

Upto the end of 1970, there was no employers' organization in the district. In the same year there were, however, 79 Workers' Unions the headquarters of which were located in the urban areas of the municipal towns as well as in the developed colonies of displaced persons from East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). All these unions are registered under the Trade Union Act of 1926. The table below gives complete information about the trade union organizations in the district as they stood in 1970.

LABOUR AND
EMPLOYERS'
ORGANIZATION

TRADE UNIONS (EXCEPT THOSE OF TRANSPORT WORKERS)
IN NADIA DISTRICT: 1970

Regd. No.	Name of the Union	Address with Affiliation of the Union	Date of Registra- tion	Member- ship Strength
3281	Bidi Sramik Union, Ranaghat	Mahaprabhupara, P.O. Ranaghat (Nil)	8.4.55	51
6134	Bengal Fine Spinning & Weaving Work- men's Union	Kataganj Colony, P.O. Kataganj (I.N.T.U.C.)	22.9.64	41
7164	Bengal Fine Spinning & Weaving Mills (P) Ltd. Workers' Union	Bedi Bhaban, P.O. Kataganj (A.I.T.U.C.)	7.8.67	116
8011	Birnagar Powerloom Workers' Union	P.O. Birnagar (A.I.T.U.C.)	16.10.68	128
8450	Bethuadahari Byabasayee Samity	P.O. Bethuadahari (N.P.)	5.9.69	127
4994	Chakdaha Bidi Sramik Union	No. 2 Bankura Colony, Chakdaha (Nil)	27.1.60	42
7159	Chakdaha Rehabili- tation Industries Cor- poration Workers' Union	Plot No. 969, K.B.M., P.O. Chakdaha (N.P.)	27.7.67	215

NADIA

Regd. No.	Name of the Union	Address with Affiliation of the Union	Date of Registration	Member-ship Strength
8345	Chakdaha Dokan-O-Sangstha Karmachari Samity	Bus Stand, Chakdaha (A.I.T.U.C.)	21.6.69	40
5950	Eastern Commercial Corporation Workers' Union	Kalyani (N.P.)	22.1.64	135
6898	Phulia Concrete Spun Pipe Workers' Union	56 Phulia Colony, P.O. Phulia Colony, (A.I.T.U.C.)	24.4.67	
6929	Phulia Sheet Metal & Hardware Industry Workers' Union	Holding No. 100, Phulia Colony (A.I.T.U.C.)	16.5.67	
8529	Phulia Anchalik Tantubay Sramik Union	P.O. Phulia Colony (A.I.T.U.C.)	23.3.69	66
7441	Gayespur Rehabilitation Industries Corporation Workers' Union	Plot No. 2749, Ward No. 6, Gayespur	16.9.67	244
7434	Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Hospital Employees' Union	20-STALL, Station Rd., P.O. Kalyani	12.9.67	
7758	Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Hospital Workers' Union	B-12/37-Kalyani, P.O. Kalyani (A.I.T.U.C.)	15.3.68	115
8312	Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Hospital Karmachari Union	B-6/392-Kalyani (N.P.)	11.6.69	50
1916	Krishnanagar Municipal Employees' Association	P.O. Krishnanagar	Notice U/s. 10(b) issued—19.7.70	

INDUSTRIES

Regd. No.	Name of the Union	Address with Affiliation of the Union	Date of Registration	Member-ship Strength
3427	Krishnanagar Bidi Sramik Union	P.O. Krishnanagar	14.6.55	58
3844	Krishnanagar Hawkers' Union	P.O. Krishnanagar, (N.P.)	28.8.56	47
6450	Kalyani Wood Industry Sramik Panchayet	P-7/44, P.O. Kalyani (N.P.)	28.8.65	43
6612	Krishnanagar Colliery Workers' Union	Krishnanagar Colliery, P.O. Topsi (A.I.T.U.C.)	7.7.66	58
6914	Krishnanagar Small Industries Workers' Union	41-D. L. Roy Road, Krishnanagar (B.M.S.)	5.5.67	
7232	Kalyani Notified Area Authority Employees' Union	Vill. & P.O. Kanchrapara, (N.P.)	19.8.67	161
7383	Krishnanagar Saw Mills Polish & Carpentry Workers' Union	4-D. L. Roy Road, Krishnanagar	6.9.70	49
7399	Kalyani Wood Industries Employees' Union	Nutan Bazar, Kalyani (I.N.T.U.C.)	8.9.67	39
7854	Kalyani Spinning Mills Staff Association	Plot No. 1781, Ward No. 7 Gayespur, (N.P.)	31.5.68	58
3715	Municipal Association	Chakdaha (S.B.M.E.F.)	21.5.56	22
6382	Municipal Employees' Union	Krishnanagar (W.B.M.F.)	8.9.65	381

Regd. No.	Name of the Union	Address with Affiliation of the Union	Date of Registration	Member-ship Strength
2218	Navadwip Dokan Karmachari Samity	P.O. Navadwip (W.S.A.F.)	11.5.51	150
3248	Navadwip Municipal Employees' Association	P.O. Navadwip (W.B.M.E.F.)	6.12.54	103
3547	Navadwip Bidli Karikar Union	Bazar Rd., Navadwip (N.P.)	12.11.55	405
4113	Navadwip Tantubay Sramik Union	Bazar Rd., Navadwip (N.P.)	1.8.57	700
4121	Navadwip Confectionery Workers' Union	Bazar Rd., Navadwip (NIL)	9.8.57	100
4266	Navadwip Brass & Bell-metal Workers' Union	Bazar Rd., Navadwip (NIL)	5.2.58	50
4406	Navadwip Municipal Harijan Mazdoor Union	Municipal Office Rd., Navadwip (I.N.T.U.C.)	29.7.58	201
4848	Nadia Bidli Sramik Union	Phulia Rail Bazar, P.O. Buicha	23.5.69	111
4878	Nakasipara Thana Bidli Sramik Union	P.O. Bethuadahari, (N.P.)	Cancelled on 2.12.60	
5746	Nakasipara Thana Bidli Mazdoor Union	P.O. Bethuadahari, (N.P.)	22.4.63	30
5769	Nadia Zila Tant Karmi Sangha	Mission Row, P.O. Ranaghat (I.N.T.U.C.)	7.6.63	362

Regd. No.	Name of the Union	Address with Affiliation of the Union	Date of Registration	Member-ship Strength
6303	Narendrapally Powerloom Workers' Union	Narendra Pally, Chakdaha, (NIL)	18.5.65	36
6416	Navadwip Tant Mazdoor Union	Raonakalikata, P.O. Navadwip (N.P.)	3.11.65	217
6927	Nadia Zilla Press Employees' Union	R. N. Tagore Rd., Krishnanagar, (H.M.S.)	16.5.67	103
7722	Nadia District Central Co-operative Bank Employees' Union	P.O. Krishnanagar, (N.P.)	17.2.63	70
7747	Navadwip Boatman Union	Bazar Rd., (B.P.T.U.C.)	7.3.68	143
7802	Nadia District Wholesale Consumers' Co-operative Societies Employees' Union	P.O. Krishnanagar, (N.P.)	18.4.68	49
7861	Nadia Zila Tant Silpa Sramik Samity	Dorzipur, P.O. Silinda (N.P.)	7.6.68	65
4303	Purbasthali Thana Tantubay Sramik Union	South Serampore, P.O. & Vill. Navadwip	6.3.58	50
7756	Purulia Electric Supply Corporation Ltd. Workers' Union	B-16/37-Kalyani, P.O. Kalyani (U.T.U.C.)	15.3.68	61
1259	Ramnagar Cane & Sugar Co. Ltd. Employees' Union	P.O. Palashi	2.1.48	160

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Regd. No.	Name of the Union	Address with Affiliation of the Union	Date of Registration	Member-ship Strength					
1952	Ranaghat Municipal Employees' Association	Ranaghat, (B.W.M.E.F.)	26.10.49	180					
2763	Ramnagar Sugar Mills Workers' Union	P.O. Palashi (NIL)	8.4.53	1065					
4751	Ranaghat Anchalik Fantubay Sramik Union (Handloom & Powerloom)	Vill. Ramnagar, P.O. Ranaghat (B.P.T.U.C.)	12.12.59	100					
5417	Ranaghat Rail Bazar Panchayet	Subhash Avenue, P.O. Ranaghat (B.P.T.U.C.)	16.12.61	46					
6078	Ranaghat Mahakuma Bidli Sramik Sangha	Ghatak Bazar, P.O. Ranaghat (I.N.T.U.C.)	5.8.64	176					
6912	Rehabilitation Industries Corporation Ltd. Workers' Union	P.O. Taherpur Colony, (A.I.T.U.C.)	5.5.67	424					
7450	Ranaghat Powerloom and Textiles Workers' Union	Subhash Avenue, P.O. Ranaghat (A.I.T.U.C.)	5.5.67	428					
7878	Ruttonjee & Co. Ltd., Kalyani Brewery Workers' Union	P-12/53-Central Park East, Kalyani (A.I.T.U.C.)	26.6.68	132					
8353	Ranaghat Peoples Bank Employees' Union	C/o Peoples Bank Ltd., Ranaghat (N.P.)	21.6.69	11					
8527	Ranaghat Subdivisional T. B. Asso. Empolyees' Union	T. B. Clinical Bldgs. Ranaghat (N.P.)	30.8.69	38					

					INDUSTRIES				
Regd. No.	Name of the Union	Address with Affiliation of the Union	Date of Registration	Member-ship Strength					
6068	Sen Pandit Industries Employees' Union	Industrial Block-A, Kalyani (I.N.T.U.C.)	20.7.64	163					
7345	Sm. Durga Processing & Finishing Mazdoor Union	Subhash Avenue, P.O. Ranaghat	31.8.67	108					
5797	Taps & Dies Ltd. Employees' Union	Chand Sarak, Krishnanagar, (I.N.T.U.C.)	20.7.63	63					
7347	West Bengal Power Supply Co. Ltd. Employees' Union, Navadwip Divn.	Amiabazar, P.O. Krishnanagar, (NIL)	31.8.67	85					
8725	Nadia Cooperative Land Mortgage Bank Ltd. Employees' Association.	C/o Land Mortgage Bank P.O. Krishnanagar, (N.P.)	20.11.69	100					

In recent years, some cases of Labour unrest were reported from the district, the causes of unrest being demands for better wages, bonus and other amenities as also protests against retrenchment of workers. The statement below gives details of the number of strikes and lock-outs in the district for the period from 1967 to 1969.¹

Year	No. of strikes	No. of Lock-outs	Miscellaneous	Total	Man involved
1967	1	3	1	5	849
1968	3	4	—	7	1,363
1969	6	2	1	9	646

* N.P.—Not affiliated to any organization.

¹ Deputy Labour Commissioner (Statistics), West Bengal.

The statement below gives an idea of the results of work stoppages for the year 1968 and 1969.

Year	No. of disputes	No. dis-posed off	No. pending	No. of cases settled
1968	458	376	82	(i) At the intervention of conciliation officer — 109 (ii) Sent to Ad-judication— 54 (iii) Otherwise settled — 213
1969	488	371	117	(i) At the intervention of conciliation officer— 203 (ii) Sent to Ad-judication— 23 (iii) Otherwise settled— 145

WELFARE OF
INDUSTRIAL
LABOUR

As a part of its labour welfare programme, the Labour Directorate, West Bengal runs three Labour Welfare Centres in the district. The following statement, giving latest available details, would indicate the working of these institutions.

LABOUR WELFARE CENTRES IN NADIA DISTRICT¹

Date of Starting	Name & Location	No. of labourers
8.2.1963	Kalyani Model Labour Welfare Centre, Industrial Housing Colony, P.O. Kalyani	9,000
1.8.1966	Palashi Labour Welfare Centre, P.O. Palashi	1,200
1.9.1969	Ranaghat Labour Welfare Centre, Dakshinpara, P.O. Ranaghat	1,100

¹ Deputy Labour Commissioner, West Bengal. The number of labourers shown indicate those who reside in labour colonies as also those who work in different industrial establishments near the L. W. Centres.

It may be added that the Kalyani Model Labour Welfare Centre was originally opened as an ordinary Labour Welfare Centre and subsequently in 1966 it was converted into a Model Labour Centre. In recent years, film shows and sports were arranged in all the centres besides special functions held on special occasions, such as, the Independence Day and the Republic Day. At Ranaghat, there is one primary school attached to the Labour Welfare Centre with a strength of 45 students, while elsewhere the workers' children are to attend the primary schools outside the centres whenever necessary. With the increase of labour power in different industrial units in recent years, the Labour Department has opened a new Model Labour Welfare Centre at Haringhata by the end of 1971.¹

There is an Inspector of Minimum Wages under the control of the West Bengal Labour Directorate with headquarters at Krishnanagar who looks after the industrial establishments in Nadia as also the effective implementation of the provisions of the Minimum Wages Act.

¹ Government of West Bengal, *Labour in West Bengal*, 1972, p. 158.

CHAPTER VI

BANKING, TRADE AND COMMERCE

BANKING AND
FINANCEHistory of indig-
enous banking
in the district

The earliest reference to the existence of a system of banking in this region, as traceable in Kavikanṭha Mukundarām's *Chandī māṅgal*, a work of circa A.D. 1600, relates to the activities of a class of shroffs usually called *poddars*, who exchanged *cowries* (shells) and silver coins, the usual currency of a Bengal market. These persons acted as bankers and money-changers, and remitted money for others, from one town to another and issued letters of exchange. *The Bengal District Records* of the 18th century show that revenue was not paid by the Zamindars to the officers of the East India Company direct, but was collected through the agency of these shroffs. As losses owing to misappropriation by the middlemen in various ways was inherent in this system, it was abolished in 1778.

The banking house of Jagat Seth played a part so significant in the economic life of Bengal that Burke compared it with the Bank of England. The adjoining district of Murshidabad was the main centre of their activities. With huge cash in their counters they were not only the bankers and treasurers of the Nawab but also of the revenue-farmers and Zamindars. Inland traders must have also thronged their *kulhis* for the supply of credit, for their terms were lenient. Palashi marked the end of their prosperity and the decline of the house was very rapid after the brutal murder of its leading members at the instance of Mir Kasim. After the grant of the *Dewani*, this institution ceased to be the channel of revenue payment and when the treasury was transferred to Calcutta, the Seths practically ceased to act as bankers to the Company. Their sources of wealth dried up and their trade in rupees passed into the hands of the smaller shroffs.

The indigenous bankers suffered a serious set-back following the rise of agency houses and joint-stock companies at the beginning of the 19th century. But, as noticed by the Banking Enquiry Committee in 1929-30, they play an important role in the financing of agriculture, industry and trade. They usually combine banking with some form of trade, wholesale or retail.

According to the Bengal Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee the agriculturists of this district obtain their finance from (i) local *mahājans* (indigenous bankers), (ii) merchants dealing in special crops, (iii) landlords who have got *tejārati* (money-lending)

business, (iv) itinerant *Kabulis*, (v) cooperative societies where they exist and (vi) the Government under the Land Improvement Loans Act and Agriculturists' Loans Act. The first two sources played the most important part in agricultural finance since they provided 75 per cent of the agriculturists with financial help. The percentages of unsecured and secured loans in the district were usually 75 and 25 respectively. The rates of interest varied from 9½ to 75 per cent, but the most common rate of interest was 37½ per cent per annum. Paddy loans carried interest varying from 40 per cent to 80 per cent. About 50 per cent of the loans were taken in kind. These were payable after the harvest and in case of failure to repay by the end of the harvest, the principal together with interest at twice the originally stipulated rate was realized in kind from the next harvest. Very often compound interest varying from 18 per cent to 37½ per cent was charged. The security generally offered comprised landed property, houses and other assets, such as ornaments, utensils, cattle, etc. In the cultivation of jute, a system (*dādan*) prevailed (which still persists) whereby the merchants advanced loans on condition that the produce when harvested should be sold to them at a price fixed at the time of advance. This sometimes worked without interest and sometimes at cent per cent interest according to the condition of the market at the time of sale. In some cases, the usufruct of a small area was mortgaged by the cultivator for obtaining finance for the cultivation of the remaining lands. The usual rate of interest charged by the cooperative societies was 15 per cent. The average debt of members to the rural cooperative societies rose from Rs. 61 in 1928-29 to Rs. 145 in 1969-70 and the total membership from 28,788 to 81,036 during the same period.

The General Review Report of the Rural Credit Follow-up Survey, 1956-57, published by the Reserve Bank of India provides certain interesting features about the state of indebtedness in the district of Nadia. The average size of cultivated holdings per family of all cultivators was 4 acres. But those having 11 acres as average size of holdings per family were classed as big cultivators, 7.7 acres as large cultivators, 3.3 acres as medium cultivators and 1.3 acres as small cultivators. The *Report* shows that there had been a marked increase in the proportion of indebted families in the district. The proportion rose from 20.4 to 48.1 amongst big cultivators, from 24.6 to 60.5 amongst large cultivators, from 22.7 to 56.5 amongst

medium cultivators and from 25.4 to 69.3 amongst small cultivators during the period from 1st May 1956 to 30th April 1957. All cultivators considered, the increase was from 24.1 per cent to 61.5 per cent during the same period. The *Report* states that the proportion of indebted families was influenced by the character of the agricultural seasons in the immediate past, which was particularly bad during the year under review. This adversely affected the small cultivators more than the bigger ones. The share of each class of cultivators in the total debt owed by cultivators at the end of the year was 13.3 per cent for big cultivators, 37.7 per cent for large cultivators, 33.8 per cent for medium cultivators and 28.5 per cent for small cultivators. The data on classification of debt according to purpose as percentage of total debt outstanding at the end of the year shows that agricultural purposes accounted for 35.4, non-farm business purposes 4.1, consumption purposes for 59.6 and other purposes 0.9. The following table gives the corresponding share of debt for the four classes of cultivators, classified according to purpose and as percentage of total debt outstanding at the end of the year in the district.

Types of Cultivators	Agricultural purposes	Non-farm business purposes	Consumption purposes	Other purposes
Big	31.5	7.2	61.3	—
Large	37.7	4.6	55.2	2.4
Medium	38.1	0.9	61.0	—
Small	28.6	8.2	63.2	—

The debt outstanding at the end of the year among cultivators, classified according to rate of interest was as below.

DEBT BEARING SPECIFIED RATE OF INTEREST AS
PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL DEBT

Nil	5% or less	5% to 6½%	6½% to 9½%	9½% to 12½%	12½% to 18%	18% to 25%	25% to 35%	35% to 50%	Above 50%	Rate of interest not specified
12.4	33.1	17.1	0.4	1.1	—	3.0	0.8	11.3	15.0	5.8

The following table gives the proportion of debt classified according to rate of interest at the end of the year among each of the four types of cultivators.

Types of cultivators	Nil	6½% or less	6½% to 12½%	12½% to 25%	Above 25%	Rate of interest not specified
Big	11.6	35.3	6.2	5.0	40.1	1.8
Large	16.6	46.2	2.3	2.3	23.8	8.9
Medium	7.9	41.4	0.8	5.1	37.5	7.4
Small	12.1	66.0	1.2	1.3	19.4	—

Transactions in cash or kind between private credit agencies (excluding commercial banks) and agriculturists are now regulated by the Bengal Money-lenders' Act of 1940, which requires every money-lender to obtain a licence valid for 3 years from appropriate authorities, maintain a cash-book, ledger and a receipt book and observe other relevant formalities. Under the Act, the borrower is not liable to pay any amount in respect of the principal and interest of a loan which, together with any amount already paid, exceeds twice the principal of the original loan. He is also not bound to pay simple interest exceeding 10 per cent on unsecured loans and 8 per cent on secured ones. There were 47 licensed money-lenders in the district in 1970-71.

The State Bank of India has offices at Krishnanagar opened on 2nd December 1952, Navadwip on 28th September 1955, Ranaghat on 30th December 1957, Kalyani on 18th December 1959, Shantipur on 18th December 1962, Bagula on 29th April 1970, Palashi on 22nd August 1970, Gayespur Government Colony on 24th June 1970, Tehatta on 14th November 1970 and Phulia on 25th November 1970. The United Bank of India has likewise branches at Navadwip opened on 22nd November 1942, Krishnanagar on 3rd May 1948, Shantipur on 23rd December 1957, Ranaghat on 24th December 1957, Tatla on 15th October 1969, Bethuadahari on 26th December 1969, Taherpur on 20th April 1970, Jaguli (Haringhata) on 28th January 1970, Karimpur on 5th June 1970, Majdia on 30th October 1970, Kataganj and Gokulpur Government Colony on 25th September 1970, Aranghata on 23rd December 1970, Madanpur on 30th March 1971 and Swarupganj on 30th March 1971. These two banks had deposits amounting to Rs. 676.29 lakhs on 31st December 1970 and made advances to the tune of Rs. 75.66 lakhs during 1970. Besides, the Bank of India has also branches at Kalyani and Chakdaha which were opened on 26th April 1963 and 23rd May 1968 respectively.

Joint-stock banks

The nationalization of 14 major joint-stock banks took place on 19th July 1969.

The table in Appendix A shows the volume of business undertaken by the Scheduled Commercial Banks in the district in recent years.

Prior to reorganization and subsequent re-naming as the Nadia District Central Cooperative Bank Ltd. in 1961, the district had two cooperative banks, namely, Ranaghat People's Cooperative Bank, Ranaghat, and Central Cooperative Bank, Ranaghat which were established in 1913 and 1923 respectively. These two banks were amalgamated to form the Central Cooperative bank, named above, following the scheme of reorganization under the Second Five Year Plan. The position of the Bank according to the Assistant Registrar of Cooperative Societies, Nadia, during 1967-68, 1968-69 and 1969-70 was as below.

	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70
Number of members	973	898	907
Paid-up share capital (in thousand rupees)	17.36	18.33	19.20
Reserve Fund	3.70	3.98	3.98
Loans received	58.36	22.40	85.70
Deposits	19.79	27.92	39.39
Working capital	1,60.32	1,40.94	1,71.30
Loans issued	68.47	21.03	1,60.89
Loans outstanding	1,11.92	1,15.69	1,39.64
Profit(+)/Loss (-)	(+) 51	(-) 93	(+) 33

The district has a land mortgage bank styled as Nadia Co-operative Land Mortgage Bank Ltd. which was established on 18th October 1957. Its position according to the Assistant Registrar of Cooperative Societies, Nadia, during 1967-68, 1968-69 and 1969-70 was as follows.

	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70
Membership	1,115	1,549	1,969
Paid-up share capital (in thousand rupees)	70	1,16	1,66
Statutory reserve	8	8	11
Working capital	10.74	19.40	27.63
Loans issued	3.87	8.13	10.66
Loans outstanding	9.87	17.07	25.51
Profit	8	38	29

The number of agricultural credit societies was 596 in 1967-68, 556 in 1968-69 and 614 in 1969-70. Their position, according to the Assistant Registrar of Cooperative Societies, Nadia, during the same period is indicated in the following table.

	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70
Paid-up share capital (in thousand rupees)	26.46	26.28	28.12
Loans received	49.29	20.75	62.78
Deposits	2.13	1.16	7.35
Loans issued	52.63	22.40	64.01
Loans outstanding	1,05.66	1,04.49	1,17.72
Profit (+)/Loss (-)	(-) 1.89	(-) 1.31	—

The Life Insurance Corporation of India has two units in the district at present, one sub-office at Kalyani and a branch office at Krishnanagar. During 1970-71 it had a total business of Rs. 280.81 lakhs for 6,193 policies as against Rs. 215.31 lakhs for 5,313 policies in 1969-70 and Rs. 226.69 lakhs for 6,025 policies in 1968-69. In the field of National Savings, security-wise gross collection during 1970-71 was as follows: 7-year National Savings Certificate Rs. 72,04,290, Cumulative Time Deposit Scheme Rs. 4,42,615, Post Office Time Deposit Scheme Rs. 3,63,420 and Post Office 5-year Fixed Deposit Scheme Rs. 1,16,455. Net collection under the Post Office Savings Bank Account during the same year was Rs. 8,07,118. Nadia stood first in the State of West Bengal in 1970-71 regarding collection under National Savings Schemes and so got a cash reward of Rs. 1 lakh to be expended by the District Magistrate on some development projects.

There are eleven weavers' cooperative societies in the district of which four societies, namely, the Shantipur Kuthirpara Weavers' Society, the Shantipur Industrial Cooperative Weavers' Society, the Ranaghat Subdivisional Cooperative Weavers' Society and the Shantipur Tantu Cooperative Society deserve special mention.

The State Government renders financial assistance to cottage and small-scale industries of different categories under the Bengal State Aid to Industries Act, relevant information regarding which has been given in Chapter V. Besides, the Industrial Finance Corporation of India advanced loans amounting to Rs. 16 lakhs to M/s. Bombay Steel Rolling Mills Ltd., Kalyani during the Second Five Year Plan.

The exports from Nadia consist mainly of jute which is, however, inferior to that grown in the districts north of the Ganga. In general, Ranaghat subdivision and specially Ranaghat, Bagula and Majdia form the main assembling centres for locally produced jute. Ranaghat itself carries on a large river traffic and is one of the principal seats of commerce in the district. Next to jute come gram and pulses which are also exported outside

Life Insurance
and National
Savings

State assistance
to industrial
development

TRADE AND
COMMERCE

the district. Vegetables, potatoes, wheat and barley are exported to Calcutta. Sugar and *gur* between them is another important item in the list of exports. A detailed list of *hats* and markets dealing with agricultural products is given in Appendix B.

The dolls and models of Krishnanagar - cloves, human figures and relief work, etc. exhibiting as they do the superb skill of the artisans, find market not only in different places of the State, but also outside the State and in foreign countries. Marketing of these products is effected in different ways, such as (a) direct purchase by customers/tourists visiting Krishnanagar, (b) procurement in lots by dealers and middlemen for sale through private emporia and normal trade channel, (c) push-sale by the manufacturers in Calcutta market and (d) sale through *melās*. The cloth industry of Shantipur still retains a part of its ancient glory and caters to the need of a class of sophisticated people and its products are mostly exported to different places of the State mainly through Howrah *hat* where wholesale business in the commodity is carried on. Besides, the handloom products of different varieties manufactured mostly by refugee weavers near Navadwip are sent to Howrah *hat* for marketing. Among other articles of export, mention may be made of yarn, cycle parts, plants and machinery for tea industries, steel rods and angles, railway sleepers and other allied materials and fabricated steel materials - all from Kalyani and articles made of brass and bell-metal from Navadwip.

Among imports the most important is rice and paddy from Bardhaman, coal from Bardhaman and its adjoining districts of Bihar. Salt, kerosene oil and piece-goods, etc., besides articles of luxury, are imported from Calcutta. The greater part of the trade, both import and export, is, however, with Calcutta.

Fairs & *melās*

The fairs and *melās* held chiefly on religious occasions and mostly in rural areas provide opportunities for sale of huge quantities of country produce. A detailed list of fairs and *melās* held in the district round the year is given in Appendix C at the end of this chapter.

Cooperative
Marketing

There are 11 primary cooperative agricultural marketing societies in the district, of which Karimpur Thana Large-Sized Primary Agricultural Marketing Society Ltd. and Majdia Taldah Union Large-Sized Agricultural Marketing Society Ltd. deserve special mention. The position of the first one during 1967-68, 1968-69 and 1969-70 is indicated in the following table.

KARIMPUR THANA LARGE-SIZED PRIMARY AGRICULTURAL
MARKETING SOCIETY LTD.

	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70
No. of members	146	145	145
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Share capital	21,370	21,370	21,370
Share capital paid-up			
by Government	16,200	16,200	16,200
Working capital	1,11,293	75,725	1,28,573
Value of sales	9,31,869	6,82,364	13,78,423
Profit (+)/Loss(-)	(+) 2,419	(-) 9,193	(-) 3,471

There are two wholesale consumers' cooperative societies in the district, one styled as Krishnanagar Wholesale Consumers' Cooperative Society Ltd. and the other as Navadwip Wholesale Consumers' Cooperative Society Ltd., both established in March 1964. Their position during 1967-68, 1968-69 and 1969-70 was as below.

1. KRISHNANAGAR WHOLESALE CONSUMERS' COOPERATIVE
SOCIETY LTD.

	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70
No. of members	88	90	155
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Share capital paid-up	2,83,450	2,83,460	2,83,970
Share capital paid-up			
by Government	2,50,000	2,50,000	2,50,000
Working capital	6,40,193	6,68,770	7,05,182
Value of sales	29,85,198	35,48,374	36,46,026
Loss	1,03,265	41,979	1,09,152

2. NAVADWIP WHOLESALE CONSUMERS' COOPERATIVE
SOCIETY LTD.

	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70
No. of members	21	21	21
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Share capital paid-up	1,37,200	1,37,200	1,37,200
Share capital paid-up by Government	1,00,000	1,00,000	1,00,000
Working capital	4,74,384	5,18,342	5,20,483
Value of sales	7,18,664	54,47,759	61,87,754
Profit (+)/Loss(-)	(+) 15,494	(-) 23,609	(-) 12,367

Prior to the introduction of metric system in the district with effect from 1st December 1961, the traditional weights and measures in vogue are indicated below.

Weights — maund, seer, *poā*, *chhattāk*, *kāchchā*, *tolā*, *sikī*.

Weights
(avoirdupois) — ton, hundredweight (cwt.), quarter, stone, pound, ounce, dram.

Weights
(jewellers') — *bhari*, *māshā*, *anna*, *ratī*.

Liquid
measures — gallon, quart, pint, gill.

Linear
measures — mile, yard, foot, inch.

Land
measures — *bighā*, *kāthā*, *chhattāk* in common parlance but acre and decimals of an acre in Survey operations and in Land records.

Cloth
measures — *Gaj*, *hāth*, *girā*, *āṅguli*.

Besides, for measuring commodities like fried rice, parched rice, paddy, etc. *pache* equivalent to *kāchchā* seer is in vogue in the district.

The old weights and measures have, however, been replaced by the metric system of weights and measures.

APPENDIX A
DEPOSITS AND ADVANCES MADE BY SCHEDULED COMMERCIAL BANKS IN NADIA DISTRICT:
DECEMBER 1967—MARCH 1970

C E N T R E S

Period	Kalyani	Krishnanagar	Navadwip	Ranaghat	Shantipur	Chakdaha	Jaguli	Bethuadahari	Tatla	Total
(A) No. of Offices:										
December 1967	2	2	2	2	2	—	—	—	—	10
December 1968	2	2	2	2	2	1	—	—	—	11
September 1969	2	2	2	2	1	1	—	—	—	10
March 1970	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	—	1	13
(B) Deposits (Rs. '000)										
December 1967	55.57	1,58.65	90.87	1,08.12	36.01	—	—	—	—	4,45.2
December 1968	65.93	1,39.84	1,10.57	1,18.28	42.54	8.41	—	—	—	4,85.57
September 1969	88.00	1,70.00	1,00.92	1,17.00	32.00	10.00	—	—	—	5,10.92
March 1970	53.32	1,76.09	1,00.31	1,27.82	52.57	13.00	1.01	—	—	5,24.12
(C) Advances (Rs. '000)										
December 1967	12.74	2.40	79	4.83	1.19	—	—	—	—	—
December 1968	12.60	3.72	79	5.37	1.79	—	—	—	—	—
September 1969	13.80	3.45	1,25	10.57	1.39	—	—	—	—	—
March 1970	16.49	10.27	1,31	13.25	2.85	1.00	7	—	31	—

MARKETS IN NADIA DISTRICT

Name	Year of origin	Days of sitting	Principal agricultural commodities handled	Mainly wholesale or retail	Daily average attendance
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"A" Class

NADIA

CHAKDAHA P.S.

Chakdaha <i>hat</i>		Sunday, Wednesday & Friday	Vegetables and potato	Wholesale and retail	3,200 to 5,500
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KALIGANJ P.S.

Mira (Palashi) assembling centre	1803	Daily	Jute, paddy, oilseeds & pulses	Wholesale	105 to 220
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KARIMPUR P.S.

Karimpur assembling centre	1928	Tuesday & Saturday	Jute, pulses & oilseeds	"	500 to 1,000
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KOTWALI P.S.

Goari assembling centre	1880	Daily	Rice, pulses, vegetables & fruits	Wholesale & retail	1,200
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NAKASIPARA P.S.

Bethuadahari assembling centre	1913	Daily	Jute, rice, paddy & pulses	Wholesale-cum-retail	200 to 300
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RANAGHAT P.S.

Ranaghat barabazar	1803	Daily	Rice, potato, vegetables, eggs, fish, onion & pulses	"	2,000 to 3,000
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SHANTIPUR P.S.

Shantipur barabazar	1845	Daily	Paddy, rice, jute, pulses, vegetables & seasonal fruits like mangoes	Wholesale & retail	5,000
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"B" Class

CHAKDAHA P.S.

Chakdaha market	1943	Daily	All kinds of vegetables	"	1,000
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HARINGHATA P.S.

Haringhata <i>hat</i>	1840	Wednesday & Saturday	Jute, rice, potato, vegetables, pulses & date- <i>gurr</i>	"	1,200 to 2,050
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Name	Year of origin	Days of sitting	Principal agricultural commodities handled	Mainly wholesale or retail	Daily average attendance
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KRISHNAGANJ P.S.

Goudri bazar	1880	Daily	Potato, vegetables, fruits & fish	Wholesale & retail	1,000 to 1,300
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KRISHNANAGAR P.S.

Krishnanagar cattle <i>hat</i>	1952	Thursday	Buffalo, goat, sheep, cow and bullock	..	1,000
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NAKASIPARA P.S.

Bethuadahari <i>hat</i>	1911	Wednesday	Pulses, vegetables, jute, potato, onion, paddy, rice, jack-fruit & mango	..	1,500
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Bethuadahari cattle market

	1951	Saturday	Cow, bullock, buffalo, goat & sheep	..	600
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"C" Class

CHAKDAHA P.S.

Simurali market	1943	Daily	Vegetables	Retail	225
Simurali <i>hat</i>	1843	Monday	Vegetables and betel leaves	..	250
Madanpur market	1950	Daily	Vegetables	..	50
Madanpur <i>hat</i>	1873	Tuesday, Thursday & Saturday	Vegetables, jute and pulses	..	3,500
Kaliganj <i>hat</i>	1892	Monday & Friday	Vegetables & betel leaves	..	2,500
Banamalipara <i>hat</i>	1890	Tuesday & Saturday	Vegetables	..	80
Chakudanga <i>hat</i>	1928	Monday & Thursday	..	..	200
Balia Bazar <i>hat</i>	1944	Tuesday & Saturday	Jute, pulses & vegetables	..	1,100
Chowgacha <i>hat</i>	1810	Sunday & Thursday	Vegetables	..	1,100

APPENDIX B (Contd.)

Name	Year of origin	Days of sitting	Principal agricultural commodities handled	Mainly wholesale or retail	Daily average attendance
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CHAKDAHA P.S. (contd.)

NADIA

Gayespur market	1949	Monday & Friday	All sorts of agricultural products & fish	Retail	600
Bishnupur <i>hat</i>	1950	Tuesday & Saturday	"	"	1,100
Rasullapur	1950	Wednesday & Saturday	"	"	1,200
Hingnara <i>hat</i>	1953	Sunday & Wednesday	"	"	800

CHAPRA P.S.

Bangalji <i>hat</i>	1857	Monday	Vegetables, pulses & rice	"	1,600
Bara Andulia <i>hat</i>	1907	Sunday & Wednesday	Vegetables & pulses	"	1,400

<i>Bhimpur hat</i>	1951	Monday	"	"	300
<i>Chapra hat</i>	1850	Friday	Vegetables, pulses & rice	"	300 to 500
<i>Bagmara hat</i>	1900	Saturday	Vegetables & pulses	"	150
<i>Simulia hat</i>	1942	Sunday & Wednesday	"	"	300
Daily bazar	1951	Sunday & Thursday	"	"	300
<i>Hridaypur hat</i>	1947	Friday	"	"	300

HANSKHALI P.S.

Badkulla bazar	1877	Tuesday & Saturday	Pulses, rice, paddy, jute & vegetables	"	3,000
Chitrasali <i>hat</i>	1949	Sunday & Tuesday	Pulses, rice, paddy & vegetables	"	800
Bairabpur <i>hat</i>	1954	Tuesday & Friday	"	"	300
Hanskhali bazar	1857	Monday & Friday	Pulses, rice, paddy, jute & vegetables	"	3,000

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APPENDIX B (Contd.)

Name	Year of origin	Days of sitting	Principal agricultural commodities handled	Mainly wholesale or retail	Daily average attendance
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HANSKHALI P.S. (contd.)

Par-Hanskhali <i>hat</i>	1952	Friday	Pulses, rice, paddy, & vegetables	Retail	200
Ramnagar <i>hat</i>	1932	Tuesday	Pulses, rice & vegetables	"	500
Fatepur <i>hat</i>	1950	Thursday & Saturday	Pulses, rice & paddy	"	500
Hanskhali <i>hat</i>	1857	Monday	<i>Gur</i> , jute, rice & pulses	"	1,000
Mamjoani <i>hat</i>	1937	Monday & Thursday	Vegetables	"	250
Bagula <i>hat</i>	1887	Sunday & Wednesday	Pulses, jute, vegetables & rice	Wholesale & retail	2,000
Bagula bazar	1887	Daily	Fish, vegetables & rice	Retail	150

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Badkulla <i>hat</i>	1897	Tuesday & Saturday	Jute, pulses, date, palm & seasonal vegetables	Wholesale & retail	500 to 1,500
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Dakshinpara *hat* 1944

		Sunday & Thursday	Jute, date, palm & vegetables	Retail	300 to 500
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HARINGHATA P.S.

Bamanpara <i>hat</i>	1883	Sunday & Thursday	Vegetables, rice and fish	"	150
Nimtola <i>hat</i>	1953	Sunday & Thursday	Rice, jute, vegetables & fish	"	700
Birahi <i>hat</i>	1929	Sunday & Thursday	Tobacco, gourd, jute & rice	"	400
Kathdanga <i>hat</i>	1950	Friday & Tuesday	Vegetables	"	1,000
Kalibazar <i>hat</i>	1950	Monday & Thursday	"	"	800
Mohanpur	1946	Thursday & Friday	Vegetables & rice	"	400
Nagar-Ukhra <i>hat</i>	1802	Wednesday & Saturday	Jute, paddy, rice, <i>gur</i> & vegetables	"	750

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APPENDIX B (Contd.)

Name	Year of origin	Days of sitting	Principal agricultural commodities handled	Mainly wholesale or retail	Daily average attendance
KALIGANJ P.S.					
Devagram <i>hat</i>	1830	Sunday & Thursday	Vegetables, pulses & rice	Retail	700 to 1,000
Kaliganj <i>hat</i>	1850	Monday & Friday	"	"	600
KARIMPUR P.S.					
Shikarpur <i>hat</i>	1940	Monday & Thursday	Vegetables & pulses	"	200
Hogalbaria <i>hat</i>	1850	Tuesday & Saturday	"	"	800 to 1,200
KRISHNAGANJ P.S.					
Mazdia Rail bazar	1825	Tuesday, Thursday & Saturday	Potato, vegetables, rice & pulses	"	300
Sibnibash <i>hat</i>	1922	Monday & Friday	Vegetables & pulses	"	600
BANKING, TRADE & COMMERCE					
Khalbowalia <i>hat</i>	1850	Wednesday & Saturday	"	"	800
Krishnaganj market	1890	Daily	"	"	250
Majdia <i>hat</i>	1836	Sunday & Wednesday	Vegetables & pulses	"	1,000
Matiani <i>hat</i>	1950	Tuesday & Saturday	"	"	600
Banpur market	1900	Daily	"	"	300
Bhajanghat <i>hat</i>	1900	Monday & Thursday	"	"	200
KRISHNANAGAR P.S.					
Shyamnagar <i>hat</i>	1927	Tuesday & Saturday	"	"	300
Chandannagar <i>hat</i>	1880	"	"	"	300
Patra market	1938	Daily	Vegetables, pulses, poultry & rice	"	300 to 400
Ghurni market	1930	"	Vegetables & pulses	"	200 to 300
Nutan Bazar	1700	"	Vegetables, pulses & rice	"	400 to 500

NADIA

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APPENDIX B (Contd.).

Name	Year of origin	Days of sitting	Principal agricultural commodities handled	Mainly wholesale or retail	Daily average attendance
KRISHNANAGAR P.S. (contd.)					
Assannagar	1950	Sunday & Thursday	Vegetables, pulses & rice	Retail	1,200
Bhaluka <i>hat</i>	1942	Friday	"	"	500
NAVADWIP P.S.					
Navadwip market	1750	Daily	Rice, vegetables & poultry	"	4,000
Swarupganj market	1947	"	Vegetables & pulses	"	300
Bamanpukur market	1920	"	"	"	150
Maheshganj <i>hat</i>	1937	Tuesday, Thursday & Saturday	"	"	800
Deorapara potato assembling centre	1927	Daily	Potato, vegetables, rice & pulses	"	200

NADIA

NAKASIPARA P.S.

Muragachha market	1902	Daily	Vegetables & pulses	"	400
Mitiari Bazar	1880	"	"	"	500
Dharmada market	1800	"	"	"	250
Birpur <i>hat</i>	1950	Tuesday & Saturday	"	"	250
Bikrampur <i>hat</i>	1915	Saturday	"	"	250
Gotepara <i>hat</i>	1880	Sunday	"	"	200

RANAGHAT P.S.

Gangnapur <i>hat</i>	1653	Sunday & Wednesday	Jute, pulses, <i>gur</i> , rice & vegetables	"	1,200
Erulia <i>hat</i>	1928	Monday & Thursday	Rice & vegetables	"	300
Duttaphulia <i>hat</i>	1887	Monday, Thursday & Saturday	Vegetables, <i>gur</i> & rice	"	550
Payradanga bazar	1950	Daily	Vegetables, pulses & milk	"	250

BANKING, TRADE & COMMERCE

Name	Year of origin	Days of sitting	Principal agricultural commodities handled	Mainly wholesale or retail	Daily average attendance
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RANAGHAT P.S. (Contd.)

Aranghata <i>hat</i>	1900	Tuesday, Thursday & Saturday	Jute, pulses, paddy, rice & vegetables	Retail	2,200
Ranaghat Railway bazar	1807	Daily	Rice, potato, <i>dal</i> , vegetables, eggs & fish	"	2,500
Birnagar <i>hat</i>	1949	Monday & Friday	Vegetables & cattle	"	800
Taherpur bazar	1951	Daily	Rice & vegetables	"	600
Habibpur bazar	1887	"	Vegetables, fish & rice	"	125
Bahingachhi <i>hat</i>	1950	Monday & Friday	Rice, pulses, vegetables & fish	"	500

NADIA

Birnagar bazar	1882	Daily	"	"	500
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SHANTIPUR P.S.

Nrishingapur market	1954	"	Pulses, jute, linseed & gram, etc.	"	350
Phulia Rail bazar	1952	Daily	Pulses, jute, linseed, gram & vegetables	"	1,000
Nutanbazar	1890	Daily except Thursday & Saturday	Vegetables & rice	"	350
Sarabhuja market	1937	Daily evening	Vegetables	"	150
Phulia colony	1951	Daily	Vegetables & rice	"	100
Nutan <i>hat</i>	1890	Sunday & Tuesday	Vegetables, sweets, potato, rice, paddy, poultry, bird & goat	Wholesale & retail	2,500 to 5,000

TEHATTA P.S.

Tehatta <i>hat</i>	1752	Wednesday & Saturday	Vegetables & pulses	"	800 to 1,000
Palashipara market	1902	Daily	"	"	250
Barunia <i>hat</i>	1880	Friday	"	"	300
Betai	1947	Monday & Friday	"	"	350

Name	Year of origin	Days of sitting	Principal agricultural commodities handled	Mainly wholesale or retail	Daily average attendance
TEHATTA P.S. (contd.)					
Nazirpur <i>hat</i>	1937	Wednesday	Vegetables & pulses	Retail	350
Palsunda <i>hat</i>	1938	"	"	"	250
Karaigachhi	1945	"	"	"	350
Haspukuria <i>hat</i>	1902	Monday	"	"	350
Baliwara <i>hat</i>	1935	Saturday	"	"	250
Baliwara Nutan bazar	1952	Tuesday	"	"	200
Kutipara Kachhari <i>hat</i>	1951	Wednesday	"	"	250

APPENDIX C
FAIRS AND MELAS IN NADIA DISTRICT

Place of occurrence	Month of occurrence English Calendar	Bengali Calendar	Religious or other occasion	Duration No. of days	Attendance (Approx.)
CHAKDAHA P.S.					
Gangaprasadpur Chakdaha (Town)	January-February Do	Magh Do	Ganes Janam Puja Do	30 15	N.A. N.A.
Do	February-March	Magh-Falgun	Maghi-Purnima	5	1,000
Jasra	June-July	Jyaisihha-Ashad	Rathayatra	1	3,000
Chanduria	January-February Do	Magh-Falgun Magh	Maghi-Purnima Raj-Rajeswarī Puja	3 7	1,000 2,000 to
Do	February-March	Magh-Falgun	Maghi-Purnima	3	3,000
Chandmari	January-February	Magh	Gāji Sāheb's Melā	1	4,000
Kulia	March-April N.A.	Fālgun-Chaitra N.A.	Dolyatra The death anniversary of Debānanda Thākur	1 N.A.	3,000 N.A.
Sripatkulia	February-March	Fālgun	Ghorā Pir's Melā	6/7	3,000 to
Ghoragachha	Do	Do	Barapir's Utsav	1	4,000
Kumarpur	March	Do	Dolyatra	7	N.A.
Madanpur	March-April	Fālgun-Chaitra	Sivaratni	7	2,000
Simurali	March	Fālgun	Dolyatra	1	500
Bejpara	N.A.	N.A.	Manik Pir's Melā	1	250
Belgaria				1	200

Place of occurrence	Month of occurrence English Calendar	Bengali Calendar	Religious or other occasion	Duration No. of days	Attendance (Approx.)
CHAKDAH P.S. (contd.)					
Ghetugachhi Gotera	December Do	<i>Agrahayan</i> Do	Dharmaraj Puja Do	5 7	5,000 2,000
Sibpur	March	<i>Falgun</i>	Madar Pir's Utsav	3	1,000
Mathurgachi	July-August	<i>Shravan</i>	Khedai Baba's Utsav	1	50,000
Do	August	Do	Manasa Puja	1	60,000
Neulia	June-July	<i>Ashad</i>	Rathayatra	2	3,000 to 4,000
Chakudanga	August	<i>Shravan</i>	Manasa Puja	N.A.	N.A.
Srinagar	N.A.	N.A.	Gazi Pir's Dargah	1	850
Rajar-math	September-October	<i>Aswin</i>	Durga Puja	N.A.	N.A.
Ghoshpara	March-April	<i>Falgun-Chaitra</i>	Dolyatra	10	50,000
Do	March	Do	Satima Utsav	7/8	N.A.
Kuliarpot	December-January	<i>Poush</i>	Kuliarpot	3	25,000
Khedaitala	August	<i>Shravan</i>	Manasa Puja	1	2,000
Surendrananj	February-March	<i>Falgun</i>	Maghi-Purima	3	4,000
CHAPRA P.S.					
Hatisala	October-November	<i>Kartik</i>	Rasyatra	4	500
Kalyandaha	April	<i>Chaitra</i>	Nil Puja	1	500
Jalkar-Mathurapur	May-June	<i>Jyaisihha</i>	Manasa Puja	1	500
Do	March-April	<i>Chaitra</i>	Siv Puja	7	500

NADIA

Mahespur	September-October	<i>Aswin</i>	Durga Puja	1	500
Dayer Bazar	June-July	<i>Ashad</i>	The death anniversary of Adhikaribaba	1	500
HANSKHALI P.S.					
Mayurhat	January	<i>Poush-Magh</i>	Local Muslim religious	3	15,000
Dakshinpara	March	<i>Falgun</i>	Dolyatra	4	1,000
Patuli	January	<i>Magh</i>	Buri Kali Puja	N.A.	1,000
Badkulla	November-December	<i>Agrahayan</i>	Mahotsav	1	N.A.
Hanskhali	June	<i>Ashad</i>	Rathayatra	1	2,000
Ber-Hanskhali	April	<i>Chaitra-Baisakh</i>	Local religious	1	1,000
Mamjoani	Do	Do	Chadak Puja (Siv Puja)	1	1,000
Aranghata	May-June	<i>Jyaisihha</i>	Jugalkisore Deb's Puja	30	N.A.
HARINGHATA P.S.					
Birahi	October-November	<i>Kartik</i>	Bhratriditiya	1	15,000
Do	March-April	<i>Falgun-Chaitra</i>	Dolyatra	1	5,000
Mahadevpur	June-July	<i>Ashad</i>	Rathayatra	1	2,000
Haringhata	June-July	<i>Ashad</i>	Rathayatra	1	3,000
Uttar-Rajapur	April-May	<i>Baisakh</i>	Fatema Utsav	3	600
Jahirapara	N.A.	N.A.	Gadi Melā	1	200
Do	N.A.	N.A.	Khoda's Melā	1	200
Do	N.A.	N.A.	Josta Behari Melā	1	200
Kathdanga	January-February	<i>Magh</i>	Manik Pir's Utsav	7	400
Barajaguli	N.A.	N.A.	Panchanantala Melā	N.A.	400
Fatepur	April	<i>Chaitra-Baisakh</i>	Goshihayatra	1	2,000
Haripukharia	Do	Do	Rabi Puja	1	500
Karamchabelia	February	<i>Magh-Falgun</i>	Bara Pir's Utsav	3	3,000
Manicktala	January	<i>Magh</i>	Manick Pir's Utsav	1	5,000
Nagar-Ukhra	April	<i>Chaitra</i>	Barwari Kali Puja	1	2,000
Mohanpur	March-April	Do	Sivaratri	1	1,500

BANKING, TRADE & COMMERCE

Place of occurrence	Month of occurrence		Religious or other occasion	Duration No. of days	Attendance (Approx.)
	English Calendar	Bengali Calendar			
KALIGANJ P.S.					
Palashi	May-June	<i>Jyāish-ha</i>	Shanyatra	1	1,000
Karimpur-Bazar	July	<i>Ashād</i>	Rathayatra	2	600
Hatgachha	June-July	Do	Do	1	2,000 to 3,000
Thanapara	January	<i>Poush</i>	Poush Sankranti	3	15,000
Hatgachha	N.A.	N.A.	Muharram	1	2,000
Juranpur-	February-March	<i>Magh-Fālgun</i>	Maghi-Purnima	1	10,000
Kalitola	June	<i>Jyāish-ha-Ashād</i>	Dasahara Gangasnan	7	3,500
Murutia	April	<i>Chaitra</i>	Ram Navami	6 7	5,000
Matiari	March-April	Do	Gajan Festival	N.A.	N.A.
Kamdebpur	May-June	<i>Jyāish-ha</i>	Shanyatra	1	2,000
Bahurapur	April-May	<i>Bāisakh</i>	Yasodayini Puja	N.A.	500 to 1,000
Bara-Chandghar	June-July	<i>Ashād</i>	Rathayatra	N.A.	N.A.
Do	September-October	<i>Aswin</i>	Durga Puja	N.A.	N.A.
Do	October-November	<i>Kartik</i>	Rasyatra	N.A.	N.A.
Do	March	<i>Fālgun</i>	Dolyatra	N.A.	N.A.
Do	March-April	<i>Chaitra</i>	Harithakur's Utsav	3	3,000 to 4,000
Fulkhali	May	<i>Bāisakh</i>	Baruni Snan	1	300
Sikarpur	March-April	<i>Chaitra</i>	Basanti Puja	3	600

KARIMPUR P.S.

Dhoradaha	April	Do	Ram Navami	11	1,000
Karimpur	Do	Do	Basanti Puja	4	N.A.
Karimpur - Bazar	July	<i>Ashād</i>	Rathayatra	8	500
Sobharajpur	January	<i>Poush</i>	Poush Parvan	7/8	N.A.
Do	April-May	<i>Baisakh</i>	Pir's Barga	7/8	N.A.
Thanapara	January	<i>Poush</i>	Poush Sankranti	7	10,000
Do	Do	Do	Jangi Pir's Utsav	7	10,000
Murutia	June-July	<i>Ashād</i>	Rathayatra	15	1,000
Shikarpur	March-April	<i>Chaitra</i>	Basanti Puja	7	5,000
Fulkhali	Do	Do	Baruni Snan	7	2,000
Sundalpur	March	<i>Fālgun</i>	Dolyatra	3	200

KRISHNAGANJ P.S.

Digambarpur	Do	Do	Do	1	1,200
Chandannagar	Do	Do	Do	7	11,000
Sivnivas	January	<i>Poush-Magh</i>	Bhim Ekadasi	15	25,000
Krishnaganj	September-October	<i>Aswin</i>	Durga Puja	1	15,000
Malighata	April	<i>Chaitra</i>	Chadak Puja	1	500 to 600
Matiari	June	<i>Ashād</i>	Worship of a "Pir" or the occasion of Ambubachi	7	5,000
Tungi	April	<i>Chaitra</i>	Chadak Puja	1	1,500
Khatara	June	<i>Ashād</i>	Ambubachi	1	1,500
Nanaganj	September-October	<i>Aswin</i>	Durga Puja	1	700

Place of occurrence	Month of occurrence English Calendar	Bengali Calendar	Religious or other occasion	Duration No. of days	Attendance (Approx.)
KRISHNANAGAR P.S.					
Belpukur	March	<i>Fālgun</i>	Ganes <i>Puja</i>	5	5,000
Sonadanga	N.A.	N.A.	Muharram	1	1,000
Chuakhali	April	<i>Chaitra</i>	Chadak <i>Puja</i>	N.A.	500 to 700
Rupdaha	April-May	<i>Baisakh</i>	Kali (Rupat) <i>Puja</i>	1	2,000
Do	September-October	<i>Aswin</i>	Durga <i>Puja</i>	N.A.	N.A.
Do	November-December	<i>Agrahayan</i>	Jagaddhatri <i>Puja</i>	N.A.	N.A.
Do	March-April	<i>Chaitra</i>	Gajan Festival	N.A.	N.A.
Subarnavihar	Do	Do	Do	N.A.	N.A.
Haripur	January-February	<i>Magh</i>	Panchananda <i>Puja</i>	3	500 to 600
Depara	April-May	<i>Baisakh</i>	Nrisinha <i>Puja</i>	1	1,000
Bhaluka	June-July	<i>Ashad</i>	Rathayatra	1	300 to 400
Anandabas	May-June	<i>Jyaishtika</i>	Dasahara <i>Snan</i>	1	2,000 to 3,000
Do	January	<i>Magh</i>	Uttarayan	2	2,000 to 3,000
Krishnanagar (Town)	March-April	<i>Fālgun-Chaitra</i>	Baradol	30	1 lakh
Ghurui	April	<i>Chaitra</i>	Chadak (Petnipukur's <i>Mela</i>)	N.A.	N.A.

Do	N.A.	N.A.	Dharma Thakur <i>Puja</i>	N.A.	N.A.
Asannagar	June-July	<i>Ashad</i>	Ambubachi	3	1,000
Do	March	<i>Fālgun</i>	Dolyatra	N.A.	N.A.
Do	December-January	<i>Poush</i>	Agricultural Fair	7	10,000
NAVADWIP P.S.					
Balladighi	March	<i>Fālgun</i>	Śrī Śrī Chaitanya Mahaprabhu's <i>Utsav</i>	15	12,000
Majdia	April	<i>Chaitra</i>	Chadak <i>Puja</i>	1	1,000
Navadwip (Town)	November	<i>Kartik</i>	Rasyatra	2	2,000
Teghari (Kalinagar)	January	<i>Magh</i>	Uttarayan (Gangasnan)	1	10,000
Sree Mayapur	March	<i>Fālgun</i>	Parikrama <i>Mela</i>	3	2,000
Majherchara	February	<i>Magh-Fālgun</i>	Religious	11	1,000
Hulorghat	February-March	<i>Fālgun-Chaitra</i>	Dolyatra	7	1,000
NAKASIPARA P.S.					
Akandanga	N.A.	N.A.	Muharram	2	3,000
Brahmanitola	July-August	<i>Śravan</i>	Brahmani <i>Puja</i>	7	5,000
Gotpara	June	<i>Jyaishtika</i>	Gopinath Snanyatra	7	15,000
Brahmanitola	July-August	<i>Śravan</i>	Manasa <i>Puja</i>	7	4,000 to 5,000
Karkaria	June	<i>Jyaishtika</i>	Dasahara	1	400
Bhebuadanga	January	<i>Magh</i>	Snanyatra	1	1,000
Nangla	June-July	<i>Ashad</i>	Sahebkhani Goshthir <i>Utsav</i>	2	1,500
Do	January-February	<i>Magh</i>	Maghi-Purnima	N.A.	N.A.
Raripara	June-July	<i>Ashad</i>	On the occasion of the birthday of Katatu Saheb Pir	1	2,000

Place of occurrence	English Calendar	Month of occurrence	Bengali Calendar	Religious or other occasion	Duration No. of days	Attendance (Approx.)
NAKASIPARA P.S. (contd.)						
Dhananjaypur	N.A.		N.A.	Muharram	1	2,000
Dogachhia	April		Chaitra	Chadak Puja	1	5,000
Muragachha	April-May		Baisakh	Jater Melā (Sarvamaigala)	7	2,000 to 2,500
Bhebadanga	December-January		Poush	Uttarayan	1	3,000 to 4,000
Sahebtola	June		Jyāishirha	Sahebtola Melā	1	2,000
Dhanchipur	N.A.		N.A.	Muharram	1	1,000
RANAGHAT P.S.						
Taherpur (F Block)	September-October		Āshwin	Durga Puja	1	10,000
Birnagar (Ula)	May		Baisakh	Ulai Chandi Puja	4	10,000
Mugrail	September-October		Āshwin	Durga Puja	3	200
Bahirgachhi	Do		Do	Durga Puja	2/3	1,500
Aranghata-	May-June		Jyāishirha	Jugal Kisore Puja	30	5,000
Narayanpur	April		Chaitra	Chadak Puja	N.A.	N.A.
Srirampur	October-November		Kartik	Rasyatra	5	2,000
Aismali	Do		Āshwin-Kartik	Durga Puja	N.A.	500
Ghola	March		Fālgun	Dolyatra	1	N.A.
Habibpur	Do		Do	Panchamdol	1	N.A.
Do	January-February		Magh	Ayala Puja	1	N.A.

Do	March		Fālgun	Sitala Puja	1	N.A.
Do	January		Magh	Netaji's Birthday	30	N.A.
Majdia	January-February		Do	Gora Saheb	1	1,500
				Pir's Abirbhav		
Patuli	March-April		Fālgun	Maghi-Purnima	2	10,000
Kamargaria	July-August		Śravan	Pir's Abirbhav Utsav	1	1,000
SHANTIPUR P.S.						
Panpara	January		Magh	Uttarayan Snanyatra	1	1,200
Bagdebitala	February		Fālgun	Bagdevi Puja	1	1,000
Do	May		Baisakh	Baisakhi-Purnima	1	500
Babla	March		Fālgun	Dolyatra	2	1 lakh
Phulia	Do		Do	Do	1	3,000
Arbandi	Do		Do	Brahma Puja	7	5,000
Santipur (Town)	July		Ashad	Rathayatra	2	15,000
Do	August		Śravan	Jhulanyatra	3	15,000
Do	September-October		Āshwin	Durga Puja	1	10,000
Do	October-November		Kartik	Kali Puja	1	5,000
Do	Do		Do	Jagaddhatri Puja	2	20,000
Do	November		Do	Rasyatra	30	60,000
Do	February		Magh-Fālgun	Saraswati Puja	1	12,000
Do	March-April		Fālgun-Chaitra	Dolyatra	1	5,000
Do	May		Baisakh	Gazi's Marriage	1	1,000
Do	April		Chaitra	Chadak Puja	N.A.	N.A.
Do	August		Śravan	Brahma Puja	N.A.	N.A.
TEHATTA P.S.						
Baor	January		Poush	Poush Parva	1	1,000
Ishamari	September-October		Āshwin-Kartik	Immersion of Goddess Durga	2	10,000
Tehatta	January-February		Magh	Krishnaganj Jin Puja	30	1,000

CHAPTER VII

COMMUNICATIONS

OLD TIME TRADE
ROUTES AND HIGH-
WAYS AND MODES
OF CONVEYANCE

Though there is no historical evidence, trade routes in Nadia district, if any in old times, must have been the inland waterways leading to the famous ports of Gange or Tāmralipta. Though both these ports were outside the present limits of Nadia district, it is likely that Nadia formed their hinterland served by mighty delta building rivers. The high antiquity of Bengal's inland and foreign trade is proved by the *Jataka* stories, the accounts of Strabo and Pliny, and the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*. The *Periplus* proves that Bengal maintained an active overseas trade with South India and Ceylon in the first century A.D. The commodities exported through the royal city of Gange are said to have consisted of malabathrum, Gangetic spikenard, pearls and *muslins* of the finest sort. They were carried in vessels described in the *Periplus* as 'Colandia'.¹ The Gangetic spikenard is actually a perennial herb of alpine Himalayas. It is better known as *Nardostachys Jatamansi* and is used in *Kavirājī* pharmacopoeia. Malabathrum or *Cinnamomum*² also came from the Himalayas. Malabathrum and spikenard were the two most treasured ingredients of the ointments and perfumes of the Roman empire.³ As there was a direct river route from the Himalayas to the port of Gange it may be presumed that the spikenard and malabathrum came by this river route. The *Periplus* further states that raw silk, silk yarn and silk cloth came into Bengal from China through Sikkim and Chumbi valley and re-exported to 'Damirica by way of the river Ganges'.⁴ In later centuries the overseas trade of Bengal seems to have increased both in volume and extent which accounts for the phenomenal growth of Tāmralipta.

Almost to the end of the Hindu period Tāmralipta was the gateway to eastern India. With the decline of Gange and

Tāmralipta, Saptagrāma became dominant till the close of the sixteenth century. During all this period we find no historical evidence of any land-route through Nadia district. The 1918-20 *Reports of Survey and Settlement Operations* in the district of Nadia mentions the existence of a road in Haringhata P.S. which was constructed for the passage of Man Singh's army in the campaign against Pratapaditya.

On an examination of the account of Rev. Long, we find that at the close of the 18th century one Mr. Baretto made many roads planted with *nim* trees on both sides at Sukh Sagar which was the Government country seat before Barrackpur. Chagda (that is, Chākdaha) near Sukh Sagar, provided a route to Dacca and Assam *via* Jessore. People travelling from Calcutta preferred this road as it was better and higher than that *via* Barasat. A 20-mile long road was built from Bongaon to Chakdaha and planted with trees on both sides by Kali Prasad Padar of Jessore. He also built a number of bridges (over the Bhairav at Nilgunge for instance) and the Government of Bengal presented him with the title of 'Ray' for his public spirit. The Mathabhanga lying north of Chakdaha had already deteriorated in Long's time and its banks were infested by thieves and tigers. A survey was made of it in 1795 by Colonel Celebrooke as the Government wished to keep this trade channel between East Bengal (now Bangladesh) and Calcutta open all the year round. Again in 1836, Mr. May, the Superintendent of the Nadia rivers, was engaged in surveying the line of a proposed still-water canal from Shantipur to Mangra on the Nabaganga river (in Bangladesh), which if cut, would have afforded a certain communication with the great river at all times of the year. Probably up to the 17th century, Kalna was on the left bank of the Bhagirathi, that is, within Krishnanagar. Mirzapur *khāl* lying north of Kalna was designed to be the terminus of a canal from Rajmahal. The Military Board in 1844 recommended that as no permanent improvement could be made in the shifting channels of the Nadia rivers, this route to Rajmahal, 130 miles long, 50' broad and 5' deep be canalized at a cost of Rs. 38,47,437. It would have cut down the distance from Calcutta to Rajmahal by 326 miles and would have yielded a profit of 14½ per cent. The expenditure on it could easily be met as the Government then had a surplus of 32,35,950 rupees from the tolls on the Bhagirathi, Circular and Tolly's canals and the Nadia rivers.

¹ *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, ed. W. H. Schoff, Philadelphia, 1912, pp. 46-47.

² It appears that *tejpātā* (*Cinnamomum Tamala*), *dālchini* (*Cinnamomum zeylanicum*) as well as *karpūr* (*Cinnamomum Camphora*) were exported. *Periplus* is very clear on their Himalayan origin. Malabathrum was brought to Bengal every year by 'a tribe of men with short bodies and broad flat faces'. There is also mention of three sorts of malabathrum. *ibid.*, pp. 48-49.

³ *The Periplus*, pp. 216-17.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

The Shantipur-Krishnanagar road, occupying a high riparian tract, is an old road. In 1845, a grant of Rs. 20,000 was made by the Government for its repair. In 1865, there were three important trunk routes. One led from Krishnanagar to Baharampur via Bamundanga, Palashi and Burwa with a ferry crossing on the Jalangi. Its total length was 53 miles 5 furlongs and was a fair road in dry weather. Another fair weather road, about 54 miles long ran from Krishnanagar to Jessore via Asanagar, Kishengunge, Jibannagar, Maheshpur and Chowgatcha with a ferry crossing over the Mathabhanga. The third route from Krishnanagar to Suri, ran through Dhubnia, Bamundanga, Debagram, Kātoyā and Kandra with ferry crossings over the Jalangi, Bhagirathi and Ajay rivers.¹

Although navigability of the Nadia rivers deteriorated from the 16th century, they continued, till the opening up of the railways, to be the main artery of communication between Calcutta and upper India. The waterways were largely used by steamer traffic with the upper Ganges and even with Assam via Goalundo, the saving in distance, as compared with the Sundarbans' route, being very considerable. Since 1915, service by the larger Inland Steam Companies were abandoned. This was not solely due to greater difficulties of navigation. Railway competition for transport to the upper Ganges districts was found too strong for the Steamer Companies, and at the same time increasing trade with Barisal district served to divert the remaining traffic into the Sundarbans route.

In 1910, of the regular steamer services on the Bhagirathi, Messrs. Hoare Miller & Co. ran a daily service between Calcutta and Kalna, stopping at Shantipur; another between Kalna and Murshidabad, calling at Navadwip on every alternate day during the rainy season and during the dry season from Kalna to Navadwip twice a week. The imports into and the exports from Nadia district by the rivers in 1908-09 were 3,88,049 and 33,105 maunds of goods respectively. The chief

¹ Major F. Roberts, *Routes in the Bengal Presidency*, Calcutta, 1865. Probably convicts were used as labourers in the construction of these roads. According to Long, in 1836 the Rājāh of Kewgang in Birbhum offered to make *pakha* road from Suri to Kātoyā, a distance of forty miles, provided he be allowed the service of convicts on the road. Earlier in 1802 the Judge of Bardhaman remarked: "Commerce has been much extended by the opening of three grand roads leading to Hughly, Kalna and Katwa which have been lately put into a state of repair by the labour of convicts," (vide 'Selections from Rev. James Long', ed. Mahadevprasad Saha in *Indian Studies Past & Present*, Vol. IX, No. 1, Oct.-Dec., Calcutta, 1967, pp. 36-37).

items among the imports were paddy 3,00,695 maunds; rice 69,263 maunds; and coke and coal 14,723 maunds. The only other article of which 1,000 maunds or over was imported by river was unmanufactured tobacco, the import of which was 1,343 maunds. Among exports by river the chief items were raw jute 12,751 maunds; gram and pulses 7,330 maunds; and *gur* (jaggery) 2,781 maunds. Kerosene oil amounting to 6,302 maunds also appears among the exports, but is not, of course, a true export of the district.¹ It may be noted that at the beginning of the present century the Eastern Bengal State Railway became the main external trade route of the district. Garrett observed, "During the last two years the average export of jute has been close to one million maunds per annum, in addition to which some twenty thousand maunds of gunny bags were exported. About three-quarters of this large export is carried away by railway and the rest by water."² Since the development of railway communications, the greater part of the trade, both import and export, has been with Calcutta. Before partition, a large amount of rice and paddy was imported into the district by carts from Jessore and Khulna.

By the close of the 19th century both the subdivisional headquarters, namely, Ranaghat and Krishnanagar became significant nodal points. Ranaghat became an important junction of the Eastern Bengal Railway. Krishnanagar, though less important as a railway junction, had a little edge over Ranaghat as headquarters of the Nadia Postal Division and with a system of roads connecting it with Bagula on the east, Navadwip on the west, Shantipur on the south and a few second class roads leading to north and north-west.

Just before World War II the road system of Nadia District comprised an approximate total length of 6,996 miles for the upkeep of which several authorities were responsible.³

The total length of metalled and unmetalled roads in pre-partition Nadia was 6,996 miles (11,193.6 km.) of which village roads alone accounted for 4,700 miles (7,520.0 km.). This may be compared with the road system maintained by public authorities in truncated Nadia district on 31st December 1948.⁴

ROAD TRANSPORT

¹ J. H. E. Garrett, *Bengal District Gazetteers: Nadia*, Calcutta, 1910, p. 99.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 95-96.

³ A. J. King, *Comprehensive Report on Road Development Projects in Bengal*, Vol. III, Presidency Division, Nadia District, Alipore, 1938, p. 125.

⁴ A. Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

Authority responsible for upkeep	Metalled roads (miles)	Unmetalled roads (miles)
Works and Buildings Department	48.9	48.3
District Board	26.6	974.9
Municipalities	78.4	155.8
Total	153.9	1,179.0

Figures of Union Boards are not shown in the above statement. Some new roads were made during the war, for instance, those at Kalyani. However, of the 218 miles (348.8 km.) of metalled roads of the undivided district, the major share fell within Indian territory. King had proposed 415 miles (664.0 km.) of improved roads which included 108 miles (172.8 km.) of metalled and 241 miles (385.6 km.) of unmetalled roads then existing and only 66 miles (105.6 km.) of entirely new roads. The scheme provided 1 mile of road for every 6.9 square miles of area, or in respect of every 3,686 heads of population.¹ King submitted his complete report to the Government early in 1939. Even while his investigations were proceeding, the Government of Bengal utilized his findings in the formulation of programmes carried out through the Central Road Fund Projects. Up till the formulation of the Post-War Road Development Plan, the cost of developing road communications was being met almost exclusively from the Central Road Fund. There was a distinct improvement in Road Fund expenditure, both quantitative and qualitative, after King had started his investigations. However, the War intervened and the King-scheme had to be put in cold storage.

The entire road system put to severe strain during the war years, was found wanting in material respects; and its deficiencies were exposed to the public view as never before. It was realized that this vital problem of road communications should be tackled on an all-India basis and not on a patchy provincial plane. In December 1943, the Nagpur conference laid the basis of a comprehensive and well co-ordinated plan. The King-plan, revised in the light of the recommendations of the Nagpur conference, had to be modified again owing to the partition which affected Nadia seriously. Cut off from their usual trade routes the Nadia

¹ A. J. King, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

border areas were facing economic isolation. Quick integration of these areas with the normal trade channels of West Bengal became necessary. Administrative problems were also no less insistent. Partition imposed on West Bengal the heavy burden of policing a 600-mile international frontier. Police stations in the moribund deltaic tract of Nadia had to be connected with one another and with the subdivisional and district headquarters by a network of all-weather roads. There was also the new problem of enforcement of land customs to prevent smuggling of dutiable and contraband goods across the frontiers. The following table will indicate Nadia's share in the whole scheme for West Bengal.¹

Category of roads	Nadia		West Bengal	
	Miles	Kilometres	Miles	Kilometres
National Highway	—	—	592	953.1
Provincial Highway	83	132.8	1,067	1,717.9
Major District Road	257	411.2	2,953	4,754.3
Other District Road	176	281.6	2,820	4,540.2
Village Road	250	400.0	5,849	9,416.9
Total	766	1,225.6	13,281	21,382.4

Work on the revised plan commenced in 1948. It was reviewed by the Planning Commission in 1950. The First Five Year Plan concentrated primarily on the rehabilitation of the truncated road system, caused by partition. Even before the commencement of the First Plan an arterial road from Calcutta to Baharampur in Murshidabad district through Ranaghat, Shantipur, Krishnanagar, Nakasipara, Debagram and Palashi came into being. The Krishnanagar-Hanskhali-Bagula road and Bagula-Duttaphulia-Aranghata road were renovated and converted into first class roads. These roads while connecting all the important towns of the district helped to stabilize a large displaced population in this tract. The significance of these roads for Nadia should be measured in terms of (i) a 49% growth of population of the district during 1951-61 owing to the migration of refugees from East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) and (ii) the fact that Nadia had almost 18% of its total population in the urban sector which is one of the highest for the State. The Krishnanagar-Chapra-Betai-

¹ Kalidas Lahiri, *Road Problems of West Bengal*, Calcutta, 1950, pp. 24-25.

Karimpur-Shikarpur road (73.6 km.), important not only for security but also for marketing of local agricultural produce, fulfilled a long-felt need. Before 1948, all communication in this northern tract used to come to a standstill during the monsoon. Similarly, the Ranaghat-Krishnanagar-Palashi road opened up the district from end to end. The Palashi-Betai road also joined up the two trunk roads of the district in the north and thus helped to open up the whole of the north country.¹

The Second Plan extended the road network to connect all thana headquarters. Since the first two Plans could not provide adequate funds for maintaining road standards, improving the bridges and providing 'missing links', the Third Plan investment was directed primarily to improving the quality of roads, bridges and culverts. The Fourth Plan is designed to lay emphasis on roads which will serve industrial concentrations, potential centres of economic growth, and underdeveloped areas.

The following tables give an idea of the progress of road development and maintenance under different authorities. It will be observed that the length of unmetalled roads even within the municipalities, which maintain only non-arterial roads, is fairly high. The Public Works Department has converted several village roads into district and State highways giving them a metalled crust 3.66 metres wide on embankments, the width of which vary from 7.32 to 9.75 metres.

1. MILEAGE OF ROADS MAINTAINED BY WORKS & BUILDINGS, PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT, WEST BENGAL IN NADIA DISTRICT

	Total	Metalled	Unmetalled
Mileage as			
on 31st March 1951	58.6	56.4	2.2
.. 1952	48.6	46.4	2.2
.. 1953	48.6	46.4	2.2
.. 1954	48.6	46.4	2.2
.. 1955	46.6	43.6	3.0
.. 1957	45.7	43.7	2.0
.. 1958	209.5	206.5	3.0
.. 1959	226.1	216.9	9.2
.. 1960	241.6	229.4	12.2

¹ A. Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. xxxiv.

2. MILEAGE OF ROADS MAINTAINED BY DISTRICT BOARD, ZILLA PARISHAD IN NADIA DISTRICT

	Total	Metalled	Unmetalled
Mileage as			
on 31st March 1955	967	17	950
.. 1956	977	26	951
.. 1961	956	22	934
.. 1962	968	22	946

Most of the village roads are maintained by the Zilla Parishad. These are generally *kutchha* roads mostly with 4.87 metres embankment. The more important of them are sometimes provided with cement concrete or brick track-ways and improved culverts so that they may serve as fair weather roads. In 1951, there were 670 village roads in the Sadar and 396 in the Ranaghat subdivisions.

MILEAGE OF ROADS MAINTAINED BY MUNICIPALITIES OF NADIA DISTRICT

	Total	Metalled	Unmetalled
Mileage as			
on 31st March 1955	291	100	191
.. 1962	308	136	172

The length of extra-municipal roads under Public Works Department in Nadia on 31st March 1968 was 762.0 km.¹ The National Highway No. 34 runs from Chakdaha to Palashi. The major district roads maintained by the PWD are: Krishnanagar-Hanskhali-Bagula Road, 20.8 km. (13 miles); Krishnanagar-Majdia Road, 27.2 km. (17 miles); Krishnanagar-Navadwip Road, 12.0 km. (7½ miles); Krishnanagar-Hridaypur Road, 19.2 km. (12 miles); Palashi-Betai Road, 30.4 km. (19 miles); Chapra-Betai-Karimpur-Shikarpur Road, 73.6 km. (46 miles); Karimpur-Jalangi Road, 12.8 km. (8 miles); Karimpur-Domkal Road, 3.2 km. (2 miles); Bhagirathi-Bethuadahari Road, 12.0 km. (7½ miles); Bagula-Duttaphulia-Aranghata Road, 25.6 km. (16 miles); Shantipur-Kalna Road, 8.0 km. (5 miles) and PWD Road within Krishnanagar Municipality, 4.8 km. (3 miles). The village roads main-

¹ Government of West Bengal, *Economic Review, 1970-71*, Alipore, 1971, p. 45.

tained by the PWD are: Phulia-Tarapur Road, 4.8 km. (3 miles); Phulia-Arbandi Road, 8.8 km. (5½ miles); Phulia Township, 4.0 km. (2½ miles) and Phulia-Taherpur-Birnagar Road, 4.8 km. (3 miles). The only other district road maintained by the PWD in Nadia is Mira Road the length of which is 3.2 km. (2 miles).¹

There is no official record on the beasts of burden. The Regional Transport Officer, Nadia provided the following statistics on the means of conveyances.

NO. OF CYCLE RICKSHAWS, CYCLES, BULLOCK CARTS, PONY CARTS, ETC. IN NADIA DISTRICT: 1970-71

Name of Blocks	No. of Cycle Rickshaws	No. of Cycles	No. of Bullock carts	No. of Pony carts
Krishnanagar I	1,000	12,000	2,000	---
Krishnanagar II	32	1,020	1,990	---
Krishnaganj	155	3,500	1,515	---
Nakasipara	82	530	2,651	---
Navadwip	1,047	15,000	964	---
Kaliganj	53	5,272	4,297	---
Tehatta I	49	6,153	3,508	---
Tehatta II	10	3,227	1,714	---
Chapra	25	9,000	3,000	---
Ranaghat I	50	95	350	---
Ranaghat II	156	2,350	1,850	---
Karimpur	41	6,821	5,803	---
Shantipur	336	4,587	1,453	103
Hanskhali	225	1,550	5,300	---
Chakdaha	379	6,921	2,181	---
Haringhata	154	5,846	2,354	---

Municipalities are not included in the above list. Some of the municipalities issue licences to cycle rickshaws and bullock carts. The number of new licences issued to different categories of automobiles by the district authorities during successive plan periods is given below.²

¹ B. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 335.

² Source: Regional Transport Officer, Nadia.

Plan periods	Heavy	Medium	Light
1951-56	190	18	190
1956-61	121	8	117
1961-66	108	7	159
1966-71	31	6	149

Taxi and tempo services have just started. The district had no taxi during the first two plans, that is, up to 1961. Out of 11 taxis, 7 commenced operating during 1961-66 and 4 during 1966-71. There were no tempo vans during 1951-56. Out of 88 tempo vans, 41 commenced operating during 1956-61 and 47 during 1961-66. There was no addition during the 1966-71 period. Bus services are fairly developed. Out of 45 bus routes, 36 are all-weather routes. In 1949, there were only 16 routes. No routes were opened during 1950-52, 1957, 1960-62 and 1969. However, 12 routes were opened during the first two plan periods and 17 during the next decade. Out of 164 buses plying within the district currently, all privately owned, 145 offer permanent daily services and 19 are temporary. The Krishnanagar-Shikarpur/Gopalpurghat, Krishnanagar to Ranaghat via Aranghata, Krishnanagar-Navadwip, Krishnanagar-Banpur/Bhajanghat, Chakdaha-Bongaon, Kalyani Railway Station to Kanchrapara Railway Station, and Kanchrapara to Nimtala via Haringhata, Nagarukhra and Kasthadanga are the busiest routes, their approximate total length being 220.8 km. (138 miles). The condition of 12 bus routes with an aggregate length of about 376.0 km. (235 miles) is bad. The 164 buses give approximately 474 trips per day.

Railway communication within the district is provided by six sections of railroads with a total length of about 217 km. connecting all the thanas except Haringhata in the extreme south and a wedge shaped tract in the extreme north comprising Karimpur, Tehatta and Chapra thanas. Railways in the district started under Company management. Later came the phase of Company-managed and Company-owned railways, existing side by side with State-owned and Company-managed railways and finally State-owned and State-managed railways. From 1880 to 1907 the operations of both the State and aided Companies went on side by side. During this phase productive lines were leased to private enterprises, while the State took charge of the rest. The first railroad was opened from Sealdah to Banpur via Ranaghat by the old Eastern Bengal Guaranteed Railway Co. in 1862. The lines owned by this Company were acquired by the State on the

Public transport:
privately owned
bus and taxi
services

RAILROADS

1st July 1884, with which the Northern Bengal State and the Calcutta and South-Eastern Railways were amalgamated for working by the State as one undertaking under the name of the Eastern Bengal Railway. The year of registration of the old Guaranteed Company was 1857.

It may be of interest to mention that the railway mania had invaded Calcutta as early as 1845-46, and a project from Calcutta to Bhagwangola, was put forward in a prospectus by the Central Bengal Railway Co. to be started with a capital of £ 15,00,000. Money was subscribed by several people in Calcutta but shortly afterwards the promoters and the money both disappeared.¹ The Ranaghat-Bongaon line constructed in 1882 was, however, formerly known as the Central Bengal Railway. Later on this line was called the Central Branch of the Eastern Bengal State Railway.² Messrs. Martin and Co. had constructed a light railway 20 miles in length, from Aistola Ghat (on the right bank of the Churni, about two miles from Ranaghat) to Krishnanagar via Shantipur at a cost of Rs. 7,00,000 upon a guarantee by the District Board of 4 per cent interest on capital expenditure. The line with seven stations was opened in 1898 and was worked by the Company. It was taken over by the Eastern Bengal State Railway on 1st July 1904. During the intervening years it never worked at a profit of more than 3 per cent and the District Board in consequence lost a considerable sum annually in making good the guarantee. By 1910, there were several plans for the construction and extension of cross-country railway lines most of which did not materialize. One such proposal was for constructing a 2'6" gauge light railway, 56 miles in length from Krishnanagar to Jalangi via Meherpur (in Bangladesh) at a cost of Rs. 15,36,522. An extension of the Shantipur-Krishnanagar light railway from Ghoralia station to Kalnaghat via Shantipur city and from Shantipur city to Shantipur station was also contemplated.³

The Assam Bengal Railway Co. which was formed in England in 1892 was acquired by the State and merged with the old Eastern Bengal Railway on 1st January 1942 under the name of Bengal and Assam Railway. With the partition, the Bengal and Assam Railway system had to be redivided and as a result

¹ Government of India, *Indian Railways: One Hundred Years: 1853-1953*, New Delhi, 1953, p. 4.

² J. H. E. Garrett, *op. cit.*, pp. 97, 100.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

the East Indian Railway took over the lines in Nadia district. In 1952, the whole railway system of the district was regrouped under the Eastern Railway. The property owned by the old Guaranteed East Indian Railway Co. was purchased by the State in 1879, but was worked by a reconstituted company to the end of 1924. The line was brought under direct State management with effect from 1st January 1925. Although outside the district, the Jubilee Bridge opened on 15th March 1887, provided the much needed link between the Eastern Bengal Railway and the East Indian Railway. The Bandel-Barharwa branch lines (BAK Loop) also came to provide similar cross-country link in 1912 when Bandel and Katoya were connected with Navadwip Dham. The following statement prepared from the *History of Indian Railways* corrected upto 31st March 1951 by the Government of India, gives in a nutshell the progress of railway extension in the district.

Sections of Railway	date of opening	Miles
Sealdah-Ranaghat-Banpur to mile 72/15-16 of Eastern Railway's Main Line	29.9.1862	From Calcutta (Sealdah) 72.60
Ranaghat to Bongaon of Eastern Railway's Central Section	16.10.1882	From Ranaghat 21.14
Ranaghat to Bhagwangola of Eastern Railway's Murshidabad Section	1.9.1905	From Ranaghat 89.60
Portion of Naihati-Bandel and Bandel-Halisahar of Eastern Railway's Main Line	15.3.1887	From Bandel .86 and 1.81 respectively
Aistola Ghat to Krishnanagar via Shantipur	1898	From Aistola Ghat 20.0
Bandel Junction to Navadwip Dham of Eastern Railway's Bandel-Barharwa Branch	1.4.1912	From Bandel 40.47

Sections of Railway	date of opening	Miles
Navadwip Dham to Katoya of Eastern Railway's Bandel-Barharwa Branch	15.5.1912	From Navadwip 24.44
Churni Bridge (Ranaghat) to Shantipur of Eastern Railway's Shantipur Branch	31.5.1925	From Shantipur 10.07
Shantipur-Navadwip Ghat Branch (extension from Krishnanagar)	1926	From Shantipur 17.14

By 1898, except 0.15 mile between Bagula and Majdia, the Kanchrapara-Banpur section of the old Eastern Bengal Railway was operating on double track. The 2' 6" gauge of the Aistola Ghat-Shantipur light railway was converted into the standard 5' 6" gauge and extended over the Churni Bridge to provide a through connexion with Ranaghat in 1925. However, the Shantipur-Krishnanagar section and the Shantipur-Navadwip Ghat branch still remains in the 2' 6" gauge. Recently, a survey has been made for its improvement. Between Kalyani and Krishnanagar City and between Ranaghat and Shantipur, electric traction has been introduced with Electrical Multiple Unit coaches of higher carrying capacity and higher speed plying on it.¹ As a result, frequency of train movement has improved, Lalgola and Banpur passengers are also being hauled by electric engines to cut down running time.

Ranaghat, the most important railway node of Nadia, is 74 km. from Sealdah, 20 km. from Shantipur, 76 km. from Palashi (on the Lalgola section), 15 km. from Majhergram (on the Bongaon line) and 43 km. from Gede. Ranaghat is a very busy station handling 92 locals and long-distance passenger trains everyday. Of these 69 trains in the up and down direction pass through Ranaghat to the eastern Hugli conurbation belt upto Sealdah. Ranaghat is the originating and the terminus point for 12 trains to and from Sealdah, 10 to and from Bongaon, 1 to and from Shantipur, 2 each to and from Palashi and Krishnanagar City and 6 to and from Gede.

¹ The first electric trains ran from Sealdah to Shantipur on 2nd April 1964, and from Sealdah to Krishnanagar City Junction on 25th April 1964.

Navadwip Dham, the only station within Nadia district on the BAK Loop Line, will derive some direct benefit of a through connexion with North Bengal from the Farakka Bridge. On the left of the Bhagirathi, there are five stations on the 28 km. long narrow gauge light railway between Navadwip Ghat and Shantipur railway stations. On the 15 km. Ranaghat-Bongaon section, two stations, namely, Gangnapur and Majhergram fall within the district. Between Shantipur and Ranaghat there are three stations; between Palashi and Krishnanagar City there are nine stations of which Bethuadahari, Palashi and Krishnanagar City are important, being nodal points of roads which radiate to areas not served by the railways. Between Krishnanagar City and Ranaghat, there are four stations of which Badkulla (on the junction of Hanskhali, Krishnanagar, Ranaghat and Shantipur police stations) is important and Kalarayanpur Junction a new station. Between Ranaghat and Kanchrapara there are six important stations, namely, Payradanga, Chakdaha, Palpara, Simurali, Madanpur and Kalyani. Of these Kalyani, 48 km. from Sealdah at the site of the old Chandmari shooting range, is served by 39 down and 36 up trains to and from Sealdah. However, except one in the down direction, the Lalgola Passengers (which are the most important trains passing through the district) do not stop at Kalyani. Between Ranaghat and Gede there are seven railway stations of which Aranghata on the Churni, Majdia at the junction of the Churni and the Ichhamati and Banpur are important. Gede, Bahirgachhi and Tarak Nagar Halt are new stations on this section. Altogether there are thirty-eight railway stations within the district of which Ranaghat is the main nerve centre.

Few forces have been more influential in modifying the cultural landscape of the district than modern transportation. Nadia being the immediate hinterland of Calcutta, was affected most by the railways. Swarupganj on the south bank of the Jalangi at its junction with the Bhagirathi, Hanskhali on the Churni river and Bangalji on the banks of the Jalangi near Chapra which were important river-marts or stations for the collection of Nadia river tolls, declined with the advent of the railways. The railways failed to help these centres. In contrast some of the flourishing settlements, such as, Birnagar, Chakdaha, Krishnanagar, Navadwip, Ranaghat and Shantipur gained so much additional significance with rail connexion that it was immediately

Role in the economic life of the district: Passenger and Goods traffic

Lengths: points connected and important stations

followed by the extension of municipal administration to these towns.

The contribution of the railways to the economic development of the district has been as phenomenal as the development of the railway system itself. Demands for construction of a network of railway lines radiating from Ranaghat were associated with the justification of developing certain backward regions and some very productive agricultural belts which formed the hinterland of Calcutta. Major highways in India had, for centuries, radiated from such inland centres as Delhi, Lahore, Agra, etc. towards the sea coast. The process was reversed in regard to railways. The railways, except in the north, started from the three seaports, Bombay, Calcutta and Madras and extended into the interior of the country. The railways were the main strength behind the centripetal forces of the Calcutta port which forced Nadia and other districts in the immediate hinterland to depend entirely upon the Calcutta industrial belt for their economic sustenance and growth. Railways have promoted the internal and external trade of the district. In the distribution of foodgrains and other foodstuffs, in the carrying of ores and minerals and in transporting the progressively increasing volume of exports and imports of several varieties of goods, the railways have played an important part. During such national emergencies as war, partition, flood, famine and drought the railways have rendered signal service to Nadia district and its people.

The total rail-borne imports into, and exports from, the old undivided Nadia district during the year 1908-09 amounted to 13,74,277 and 16,42,660 maunds respectively. Among imports the most important items were—paddy 6,22,399 maunds; salt 2,12,124 maunds; kerosene oil 1,16,369 maunds; and rice 1,13,207 maunds. Among exports the most important items were—raw jute 7,55,324 maunds; gram and pulses 4,74,934 maunds; 'other food-grains' 1,14,456 maunds; and *gur* (jaggery) 84,189 maunds.¹ The railways have played a very important role in transporting food on an emergency basis. Nadia being primarily an agricultural district the pattern of freight traffic has changed but little since 1910. However, owing to the partition and growth of population, Nadia now has little exportable surplus of agricultural produce except jute. Only 14.42 per cent of the workers were industrial labourers in 1961. In 1960 when only 47 towns and

¹ J. H. E. Garrett, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

villages of the district were being served by electricity, the district had only 21 registered factories giving employment to only 1,784 workers. In 1962, only 5 police stations, namely, Krishnanagar, Navadwip, Ranaghat, Chakdaha and Shantipur were blessed with banking facilities. By 1962 the district had only 5 warehouses at Chakdaha, Krishnanagar, Ranaghat, Navadwip and Karimpur. In recent years some medium scale industries have grown up at Kalyani which is due to a planned extension of the Calcutta Metropolitan Area into this district. However, it should be worthy of note that while old municipal towns grew on the principal rivers of the district, the new towns have grown more on the principal railway communication line in the south western part of the district. The following tables depicting passenger and goods traffic of the important stations in Nadia district for 1969-70 and 1970-71 will serve as a good index of the role of the railways in the economic life of the district.

1. ORIGINATING RAILWAY PASSENGER AND GOODS TRAFFIC AND EARNINGS IN NADIA DISTRICT : 1969-70

Sl. No.	Name of Railway Stations	No. of passengers	Amount (Rs.)	(Outward only)	
				Weight in tonnes	Amount (Rs.)
1.	Kalyani	5,93,693	2,86,291	7,932	5,27,073
2.	Madanpur	7,46,515	2,27,618	Nil	Nil
3.	Simurali	5,94,459	1,93,782	Nil	Nil
4.	Palpara	1,48,676	54,435	Nil	Nil
5.	Chakdaha	19,01,741	7,22,795	160	8,459
6.	Payradanga	5,51,126	1,46,691	Nil	Nil
7.	Ranaghat Jn.	34,07,206	16,01,147	1,525	13,816
8.	Aranghata	6,04,801	2,18,655	Nil	Nil
9.	Bagula	4,20,220	2,12,589	415	8,271
10.	Tarakanagar Halt	25,410	12,396	Nil	Nil
11.	Majdia	1,99,734	1,13,213	860	18,098
12.	Banpur	84,695	42,158	130	1,189
13.	Gede	24,661	12,997	Nil	Nil
14.	Kalinarayanpur Jn.	2,80,397	65,436	Nil	Nil
15.	Birnagar	3,64,116	1,87,404	85	2,760
16.	Taherpur	3,33,512	1,40,138	371	26,481
17.	Badkulla	3,16,446	1,77,689	45	2,189
18.	Krishnanagar City Jn.	15,85,535	13,74,471	3,029	1,08,535
19.	Karimpur Out Agency	15,244	15,051	226	4,475
20.	Bahadurpur	26,069	12,476	Nil	Nil
21.	Dhubulia	1,56,202	1,13,719	625	14,554
22.	Muragachha	1,31,087	97,366	139	1,372
23.	Bethuadahari	1,73,182	1,80,038	2,481	61,590
24.	Sonadanga	17,162	9,477	Nil	Nil
25.	Debagram	1,34,422	1,21,891	1,542	50,010

(Contd.)

Sl. No.	Name of Railway Stations	No. of passengers	Amount (Rs.)	(Outward only) Weight in tonnes	Amount (Rs.)
26.	Paglachandi	51,605	24,207	Nil	Nil
27.	Palashi	2,22,603	1,82,253	6,300	1,13,136
28.	Habibpur	1,32,560	51,174	Nil	Nil
29.	Phulia	3,27,658	1,50,335	168	20,558
30.	Shantipur Jn.	5,04,447	3,67,691	79	1,731
31.	Dignagar	40,176	16,990	Nil	Nil
32.	Krishnanagar Road	41,325	20,252	Nil	Nil
33.	Amghata	30,010	12,085	Nil	Nil
34.	Maheshganj	17,288	10,352	Nil	Nil
35.	Navadwip Ghat	1,57,191	1,14,455	Nil	Nil
36.	Navadwip Dham	9,04,012	10,62,781	1,018	11,725

2. STATEMENT OF PASSENGER TRAFFIC DURING 1970-71

Name of the stations	No. of ordinary passengers	Revenue on ordinary passengers (Rs.)	No. of season ticket passengers	Revenue on season ticket passengers (Rs.)	No. of inward passengers
Krishnanagar City Jn.	8,65,554	13,08,120	2,65,425	2,02,914	9,39,425
Ranaghat Jn.	14,74,247	11,21,075	7,95,775	4,10,244	24,48,705
Shantipur	1,62,480	2,43,951	1,72,125	1,26,603	3,08,685
Chakdaha	6,67,368	4,98,495	4,67,550	2,29,830	9,37,540
Kalyani	4,85,251	4,47,320	1,78,725	57,930	3,89,717
Gangnapur	1,93,433	1,00,573	84,350	29,171	2,38,000
Majhergram	99,667	58,262	35,700	15,666	1,18,000
Bahirgachhi Halt	57,778	31,894	2,700	963	56,125

3. STATEMENT OF GOODS TRAFFIC DURING 1970-71

Name of the stations	Outward		Inward	
	Quintal	Revenue Rs.	Quintal	Revenue Rs.
Krishnanagar City Jn.	30,410	1,11,395	4,54,712	14,01,223
Ranaghat Jn.	15,881	16,446	5,18,104	16,03,957
Shantipur	1,242	2,115	96,501	2,60,751
Chakdaha	2,695	10,700	87,003	3,38,445
Kalyani	1,02,411	5,77,227	5,53,056	12,87,579
Gangnapur	75	155	4,250	5,152
Majhergram	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Bahirgachhi Halt	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil

It will be observed that in spite of locational disadvantages, merchandise traffic contributes a large part of the railway income. However, the development of railways has not been as conducive to the development of industries and agriculture in this district

as it has been in Calcutta and 24-Parganas owing to their closer proximity to the port. There is neither any full fledged office nor any railway establishment such as railway workshop or hospital within the district. Incidence of ticketless travel is very high but theft and wagon breaking in Nadia district are rare.¹

In order to meet the growing demand of heavy transportation of goods that the railways are unable to meet, as also to extend facility of quick transportation of commodities beyond rail-heads a large amount of road traffic has sprung up to supplement the need. So far, this has been a symbiotic growth, healthy for both the roadways and the railways. The proposed road bridge over the Bhagirathi to link up NH 34 with NH 2 will strengthen these cross-country links and will somewhat eliminate the necessity of a detour by the Bandel-Naihati railway.

Rail-road competition and regulation of transport

The Nadia waterways are now maintained by the Berhampur Irrigation Division of the State Government. The following table contains the chief arteries of Nadia and their length.² These water-courses are navigable only during the monsoon.

WATERWAYS, BRIDGES AND FERRIES

Name of Waterways (Rivers)	Length
Bhagirathi	105 miles from Palashi to Kanchrapara
Jalangi	104 miles from Muktiarpur to Swarupganj
Mathabhanga	10 miles from Krishnaganj to Bangladesh border
Churni (Lower Mathabhanga)	38 miles from Krishnaganj to Chakdaha
Ichhamati	44 miles from Bongaon (24-Parganas district) to Krishnaganj

Toll on river traffic was first established in 1813 on the Mathabhanga. According to Hunter's *Statistical Account of Nadia and Jessore*, the net revenue from the Nadia rivers in the

Toll on river traffic

¹ Source: Divisional Superintendent, Sealdah, Eastern Railway

² Source: District Magistrate, Nadia (1963).

year 1847-48 was Rs. 1,80,250, and during the ten years ending with 1870-71, Rs. 1,04,538, the average annual expenditure during the same decade being Rs. 1,45,094. The annual income and expenditure dropped sharply in the following decades due not only to the deterioration of the navigable channels but also to railway competition. The following table shows the revenue position from river tolls up to 1907-08 by which time the Sealdah-Ranaghat, Ranaghat-Bongaon, Ranaghat-Bhagwangola and Aistola Ghat-Shantipur-Krishnanagar sections of railways were operating in full swing.

Period	Average annual income	Average annual expenditure	Average annual net surplus or deficit
1871-72 to 1880-81	2,32,938	87,019	+ 1,45,918
1881-82 to 1890-91	1,95,632	1,18,136	+ 77,495
1891-92 to 1900-01	1,27,479	1,25,864	+ 1,615
1901-02 to 1907-08	76,629	1,23,689	- 47,060

A contributory cause of the fall of receipts was reduction of tolls introduced in 1906. Decline of the steamer companies was further accelerated by the Government policy from 1880 to 1907 to lease productive railway lines to private enterprises and to take over the unproductive lines as a protective measure. This gave the railways an edge over the waterways.

The efforts made since 1813 to improve the Mathabhanga channel were hardly successful. The first dredging machine worked by oxen and costing Rs. 10,400 was used on the Mathabhanga in 1823. These earlier dredgers could hardly stir up the bed and the current failed to carry the silt away. Major Lang considered that if there was any flow, the common *bandal* was just as efficacious, although by dredging above the *bandal*, results could be obtained sooner. The first experiment with a modern dredger on the Nadia rivers was undertaken by Mr. O. C. Lees in April 1902 with the 'Lindon Bates' of the Calcutta Port Trust. In 1905-06 the 'Nemotha', in 1906-07 the 'Alpha' and in 1907-08 the 'Rescue' was set to work on the Bhairav. These dredgers

Dredging

lifted 31.6 to 79.5 cubic metres (1,129 to 2,839 cubic feet) of soil an hour. The Bhairav remained open during 1905-07, but the following year the entrance was so narrowed as to cut off the headwater supply and thus impeding dredging operations. In 1909-10, the 'Alexandra', capable of lifting 283 cubic metres (10,000 cubic feet) an hour, was tried at the entrance, assisted by the 'Nemotha'. Up to 1917 either the 'Nemotha' or the 'Rescue' was employed. Their performance was not encouraging. Mr. Reaks came to the significant conclusion that the dredging results cannot be expected to be permanent as the continually varying conditions of slope and sedimentation on a rising river induce new sets of channel conditions and the dredged cuts of the dry season are almost certainly filled up during the floods, so that the operations need to be repeated each year. Mr. May, who succeeded Robinson, first directed his attention to the snags consisting of trees and wrecked boats which encumbered the channel. Numerous trees which grew on the river side, and which fell into the stream wherever the waters cut into the banks were cut down and other snags removed. In the long run cutting down of the trees proved harmful as the banks without their vegetative cover faced greater erosion than ever.

During 1820-21, the Mathabhanga was deepened by means of *bandal*, a permeable oblique weir, or spur. It consists of two lines of bamboo stakes anchored out from both banks. These poles fastened at the top by oblong headbars and walled by mat screens (*jhāmps*), gradually converged at 45° so as to force and concentrate the current into a narrow channel. In 1824, Mr. May took additional charge of the Bhagirathi and the Jalangi and a regular establishment was sanctioned for the three rivers. In February 1835, owing to doubts as to whether the benefits that accrued from the works were worth the expense, all river training operations were stopped. Work was resumed in June 1837. For the next three years the Bhagirathi was the most favourable of the three rivers for navigation. In August 1840, May resigned. The operations carried on by his successor Captain Smyth till 1847, were the same as those previously adopted.

In December 1847, Captain Lang was appointed Superintendent of the Nadia rivers. To intensify the remedial operations, he informed the Government that during the eight previous years the total toll collections on the rivers had yielded an average annual surplus of Rs. 1,65,090 over the entire amount expended in keeping open the navigation.

Bandal system

Regular river training establishment

In 1888, the revenue administration of the Nadia rivers was transferred from the Board of Revenue to the Public Works Department. A separate "Nadia Rivers Division" was constituted and placed under an Executive Engineer. Since that year about 1½ lakhs of rupees were spent annually, chiefly on river training. The real significance of these measures from the point of view of the district's economy was that such huge expenditure on the waterways proved profitable in spite of an ever-growing railway competition. Mr. H. G. Reaks, River Surveyor of the Port of Calcutta, in his report to the Stevenson-Moore Committee of 1919, made very valuable observations which are as follows: Owing to the variable conditions in the Ganga channel between the offtakes of the Bhagirathi, Mathabhanga, Bhairav and Jalangi rivers, which is complicated by the entrance of the Mahananda on the opposite side, stabilizing of these spill offtakes would be a matter of great difficulty. Any scheme of canalizing these distributaries is a doubtful remedy, requiring extensive training works on the Ganga. It may be possible at long odds to canalize the Mathabhanga for navigational purpose. The *bandal* and the spur system would not ensure a flow through the offtakes in the dry season. To dredge the whole of the channels of the headwaters would involve huge expenditure, but it would probably suffice if powerful dredgers were employed at the offtakes to ensure a perennial flow which with the aid of *bandals* would keep open the lower channels. Success of such dredging operations would depend on the improvement of the Bhagirathi offtake. The Stevenson-Moore Committee accepted all this and further recommended that Government should exercise control over the erection of embankments with regard to the natural spill areas of rivers. It made caustic comments on the railway embankment which was proposed between the East Indian Railway, the Murshidabad branch of the Eastern Bengal Railway and the main Eastern Bengal Railway line at Bhairamara (now in Bangladesh). The proposed line would have crossed the whole drainage area of the Nadia feeder rivers at right angles to the general gradient. Finally, the Committee regretted that it was impossible to heal the damage caused by the upper Ganga irrigation canals which extract during the dry season at least 20 per cent of the total discharge of the Ganga. It recommended that 'sanction should not be given to such schemes by the Government of India until all the local Governments whose interests may be affected directly or indirectly have been consulted'.

In 1858, Arthur Cotton had advocated the building of a barrage on the Ganga to rejuvenate the Nadia rivers. However, it is doubtful whether the direct and important bearing of the condition of the Nadia rivers on the efficiency of the main waterway leading from the sea to the Calcutta Port was sufficiently appreciated until quite recent times. It was not until 1902 that the need of an investigation into the state of the river from Calcutta to the confluence of the Bhagirathi and Jalangi, a length of 140 km., came officially before the Port Commissioners. Between 1930 and 1945, the idea of a barrage across the Ganga was put into cold storage. However, two British experts Mr. T. B. Oag in 1939 and Mr. W. Webster in 1946 revived the idea. Preliminary investigations on the Ganga Barrage Project started under the guidance of Dr. A. N. Khosla, the then Chairman, Central Water, Irrigation and Navigation Commission. Between 1947 and 1952, the Government of India, in conjunction with the Government of West Bengal, studied the problem of a barrage more closely and drew up a project of the largest hydraulic structure so far anywhere in the world on permeable sand foundation with all its subsequent works of river handling down the country across the Nadia district. The trickling discharge of headwater into the Bhagirathi channel from the Ganga cannot carry the silts from the uplands (and the Chotanagpur plateau) to the sea while the wide and shallow continental shelf enables the tidal waves to scour the surface and carry the sands inland. About 2.8 million cubic metres of silt, according to the Union Ministry of Irrigation and Power, come into the Bhagirathi-Hugli every year, two thirds of which is deposited in the river below Kalyani. This again is pushed up by the flood tides. The monsoon discharge during mid-June and mid-November cannot undo this damage. The 'Farakka Control Board' which represents both the Central and State Government interests was constituted in 1961 and was charged with the task of construction of the barrage. Simultaneously with the construction of the barrage and erection of gates, the road-bridge connecting the NH 34 on both banks of the Ganga and the rail-bridge linking Eastern Railway and Northeast Frontier Railway have been constructed. Although the work of the main barrage has been completed well ahead of schedule, the commissioning of the project is being delayed as the link canal joining the Bhagirathi with the Ganga is yet to be completed. When completed the barrage will feed the Bhagirathi with additional water in the following manner :

1st January to mid-March	40,000 cusecs
Mid-March to mid-May	20,000 ..
Mid-May to mid-September	20,000 to
	40,000 ..
Mid-September to mid-December	40,000 ..

This additional water will come through a 48 km. long feeder canal on the right bank of the Ganga and a little west of the barrage with a capacity of 20,000 cusecs of silt-free water. The Indian River Research Institute, Poona, has assured that this 20,000 cusecs of water will keep the Bhagirathi navigable for any vessel of 9 feet draft throughout the year. It is also hoped that this silt-free water will restrict the possibilities of shoal formation in the Bhagirathi. Revival of a year-round water-borne traffic from Calcutta to Nadia, Mursidabad and the northern parts of India would certainly help the development of internal trade and agro-based industries of the districts lying on the right bank of the Bhagirathi. But Nadia on the east bank may be adversely affected so far as inland navigation on the Mathabhanga, Jalangi, Churni and Ichhamati is concerned.

The completion of the barrage is bound to further deteriorate the regime of the decadent and beheaded Nadia rivers which are already unable to draw adequate supplies even from the back pressure of the Padma. Adequate river training measures on the Bhairav, Mathabhanga, Jalangi, Churni and Ichhamati seem to be the only solution.

The chief riverine trade centres are Navadwip, Kaliganj and Matari on the Bhagirathi; Karimpur, Tehatta, Andulia and Krishnanagar on the Jalangi; Hanskhali and Ranaghat on the Churni. The Bhagirathi still carries a large amount of traffic for about 8 months of the year. In the height of the monsoon between July and September, cargo steamers ply up and down the river joining Calcutta with Mokameh and Karagola. The Jalangi, the Churni and the Ichhamati also convey some inland boat traffic between the months of June and October.

The following types of old-time boats are still to be found in the district.¹ The *Malini*, which plies only during the rains on the Bhagirathi, is round both in the stem and the stern, with stern somewhat higher than the bow; it is wider and of greater draft than most other boats used on these rivers; the oars are pulled from the

COURSES OF
WATERWAYS AND
IMPORTANT POINTS
TOUCHED

Boats

¹ A. Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. xxxiv.

roof. The *Patli* is a flat bottomed, clinker-built boat of less width and draft than the *Malini*, the oars of which are worked from the roof. Its main cargo is grain and it plies only during the rains. The *Bhar* is a strong, heavily built boat, capable of carrying stone, coal and similar articles; it is of equal width for nearly the whole of its length, and has very blunt stem and stern. It plies in the monsoon months only. The *Katra* is a flat-bottomed, clinker-built boat, of very light draft for its size; when loaded, it is generally towed; when empty, the oars are worked from inside the roof. This type seems to suit the exigencies of traffic on the Nadia rivers during the monsoon. The *Sarong* is a much smaller boat with rounded bow and flat stern; it is comparatively narrow and has a deep draft for its size but it serves all the year round. The *Sangri* is a peculiar shaped boat, with a bottom bulging down below the keel on each side; it has a very low free-board, and is in consequence liable to be swamped when the rivers are in flood. It plies throughout the year. The *Ulak* is long and shapely and is covered with a roof throughout its length. Its main cargo is jute and plies mainly during the rains. The *Phukni* is a portly boat, open with the exception of a small portion in the stem, which is roofed over.¹ It can ply throughout the year. The capacity of *Malini*, *Patli*, *Bhar* and *Katra* varies from 1.9 to 9.3 tonnes (500 to 2,500 maunds), that of *Sarong* and *Sangri* from 7.5 quintals to 3.73 tonnes (200 to 1,000 maunds), that of *Ulak* from 1.9 to 5.6 tonnes (500 to 1,500 maunds) and that of *Phukni* from 1.9 to 3.73 tonnes (500 to 1,000 maunds).

The partition in 1947 sealed the fate of riverine communication of this truncated district. Even in late thirties of this century several rivers of the district were navigable by small steamers throughout the year.² Although the railways had to a large extent fulfilled the need of maintaining through communication between Calcutta and North-West India, the Nadia rivers still had a good deal of local importance, and the Government incurred an appreciable expense annually to keep them open. There was a daily steamer service between Calcutta and Kalna in Bardhaman, calling at Shantipur run by Messrs. Hoare Miller & Co. who also ran another bi-weekly service between Kalna and Murshidabad touching at Navadwip during the rains. Besides these services on the Bhagirathi, the same company along with

Steamers:
Public transport
by water

¹ J. H. E. Garrett, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-100.

² A. J. King, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

the River Steam Navigation Co. plied despatch steamer services between Damukdia and Godagari on the Padma. The vessels used to touch Kushthia and Pabna. Other through steamers between Pabna and Dacca called at Damukdia at irregular intervals. Country boats on their way from upcountry to Calcutta came down either the Bhagirathi or the Jalangi whichever at the time offered the better facilities for navigation.

NO. OF BOATS AND STEAMERS UNDER DIFFERENT BLOCKS
IN NADIA DISTRICT: 1970-71¹

Name of Blocks	No. of Boats	No. of steamers
Krishnanagar I	75	---
Krishnanagar II	78	---
Krishnaganj	200	---
Nakasipara	210	---
Navadwip	180	I
Kaliganj	104	---
Tehatta I	223	---
Tehatta II	35	---
Chapra	150	---
Karimpur	127	---
Ranaghat I	70	---
Ranaghat II	65	---
Shantipur	87	---
Hanskhali	75	---
Chakdaha	473	---
Haringhata	93	---
Total	2,245	I

We are not sure when boats gave way to steamers. The first mention of a steamer using the Nadia rivers is in Branch Pilot S. Ransom's evidence before the Hugli Commission of 1844. "On referring to my private journal of 1830, I find we left Calcutta on the 14th October 1830 in the steamer 'Hooghly' towing the 'Soonamokee' with Lord W. Bentinck and suite; the steamer drew 4 feet 6 inches. On the 21st October we passed through the Jellinghy into the Ganges with nothing less than 6 feet; I observe by the reports of the Superintendent of those rivers, that no such

¹ Source: District Magistrate, Nadia.

amount of water is to be got now so late in the season as October and November, consequently the steamers are obliged to go *via* the Sunderbans, an increase of distance of 300 miles."¹

Apparently, the Jalangi and the Mathabhanga were seldom used for downward navigation owing to their sharp bends and restricted channels. Captain Brame stated: "The Jalangi was used for main line steamers proceeding from Calcutta to Goalundo or Assam during the rains from 1858 to 1866. It deteriorated about the latter date and the Mathabhanga was then used and was in use when I joined the Inland Service in 1882. It was then quite a good river and in 1884 I went up with the 'Shillong', one of our steamers towing three flats. It was never used for downward traffic, being too narrow and winding. It afterwards gradually deteriorated while the Jalangi improved and by 1890 it became so bad that we abandoned it in favour of the Jalangi and it has never been used since.... We used the Jalangi from 1891 for main line steamers towing flats to Goalundo and Assam up to 1896, but owing to increased trade with Barisal district it was found politic to send steamers by the longer Sunderbans' route, calling at Jalakhati, Nalchiti, Barisal etc. We continued to use the Jalangi for small craft proceeding to the Ganges districts up to 1907, from which date forward we ceased to use the river altogether."² In a letter dated 5th January 1884, H. Williams of the Church Missionary Society, Ballabhpore, observed that the 'Sharasatti Khal' flowing from 'Jellinghee' was a large waterway and Bhugwan on its bank was a large and flourishing town. Bhugwan was ruined due to the decay of the Jalangi. Sonadar *Khāl*, leaving the Jalangi at Trihatta and further north the 'Morgangree' were formerly splendid communicable channels. The bed of the upper course of the once mighty Bhairav was under cultivation and its supposed junction with the 'Jellinghee' was absolutely obliterated.³

Excluding minor private ferries, there were in King's time 56 recognized public ferries in the undivided district. They were all controlled by the District Board.⁴ At present the Nadia Zilla Parishad controls 19 ferries the name and location of which is

FERRIES

¹ C. J. Stevenson-Moore and others, *Report on the Hooghly River and its Headwaters*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1919, p. 63.

² *Loc. cit.*

³ A. Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. liv.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

given below.¹ All these ferries are maintained by lessees. During 1956-60, the District Board's revenue earnings from Canal and Ferry Receipts was Rs. 86,000.

LIST OF FERRIES UNDER THE ZILLA PARISHAD, NADIA

Name of Ferry	Location
Navadwip	Over the Bhagirathi-Jalangi junction in Navadwip P.S.
Nidaya	Over the Bhagirathi at Nidaya in Navadwip P.S.
Gholapara	Over the Bhagirathi at Gholapara in Navadwip P.S.
Agradwip with sub-ferry at Patuli & Khosalpur	Over the Bhagirathi at Patuli, Khosalpur in Nakasipara P.S.
Panpara	Over the Bhagirathi at Panpara in Shantipur P. S.
Raninagar	Over the Bhagirathi at Raninagar in Chakdaha P.S.
Goari	Over the Jalangi at Goari in Krishnanagar P.S.
Krishnachandrapur with sub-ferry at Iswarchandrapur	Over the Jalangi at Krishnachandrapur and Iswarchandrapur in Tehatta P.S.
Abhoynagar	Over the Jalangi at Abhoynagar in Tehatta P.S.
Goruimari	Over the Jalangi at Goruimari in Karimpur P.S.
Gotepara	Over the Chariganga at Gotepara in Nakasipara P. S.
Madhpur	Over the Bhairav at Madhpur in Karimpur P.S.
Dharmada	Over the Gurguria <i>Khāl</i> at Dharmada in Nakasipara P.S.

¹ Source: District Engineer, Nadia Zilla Parishad.

(Contd.)

Name of Ferry	Location
Taldah-Gobindapur	Over the Mathabhanga at Taldah-Gobindapur in Krishnaganj P.S.
Bagdevi <i>Bil</i>	Over the Bagdevi <i>Bil</i> in Shantipur P.S.
Ranaghat and Barobazar sub-ferry	Over the Churni at Ranaghat and Barobazar in Ranaghat P.S.
Gobra	Over the Bhagirathi at Gobra in Kaliganj P.S.
Sivnivas	Over the Churni at Sivnivas in Krishnaganj P.S.
Pulerghat	Over the Mathabhanga at Krishnaganj in Krishnaganj P.S.

Dhubulia, which is now a refugee colony, was, during World War II, a very large aerodrome. The district avails air transport facilities through Dum Dum Airport in 24-Parganas district which is very well connected with the principal towns of the district.

Nadia district has lagged behind other parts of the State in the attractions and facilities offered to tourists. Kulia, Ghoshpara, Jasra, Kanthalpuli, Palpara in Chakdaha P.S.; Haradham, Debagram, Birnagar in Ranaghat P.S.; Phulia, Shantipur, Baganchra in Shantipur P.S.; Sivnivas in Krishnaganj P.S.; Krishnanagar, Subarnavihar, Dignagar, Amghata in Krishnanagar P.S.; Ballaldighi, Bamanpukur and Navadwip in Navadwip P.S.; and Debagram, Palashi in Kaliganj P.S. contain ancient monuments and draw numerous people during fairs. Ancient monuments and fairs are of considerable interest to the tourists; but, for want of tourist facilities these places have not developed as centres of tourist attraction. This lack of tourist facilities, however, is very often made up by the traditional hospitality of the resident population. For example, pilgrims attending the Ulai Chandi festival in the month of Baisākh are housed and fed by the residents of Birnagar. There are a number of old dharmasalas at Navadwip, Krishnanagar and Shantipur. In old times most of these were charitable institutions. Some of these are reserved for particular sects.

There are a few bungalows maintained by the Government and the Zilla Parishad.

AIR
TRANSPORT

TRAVEL AND
TOURIST
FACILITIES

Old time rest-
houses and
dharmasalas

Dak Bungalows &
Inspection
Bungalows, etc.

LIST OF DAK AND INSPECTION BUNGALOWS
IN NADIA DISTRICT¹

Name of Bungalows	Location	Maintained by
Krishnanagar Circuit House	Krishnanagar	Public Works Department
Inspection Bungalow with out-houses	"	"
Krishnanagar Dak Bungalow	On Krishnanagar to Shantipur Road	Zilla Parishad
Haringhata Inspection Bungalow	On Haringhata to Kapileswar Road	"
Bagula Inspection Bungalow	On Bagula to Changkhali Road	"
Chapra Inspection Bungalow	On Chapra to Gongra Road	"
Majdia Inspection Bungalow	On Krishnaganj-Dharapur Road	"
Ranaghat Inspection Bungalow	On Krishnanagar-Ranaghat Road	"
Notna (Mamdagari) Inspection Bungalow	On Teinpur-Gopalpur Road	"
Debagram Inspection Bungalow	On approach road to Debagram Station	"
Palasipara Inspection Bungalow	On Radhanagar-Palasipara-ghat Road	"
Tehatta Inspection Bungalow	On Gopalpur-Tehatta Road	"
Bethuadahari Inspection Bungalow	On Bethuadahari-Birpur Road	"

Besides these, there are a number of inspection bungalows under the State Irrigation and Waterways Department. The State Tourism Department provides some conducted tours through this district.

The railways were solely responsible for developing the cheap postal system as it exists today in the district. In 1870, a travelling post office was introduced on the East Indian Railway, but it was not till 1907 that the Railway Mail service was established.²

By 1872, there came to exist the Nadia Postal Division. With the development of railway signalling which was essential for the safe and efficient running of the trains, telegraph and telephone lines were developed between the main stations of the district. From the old Nadia District Gazetteer³ it is found that by 1910 the undivided district contained 143 post offices and

¹ A. Mitra, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-61.

² *Indian Railways: One hundred years*, pp. 148-49.

³ J.H.E. Garrett, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

529 miles of postal communication. The number of postal articles delivered in the year 1908-09 was 1,87,697 including 1,09,300 post cards and 49,828 letters. The value of money-orders issued in that year was Rs. 15,87,646 and of those paid Rs. 25,59,647. The number of Savings Bank deposits was 16,300, the amount deposited being Rs. 13,18,196. There were eight postal-telegraph offices situated at (1) Krishnanagar, (2) Navadwip, (3) Ranaghat, (4) Shantipur, (5) Kumarkhali, (6) Kushthia, (7) Kushthiabazar and (8) Meherpur; 8,794 messages were issued from these offices in 1908-09. The offices at serials 5 to 8 are now in Bangladesh.

With the partition of Bengal in 1947, the Nadia Postal Division with its headquarters at Krishnanagar was abolished and amalgamated with the Presidency Postal Division with its headquarters at Barrackpore. The following year on 7th April 1948 Nadia Postal Division was reborn and on 10th May 1948 the Divisional Office was shifted from Barrackpore to Krishnanagar. The Nadia Postal Division then comprised besides the administrative district of Nadia, Bongaon subdivision of 24-Parganas district and Kalna and Katoya subdivisions of Burdwan district. On 1st January 1955 Kalna and Katoya subdivisions were tagged to the Burdwan Postal Division.

1. NO. OF POSTS & TELEGRAPHS OFFICES OF DIFFERENT
CATEGORIES IN OPERATION IN NADIA DISTRICT: 1971

	Just prior to Independence	End of 1st Five Year Plan	End of 2nd Five Year Plan	End of 3rd Five Year Plan	As on April 1971
Head Office	1	1	1	2	2
Sub-Office	22	33	48	55	58
ED-Sub-Office	4	6	9	11	12
Departmental					
Branch Office	1	1	1	1	1
Extra Departmental					
Branch Office	103	123	173	211	254
Total	131	164	232	280	327

2. LIST OF HEAD POST OFFICES, SUB AND BRANCH POST OFFICES AS WELL AS NON-DELIVERY POST OFFICES AND THEIR THANAWISE LOCATION IN NADIA DISTRICT

Name of thana	H.P.O.	Sub-P.O.		Branch P.O.	
		Delivery	Non-delivery	Delivery	Non-delivery
Krishnanagar (Kotwali)	1	5	7	29	3
Navadwip	—	3	7	8	—
Chapra	—	2	—	9	—
Krishnaganj	—	2	—	9	—
Nakasipara	—	3	—	26	—
Kaliganj	—	4	—	15	—
Tehatta	—	5	—	26	—
Karimpur	—	3	—	21	—
Ranaghat	1	7	3	29	1
Chakdaha	—	5	2	28	—
Haringhata	—	2	1	7	—
Hanskhali	—	5	—	26	—
Shantipur	—	4	—	15	3
Total	2	50	20	248	7

Both Sadar and Ranaghat Revenue subdivisional headquarters of Nadia district and Bongaon Revenue subdivisional headquarters of 24-Parganas district are provided with postal and telegraph facilities. Similarly, the headquarters of Chakdaha, Karimpur, Nakasipara, Navadwip and Shantipur police stations in Nadia district and Gaighata police station under Bongaon subdivision of 24-Parganas district have been provided with postal and telegraph facilities. However, there is no departmental telegraph office or wireless station. Krishnanagar Head Post Office is the controlling office in regard to accounts matter of all the offices in the Nadia Postal Division. The following Sub Post Offices are combined Posts and Telegraphs Offices: (1) Bagchi Jamsherpur, (2) Bagula, (3) Banpur, (4) Belpukur, (5) Bethuadahari, (6) Badkulla, (7) Chakdaha, (8) Debagram, (9) Karimpur, (10) Madanpur, (11) Majdia, (12) Muragachha, (13) Navadwip, (14) Palashi, (15) Ranaghat, (16) Shantipur, (17) Shikarpur, (18) Srimayapur, (19) Bongaon and (20) Gaighata.

The receipt and despatch of ordinary articles in different Post Offices in the Division in 1962 were approximately 1,31,034 daily. The number and class of articles handled by the Post Offices of the Nadia Postal Division during the month of December 1962 is given below:

- (1) No. of money-orders issued 31,047 for value Rs. 15,95,990.78
- (2) No. of money-orders paid 40,655 for value Rs. 18,97,193.08
- (3) Registered articles booked 30,718
- (4) Registered parcels booked 1,657
- (5) Insured letters booked 411.
- (6) Insured parcels booked 294
- (7) No. of Broadcast Receiving Licences issued in the year 1961—7,710

As against these figures, the average monthly figures for 1970-71 show a significant decline.

Average monthly figures for 1970-71:

- | | |
|--|--------|
| (1) No. of money-orders issued | 18,221 |
| (2) No. of money-orders paid | 26,248 |
| (3) No. of registered letters and parcels received | 21,260 |
| (4) No. of registered letters and parcels despatched | 14,592 |
| (5) No. of insured letters received | 181 |
| (6) No. of insured letters despatched | 55 |
| (7) No. of insured parcels received | 118 |
| (8) No. of insured parcels despatched | 95 |

In 1962, there were only 8 telephone exchanges within the Nadia Postal Division. By 1971, there were 4 new telephone exchanges.

During 1971-72, there were plans for opening 3 new post offices in urban areas and 45 in rural areas of the district, besides upgrading 5 existing Branch Post Offices into Sub Post Offices. Two telephone exchanges will also come up.

Future plans for the development of P & T services

The following is the list of the organizations of owners and employees in the field of transport and communications.

TRANSPORT WORKERS' ORGANIZATIONS

Regd. No.	Name of the Union	Address with affiliation of the union	Date of registration	Membership strength
5747	Bethuadahari Rickshaw Pullers' Union	P.O. Bethuadahari (H.M.S.)	22.4.63	Cancelled on 2.12.69
4045	Chakdaha Automobile Employees' Union	Sevagram, P.O. Chakdaha (A.I.T.U.C.)	3.5.57	153

¹ Source: Post Master General, West Bengal Circle, Calcutta.

Regd. No.	Name of the Union	Address with affiliation of the union	Date of registration	Membership strength
8202	Chakdaha Rickshaw Pullers' Union*	Lallpur, P.O. Chakdaha	24.4.69	120
8226	Chakdaha Rickshaw Mazdoor Union	P.O. Chakdaha	7.5.69	108
8471	Chakdaha Rickshaw Chalak Union*	P.O. Chakdaha	8.8.69	32
8608	Gayespur Rickshaw Chalak Samiti	P.O. Gayespur (H.M.S.)	30.9.69	70
7768	Haringhata Thana Bus Pari Bahan Karmi Samiti	Vill. Haringhata, P.O. Subarnapur	N.A.	N.A.
8260	Jagulia-o-Barasat Bus Pari Bahan Karmachari Samiti*	P.O. Barajagulia	22.5.69	72
7428	Krishnanagar Rickshaw Sramik Union	P.O. Krishnanagar (H.M.P.)	12.9.67	75
3409	Navadwip Rickshaw Paddlers' Union	P.O. Navadwip (M.W.F.)	2.6.55	50
4135	Nadia District Motor Employees' Union	Krishnanagar (A.I.T.U.C.)	29.8.57	420
8474	Pragatishil Rickshaw Chalak Samiti	P.O. Kataganj (I.N.T.U.C.)	8.8.69	28
7739	Ranaghat Mahakuma Rickshaw Sramik Union*	P.O. Ranaghat	1.3.68	150
8143	Ranaghat Purbanchal Rickshaw Chalak Samiti	P.O. Ranaghat (U.T.U.C.)	17.3.69	80
8632	Ranaghat Motor Transport Workers' Union	P.O. Ranaghat	8.10.69	106

* Not affiliated to any organization.
N.A. — Not Available.

CHAPTER VIII

ECONOMIC TRENDS & MISCELLANEOUS OCCUPATIONS

LIVELIHOOD
PATTERN

In the Census of 1961, the entire population of the State was placed under two livelihood classes, namely, workers and non-workers instead of dividing it into earners and dependants on the basis of income and into livelihood classes on the basis of the income of the earners as was done previously. Economic pursuits for production of goods and services, and not receipt of income as such was considered to be the main function of a worker; and for this purpose persons doing family cultivation or household industry for an hour daily were also taken as workers. The workers to the extent of 27.16 per cent in Nadia district as against 33.16 per cent workers in the State were thus placed under nine industrial categories, which will be used in tables hereafter, namely, (I) cultivation, (II) agricultural labour, (III) mining, quarrying, livestock, forestry, fishing, hunting and plantations, orchards and allied activities, (IV) household industry, (V) manufacturing other than household industries, (VI) construction, (VII) trade and commerce, (VIII) transport, storage and communications, and (IX) other services. The table below shows distribution of 1,000 workers in different categories in the district vis-a-vis the State.

DISTRIBUTION OF 1,000 WORKERS IN DIFFERENT CATEGORIES OF WORK IN NADIA DISTRICT : 1961

Categories	West Bengal			Nadia District		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
Total Workers	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
I	385	388	368	429	451	110
II	153	144	211	167	172	96
III	50	44	90	34	36	11
IV	42	30	122	90	67	425
V	114	124	49	54	52	89
VI	13	15	3	13	14	2
VII	75	83	23	74	75	52
VIII	34	38	4	24	25	2
IX	134	134	130	115	108	213

The foregoing table reveals that the largest number of workers are engaged in cultivation followed by agricultural labour. The table in Appendix A further records distribution of 1,000 persons among the different categories of workers and non-workers in the district in 1961.

The table also reveals that in almost all the police stations the workers are mainly engaged in agriculture. In Navadwip police station, comprising an urban area, the workers in household industry predominate. Shantipur police station, another urban area, has also a good share of workers engaged in household industry. A detailed list of workers and non-workers in absolute figures as found in the district during the latest Census, that is, 1971 has been given in Appendix B.

The shift of occupations may best be studied when they are grouped under three sectors, namely, the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors. The primary sector is concerned with extraction of raw materials, agricultural produces, etc., while the secondary sector is concerned with the processing of raw materials and producing of material goods with the help of machines, etc. The tertiary sector concerns itself with the service workers of all kinds.

DISTRIBUTION IN SECTORS OF WORK OF 1,000 PERSONS OF EACH SEX IN NADIA DISTRICT : 1961

In Sector of work	West Bengal			Nadia District		
	1,000 Persons	1,000 Males	1,000 Females	1,000 Persons	1,000 Males	1,000 Females
Primary Sector : Categories I, II & III (except mining & quarrying)	190	303	62	171	326	7
Secondary Sector: Categories III (mining & quarrying only), IV, V, VI & IX (only gas & electricity)	61	100	17	43	66	19
Tertiary Sector: Categories VII, VIII and IX (except gas & electricity)	80	137	15	58	103	10
Non-Workers	669	460	906	728	505	964

With the development of an area the number of persons engaged in the primary sector declines by swelling the labour force of the secondary sector. In modern developed areas, again, a swelling of the tertiary sector in proportion to and at the cost of the other two sectors points towards sophistication of a particular area.

The table in previous page records the participation of workers per 1,000 population in the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors during 1961.

The table reveals that the workers engaged in the primary sector outnumber those in the other two sectors taken together in the district. Next in numerical importance come the workers engaged in the tertiary sector, followed by those in the secondary sector. Male workers are mostly to be found in the primary sector. Female workers, on the other hand, are predominant in the secondary sector, which has household industries as one of its constituents. Numerically, females occupy the second position in the tertiary sector and the negligible third position in the primary sector.

To be more precise about the distribution of workers in different sectors, the following table may be seen. The table indicates the distribution of 1,000 workers of each sex among the different sectors at both the district and the State levels.

DISTRIBUTION OF 1,000 WORKERS IN THE SECTORS OF WORK IN NADIA DISTRICT: 1961

	West Bengal			Nadia District		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
Total Workers	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
Primary Sector: Categories I+II+III (except mining & quarrying)	574	561	660	630	658	217
Secondary Sector: Categories III (mining & quarrying only)+IV+V+VI+IX (gas & electricity only)	184	185	183	159	134	517
Tertiary Sector: Categories VII+VIII+IX (except gas & electricity)	242	254	157	211	208	266

It will appear from the foregoing table that the primary sector has the largest number of workers, followed by the tertiary and the secondary sectors in both at the State and the district levels.

It may be seen that 63 per cent of the total workers are engaged in the primary sector. While males predominate in that sector, females to the extent of 51.70 per cent predominate in the secondary sector doing mostly household industries.

Indebtedness

Households in rural and urban areas of the district incurred debts for several reasons, namely, agricultural activities, construction and repairs of residences, meeting of social obligations like marriage, funeral rites, medical expenses and performances of religious festivals, etc.

Loans are incurred from various sources, namely, the State Government, bank, cooperative societies, private money-lenders, relatives and traders, etc.

It appears that in 1959 (1366 B.S.), 42.62 per cent families in the rural areas of the district had outstanding loans and 61.11 per cent families took fresh loans in the same year. It also appears that of the agricultural families 6.65 per cent had outstanding loans and 6.48 per cent took fresh loans in that year. In the non-agricultural sector in rural areas, however, 11.32 per cent families had outstanding loans, while 7.55 per cent took fresh loans. That loans, consisting of cash and kind, expressed in monetary terms, play an important part in the economic life of the people of the district may be seen from the following table.

DEBTS AND REPAYMENTS IN RURAL AREAS OF NADIA
DISTRICT : 1959

	Percentage of family reporting	Average per reporting family (Rs.)
Loan outstanding at the beginning of the year	42.62	419.53
Loan taken during the year	61.11	147.91
Loan repaid during the year	21.37	107.36
Loan outstanding at the end of the year	69.35	355.12

The foregoing table indicates the unending circle of loans to which the families of the district are tied. The following table would further indicate the pitiable condition of the agricultural families who borrowed but could not repay the debts in the rural areas of the district during 1959.

DEBTS AND REPAYMENTS IN AGRICULTURAL FAMILIES IN
RURAL AREAS OF NADIA DISTRICT : 1959

	Percentage of families reporting	Average per reporting family (Rs.)
Loan outstanding at the beginning of the year	39.97	292.18
Loan taken during the year	68.77	161.52
Loan repaid during the year	24.89	119.05
Loan outstanding at the end of the year	72.99	271.60

The picture in the urban sector is not better either. In bigger towns like Krishnanagar and Navadwip, 42.04 per cent of all loanee families had also outstanding loans in 1959. Such loanee families constituted 11.16 per cent of the urban families. It is seen that 33.18 per cent families among total loanee families of these urban areas took fresh loans that year. Such families constituted 16.07 per cent of the total number of urban families. The following table further indicates the percentage distribution of families by amount of loan outstanding in 1959 with average outstanding amount of loan taken per family for different purposes in the urban areas (like Krishnanagar and Navadwip) of the district.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES BY AMOUNT OF LOAN
IN THE TOWNS OF NADIA DISTRICT: 1959¹

Amount outstanding group (Rs.)	Percentage of families	Average outstanding taken (Rs.) per indebted family in the group
Nil	88.84	—
1-200	2.24	150.65
201-500	2.63	410.40
501-1,000	1.49	726.53
1,001 & above	4.80	1,957.28
Loanee families	11.16	1,065.79
All families	100.00	118.94

Cost of living

The cost of living has gone high with the rising prices in recent years. The following table would show the monthly expenditure level till 1970 on the base of 1950.

COST OF LIVING INDEX IN KRISHNANAGAR : 1956-70²
(BASE : NOVEMBER 1950 = 100)

Monthly expenditure level	All combined					
Rs.	1956	1961	1967	1968	1969	1970
1-100	84.6	95.4	191.0	190.0	169.1	184.5
101-200	86.0	96.1	186.0	185.0	167.1	180.5
201-350	89.1	98.8	177.4	177.1	163.4	175.0
351-700	89.4	98.2	171.9	171.7	159.5	169.2
701 +	93.9	103.5	156.9	160.1	156.6	164.1

Among the working class of the district, the consumer price index was as follows in different years on the base of 1951 (100): 1956(85), 1961(91), 1968(196), 1969(172) and 1970(188).³

¹ Government of West Bengal, State Statistical Bureau, *Family Budget Enquiry in Rural and Urban Areas of West Bengal: 1959-60 and 1960-61*, Calcutta, 1967, p. 26.

² Government of West Bengal, Bureau of Applied Economics and Statistics, *Statistical Handbook, 1970*, Calcutta, 1971, pp. 145-49.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

The number of people employed in different categories of work has already been stated. The other side of the picture is occupied by a large number of persons who are not employed. The Census of 1961, however, classified the non-working population consisting of full time students and children, persons engaged in household duties, dependants including infants and children and persons disabled from work for illness or old age, retired persons, beggars, vagrants, convicts in jail (relevant to our discussion) and persons who have not been employed before but are seeking employment for the first time, and persons employed before but now out of employment and seeking employment.

According to the Census of 1961, 72.84 per cent of the total population of the district was said to be non-workers as against the State percentage of 66.8 per cent. While male non-workers accounted for 50.53 per cent amongst themselves, females accounted for 96.37 per cent amongst themselves. The following table would reveal the distribution of a thousand non-workers under various categories in the district during the Census of 1961.

NON-WORKING POPULATION IN NADIA DISTRICT: 1961

Types of activities of non-working population	Total		Rural		Urban	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total non-workers	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
Full time students or children attending school	288	78	252	59	426	165
Household duties	—	459	—	464	—	435
Dependants, infants and disabled	640	443	691	458	446	377
Retired, rentiers or ind- pendant means	14	3	9	3	30	3
Beggars, vagrants, etc.	8	8	8	6	11	13
Inmates of penal, mental and charitable institutions	19	9	22	10	9	2
Persons seeking employ- ment for the first time	18	—	12	—	41	3
Persons employed before but now out of employ- ment and seeking work	13	—	6	—	37	2

Apart from the first five categories, consisting mostly of dependant children, students and old men, it will be seen that

Employment

unemployment in both the rural and urban sectors is quite high as is apparent from the number of persons in the last two categories.

Age composition

The following table would reveal the number of non-working people in different age-groups in the district.

AGE COMPOSITION OF NON-WORKERS IN NADIA DISTRICT: 1961

Age-group	Non-workers per thousand		Rural		Urban	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
All ages	505	964	490	968	571	944
0-14	944	997	935	997	988	995
15-34	200	946	161	954	355	914
35-59	79	918	62	926	148	884
60 +	372	957	319	958	594	954
Age not stated	562	917	554	916	1,000	1,000

By virtue of their age it is quite natural that persons belonging to 0-14 age-group and 60+ age-group are non-workers, that is, they do no productive work. They may, therefore, be left out from our discussion. The real working age-groups are 15-34 and 35-59. It will be seen that their number is quite high in those age-groups.

The following table would reveal the number of persons unemployed per thousand population. Such unemployed persons are aged 15 or more and were either seeking employment for the first time or were employed before but were out of employment and seeking work in 1961.

UNEMPLOYED PERSONS PER THOUSAND POPULATION (AGE 15+) IN NADIA DISTRICT: 1961

	Persons	Males	Females
Rural	8	15	—
Urban	42	72	8

The table reveals that the male unemployment is staggering in the urban sector. The following table further reveals the distribution between persons seeking employment for the first time and persons employed before but now out of employment and seeking work in the district in 1961.

DISTRIBUTION OF THOUSAND EMPLOYED PERSONS IN NADIA DISTRICT IN DIFFERENT CATEGORIES: 1961

Total	unemployed	Seeking employment for the first time		Employed before but now out of employ- ment and seeking work	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
1,000	1,000	533	503	467	497

It is clear from the table that though the persons seeking employment for the first time are quite large in number, the number of persons employed before but now out of employment and seeking work is not much less.

The following table reveals the number of agricultural labourers in the district by sex and broad age-group during the Census of 1961.

Agricultural
labourer

NO. OF AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS BY AGE-GROUP IN NADIA DISTRICT: 1961

0-14	15-34	35-59	60+	Total	Sex		No. of female labourers per 1,000 male labourers	Percentage of agri- cultural labourers to total agricultural workers
					Male	Female		
5.9	40.6	27.8	3.3	77.6	74.7	2.9	38.8	27.98

It appears that the largest number of agricultural labourers in the district come from the 15-34 age-group. The following table, again, reveals the number of workers (including working proprietors) in registered factories in the district in 1960 and 1961.

WORKERS IN REGISTERED FACTORIES IN NADIA DISTRICT: 1960-61

Year	Workers	Persons other than workers	Total
1960	917	249	1,166
1961	1,848	489	2,337

It will be seen that the number of both workers and persons other than workers in 1961 is double the number in 1960. The

average daily number of workers employed in registered factories in the district may be seen from the following table.

DAILY WORKERS (IN THOUSANDS) IN REGISTERED FACTORIES IN NADIA DISTRICT : 1955-61									
1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964
0.7	0.8	1.0	1.0	1.6	1.8	3.3	3.3	4.9	4.4

It will be seen that the number has progressively increased over the years except a little shortfall in 1964 over the preceding year.

PUBLIC
ADMINISTRATION

Government
employees

As Government employees constitute a sizable proportion of the persons engaged in white collar jobs, it will be interesting to study the distribution of such employees by different emolument groups in the district.

DISTRIBUTION OF WEST BENGAL GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES
BY EMOLUMENT IN NADIA DISTRICT (AS ON 31ST MARCH 1966)

Emolument groups (Rs. per month)										
1-75	76-100	101-150	151-200	201-250	251-300	301-400	401-500	501-700	701-1,000	Above Grand Total
1,046	4,372	3,624	2,107	803	518	379	133	136	48	18
										13,184

No. of
employees

The largest number is quite naturally occupied by the persons belonging to lower emolument groups. According to sex, there were 11,991 male and 1,193 female Government employees in the district in 1966. Females constituted 9.0 per cent of the district total and it is significant to note that next to Darjiling they occupied the second position in the State so far as their percentage of employment was concerned.

Employees in
local bodies

Local bodies consisting of Municipalities, Zilla Parishad, Anchal Parishads, etc. had as many as 1,224 employees on 31st March 1968 in the district, of whom 17, 113, and 230 were respectively administrative, technical and clerical personnel. Durwans, sweepers, etc. employed by local bodies, numbered 864 that year in the district.

Employment
Exchange

The only Employment Exchange in the district is located at Kalyani. It was set up in 1958 and its jurisdiction extends to this district as also to the Bijpur police station of 24-Parganas district.

The National Employment Service is now the joint concern of the Union and the State Governments. The Union Government

through the Directorate General of Employment and Training deal with matters relating to policy, procedure and co-ordination of the employment service. The State Government through its Labour Department exercise full control over the Exchanges through the Directorate of National Employment Service. The Employment Exchanges are thus directly responsible to the Directorate of National Employment Service.

The main function of the Employment Exchange is to help employment-seekers to find suitable employment and employers to secure suitable workers. The Exchange registers the names of employment-seekers according to their qualifications and experience in the appropriate occupation as laid down in the National Classification of Occupations. The names of such candidates are sent to employers when asked for.

Besides the Employment Exchanges (Compulsory Notification of Vacancies) Act, 1960 directing employers to notify their vacancies to the Employment Exchange, there is an executive order from the Government of India which directs that all vacancies in Central Government offices (other than those filled up through Union Public Service Commission or through open competitive examinations) should be filled up through Employment Exchanges unless the latter are unable to supply the requisite types of persons.

The kind of vacancies filled up through the Employment Exchange in this district is generally restricted to clerical and allied occupations and skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled categories of workers. The following table gives the picture of registrations, placements and notified vacancies and the figures in the Live Register at the Exchange at Kalyani between 1966 and 1970.

STATISTICS OF EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGE, KALYANI: 1966-70

	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
No. of registration from January to December	13,331	12,470	12,575	24,759	18,622
No. of placements from January to December	1,165	471	515	592	253
No. of vacancies notified from January to December	1,225	685	854	1,404	597
Live Register at the end of December	19,152	19,271	18,934	23,637	30,743
Monthly average no. of employers using the exchange for each year since 1966	14.9	11.2	13.6	16.9	15.2

As the figures include the figures of Bijpur police station, which includes Kanchrapara municipality, one of the populous areas of

Employment
market in-
formation

24-Parganas district, the picture in respect of Nadia district is not very clear from them.

The Exchange also collects regular information about the employment both in the private and public sectors under a programme named the Employment Market Information. Information collected under this programme helps the Employment Exchange to decide more accurately what type of personnel are in short supply. The information is essential for determining what course of vocational training should be provided for. Such information also helps the Exchange to measure the available employment opportunities.

Vocational
guidance

The Exchange is responsible for the vocational guidance and employment counselling programmes which are designed to give intensive vocational guidance to those who seek such assistance. At the District Employment Exchange at Kalyani, there are both an Employment Market Unit and a Vocational Guidance Unit. An Employment Information and Assistance Bureau is also located at Kaliganj police station in this district. It has been operating since February 1971.

COMMUNITY
DEVELOPMENT

The rural areas of the district are now covered by 16 Community Development Blocks. They belong to two Stages, namely, Stage I and Post-Stage II.¹

Headed by a Block Development Officer, each Community Development Block office looks after the welfare activities of the villages under it. Such activities are concerned with animal husbandry and agricultural extension, health and rural sanitation, irrigation and reclamation of land, social education, communications, rural industries, cooperation, *panchāyati rāj*, etc. The table in Appendix D gives a description of each Block in the district so far as its area, number of villages under it, population and expenditure incurred in recent years are concerned.

LEARNED
PROFESSIONS

Teachers

Nadia, being a famous seat of Sanskrit learning for a long time, may still boast of its numerical superiority so far as teachers in both the rural and urban areas taken together are concerned. Next to Calcutta, Nadia district has 96 teachers per 10,000 persons of age below 20 years in 1961 against the corresponding State figure of 81. As to the number of teachers in the urban areas, it is only a paltry 236 against the aforesaid number of people. In absolute figures, teachers numbered 4,909 and 3,666 in the rural

and urban areas of the district at the Census count of 1961. Of these teachers, the teachers in university numbered 228 including 164 belonging to the urban areas. Teachers in the secondary schools numbered 1,552, of whom 1,059 were in the urban areas. While teachers in the secondary schools were mostly to be found in the urban areas, teachers in middle and primary schools were most numerous in the rural areas. The teachers in the middle and primary schools numbered 5,191, of whom only 1,452 were found in the urban areas. As the nursery and kindergarten schools have sprung up in the urban areas in recent days, the teachers of these schools are mostly to be found in the urban areas. They numbered 249 in all in the district in 1961, of whom 237 were in the urban areas.

There were 1,734 physicians, surgeons and dentists in the district in 1961, of whom only 15 were females and 786 were to be found in the urban areas. Allopaths numbered 414, of whom 204 were in the urban areas. *Ayurvedic* physicians numbered 277, of whom 149 were in the urban areas. Homoeopaths, numbering 340 in all, were also there, of whom 175 were in the urban areas. While the number of Allopaths includes the persons engaged in public hospitals and dispensaries over and above the private practitioners, the *Ayurvedic* physicians and Homoeopaths are mostly private practitioners treating patients with the traditional and cheaper medicines respectively.

The para-medical personnel consisting of nurses, pharmacists and other medical and health technicians numbered 1,693, of whom 627 were in the urban areas. Nurses numbered 591, of whom 248 were found in the urban areas. Midwives and health visitors numbered 195, of whom only 15 were in the urban areas. Nursing attendants, however, numbered 298 including 13 in the urban areas. Pharmacists and pharmaceutical technicians numbered 287 including 166 of the urban areas. These people, however, included persons engaged in public hospitals and dispensaries.

While jurists numbered 411 including 355 of the urban areas in the district, legal practitioners and advisers numbered 189 including 156 of the urban areas.

Architects, engineers and surveyors numbered 538 in all, of whom 359 belonged to the urban areas. Civil engineers (including overseers), however, alone numbered 293 including 184 belonging to the urban areas.

Chemists, physicists, geologists and other physical scientists numbered 29 including 10 belonging to the urban areas.

Physicians

Nurses, phar-
macists

Lawyers

Engineers

¹ A Block in the first year of its existence is in the Pre-Extension Stage, during the next five years in Stage I, during the next five years in Stage II and thereafter in Post-Stage II.

Biologists, veterinarians, agronomists and related scientists numbered 96 including 49 belonging to the urban areas in the district.

While artists, writers and related workers numbered 405 including 310 of the urban areas, musicians and related workers numbered 198 including 130 of the urban areas.

Ordned religious workers belonging to certain orders and sects numbered 327 including 89 of the urban areas, but non-ordained religious workers numbered 1,141 including 498 of the urban areas.

Astrologers and palmists numbered 164 in the district, of whom 112 were to be found in the urban areas.

Persons doing these learned professions form the middle-class intelligentsia of the district guiding the people in different walks of life.

Domestic and personal services are mainly confined to the services of governesses, tutors, private secretaries on the one hand and domestic servants and cooks on the other. The large number of agricultural population of the district does not, however, enjoy domestic services of the types mentioned above which they cannot afford. According to the Census of 1961, governesses, tutors and private secretaries to the extent of 1.70 persons per 1,000 households were found in the district. The State average for such services was 3.32 persons per 1,000 households. Domestic servants and cooks also numbered 14.87 per 1,000 households in the district and 41.91 per 1,000 households in the State. While governesses and private secretaries are almost unknown to an ordinary resident of the district, tutors, doing only part-time tuition, may have been returned at the Census by their whole-time occupations.

Of the persons doing other types of domestic and personal services, barbers and hair-dressers numbered 1,040 and 398 in the rural and urban areas of the district respectively. While hair-dressing saloons are mostly to be found in the urban areas, the traditional barbers (*nāpīt*), belonging to a Hindu caste, are still to be found in the rural areas doing their family avocation.

Launderers, dry cleaners, etc. numbered 508 and 412 in the rural and urban areas of the district respectively in 1961.

Tailors, cutters, furriers and related workers numbered 1,349 in the rural areas and 1,373 in the urban areas of the district in 1961. It appears that they are evenly distributed in the rural and the urban sectors.

Writers,
musicians,
artists

Religious
workers

DOMESTIC AND
PERSONAL
SERVICES

Barbers

Launderers

Tailors

APPENDIX A

DISTRIBUTION OF 1,000 PERSONS AS WORKERS AND NON-WORKERS IN THE POLICE STATIONS OF NADIA DISTRICT: 1961

Police Station	Total workers	Categories									Non- workers
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	
Chakdaha	267	93	41	6	17	31	4	23	9	43	733
Chapra	294	172	66	14	15	4	1	9	1	12	706
Hanskhali	280	174	47	6	12	8	2	11	4	16	720
Haringhata	300	138	79	4	17	26	3	10	3	20	700
Kaliganj	284	136	60	19	20	11	3	13	2	20	716
Karimpur	276	159	54	9	15	3	1	12	1	22	724
Krishnaganj	286	140	42	22	17	3	2	21	7	32	714
Krishnanagar	254	85	37	7	15	17	7	23	9	54	746
Navadwip	297	43	21	6	89	30	6	44	12	46	703
Nakasipara	273	143	56	12	17	5	3	13	2	22	727
Ranaghat	243	92	32	5	21	14	3	29	12	35	757
Shantipur	273	78	38	10	55	22	6	23	8	33	727
Tehatta	276	163	57	13	13	3	1	10	1	15	724

APPENDIX B

WORKERS AND NON-WORKERS IN NADIA DISTRICT: 1971

	Total Workers	I	II	III	IV	V(a)	V(b)	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
Nadia District	T 5,52,548	2,08,535	1,52,285	16,055	122	29,864	34,149	5,229	40,145	14,727	51,437	16,77,722
	R 4,52,656	2,05,353	1,45,878	13,899	64	17,981	17,118	2,321	18,817	5,485	25,740	13,59,555
	U 99,892	3,182	6,407	2,156	58	11,883	17,031	2,908	21,328	9,242	25,697	3,18,167
Krishnanagar Subdivision	T 3,28,823	1,34,549	97,577	8,856	61	13,569	16,506	2,884	21,659	6,556	26,606	9,82,285
	R 2,84,019	1,33,707	95,702	8,173	37	9,473	8,750	1,425	10,440	2,162	14,150	8,39,047
	U 44,804	842	1,875	683	24	4,096	7,756	1,459	11,219	4,394	12,456	1,43,238
Karimpur	R 47,888	25,786	15,526	725	2	1,372	574	146	1,521	157	2,079	1,39,592
Tehatta	R 44,094	22,565	14,451	1,061	4	1,064	721	148	1,591	230	2,259	1,32,919
Kaliganj	R 37,725	18,079	12,635	1,271	4	834	1,327	159	1,378	282	1,756	1,10,740
T	40,335	17,693	14,958	1,133	4	924	857	225	1,941	267	2,333	1,19,897
R	38,502	17,553	14,602	1,092	3	853	726	212	1,412	218	1,831	1,13,815
U	1,833	140	356	41	1	71	131	13	529	49	502	6,082
Jagadanandapur (NM)	U 1,833	140	356	41	1	71	131	13	529	49	502	6,082
Chapra	R 34,844	17,841	12,033	990	1	973	312	95	1,034	133	1,432	1,00,790
Krishnaganj	R 16,958	7,902	4,811	736	4	402	310	100	1,017	345	1,331	51,793
T	66,232	20,008	17,439	1,910	25	2,229	3,984	1,234	6,299	2,919	10,185	2,06,726
R	46,097	19,564	16,482	1,536	16	1,512	1,624	211	1,774	540	2,838	1,40,938
U	20,135	444	957	374	9	717	2,360	1,023	4,525	2,379	7,347	65,788

APPENDIX B (Contd.)

Krishnanagar (M)	U 20,135	444	957	374	9	717	2,360	1,023	4,525	2,379	7,347	65,788
Navadwip	T 40,747	4,675	5,724	1,030	17	5,771	8,421	777	6,878	2,223	5,231	1,19,823
	R 17,911	4,417	5,162	762	3	2,463	3,156	354	713	257	624	48,455
	U 22,836	258	562	268	14	3,308	5,265	423	6,165	1,966	4,607	71,368
Navadwip (M)	U 22,836	258	562	268	14	3,308	5,265	423	6,165	1,966	4,607	71,368
Ranaghat	T 2,23,725	73,986	54,708	7,199	61	16,295	17,643	2,345	18,486	8,171	24,831	6,95,437
Subdivision	R 1,68,637	71,646	50,176	5,726	27	8,508	8,368	896	8,377	3,323	11,590	5,20,508
	U 55,088	2,340	4,532	1,473	34	7,787	9,275	1,449	10,109	4,848	13,241	1,74,929
Shantipur	T 36,658	8,696	7,821	1,003	8	8,653	2,351	655	2,981	1,116	3,374	1,07,653
	R 20,285	7,779	6,683	776	4	2,470	761	71	838	225	678	58,233
	U 16,373	917	1,138	227	4	6,183	1,590	584	2,143	891	2,696	49,420
Shantipur (M)	U 15,351	806	1,068	183	4	5,927	1,513	568	2,067	852	2,363	45,815
Phulia (NM)	U 1,022	111	70	44	...	256	77	16	76	39	333	3,605
Hanskhali	T 27,072	14,092	7,711	485	2	748	596	93	1,109	501	1,735	87,134
	R 25,530	13,889	7,486	477	2	689	445	78	727	380	1,357	81,877
	U 1,542	203	225	8	...	59	151	15	382	121	378	5,257
Bagula (NM)	U 1,542	203	225	8	...	59	151	15	382	121	378	5,257
Ranaghat	T 73,486	23,522	16,237	1,044	27	4,463	7,181	686	7,887	3,689	8,750	2,37,553
	R 56,940	22,922	15,411	924	9	3,365	4,085	447	3,720	1,535	4,522	1,82,620
	U 16,546	600	826	120	18	1,098	3,096	239	4,167	2,154	4,228	54,933
Taherpur (NM)	U 2,750	68	321	28	2	170	778	48	579	137	619	10,354
Birnagar (M)	U 2,488	436	416	10	1	565	236	12	285	137	390	8,072
Ranaghat (M)	U 11,308	96	89	82	15	363	2,082	179	3,303	1,880	3,219	36,507

APPENDIX B (Contd.)
WORKERS AND NON-WORKERS IN NADIA DISTRICT : 1971

Chakdaha	T	44,802	15,469	11,799	743	10	1,714	3,779	450	4,056	1,671	5,111	1,41,242
	R	34,136	15,021	10,726	602	5	1,410	1,594	92	1,738	610	2,338	1,05,563
Chakdaha (M)	U	10,666	448	1,073	141	5	304	2,185	358	2,318	1,061	2,773	35,679
	U	10,666	448	1,073	141	5	304	2,185	358	2,318	1,061	2,773	35,679
Kalyani	T	16,992	2,179	2,995	1,273	7	277	3,030	325	1,461	859	4,586	50,987
	R	7,031	2,007	1,725	296	...	134	777	72	362	238	1,420	21,347
Kalyani (NM)	U	9,961	172	1,270	977	7	143	2,253	253	1,099	621	3,166	29,640
	U	5,590	104	879	835	4	39	915	132	379	237	2,066	12,720
Kataganj & Gokulpur Government Colony (NM)	U	1,757	21	42	110	3	31	594	59	274	178	445	6,452
	U	2,614	47	349	32	...	73	744	62	446	206	655	10,468
Gavespur Government Colony (NM)	U	24,715	10,028	8,145	2,651	7	440	706	136	992	335	1,275	70,868
	R												

M—Municipality; NM—Non-municipal town; I—in cultivation; II—in agricultural labour; III—in livestock, forestry, fishing, hunting and plantations, orchards and allied activities; IV—mining and quarrying; V(a)—manufacturing, processing, servicing and repairs (household industry); V(b)—manufacturing, processing, servicing and repairs (other than household industry); VI—construction; VII—trade and commerce; VIII—transport, storage and communications; IX—other services; X—non-workers.

APPENDIX C
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT BLOCKS IN NADIA DISTRICT

Sub division	Block	Stage	Area (Sq. miles)	No. of villages in the Block	Population (1969)	Total expenditure for welfare activities in 1969-70 (Rs. 1,000)
Ranaghat	Shantipur	Post-Stage II	75.1	79	1,12,432	Nil
	Chakdaha	"	125.8	162	1,86,038	Nil
	Hanskhali	"	103.3	80	84,065	Nil
	Ranaghat-I	"	64.2	76	1,15,985	Nil
	Ranaghat-II	"	106.9	117	1,35,672	Nil
	Haringhata	Stage II	65.0	90	67,324	7.50
Sadar	Kaliganj	Post-Stage II	124.0	127	1,12,325	6.50
	Krishnaganj	"	58.4	54	52,034	9.08
	Karimpur	"	173.6	147	1,39,193	3.38
	Nakasipara	"	139.9	109	1,19,176	12.04
	Navadwip	Stage II	40.2	30	51,998	5.56
	Chapra	"	130.8	97	1,10,754	15.07
	Tebhatta-I	"	95.4	62	81,388	4.46
	Tebhatta-II	"	68.0	34	52,415	6.76
	Krishnanagar-I	"	93.0	93	91,319	12.50
	Krishnanagar-II	"	45.46	63	68,571	14.17

CHAPTER IX

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

Very little information of the nature of administration of early times is available. Little is also known of the administrative system under the Afghan rulers. We know from literary sources that there was a *Kazi* at Navadwip and another at Ambua (Kalna) who were Judge, Magistrate and Police Chief all rolled into one. The portions of the district of Nadia, that came under the sway of the Afghans, were administered by these two *Kazis*.

Under the Mughals the police administration remained under the Zamindars who also dispensed summary justice in petty cases, both civil and criminal. These were more in the nature of arbitration. The concept of general administration had not grown at the time. The Mughal administration was mainly concerned with the collection of the revenue and defence. The *Faujdar* stationed at Satgram, under whose jurisdiction most part of Nadia district lay, was essentially a military officer, though he functioned also as a Deputy Governor and lent his force, if necessity arose, for the collection of revenue. The general jurisprudence of the State followed the Quranic laws as interpreted in the *Sunna* and the *Hadith*. The criminal law administered was the Islamic law for both Hindus and Muslims. In the case of Hindus, the civil law and personal law were their own common law. Akbar appointed the Chief *Kazi* (*Qazi-ul-qazat*) with powers to appoint subordinate *Kazis* with the sanction of the king. They were stationed at provincial, district and *pargana* headquarters. Every city and even some large villages had a *Kazi*. There was an office of *Mir'adl* who took cognizance of cases and actions not provided by the Islamic religious law. This office was under the general superintendence of the Chief *Kazi*.

The criminal law administered was the Hanafite system. Crimes were classified under three major heads: (1) crimes against God, (2) crimes against the king and (3) crimes against private individuals. The first category included apostacy, adultery or fornication, drinking wine, theft, highway robbery and robbery with murder. Apostacy, adultery by a married woman and robbery with murder were punishable with death. Theft and robbery were punished by amputation of the limbs. Offences like murder or severe bodily injury were, however, treated as private offences and the next of kin of the dead man or the in-

jured had the right of retaliation or pardon. Thus, it was possible for a woman to get her husband murdered by her paramour, then pardon the paramour and marry him. A parent or paternal or maternal ancestor could murder a child of linear descent and no retaliation was incurred because the slain derived existence from the slayer. For the murder of a slave by the master no punishment was called for because the right of retaliation rested in the master of the slave. The rule of evidence laid down that in the trial of a Muslim, evidence of non-Muslims were inadmissible.

While the Zamindar had his own police and also the village police, the *Faujdar* was the head of the State police organization and under him were the *Thanadars* under the local control of a *Sikdar*. These *thanas* were approximately situated *parganawise*. In later years, when Mughal administration broke down, there were frequent clashes between the Zamindars' police and the *Faujdar's* police.

After the acquisition of the *Dewani*, the East India Company posted European Officers in the districts who were called Supervisors. Though mainly intended for the collection of revenue, the articles of instruction issued to these officers included the basic principles of general administration. But these officers could not be effective. There were legal lacunae. The East India Company, by virtue of the *sanad* granting the *Dewani*, acquired the right over revenue collection. But in law, general administration and criminal justice remained with the *Nawab Nazim*. The more sober sections of the servants of the East India Company realized that if they were to collect the revenue successfully, they must give protection and good government to the people.

The Supervisors were not only required to see the requirement of law and justice executed, but also to eliminate corruption, and abolish arbitrary fines. The local officers were to be called upon to produce their credentials and usurpers of judicial authority removed. Records of all cases were to be kept in the *Sadar Kutchery* and a monthly return sent to Murshidabad. But the Supervisors failed to make any appreciable impression. The men employed were very junior officers of the company and they hardly had any training in administration. Moreover, being servants of a mercantile company where a good deal of corruption prevailed, they busied themselves more in making personal fortunes by engaging in private trade than in taking administration seriously. Further, collection of revenue was then in the hands

GROWTH OF
DISTRICT ADMINIS-
TRATION UNDER THE
EAST INDIA
COMPANY

of the *Aumils* appointed by Mohammed Reza Khan and in the collection of the revenue many a misdemeanour committed had to be overlooked.

In 1772, after Warren Hastings became the Governor, the Supervisors were designated Collectors. By a Regulation of 1772, a *mofussil Dewani Adalat* and a *Foujdari Adalat* were established in each district. The *mofussil Dewani Adalat* was to decide disputed accounts, contracts, partnership, demands of revenue. The Collector was to preside over this court on behalf of the Company in their capacity as the King's *Dewan*. An Indian *Dewan* nominated by the President and the Council of the Company was to assist the Collector. In the *mofussil Foujdari Adalat*, the *Kazi* or the *Mufti* of the district was to preside and two *Moulavis* were to assist in expounding the law. The court exercised jurisdiction in all cases of murder, assault, frays, quarrels, adultery, and breaches of the peace. The court was to determine how far the delinquents were guilty of the offences they were charged with and the breach of the law. The Collector was also to attend to the proceedings of this court and see that all necessary evidence (witnesses) were summoned and examined and due weight given to the testimony. It was also the duty of the Collector to see that the decisions were fair and impartial according to the proof produced in course of the trial and no case heard or determined except in a regularly assembled open sitting of the court. This court was empowered to inflict corporal punishment, labour on the roads, etc. But where capital sentence was called for, the sentence required the sanction of the *Nazim*. The Collectors were further required by another Regulation to keep a locked box at the *Kutchery* under his own key in which complainants could drop their petitions at any time of the day or night. On each court-day the Collector was to open the box and get the petitions brought up to his presence. But in 1773, the Board of Directors of the East India Company directed that the Collectors (Supervisors) be withdrawn forthwith and all Collectors were withdrawn by the early part of 1774. By Regulation XX of 1773, the Indian *Naib Dewans* of the districts were to preside over the *Dewani Adalat* in place of the Collector after his recall and transmit the proceedings to the Provincial Council. The *Foujdari Adalat* remained as constituted by the Regulation of 1772 devoid of the Collector's supervision.

Apart from their suspicions about the Collectors, the Board of Directors' decision to recall the Collectors was mainly motivated

by reasons of economy because with the reforms made by Hastings the civil charges were increasing and the Company as a commercial undertaking subordinated general administration to the interest of revenue and profits.

The failure of the Mughal administration and the attrition of the powers of the Zamindars by the farming settlements¹ led to general disorder in the districts and dacoity became rampant. To stop these disorders, Hastings created the office of the *Foujdar* at 14 stations in Bengal. They were appointed for the protection of the inhabitants, apprehension of the robbers and dacoits within their respective areas and for transmitting constant intelligence regarding the peace of the country to the Presidency. Nadia district was distributed amongst several *Foujdari Chaklas* namely, Katoya, Itchakhada, and Hugli.

Mohammed Reza Khan was appointed the *Naib Nazim* and in January 1776 devised a new plan for the criminal administration. The *Foujdars* were allowed to remain. The criminal courts of the districts were reconstituted and their total number came to 23 of which one was at Krishnanagar. In addition to the *Kazi* and *Mufti*, the new plan provided for a *Daroga* for each court and four *Naib* or Assistant *Kazis* were appointed for each court.

In organization of the police, Reza Khan provided a *Foujdari thana* at the chief town of every district. The *Foujdar* under the new plan was to act as the Chief Police Officer, responsible as before, for law and order, including the apprehension of offenders. In criminal cases he was to make local investigation and send a *surat-i-hal* report to the criminal court which tried the criminals. The powers of the criminal court remained as before and capital sentences had to get the ratification of the *Naib Nazim*. In the execution of his duties, the *Foujdar* had powers similar to that of a police-cum-magistrate. A prison was attached to each *Foujdari thana* as well as to each district criminal court. The *Foujdar* was also the superintendent of the prison.

The office of the *Foujdar* was abolished in 1781 and the Company's covenanted servants, who were primarily Judges of the *Dewani Adalat*, were invested with the powers of Magistrates. Their functions were restricted to the apprehension of criminals and committing them to the courts of the *Foujdari Adalat* which continued to function under the supervision of the *Naib Nazim* and the *Nizamat Adalat* at Murshidabad. The police of the country thus became independent of the *Nizamat*.

¹ *Vide*, Chapter X.

The Judge-Magistrate's police organization consisted of one *Nazir*, a jail officer, a few clerks and between 25 to 150 *barkandazes* as the situation demanded. These *barkandazes* were generally armed with *lathis* and swords but occasionally also had matchlocks. The old system of Zamindari police was revived and by a proclamation the Zamindars were directed under pain of severe punishment to establish *thanas* at such places as the Magistrate directed and to bring offenders to book. If any Zamindar was proved to have committed robbery, dacoity or murder or to have connived at any such offence, he was to be punished with death.

The half-hearted measures and frequent changes in the pattern of the administration shows indecision and hesitancy in the management of affairs in India. Though the Company became the virtual sovereign, it was not declared so by the British Parliament and it was considered expedient to maintain the Mughal sovereignty in form.

The reforms of Hastings suffered under these limitations and he, therefore, tried to improve the administration within the frame-work of the Mughal system. It remained for Cornwallis to make a complete departure from the past and forge ahead a new administration.

Though the British Parliament in the *Regulating Act* did not accept the sovereignty of the Company nor avow sovereignty of the British Crown, many of the steps taken by Cornwallis would show that he assumed sovereignty. Many of the existing Muslim laws were changed by him. The office of the *Naib Nazim* held by Mohammed Reza Khan was abolished and the *Nizamat Adalat* was transferred to Calcutta to be presided over by the Governor-General and members of the Supreme Council assisted by a Chief *Kazi* and two *Muftis* to declare the law on the subject. Many heinous offences like murder and severe hurt which the Muslim criminal jurisprudence treated as personal offences were now declared to be offences against the State and the right of pardon exercisable by the relatives was abolished. Instead, the British common law principle of the King's peace was promulgated. In some offences like theft, etc. the Muslim law required amputation of limbs. This was substituted by hard labour or fine and imprisonment. Under the Muslim law the evidence of non-Muslims was not admissible in the trial of Muslims on criminal charges. The religious persuasion of witnesses henceforth was no bar to the admissibility of their testi-

mony. These changes in the law were made by executive orders in 1790 and embodied in *Regulation IX of 1793*.

The *Darogas* of the criminal courts were struck off and four criminal Courts of Circuit similar to the British Court of Assizes were set up to hold two six monthly circuits in each district in a year. The Judge-Magistrate was to produce the prisoners before these Circuit courts which tried the cases and after determining it sent the records to the *Nizamat Adalat* at Calcutta for sentence.¹ The British-born subjects were not amenable to these courts and were only under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.

The civil and revenue jurisdiction of the Collector was taken away by *Regulation II of 1793* and these were vested in the *Zilla Judge*. The Collector was, however, authorized to continue to try petty offences punishable with inflicting up to thirty *rattans* or imprisonment up to thirty days.²

The police reforms of Cornwallis dated 2nd December 1792 had three salient features. Firstly, the Zamindari police establishment was abolished; secondly, the districts were divided into compact areas of about twenty or thirty sq. miles with a *thana* in each such area having Government appointed *Darogas* with a *muharrir*, a *jamadar* and about ten *barkandazes*, acting under the direct supervision of the Magistrate; thirdly, the village *choukidar*, though still appointed and paid by the Zamindar was declared subject to orders of the *Darogas*.³

The system of administration introduced by Cornwallis gradually developed into the elaborate British system of administration by about 1870 and it is this pattern of administration that is even now continuing except for some minor changes. The developments since the time of Cornwallis are briefly noticed.

The four Courts of Circuit could not dispose of the cases as expeditiously as required and the number of cases were mounting and prisoners languished in jails without trial for even more than a year. The Board of Revenue at Calcutta was finding it difficult to dispose of all revenue matters from the districts. Accordingly, in 1829, the posts of Commissioner of Revenue and Circuit were created.⁴ The powers of the Court of Circuit were delegated to the Commissioner. The Commissioners were

Criminal trials

¹ *Regulation VIII of 1794*.

² *Regulation IX of 1793*.

³ *Regulation XXII of 1793*.

⁴ *Regulation I of 1829*.

also made Superintendent of Police of the Division. There were twenty divisions and Nadia was included along with Murshidabad and Birbhum in one such division. This combination of functions in one officer was considered sufficient to bring about more efficient administration. But it was soon realized that the revenue work suffered badly and so the powers of the Court of Circuit were transferred to the *Zilla Judge*.¹ This was the beginning of the office of the Sessions Judge. The *Regulation VII of 1831* did not specifically define the powers of the Sessions Judge. It was in 1871 that the powers of the Sessions Judge were specifically determined by legislation. In the meantime, considerations of expedition of trial in criminal cases led to the increase in the power of the Magistrates and by 1831 the Magistrate who was a covenanted servant of the Company could try cases of burglary, theft, receiving stolen property, escaping from lawful custody and could inflict a punishment up to two years of hard labour and thirty *rattans* as corporal punishment.² European Assistant Magistrates were empowered to try some of the cases and inflict a punishment up to six months' imprisonment and corporal punishment up to thirty *rattans*.³ Indians came to be appointed as Deputy Collectors mainly for revenue work.⁴ During the Governor-Generalship of Lord William Bentinck, these Indian Deputy Collectors were given the power of trial of petty cases and inflict punishment up to one month's imprisonment and thirty *rattans* as corporal punishment. Collectors had remained divested of judicial powers since the time of Cornwallis. Magisterial judicial powers were restored to them by Lord Dalhousie in 1854.⁵ Thus emerged the District Magistrate and Collector of the district who, in later years, became the pivot of district administration. A Superintendent of Police for each district was appointed in 1861 following the recommendations of the Police Commission in 1860.

The general administration of the district is in charge of the District Magistrate and Collector who is under the administrative control of the Commissioner of the Presidency Division with headquarters in Calcutta. Subject to the control and supervision of the District Magistrate, the general administration in the only

¹ *Regulation VII of 1831.*

² *Regulation XII of 1818, Regulation VIII of 1830.*

³ *Regulation III of 1821, Regulation IV of 1822.*

⁴ *Regulation IX of 1833.*

⁵ *Despatch by Lord Dalhousie, 24th April 1854.*

outlying subdivision of the district, Ranaghat, is in charge of the Subdivisional Officer. At the headquarters station, the District Magistrate and Collector is assisted by an Additional District Magistrate for general administration other than revenue and by another Additional District Magistrate, who is also vested with the powers of the Collector under the Estates Acquisition Act, for the revenue administration and also by a Sadar Subdivisional Officer. The District Magistrate and Collector and the Additional District Magistrates are members of the Indian Administrative Service while the Subdivisional Officer of Ranaghat is either a junior member of the Indian Administrative Service or a member of the West Bengal Civil Service.

There are eight Deputy Magistrates and Deputy Collectors and six Sub-Deputy Magistrates and Sub-Deputy Collectors posted at the Sadar station and three Deputy Magistrates and Deputy Collectors and three Sub-Deputy Magistrates and Sub-Deputy Collectors at Ranaghat excluding the Subdivisional Officer. Of this number of Deputy Magistrates and Deputy Collectors and Sub-Deputy Magistrates and Sub-Deputy Collectors, three are employed as Executive Magistrates at Sadar and two at Ranaghat. Others work as an Administrator, Zilla Parishad; a District Panchayat Officer; a Special Land Acquisition Officer; a Regional Transport Officer; a Special Officer for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Welfare and a District Compensation Officer who are all posted at Sadar. The District Magistrate is also in charge of planning and development work in the district and as such he supervises the work of all government departments in the district except the Judicial Department.

The Superintendent of Police is assisted by an Additional Superintendent of Police. They are both members of the Indian Police Service and are stationed at Sadar. At Ranaghat, a Deputy Superintendent of Police, usually styled the Subdivisional Police Officer, looks after the police administration in that subdivision under the control of the Superintendent of Police. There are three Deputy Superintendents of Police posted at Sadar. One looks after the District Intelligence Branch, another looks after the discipline and training of the staff while a third looks after the headquarters office, police lines and barracks and other sundry matters and generally assists the Superintendent of Police.

The old divisions of the office of the District Magistrate and Collector were (1) Judicial *Munsikhana*, (2) Revenue *Munsikhana*,

(3) Treasury, (4) General Department. With the separation of the judiciary from the executive and abolition of Zamindari, much of the original significance of these divisions is lost. Nevertheless, these divisions are still maintained in form. The Judicial *Munsikhana* deals with the Magistracy, licences under the Indian Arms Act, the Motor Vehicles Act, the Places of Public Amusement Act, Cinematograph Act, the Explosive Substances Act, the Petroleum Act, etc. It also deals with the *Chaukidari* matters and Local Self-Government matters. The Revenue *Munsikhana*, except for some residuary work, has converted itself into the Estates Acquisition and Land Reforms office. The Treasury in Nadia has been taken over by the State Bank of India and as such there is no Treasure Chest under the Treasury Officer at present. The Treasury, however, retains its accounts section. The receipts and payments are made by the bank, while the accounts thereof are maintained by the Treasury Officer on the basis of *challans* and schedules of receipts and schedules of payments. The bills for payments of demands on the Government are passed for payment by the Treasury Officer. The Treasury Officer is usually a Deputy Collector or a senior Sub-Deputy Collector. All correspondences are dealt with by the General Department which also deals with work not relegated to other departments.

The chief officer in charge of Agriculture in the district is the Principal Agricultural Officer stationed at Krishnanagar who is under the Joint Director of Agriculture, Kalyani Range with headquarters at Kalyani within the district. Three Subject Matter Specialists look after distribution of fertilizers, plant protection and pest control, seed distribution and other sundry affairs. The old park known as Company Bagan has been converted into a horticulture research station in charge of a Horticulturist where research in different methods of grafting and fruit growing is being carried on. An Agronomist with the rank of an Additional District Agricultural Officer collects and compiles soil data. There are three government agricultural farms at Ranaghat, Phulia and Kalyani, each under a Farm Manager with subsidiary staff. There is also a jute seed multiplication farm at Bhajanghat under a Farm Manager. A Sugercane Specialist is posted at Bamandanga near Bethuadahari. An Assistant Jute Development Officer and an Assistant Plant Protection Officer are posted at Kalyani. There is a Gram Sevak training centre at Phulia under a Principal where there

Other State
Government
departments
Agriculture

is also an Agronomist. Kalyani is the headquarters of the Superintendent of Agricultural Marketing, Eastern Range. The District Agricultural Marketing Officer for Nadia and Murshidabad is stationed at Berhampur (Baharampur) in Murshidabad and under him two Subdivisional Agricultural Marketing Officers are posted at Krishnanagar and Ranaghat. A Tanks Improvement Officer for the purpose of reclaiming derelict irrigation tanks is posted at Krishnanagar.

At Kalyani is located the headquarters of the Executive Engineer (Agri-Irrigation), Eastern Division; Executive Engineer (Agri-Irrigation), tube-well drilling and development; and Executive Engineer (Agri-Mechanical), Eastern Division. At Krishnanagar are posted two Assistant Engineers (Agri-Irrigation) for the north and south divisions of the district, while the Assistant Engineer (Agri-Irrigation) for tube-well drilling and for civil works is stationed at Kalyani. The Assistant Engineer (Agri-Mechanical) is stationed at Krishnanagar.

Agricultural
Engineering

Sixteen Community Development Blocks cover the district. These are (i) Krishnanagar I, (ii) Krishnanagar II, (iii) Navadwip, (iv) Kaliganj, (v) Karimpur, (vi) Krishnanagar, (vii) Nakasipara, (viii) Tehatta I, (ix) Tehatta II and (x) Chapra in the Sadar subdivision; and (xi) Ranaghat I, (xii) Ranaghat II, (xiii) Shantipur, (xiv) Chakdaha, (xv) Hanskhali and (xvi) Haringhata in the Ranaghat subdivision. Each Block is under a Block Development Officer who is assisted in the several fields of development works by the Agricultural Extension Officer, Inspector of Cooperative Societies, Industrial Extension Officer, Panchayat Extension Officer, Veterinary Assistant Surgeon, Fishery Extension Officer, Social Education Officer and a Sub-Assistant Engineer. There is also a Lady Social Education Officer for womens' programmes. There is a Gram Sevak at each Panchayat area and two Gram Sevikas for womens' programme at the Block headquarters.

Community
Development

There is a District Live-stock Officer at Krishnanagar working under the Superintendent of Live-stock, Eastern Range with headquarters at Kalyani. There are two central semen collection stations in the district, each under a Superintendent, one at Bethuadahari and the other at Haringhata. There are eleven artificial insemination centres, each under an Artificial Insemination Officer located at Krishnanagar, Bethuadahari, Debagram, Palashi, Haringhata, Mohanpur, Phulia, Madanpur, Chakdaha, Ranaghat and Hanskhali. There is a Poultry Farm at Ranaghat and a Central Live-stock Research-cum-Breeding centre at

Animal
Husbandry

Haringhata milk colony, each under a Superintendent. At Kalyani there is a Fodder Farm. There are two milk collection-cum-chilling centres at Phulia and Bethuadahari, besides the main centre at Haringhata milk colony.

Veterinary Services
The Superintendent, Veterinary Services, Krishnanagar Range is stationed at Krishnanagar and under him are the District Veterinary Officer, the Veterinary Inspector in charge of the district hospital, Assistant Veterinary Surgeon attached to the hospital and two Itinerant Veterinary Surgeons.

Cottage and Small Scale Industries
The Deputy Director of Industries (Handloom), Presidency and North Bengal Range is stationed at Krishnanagar. The district officer of the department is the District Industrial Officer, also stationed at Krishnanagar. The Industrial Extension Officers at the Block level are under the District Industrial Officer. Besides these, there are two Handloom Development Officers, one stationed at Shantipur and the other at Navadwip. There is a Central Sericulture Nursery at Ranaghat. At Kalyani, there is a Training-cum-Demonstration Centre for powerloom under a Superintendent. There is a Wood Industries Institute at Kalyani under a Superintendent. There is also a Wood Industries scheme at Kalyani under a Works Manager.

Cooperation
The Assistant Registrar of Cooperative Societies, Nadia, stationed at Krishnanagar, is in charge of the cooperation work in the district. He is assisted by a District Auditor of Co-operative Societies and by the Inspectors of Cooperative Societies attached to the Blocks.

Development and Planning
The Kalyani Township is under the Department of Development and Planning. The office of the Chief Engineer, Kalyani Township is located at the New Secretariat Building in Calcutta. The offices of the Superintending Engineer, Kalyani Township; the Executive Engineer, Kanchrapara Area Development Division; and the Executive Engineer, Kalyani Division are located at Kalyani. There is a Work-cum-Orientation Centre under a Director at Kalyani which is also the headquarters of the Member-Secretary of Kalyani Sub-committee of the Brick and Tile Board.

Education
The organizations under the Education Department include the Government College at Krishnanagar, a Sanskrit *tôl* at Navadwip, two Junior Basic Training Colleges at Bara-Andulia and Dharmada, the Krishnanagar Collegiate School, the Krishnanagar Girls' High School and a Women Teachers' Training College at Krishnanagar. The District Inspector of Schools

with his complement of Assistant Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors comprise the Inspectorate in the district for Secondary and Primary Education. The District Inspector of Schools is also the ex-officio Secretary of the District School Board. There is also a District Social Education Officer who looks after the district and the rural libraries. The District Officer for Physical Education and Youth Welfare looks after the games, sports and general youth welfare schemes.

The Superintendent of Excise with his staff of Inspectors, Sub-Inspectors and Petty Officers is in charge of the realization of Excise Revenue in the District as well as in charge of the prevention work. The Excise Superintendent is under the general supervision of the Collector of the district.

The office of the Commercial Tax Officer, Krishnanagar charge is located at Krishnanagar. This Officer is in charge of the realization of sales taxes under the Bengal Finance (Sales Tax) Act of 1941, the West Bengal Sales Tax Act 1954, the Bengal Motor Spirit Sales Taxation Act of 1941, the Central Sales Tax Act 1956, and the Bengal Raw Jute Taxation Act 1956.

The office of the Agricultural Income Tax Officer, Nadia Range is located at Krishnanagar.

The District Fishery Officer, assisted by one Assistant Fishery Officer, is in charge of the work of the department in the district. The office of the Superintendent of Fisheries for development of the derelict fisheries in the State is also located at Krishnanagar. There is a Fish Seed Farm under a Farm Manager at Krishnanagar. An Experimental Research Station under a Superintendent of Fisheries is located at Kulia-Kalyani.

No place in the district of Nadia is under statutory rationing. The District Controller of Food and Supplies for Nadia and Murshidabad is stationed at Krishnanagar. Under him there are two Subdivisional Controllers of Food and Supplies, one at Krishnanagar and the other at Ranaghat. Nadia is not a procurement district. The Officers of the Food and Supplies Department look after modified rationing, distribution of kerosene and baby food.

There is practically no forest in Nadia District. A small area has been taken up for afforestation. The headquarters of the Divisional Forest Officer, Central Division is, however, located at Krishnanagar.

Nadia district is under the charge of the Executive Engineer, Berhampur Irrigation Division who is stationed at Baharampur

Excise

Finance

Fisheries

Food and Supplies

Forest

Irrigation & Waterways

in Murshidabad district. At Krishnanagar, there is an Assistant Engineer holding charge of the Krishnanagar Irrigation Subdivision.

Public Health
Engineering

This branch of the Department of Health is in charge of the rural water supply in the State. The Office of the Executive Engineer, Public Health Engineering, Nadia Division is located at Kalyani.

Weights and
Measures

The Assistant Controller, Weights and Measures for Nadia-Murshidabad is stationed at Baharampur (Murshidabad).

Labour

The Assistant Labour Commissioner of the district is stationed at Kalyani.

Besides the above mentioned officers, the following officers of the State Government are also stationed at the district headquarters, namely, District Information and Public Relations Officer, District Settlement Charge Officer, District Compensation Officer, etc.

CENTRAL
GOVERNMENT
OFFICES

As to the Central Government Officers, the following officers are stationed at the district headquarters, namely, Income Tax Officer, Superintendent of Central Excise and Land Custom, Assistant Collector of Custom, Assistant Officer of the Central Intelligence Branch, Superintendent of Post Offices, etc.

CHAPTER X

REVENUE ADMINISTRATION

Very little is known of the land and land revenue administration of the district under the Hindu kings. This district was a part of the Pundravardhana-*bhukti*¹ mentioned in early copper-plate grants. R. G. Basak has shown that in this area the administration of land was under the village commune and no land could be sold, gifted or otherwise alienated without the consent of the village commune. The king's prerogative did not extend to his power to gift away land situated in a village. The Faridpur grant of Dharmaditya shows that the king was only entitled to a sixth part of the sale price. From this it may be inferred that the king's right was only to one-sixth of the produce of the land. The five Dāmodarpur grants further show that each village had its own land official, the *pustapāla*, who kept records of land use and also of lands that were lying fallow.²

If the history given in the *Kshitiśavanśāvalīcharitam* is believed, there was a continuity of the Hindu land administration in Nadia district from about the 11th century A.D. to the British days. The large scale incidence of the *Utbandi* tenancies may be a relic of the ancient revenue system. The view that this tenancy was created to facilitate the cultivation of indigo is erroneous because Rider, the first Supervisor, reported the existence of such tenancies long before the European indigo planters had started their operation in the district.

It would appear from Chapter II that Nadia district nominally accepted the suzerainty of the Afghan conquerors towards the later part of the thirteenth century and effective subjugation of the district did not take place till the reign of Jahangir. The Afghan conquerors did not interfere with the internal revenue administration of the district and were content with receiving a lump sum tribute. The Nadia Rāj family appears to have held only the southern part of the district at the time and other

EARLY
REVENUE
HISTORY

¹ Pundravardhana has been identified with Mahāsthān in Bogrā district now in Bangladesh on the basis of the Mahāsthān inscription; *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 85. The earliest mention of Pundravardhana-*bhukti* is in the Dāmodarpur copper-plate inscription of the time of Kumāra Gupta I, A.D. 444. This *bhukti* continues to be mentioned in epigraphic records till the time of Lakshmanasena's Anulīā copper-plate, that is, till the Afghan conquest of the area.

² R. G. Basak, 'Land Sale Documents of Ancient Bengal' in *Sir Asutosh Mookherjee Memorial volume, Orientalia*, Pt. 2, p. 475.

petty land-holders who apparently held the lands as subordinates to the Hindu kings of days gone by, continued to hold the other lands and administer them according to Hindu tenets till the reign of Akbar.

Akbar's plan of land revenue settlement has been described in the *Ain-i-Akbari* written by Abul Fazl Allami in the 47th year of his reign (i.e. in A.D. 1603). The province or *subah* of Bengal was divided into 24 *sarkars* or grand revenue divisions. Within each *sarkar* were a number of *parganas*. Rājā Todar Mall, who was entrusted with making the settlement, collected the accounts of the *Kanungoes* and in some places ascertained the correctness of the accounts by independent inquiries and by measuring the land. From these materials he prepared the *taksim*, or the account exhibiting the constituent portions of the rent of each village, district or principality. The aggregate of these *taksim* formed the *tumar* or rent roll of the *pargana*. The total of the rent rolls of the *parganas* is called the *Asl Tumar Jama* of Todar Mall. The *taksim* are lost, but the *Asl Tumar Jama* survived till the time the East India Company undertook the *Dewani*. Todar Mall regulated the sovereign's share of the gross produce according to the situation of land and quality of soil by the labour and expenses attending the cultivation of it from one-eighth to one-half of the estimated gross produce. But whatever might have been the theory underlying Todar Mall's settlement under Akbar's system, in Bengal, compromise had to be made because of the existence of powerful chieftains some of whom were in power (like the Nadia Rāj) from before the Afghan conquest. A few of them like Bhabānanda Majumdar (of Bagwan) of the Nadia Rāj family had rendered active assistance to the Mughal power in subjugation of Bengal. Revenue settlement in Bengal was, therefore, concluded with these Zamindars on an *ad hoc* basis following a pragmatic policy. It is, therefore, doubtful if the revenue of Bengal was ever determined by actual measurement of land and assessment of the produce as the *Ain* wants us to believe. Akbar's plan as outlined in the *Ain* was a plan of collection of revenue direct from the tillers of the soil by his own officers who were called *Amilguzars*. Though *Amilguzars* are known in Uttar Pradesh, there is no tradition of any such officer having existed at any time in Bengal. The *Ain-i-Akbari*, however, does not mention a single Zamindar of Bengal. The reason may be that the figures of *parganawise tumar jama* of Todar Mall mentioned in

the *Ain* was a tentative assessment of what the revenue could be. Actual settlement with the Bengal Zamindars must have been concluded long afterwards and the settlement did not actually follow the *tumar jama*.

The *Asl Tumar Jama* of Todar Mall for Bengal *subah* was:

<i>Khalsa</i>	Rs. 63,44,260
<i>Jaigir</i>	Rs. 43,48,892
Total	Rs. 1,06,93,152

The settlement according to Akbar's plan was to have lasted for ten years, but, in fact, it remained unaltered for 76 years till the vice-royalty of Prince Suja. It is also a fact that since the time of Todar Mall and before the British Government started survey and settlement operations in the beginning of the present century, no further land revenue settlement based on actual measurement and field assessment was ever made. All revenue settlements during the Mughal times and all settlements made by the East India Company after the acquisition of the *Dewani* were made by mere *ad hoc* additions to the *Asl Tumar Jama* of Todar Mall. Jafar Khan or Murshid Kuli Khan first started the addition of *abwabs* to the *jama*.

The total revenue from the time of Todar Mall to 1763 increased to Rs. 2,56,19,309. It included the subsequent additions made by Prince Suja in 1658, Jafar Khan in 1722, Sujauddin Khan in 1728, Alivardi Khan in 1755 and Kashim Ali Khan in 1763 and the reductions made at different times on account of *Khalsa*, *Faujdarī abwabs*, dismemberment of territory, etc.

Emperor Akbar who introduced the Mughal revenue system in Bengal, modified in part due to the existence of powerful Zamindars whose loyalty the Emperor could not ignore, had the wisdom to realize that where the revenue has to be collected from millions of individual tenants, there must be a system and that system must not be something which is entirely different from what the tenants are used to. Accordingly, Todar Mall's settlement in its general principle followed the Hindu system of making the rent a portion of the gross produce of the land converted into cash rent (in Bengal, where payment of cash rent was in vogue) on the basis of average produce and average prices of grains over 19 years. Akbar's scheme required that reassessment shall have to be made on actual field investigations at ten year periods. The imposition of *ad hoc abwabs* was foreign to this system. Thus, in the absence of a revisional

settlement operation, the *Asl Tumar Jama* of Todar Mall continued for 76 years till Prince Suja revised the assessment by computing increase in cultivation which must have been done by some means of investigation. But the Mughal revenue system was dead since the time of Jafar Khan who began to impose *abwabs* or *ad hoc* demands unrelated to the produce of the land. Jafar Khan's *abwabs* and likewise those of his successors were impositions on the Zamindars and doubtless the latter passed on the additional imposition to the tenants. The percentage increase in the total revenue was 9.2 in 76 years in the assessment of Prince Suja; 8.5 in 64 years in the assessment of Jafar Khan; 15.6 in 28 years in the assessment of Alivardi Khan; and 55.6 in 7 years in the assessment of Kashim Ali Khan.

The opinion of Sir John Shore on these increases may be quoted from his *minutes* dated 17th June 1789, "Para. 30 : The principles of Mughal taxation, as far as we can collect from the institutes of Timor and Ackbar, from the ordinances of the emperors and the conduct of their delegates, however limited in practice, were calculated to give the sovereign a proportion of the advantages arising from extended cultivation and increased population. As these were discovered, Tumar or standard assessment was augmented; and whatever the justice or policy of the principle might be, the practice in detail has this merit, that it was founded upon a knowledge of real and existing resources.

"31. In conformity to these principles, inferior officers were stationed through the country to note and register all transactions relating to the soil, its rents and its produce, every augmentation of cultivation was required to be recorded, as well as every diminution in its quantity.

"32. An increase of revenue exacted from a Zamindar under these circumstances, affected his profits, but made no alteration in the rates upon the *ryots*; he paid a portion of the rents arising from discovered improvements in his lands: but the cultivators of the soil were not by this demand exposed to the enhancement of their rates. The excess claimed augmented the Tumar or standard assessment, which by the investigations of Jaffar Khan was raised in the sum of Rs. 11,72,279.

"33. But the *abwab subahdary* or viceregal imposts which constitute the increase since 1728 had a contrary tendency: for they enhanced the rates. They were in general levied upon the standard assessment in certain proportions to its amount and the

Shore's minutes
on *abwabs*

Zamindars who paid them were authorised to collect them from their *ryots*, in the same proportions to their respective quotas of rent. ... Where the proportions were not ascertained, the demand was in fact discretionary, and though meant in some cases to have a partial operation, was often extended by the inferior officers, to situations where it was unclaimed by the government.

"34. Jaffar Khan was the author of this innovation; the consequences of which he probably did not foresee. The tax imposed by him which established the precedent was trifling in its amount and apparently intended as a fee to the Khalsa Officers. ...

"35. An enhancement in the rates of taxation may be defended on the grounds of the extension of commerce and increase of specie between the time of Tury Mull and the administration of Jaffar Khan, although his conduct does not authorise the first conclusion which is supported by that of his successor Sujah. But the mode of effecting it was unconstitutional and liable to the greatest abuses, as the event has proved.

"36. I shall now endeavour to explain the circumstances which probably suggested to the *nazims* the idea and practicability of this operation, which might otherwise appear less irregular than it really was.

"37. Long before the time of Jaffar Khan, impositions under various denominations, and to a very considerable amount, had been levied from the *ryots* beyond the Tumar or standard assessment. In many places, they had been consolidated into the *assul*, and a new standard had been assumed, as the basis of succeeding imposition. The Zamindars and officers who levied these imposts gave, in their own practice, an example to the government which knew and probably connived at them; and hence an idea was naturally entertained, that the actual receipts from the country exceeded, in a very great degree, the demands of the state since the latter had not been augmented in any proportion to the successive imposition of interior management.

"43. The cultivators of the soil, whose labours constitute the real wealth of the state, do not appear to have been considered in these arrangements; it was sufficient that they had paid these exactions to the Zamindars to render them perpetual; no calculation was made of the proportion which the *revels* (*sic*), levied from the *ryots*, bore to the produce of the lands; nor any rule prescribed for limiting that amount, and for securing a certain portion of the produce to them.

"44. I am not possessed of sufficient information to enable me to determine, whether the impositions upon the Zamindars by the *nazims* and their increased exactions from the *ryots*, to the close of Aliverdi Khan's administration in 1755, were oppressive or not. If a conjecture be formed from the collections since that period, I must suppose them not to have been very burthensome, and that the resources of the country were, at that period, adequate to the measure of exaction. But nothing can be more evident that the mode of imposition was fundamentally ruinous, both to the *ryots* and Zamindars; and that the direct tendency of it was, to force the latter into extortions, and all into fraud concealment and distress.

"63. In this review of the settlement of Bengal, I have not thought it necessary to notice particularly the assessment of Sultan Sujah in 1658. From the era of Tury Mull in 1582, until Jaffar Khan in 1728, the increase was moderate, from that period to the close of Aliverdi's administration in 1755 it was rapid, but not perhaps excessive; in 1763 it was violent and exorbitant."

The able pen of Sir John Shore makes the best review of the assessment of the revenues of Bengal during the time of Mughal decadence. We now quote from a *firman* issued by Emperor Alamgeer (Aurangzeb) from Harrington's *Analysis* to show what the intention of the Great Mughals was in the manner of assessment of rent of the tenants:

"From revenue lands you will collect only so much as the *ryots* may be enabled to pay without being distressed; and on no account shall the amount exceed one-half, though they may be capable of paying a greater portion."

The above quotation from the *firman* of a Zamindar shows that the Mughal system never authorized the levy of the *abwabs*. In order to pay off his debts to the East India Company, Nawab Kashim Ali Khan in 1760 had ceded the revenues of three districts, namely, Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong. The proportionate assessment of the remaining districts according to the demand of Kashim Ali Khan was Rs. 2,41,18,912. The following table taken from Shore's *minutes* dated the 18th June 1789 would show that the actual collections fell far short of the demand.

¹ W. K. Firminger, *The Fifth report (1917). Vol. II. Minute of John Shore*, dated 18th June 1789.

² J. H. Harrington, *An Elementary Analysis of the Laws and Regulations enacted by the Governor-General in Council at Fort William, Calcutta, 1805-22.*

Year	Collected by	Gross demand	Collection	Balance
1762-63	Kashim Ali	2,41,18,912	64,56,199	1,76,62,713
1763-64	Nanda Kumar			
	under Mir Jafar	1,77,04,766	76,18,408	1,00,86,358
1764-65	Do	1,76,97,678	81,75,534	95,22,144

In 1765, the East India Company acquired the *Dewani* and appointed Mohammed Reza Khan as *Naib Dewan* to make the collections. He reduced the demand further to Rs. 1,60,29,011 and collected Rs. 1,47,04,876 leaving a balance of Rs. 13,24,135. The following table also taken from Shore's *minutes* will show that in the three year period from 1762-63 to 1765-66 the reduction that had to be made to the assessment of Kashim Ali was to the tune of Rs. 80.9 lakhs.

ABSTRACT ACCOUNT OF THE DECREASE IN THE SETTLEMENT OF THE *DEBANI* LANDS FROM APRIL 1762 TO APRIL 1765 INCLUSIVE

	Rs.	Rs.
Settlement of Kashim Ali in 1169 B.S. or A.D. 1762-63		2,41,18,912
Settlement of Nanda Kumar 1170 B.S. or A.D. 1762-63	1,77,04,766	
Add, <i>Nazarana Mokurrery</i> and articles separately collected	5,64,576	1,82,69,342
	Difference	58,49,570
Decrease in 1171 B.S. or A.D. 1763-64	13,498	
Increase in the same year	6,409	
Net decrease in the year		7,089
Net difference between settlements of Kashim Ali and Nanda Kumar		58,56,659
Decrease allowed by Mohammed Reza Khan	31,06,024	
Increase in some districts	8,72,781	
Net decrease		22,33,243
Total decrease in three years		80,89,902

The total shortfall in the collection even with the reduced demand was Rs. 3,85,95,350 in four years. Added to this the total reduction of Rs. 80,89,902, the total deficit comes to Rs. 4,66,85,252.

The Directors of the East India Company were much annoyed at the shortfall in expected revenue. At that time they had not the wisdom to realize that the shortfall was caused by the fact that the demand was fixed too high. A Company of foreign merchants had suddenly been entrusted with the duty of collection of land revenue, a task for the performance of which they had neither the insight nor the capability. Whispers went round that there had been large scale embezzlement. James Grant in his *Analysis*¹ has squarely accused Reza Khan of embezzlement. The English factors at the time were highly distrustful of the Indian Zamindari officials, but they had not acquired and did not care to acquire the knowledge required to understand the Zamindari collection papers. Young servants of the Company had been appointed as Supervisors in the districts during the period of Reza Khan's collection. A few of them did find out some truths but the Company brushed aside all these reports and Warren Hastings at the head of a Committee on Circuit decided to put up the revenues of the Zamindaris to auction and settled with the highest bidders.

On the 24th May 1769, Richard Becher, the Resident at the *Durbar* of the Nawab, wrote a letter to Governor Verelst in which he states, "it must give pain to an Englishman to have reason to think that since the accession to the Dewanee the condition of the people of this country has been worse than it was before... When the English first received the grant of the Dewanee, their first consideration seems to have been the raising of as large sums from the country as could be collected, to answer the pressing demands from home and to defray the large expenses here. The Zamindars not being willing or able to pay the sums required, *aumils* have been sent into most of the districts. These *aumils* on their appointment agree to pay a fixed sum for the districts they are to go to and the man who has offered most has generally been preferred. What a destructive system is this for the poor inhabitants! The *aumils* have no connection or natural interest in the welfare of the country where they make the collections, nor have they any certainty of holding

Rack-renting
during Reza
Khan's adminis-
tration

¹ W. K. Firminger, *loc. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 363-64.

their places beyond the year; the best recommendation they can have is to pay their *kistbundeas* punctually to which purpose they fail not to rack the country whenever they find they can't otherwise pay their *kists* and secure handsome sum for themselves. Uncertain of their office and without opportunity of acquiring money after their dismissal can it be doubted that the future welfare of the country is not an object with them? Nor is it to be expected in human nature. These *aumils* have had no check on them during the time of their employment; they appoint those that act under them, so that during the time of the year's collection their power is absolute. There is no fixed *hustabood* by which they are to collect, nor any likelihood of complaints until the poor *ryot* is really driven to the necessity by having more demanded of him than he can possibly pay. Much these poor wretches will bear rather than quit their habitations and come here to complain, especially when it is to be considered that it must always be attended with loss of time, risk of obtaining redress, and a certainty of being very ill used should the *aumils*' influence be sufficient to prevent the poor man's obtaining justice, or even access to those able to grant it to him. On this destructive plan, and with a continual demand for more revenue have the collection been made ever since the English have been in possession of the Dewanee."¹

The above observation of Richard Becher, an officer of the East India Company who had the insight to see that the revenue policy of the English was ruining the country, may be taken as a correct appreciation of the methods employed during the time the collections of the *Dewani* revenues were entrusted to Mohammed Reza Khan. Becher in this letter proposed the appointment of the Supervisors. Verelst accepted this latter proposal. Detailed instructions were drawn up for the guidance of the Supervisors. They were to collect a summary history of the district and look into the Zamindars' collection papers and prepare a correct *hustabood*. They were to meet the tenants and assuage them and impress upon them that the object of their inquiries is not to impose additional taxation but to fix the legal dues and to abolish unauthorized and illegal exactions. The very brief summary of the instructions to the Supervisors would show that Verelst had a tender regard for the *ryot*. But the efforts of Verelst to provide a good revenue administration failed.

Appointment of
Supravisors

¹ W. K. Firminger, *Introduction to the Fifth report (1917)*, pp. CLXXVI-VII.

firstly, because most of the Supravisors were not equal to the task entrusted to them and for which they had not the training, and secondly, because of distrust. The English company of merchants had not at that time realized that trust in the local official is an essential ingredient of a good administration. Ascoli writes: "Just as the Court of Directors abused its officials in India, so the Council abused and distrusted its local agents. A combination of ignorance and distrust has never proved to be an administrative success."

One of the purposes of the appointment of the Supravisors was to find the real assets of the *Dewani* lands and to prepare a correct *hustabood* of the several Zamindaris. The Supravisors failed in this. They did collect some information and it appears that Jacob Rider, the Supravisor of Nadia, did prepare a statement of assets which were available to Warren Hastings. But as stated already, the English factors at the time had the greatest distrust of Zamindari papers and could not place much reliance on their own officers either. It was, therefore, decided to find the real worth of the estates by putting them to auction. The first auction was that of the revenues of the Nadia Zamindari. The Committee consisting of Warren Hastings, Phillip Milner Dacres, James Lawrell, and John Graham went to Krishnanagar in June 1772. The Rājā of Nadia offered the annual revenue of Rs. 8,25,000 rising to Rs. 9,25,000 for the next five years. This was considered insufficient probably in view of Rider's assessment of Rs. 12 lakhs and the estate was put to auction. The highest bid secured was Rs. 10,64,530 for 50 *parganas*.¹ The following is an abstract account of the settlement:²

	Rs.
<i>Jama</i> ascertained by the public sale	10,64,530
Allowance to the farmer for making the collection	51,397
Collector's allowance and <i>Cutchery</i> officers wages	30,768
<i>Cutchery</i> contingent charges	1,560

¹ The 24 *parganas* including Calcutta which was now held as ceded land by the East India Company originally belonged to the Nadia Zamindari consisting of 75 *parganas* and noted by *Sheristadar* James Grant.

² J. M. Pringle and A. M. Kemm, *Final Report on the Survey and Settlement operations in the District of Nadia: 1918-1926*, p. 56.

(Contd.)	Rs.
Amount of ready money allowances to the establishment of <i>Tannadars</i> and <i>Pykes</i>	9,922
Allowances to the officers of the <i>adawlet</i>	1,800
<i>Dawk</i> Charges	2,568
Allowance of the <i>Kamungoe</i> at Murshidabad	4,344
<i>Peshkush</i> to <i>Tanna</i> Catwa	2,301
<i>Peshkush</i> to Morzawnagur	250
<i>Jaigir</i> of Kirza Erich Cawn	1,778
General charges including charges of remittances and repairs	3,500
<i>Poonea</i> charges	100
Allowance to the Zamindar Rājā Kishen Chand	2,00,000
	3,10,288
Net Revenue	7,54,242

If we deduct the *Malikana* or *Moshaira* as it was then called, paid to the Zamindar from the gross revenue ascertained by the bidding, the figure is Rs. 8,64,530 which is not very much higher than the offer by the Zamindar, the Rājā of Nadia, namely, Rs. 8,25,000 for the initial year and is certainly less than Rs. 9,25,000 which he promised in subsequent years.

The settlement by auction again proved a failure. It is unfortunate that Warren Hastings did not realize that the observations of Becher of 1769 in regard to the *aumils* would apply squarely to these adventurer revenue farmers. The Company had hoped that the auctions would enable them to ascertain the real value of the estates. In this they were mistaken. Estates were knocked down at the auction to speculators of small means and perhaps of lesser character whose only object was to extort from the *ryots* as much as they could during the term of their lease and leave the estates ruined and deserted.

Warren Hastings' scheme for farming out the revenues of the *Dewani* lands to highest bidders was perhaps suggested by the method employed by Reza Khan in selecting his *aumils* as disclosed in the letter of Richard Becher. He also expected that the auctions would reveal the actual assets of the estates.

Hastings' theory would have had some justification if the amounts contracted for by the farmers had been substantially realized. James Mill, the historian, has given the figures of unrealized amounts in the five year period for which the settlements were concluded. "According to the statment of the Accountant General, dated the 12th of July 1777, the remissions upon the five years' leases amounted to Rs. 1,18,79,576; and the balance, of which the greater part were wholly irrecoverable amounted to Rs. 1,29,26,910."¹

In Nadia the farmer failed to pay his contracted amount in the very first instalment and the deficit was Rs. 1,04,000. In 1773, the farmer's contract was annulled and the Rājā of Nadia agreed to take the settlement in the name of his son Shibchandra Ray on the same terms as the sale but with 10 per cent deduction for *mofussil* charges instead of five per cent. But arrears again accumulated which by 1781 reached a figure of Rs. 2½ lakhs. Even allowing a 10 per cent deduction, the net payable revenue was Rs. 9.5 lakhs. It may be relevant to note in this connection the following figures of demands and collections of the Nadia Zamindari immediately before the farming settlements.

Year	Demand Rs.	Collection Rs.
1768-69	8,33,467	7,01,778
1769-70	8,43,917	6,05,928
1770-71	8,27,420	7,36,899

The demand, Raja Shibchandra Ray accepted, was thus Rs. 1.1 lakhs higher than the highest assessment in the immediately preceding three years and Rs. 2.14 lakhs higher than the highest collection during this period.

The failure of the farming system at last led the Council to realize that the defect lay not so much with the administrative machinery as with the method of assessment. On 28th March 1775, Barwell proposed that settlements be made with the Zamindars for one to two generations and Francis in January next suggested a permanent settlement with the Zamindars. On December 24, 1776 just before the term of the farming settlement was to expire, the Court of Directors wrote that they would not

¹ James Mill, *History of British India*, Vol. IV, p. 9.

agree to either a permanent settlement or to a settlement for lives and that the lands be let out for the succeeding year on the most advantageous terms but auction should never be resorted to. In accordance with the directions, the farmers were recalled in April 1777. The lands were offered to the Zamindars on the previous year's revenue assessment. The Rājā of Nadia refused at first to take settlement on the previous year's revenue. The Calcutta Committee then decided to call for farmers to let the Zamindari in farm. His experience during the farming days when he lived a miserable life as a pensioner shorn of his glory and prestige was so vivid in his mind that the Rājā agreed.

The officers of the East India Company in India were by this time convinced that the revenue that they sought to realize was more than what the estates could bear. Indeed, the Governor-General admitted in a *minute* dated 8th February 1780 that the assessment exceeded the abilities of the Zamindars to pay in many parts.

The Zamindari system was at last again restored. But the harm caused to rural Bengal in the intervening period was incurable. Kashim Ali Khan's excessive demands started a sequence of evil practices. British administrators fell under the spell of these figures as the elaborate treatise of James Grant shows. Over-assessment with all its attendant evils became a permanent feature of the land revenue administration and this was carried through the settlement of Mohammed Reza Khan, the five year farming leases, the annual settlements with the Zamindars and even through the Decennial Settlement and the Permanent Settlement. Effective increase in the assessment went on steadily from 1765-66 to 1786-87 in spite of the following deterrent conditions. The famine of 1770 carried away a third of the population and about half of the cultivators and a whole generation of once affluent families were reduced to indigence and beggary. Nearly one third of the cultivated area lay fallow. Depopulation continued unabated for the next fifteen years and "until 1785 the old generation died off without there being any rising generation to step into their shoes."¹

"Since the Company's acquisition of the country, the current specie of the country has been greatly diminished in quantity; the old channels of importation, by which the drains were replenished, are now in a measure closed: the necessity of

Revival of
Zamindari

¹ W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, Chapter II.

supplying China, Madras and Bombay with money as well as the exportation of it by Europeans to England will still further exhaust the country of its silver."¹ The total amount of silver exported to England during 1757 to 1780 appears to have been something like 38 millions pounds sterling.² The entire export trade of Bengal was monopolized by the East India Company and as such the possibility of import of silver by the exports ceased. A portion of the Revenue realizations of Bengal was set apart every year for the purchase of goods for export to England. This was called investments. The value of these investments during 1766 to 1780 was £ 1,23,60,264.³ "The monopolistic trading policy of the Company in compelling the *ryots* to sell their products at an arbitrary low price and to buy their goods at an enhanced price and the decline of the weaving and salt industries providing a supplementary income impaired the *ryots'* power of producing wealth. The extortionate revenue demand and the policy of farming to the highest bidders struck the landlords low."⁴

When Lord Cornwallis came to India in 1786 and applied himself to the formulation of the Permanent Settlement, he was sore pressed to justify a demand of Rs. 260 lakhs which the Directors wanted. The *ryoti* assets of the country did not justify that revenue. The only justification he could find was that the Zamindars will reap the profits of extended cultivation in the untenanted jungle and waste lands left at their disposal. For some time the revenue assessment would tell heavily upon the Zamindar and some of them might lose their estates by the operation of the Sale Law but there was, he felt, ample future prospect, which an efficient Zamindar could explore; and if for his failure the property passed in the hands of the more industrious, the better it was for the country and the community as well as for the State. The revenue demand of the Permanent Settlement was a demand which was proportioned according to the needs of the Company and not upon the resources of the country. The future was unknown and in view of the decimated population and large areas having been covered by jungle, extension of cultivation could not be done except by

¹ Shore's *minutes*, *loc. cit.*

² J. C. Sinha, *Economic Annals of Bengal*, p. 51.

³ P. N. Banerji, *Finance in the days of the Company*, Ninth Report of the Select Committee, 1783.

⁴ Bejoy Chand Mahatab, 'Minute of Dissent', *vide Report of the Land Revenue Commission of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 207.

making large investments. Lord Cornwallis did not consider whether the Zamindars, who were given the allurements of future profits, had the necessary capital at their disposal to lay out.

"The assessment of the Decennial Settlement (1790-91) which was eventually made permanent in 1763, was fixed at Rs. 268 lacs, exclusive of the *Sayer* (separately reserved by the Government) and even of invalid *lakheraj* lands within the Zamindaris. Over Rs. 60 lacs of the assessment was thus entirely on prospective basis. It was a perfect business proposition for a trading company when the future, political or otherwise, was still so much in the hands of God. Sure of a revenue of Rs. 268 lacs and armed with the power of bringing an estate forthwith to sale when the revenue was not paid punctually, they found large sums of money for application to the development of their own trade for meeting deficits in other parts of their possessions in India, prosecuting territorial campaigns, and even assisting outside as far as St. Helena and the wars in Europe."

"While this happened estate after estate was knocked down in revenue sales. How pitiable the condition was, is evidenced by the fact that for many years, these sales did not fetch even the arrear revenue, and in many cases there were no bids. By 1815, wrote A. D. Campbell, one-third or rather one-half of the Zamindaris in Bengal passed out of the hands of the older families."¹ It was useless to attribute this to the contumacy of the Zamindars. The hard fact was that the revenue fixed was excessive and the depletion of silver due to causes mentioned earlier actually lowered the price of grain and thus raised the effective demand of rent or revenue.

As in other Zamindaris, the dismemberment of Nadia Zamindari proceeded fairly rapidly after Permanent Settlement by the enforcement of the Sale law. In 1803, the Zamindari was under Court of Wards, but in 1805 it was restored to Raja Girish Chandra Ray. In 1806, large portions of Ālampur and Ukhrā *parganas* were sold to Sambhu Chandra Pal and Krishna Chandra Pal. *Pargana* Ukhrā at the Decennial Settlement had been assessed at Rs. 1,61,070; by 1810, alienations had reduced it to Rs. 1,33,988; in 1811, there were further sales involving deductions amounting to Rs. 35,000 odd and in 1813, the whole estate was put to sale for the realization of judicial dues and

Ruin of Nadia Zamindari by application of Sale law

¹ M. N. Gupta, 'Notes' in *Report of the Land Revenue Commission, Bengal*, 1941, Vol. V, pp. 178-79.

² *Ibid.*, p. 179.

Government revenue. As a result, the lands left were found only sufficient to bear a revenue of approximately Rs. 72,000. This process of disintegration went on fairly rapidly and the chief pre-occupation of the revenue authorities was the creation of the separate estates and the adjustment of their revenue. By 1809, it was reported that there were no less than 886 estates which paid their revenue directly to Government. The process continued for the next 50 years. By 1850, the number of estates had grown to 3,064. The condition of Raja Girish Chandra Ray in 1840 is described in the *Settlement Report* as very poor and miserable. The only estate he had was 9 *mahals* with a revenue of Rs. 33,000 and profits of about Rs. 13,000. In less than 50 years after the Permanent Settlement, the large Zamindari of 75 *parganas* had been ruined.¹

The tenancies in Nadia district were in some respect peculiar. But, as with the abolition of the Zamindaris and implementation of the Estates Acquisition Act all tenancies have been brought to one uniform level, only a brief description is given here.

The Settlement operations of 1918-26 revealed these peculiarities. In Krishnaganj and Hanskhali thanas as well as certain other thanas pertaining to East Pakistan (now Bangladesh), quite a large number of tenancies were found which were held at fixed rents and according to the presumption of Section 50 of the Bengal Tenancy Act they were declared *mokarari*.

In Ranaghat, Chakdaha and Haringhata thanas, the ordinary divisions of *ryoti* status into *ryots* holding at fixed rents, occupancy and non-occupancy *ryots* were unknown. Instead, the classifications locally known are (a) *bemeyadi ryots*, (b) *meyadi ryots* and (c) *utbandi ryots*. Both *bemeyadi* and *meyadi ryots* held under written instruments. The *bemeyadi ryot* was a permanent *ryot* locally known as *mourasi* also. The implications of the contract with Zamindar was that the rent should be fixed but omission to mention this in the instrument had led to enhancement in some cases. The *meyadi ryot* held under a temporary lease and was liable to eviction on notice. In Kaliganj, Nakasipara, Navadwip, Krishnanagar and Shantipur thanas, much of the land was held under *utbandi* tenancy. *Mokarari* tenancies were insignificant in this area. Various grades of *patnis* were common with direct sub-infeudation of several grades till the whole lands were united in the hands

¹ *Ide, Nadia Settlement Report.*

of one man at the bottom. This was a remnant of the indigo days. This artifice enabled the planters to have actual hold over large areas of land. In Tehatta and Karimpur thanas, the real landlords were the permanent tenure holders. The number of *mokarari ryotis* were small being only 7.5 per cent in Karimpur thana. The reason of such divergence from the norms of other districts is not easy to guess. It may be that the land system in Nadia district was initially different from other districts, because in Nadia we find a continuance of the land and revenue systems from the Hindu times to the time of the *Dewani* of the East India Company. Or what is equally possible is that with the dismemberment of the Nadia Zamindari purchasers at the sales utilized the provision of Section 5 of *Regulation XLIV of 1793* for the wholesale eviction of the tenants or for the enhancement of rents and creation of new tenancies. Decimation of population by the famine of 1770-71 and by the Burdwan fevers in the middle of the last century, left much of the land without a cultivator. The landlords might have utilized these fallow lands to create a tenancy system under which the tenant was a mere tenant at will.

Utbandi tenancies are peculiar to this district and merit a brief description. It is defined in the technical rules of the *Survey and Settlement Manual* in the following terms: "The holding is not fixed either in area or in position but consists of a variable parcel or parcels of land ascertained by measurement or inspection made at least once a year. The rent is paid for each year or season in respect of the parcel or parcels of land which has been ascertained by the said measurement or inspection to have been during the year or season in question, in the cultivation of the *ryot*. This is a legal system of *ryoti* tenancy. The two essential features of the system are: (a) the fluctuating character of the lands in the holdings; (b) the measurement of inspection made at least once a year, with a view to the assessment of the rent."

In an area where the lands are not too fertile and required cyclical fallowing for recuperation and where the land was in excess of the demand, the *utbandi* system was a tenant's choice. The *ryot* chose suitable parcels of land for cultivation and paid rent in accordance with established rates for the crop sown and for the area brought under the plough. So long as land was available in abundance, the *utbandi* system was beneficial both for the *ryot* as well as for the Zamindar. But gradually,

*Utbandi
tenancy*

Tenancies in
Nadia district

as population increased and land diminished in quantity, abuses began to set in. The legal disadvantage of the *utbandi* tenant was that by the provision of Section 180 of the Bengal Tenancy Act, he was prevented from securing occupancy rights. The *utbandi* system required annual measurement of the area cultivated and inspection of the crop grown as the rate of rent was different for different crops. The large scale prevalence of the system is evidenced by the existence of a family title of *Halsana* in the district. The *Halsana* was the petty Zamindari official who used the measure, inspected the lands and prepared the *chitthas*. The petty Zamindari staff were proverbially ill paid and proverbially dishonest and in many cases they were not paid at all and subsisted on the fees paid by the cultivators. If a tenant was prepared to grease the palm of this official, he could get the area under his cultivation reduced. The excess may be returned as fallow or tacked on to the holding of another poorer or more honest tenant. Under these circumstances the tenant was always uncertain of what the demand on him would be and had little chance of realizing whether his legal rights have been ignored. Thus, *utbandi* system later gave rise to the several evil effects. It put a discount on enterprise by taxing the more valuable crops and giving no security of tenure. It often left the tenant in perpetual uncertainty about his true liability.

These and many other abuses and difficulties were pointed out by the Settlement operations of 1918-26 and the Bengal Tenancy Act was amended and Section 180A was inserted in 1923 whereby the tenant on application to the Collector, Subdivisional Officer or Revenue Officer could have a uniform money rent determined for his holding and could be declared an occupancy *ryot* if he was eligible but had not acquired such right by the operation of Section 180 of the Act.

The West Bengal Estates Acquisition Act, 1953 was brought into operation in two stages. In April 1955, all the Zamindari interests were abolished but the intermediary interests below the Zamindar were allowed to remain. All rent receiving interests were abolished in April 1956 and the land revenue administration in West Bengal changed its character from a Zamindari system to a *ryotwari* system. For the purpose of preparation of the new record of rights, the old records of rights were taken up from the stage of attestation. All sub-infeudations were annualled and rents were refixed in accordance with the

The present system of assessment & collection of land revenue

established rates in respect of land actually possessed. The total demand on the basis of this revision for the district of Nadia for 1376 B.S. was Rs. 24,28,846.

The Collector is the chief officer-in-charge of collection of land revenue in the district. The direct charge of the collection department, however, rests with an Additional District Magistrate (Estates Acquisition). He exercises all the powers of the Collector under the Act. In each subdivision, the Subdivisional Officer is in overall charge of the collection administration and the direct charge is held by a Subdivisional Land Reforms Officer. At the thana level a Junior Land Reforms Officer is in charge of the collections. On the basis of the revision of records of rights and refixation of rents, tenants' ledgers have been opened in the offices of the Junior Land Reforms Officers. Actual collection is made by Tahsildars in each *mouza* who issues rent receipts to the tenants. The amounts collected are deposited in the Sadar or Subdivisional treasuries, as the case may be, by the Tahsildar by special land revenue *challans*. Printed rent receipt books are issued to the Tahsildars by the J.L.R.O.s and a strict account of the books issued and the books expended is kept. In cases of default, the arrears are realizable by the certificate procedure in accordance with the Bengal Public Demands Recovery Act, 1913. Every J.L.R.O. has been vested with the powers of a Certificate Officer. The table of collections from 1372 B.S. (1965-66) to 1376 B.S. (1969-70) is given in the Appendix.

The East India Company achieved a political status in Bengal in 1765 with the acquisition of the *Dewani*. As a mercantile body it was hardly a suitable body for the exercise of the imperial powers. Its organization was loose, torn by internal dissension, suspicion and avarice in at least some of its officers. The Company had not till 1793 any administrative machinery of its own, trained and equipped to carry on the task of assessment and collection of land revenue. Both Shore and Cornwallis who were the authors of the Permanent Settlement had soft corners in their hearts for the peasants. Shore felt, however, that after having declared the Zamindar proprietor of the land, the Company would have no power to interfere with his absolute right of landlordism. Cornwallis, however, did not share Shore's difficulty. He wrote, "If Mr. Shore

LAND REFORMS
The history of relation between landlord and tenant

means that after having declared the Zamindar proprietor of the soil, in order to be consistent we have no right to prevent his imposing new *abwabs* or taxes on lands in cultivation. I must differ from his opinion, unless we suppose the *ryots* to be absolute slaves of the Zamindars: every *bigha* of land possessed by them must have been cultivated under an expressed or implied agreement that a certain sum should be paid per *bigha* and no more. Every *abwab* or tax, imposed by the Zamindar over and above this sum is not only a breach of that agreement, but a direct violation of the established laws of the country. The cultivator, therefore, has in such case an undoubted right to apply to Government for protection of his property, and the Government is at all times bound to afford him redress. I do not hesitate, therefore, to give it as my opinion, that the Zamindars neither now nor ever, could possess a right to impose taxes or *abwabs* on the *ryots*.¹ Cornwallis laboured under two misconceptions. The one was that the *pargana* rates were known and definite which fixed the rents per *bigha* and the other was that usage and custom was so precise and definite that easy redress could be had in courts of law in case of breach. Thus writes L. R. Fawcett in the *Khulna Settlement Report*, "The framers of the *Regulations* confused the ideal with the real; the well-known homily in *Regulation I of 1793* 'to discharge the revenue at the stipulated periods without delay or evasion and to conduct themselves with good faith and moderation towards their dependent *talukdars* and *ryots* are duties at all times indispensably required from the proprietors of land' etc., proved vain words and the legislation intended to 'promote the future ease and happiness of the people' (Article VI, *Regulation I, 1793*) proved in most cases a source of ruin to the proprietor and oppression to the tenants."

Cornwallis did not stay in India to see the ruin wrought by his system. The real fault was that the assessment of revenue was too high. The payment was enforced by a Sale law for sale of proportionate parts of estates for failure of every monthly *kist*. This was a mode unknown in India. Under the Mughal system, the Zamindars paid their revenue in instalments and the final accounting was done at the end of the year. Collection of rents also have to be made according to agricultural seasons

¹ W. K. Firminger, *loc. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 532.

as each crop is harvested and ready for the market. A monthly *kist* under such circumstances was wrong in principle and could only be paid by the Zamindars if they had reserve assets with which to discharge their liability. The Maratha depredations, the exacting collections of Kashim Ali Khan, the famine of 1770-71, and the farming settlements from 1772 to 1777 during which period the Zamindars were pensioned off with a pittance, had actually so undermined the financial conditions of the Zamindars that few had any reserve fund with which to pay the monthly *kists* before realizing the rents from the *ryots*.

The ruin of the landed aristocracy of Bengal, some of whom were actually independent *Rājās* like the Nadia *Rājā* from before the Muslim conquest, started from the very first year of the Permanent Settlement. The British administrators at the time blamed the contumacy of the Zamindars and their incompetence. The Permanent Settlement assessment had put the Zamindars on the rack. Soon it was realized by the British administrators that unless the Zamindars were given the power to put the *ryots* too on the rack, the revenue of the East India Company will be in jeopardy. Even in the *Regulations of 1793*, there were contradictions. Thus *Regulation VIII of 1793* declared that the tenancy of the *khudkast ryot* could not be annulled so long he paid rent. But *Regulation XLIV of 1793* provided that the purchasers at the Revenue Sales could annul all tenancies. This completely negated the provisions of Section 49 of *Regulation VIII of 1793* which gave security of tenure to the *istimradars*. Section 50 of the same *Regulation* declared that the rent of the *istimradars* (*khudkast ryots*) could be revised in accordance with the *pargana* rates. *Regulation IV of 1794* declared that disputes about rent even of *khudkast ryots* could be referred to the civil court for adjudication. Since the *pargana* rate was an elusive thing, the Zamindar's mere statement was proof of it and by this means the so called security given to the *khudkast ryots* was also taken away.

In 1793, the worst of the anti-tenant *Regulation*, i.e. *Regulation VII of 1793* (*Haftam Regulation*) was promulgated. This authorized the Zamindar to seize and sell the crop and chattel of the *ryot* in case of default. Power was also given to the Zamindar which he could delegate to his inferior servants to enter into the houses of the *ryots* and seize his personal belongings. *Regulation V of 1812* (*Pancham Regulation*) in an attempt to give relief to the *ryot* actually made his position worse.

Under this *Regulation*, if the *ryot* wanted to prevent distraint of his crops and chattels, he had to approach the civil court and prove that nothing was due from him. This *Regulation* reversed the course of natural justice by shifting the onus of proof from the Zamindar to the *ryot*. While the supposed authority to annul the tenancy of a *khudkast ryot* by *Regulation XLIV of 1793* may be construed as an error of drafting as was held in the Great Rent Case of 1865, *Regulation XI of 1822* actually made a positive encroachment on the right of the *khudkast ryot* by introducing the word *kadimi*. Thus this *Regulation* went back upon the scheme of Cornwallis to give protection to all *khudkast ryots* by specially stating that the rights of only those *khudkast ryots* whose tenancies subsisted from before the Permanent Settlement need be protected from annulment after revenue sales. Again, by 1812, most part of the original Zamindaris had passed out of the hands of those who originally contracted at the Permanent Settlement. The new purchasers were not slow to take advantage of the lacuna in drafting of *Regulation XLIV of 1793* and had already in most cases annulled the tenancies. Thus both the *khudkast* and the *khudkast kadimi ryots* suffered. The judicial determination in the Great Rent Case came too late. The mischief had already been done. The Settlement operations taken up from the beginning of the present century, did not find any more than 10 to 12 per cent of the tenancies in any district as *mokarari*. Even so, many of these were declared *mokarari* by the presumption of Section 50 of the Bengal Tenancy Act. Thus, only a negligible fraction of the original *khudkast ryots* subsisting at the Permanent Settlement survived.

The first legislation to secure the rights of the tenants was the Rent Act (Act X of 1859). This Act, while avoiding a definition of tenancy, conceived three classifications of tenancies: (1) *ryots* at fixed rates, (2) occupancy *ryots* and (3) non-occupancy *ryots*. The first group were *ryots* whose rents have not changed since the time of the Permanent Settlement and for practical purposes those whose rent had not changed for twenty years, were presumed to be holding at the same rent since the time of the Permanent Settlement. The second group were *ryots* who had held land for a period of twelve years though not at fixed rent. The rents of such tenants were to be equitable rents. The third group were *ryots* who did not belong to the previous two groups. The rent of such *ryots* were to be

determined by agreement between the parties. All *ryots* were entitled to receive *pāṭṭās*. Again, this was a half-hearted legislation and there remained scope for oppression on the tenant by suits for enhancement of rent in the last two categories. The Act provided for suits for enhancement of rents but did not lay down definite principles for fixing the equitable rent. Judicial pronouncement in the Great Rent Case¹ decided that the rent paid by the *ryot* previously shall be deemed fair and equitable rent unless the contrary is proved. The next comprehensive legislation was the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885. So far the district of Nadia is concerned, the *utbandi* tenants were kept at a special disadvantage by Section 180 of the Act alluded to previously. The tenant's right in the Mughal days was transferable. The Permanent Settlement ignored it. It was not till the 1928 Amendment of the Bengal Tenancy Act that the *ryot* regained this right with some restrictions. Under the Estates Acquisition Act, the *ryot* has been declared a proprietor of the tenancy and has been given full liberty of transfer and inheritance. In the case of the members of the Scheduled tribes, however, the tenancy is heritable but cannot be transferred save with the sanction of the Revenue Officer. This has been done to prevent land belonging to Scheduled tribes from falling into the clutches of designing people outside the tribe.

Under the Land Reforms Act, 1955, the ceiling of the agricultural holding was 25 acres per individual. A recent enactment aims at fixing the ceiling per agricultural family instead of the individual. The new amended act is still in its operational stage. The total area of agricultural and other land vested in the State owing to the operation of the ceiling up to 30th April 1971 in the district of Nadia was 11,825 acres. An area of 6,927 acres out of this has been settled with cultivators on licence for one year, and 176 acres has been settled in *ryoti* status.

The only agrarian movement which is noteworthy was the indigo disturbances mentioned in Chapter II of this volume. In some estates in this district, the Zamindars attempted to enhance rent by falsification of records so as to take advantage of the first proviso to Section 29 of the Bengal Tenancy Act. In another case in Betai the Zamindar tried to enhance rent on

Ceiling of
agricultural
holdings

Agrarian
movement of
early times

¹ Thakooranee Dossi Vs. Bishessor Mukherji (1865 full bench) 3 W.R. 29; B.L.R. 2002.

the second proviso of the same Section for having made an improvement by excavating a *khāl* which was in fact excavated by contributions from the tenants themselves. These gave rise to minor commotions.

Bhoodan

This movement did not gain any momentum in this district.

Rural wages

Daily wages of agricultural labour in the district as paid in the State Agricultural Farms under the Minimum Wages Act, 1948 were as follows in 1969-70 (in rupees): man 3.05, woman 2.78 and child 1.77.¹

ADMINISTRATION OF
OTHER SOURCES
OF REVENUE

Other sources of revenue, both in the Central and State sectors, are realized under different Acts and the administration thereof is carried on by the respective departments.

CHAPTER XI

LAW, ORDER AND JUSTICE

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the district was notorious for the crime of dacoity or gang-robbery. During his viceroyalty (1704-25), Murshid Kuli Khan took stern steps to suppress the crime. But the crime again became prevalent under the less vigorous government of Murshid Kuli Khan's successors. Great disorder reigned for some years after the English obtained the *Dewani* in 1765.¹ The question, which came up for considerable debate was whether the Company had any authority to alter the criminal law of the country.² On the other hand, the Nawab, who was responsible for the administration of criminal justice, lacked the means to enforce his decisions.

INCIDENCE OF
CRIME

The reasons lying behind the notorious crime of dacoity in the district were many and varied. Besides the legal confusion already mentioned, inconceivable oppressions and hardships were inflicted by the English merchants and their *gomastās* on the poor manufacturers, weavers and workmen. Many Zamindars again were dispossessed throughout the country. They themselves started living by plunder. Moreover, they had to dismiss their armed retainers and *lāṭhiāls*, who increased the number of the dacoits. Coupled with the unemployment and poverty was the general collapse of the criminal administration. Moreover, the geography of the district was favourable to the professional dacoits. The district was intersected by streams, creeks and jungles.

The official records relating to the suppression of dacoity contain interesting particulars regarding the operations of the dacoits in the district of Nadia. These dacoits generally used to operate in gangs mainly within the jurisdictions of Krishnanagar, Shāntipur, Rānāghāt, Hānskhālī, Chākdaha and Nākāsipārā thanas. Surprisingly enough, womenfolk also accompanied the

¹ J.H.E. Garrett, *Nadia District Gazetteer*, Calcutta, 1910, p. 120.

² Hastings maintained that the Company was entitled to abrogate the rules of Muhammedan law. (Letter from Warren Hastings to the Council, dated July 10, 1773.) Cornwallis was also of the same opinion. (*Minute of Cornwallis*, dated December 3, 1790). But there were some who held that from the terms of the *Farman* by which the *Dewani* was granted to the Company, it was clear that in the *Nizamat* the Company 'had no legal right to interfere'. Hunter, *Annals*, pp. 329-30.

¹ Government of West Bengal, *Economic Review*: 1970-71

gangs in their expeditions. From the confessions of the prisoners it appears that there was one Sona Dhopenee who was regarded as an incarnation of the goddess Devi and worshipped before the attack of a house was made. Zamindars of the district were patrons, protectors, saviours and partners of the gangs sharing the spoils of their depredations. Besides the Zamindars, the police personnel and also the factory men were in league with these gangs of dacoits.

Cases which came up before the Commission for Suppression of Dacoity, which was constituted by the Company, show the determined and daring manner in which these crimes were committed. By way of citing two cases of dacoity the Commission observed, "Notwithstanding in both cases they knew people were awake and awaiting them and ready to oppose them, the dacoits still did their utmost to force their way into the house. The dacoits go upon these expeditions with the full intention of overcoming all obstacles and committing the crimes at all hazards. If opposed they did not hesitate to murder but if possible they would rather carry out without injuring anybody."¹

These organized gangs mainly committed crimes for the purpose of plunder but they also used to commit them through motives of revenge. In some cases the sole object of the gang was to murder a person who had oppressed them, for example, a village *gomastā*.²

Dacoity became such a menace to the administration and the people alike that East India Company could not remain idle. Stringent measures were adopted to suppress the crime. In 1808, it was enacted that notwithstanding any other previous law (*Clause 3, Section IV of Regulation LIII of 1803*) in this regard, all persons convicted of being concerned in robbery by open violence and who were not liable to suffer death under the *Regulations* in force, were to be sentenced to thirty-nine lashes and imprisonment or transportation for life.³ But by November of the same year the Governor-General felt it necessary to make some further arrangements for facility of apprehension of the dacoits. So by *Regulation IX of 1808* it was provided

¹ *Bengal Government Selections*, No. XVIII, *Correspondence relating to the Suppression of Dacoity in Bengal*, 1854.

² *Selections from the Records of Bengal Government* No. XXXI. *Report relating to the Suppression of Dacoity in Bengal for 1857-8*.

³ *Regulation VIII of 1808*, section iii.

that notorious dacoits were liable to imprisonment or transportation for life, if they would not surrender themselves within the specified period of the proclamation. Provision was also made for rewarding persons giving information leading to the apprehension of the dacoits. Landholders, any of their officers or any of the Indian Revenue Officers of the Government were made punishable for their neglect to give any information of any dacoity or any dacoit. If any person, be he a Zamindar or an officer, was guilty of harbouring or assisting proclaimed dacoits, he was also to be punished. In the month of April 1837, a Commission for the Suppression of Dacoity was established. In 1839 the offices of the General Superintendent of Measures for the Suppression of *thuggee* and the Commissioner for the Suppression of Dacoity were united. For the better suppression and apprehension of dacoits, Act XXIV of 1843 was passed. This Act provided that whosoever was proved to have belonged either before or after the passing of this Act to any gang of dacoits, either within or without the territories of the East India Company, was to be punished with transportation for life or with imprisonment for any shorter term with hard labour.¹ A Commissioner for the Suppression of Dacoity in Lower Bengal was appointed under this Act on the 26th April 1852. Nadia district was included in the jurisdiction of this office in the month of April 1853.

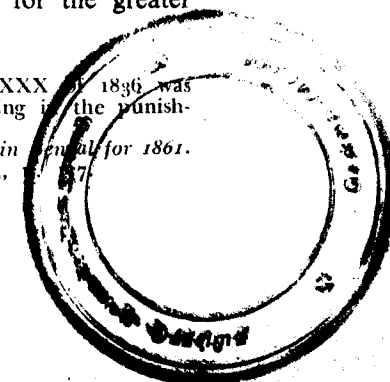
Although dacoity was repressed to a very considerable extent, the Dacoity Commissioner brought to the notice of the authorities in 1861 the increase of burglaries.² This was probably a natural consequence. When the leading gangs were broken up, small parties took to the safer and equally profitable crime of burglary.

Besides burglary, cattle stealing was the common crime during the late half of the nineteenth century in the district, principally committed by cowherds and milkmen. Although there were agrarian outrages and murders also took place, serious crimes did not appear to be prevalent in Nadia, as observed by Hunter.³ Garrett also observed that Nadia no longer bore the unenviable reputation of being a crime district as it bore for the greater

¹ The measure taken against the *Thugs* under Act XXX of 1836 was extended against the dacoits under this Act — differing in the punishment prescribed.

² *Annual Report relating to the Suppression of Dacoity in Bengal for 1861*.

³ *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. II, London, 1875, p. 187.



part of the last century.¹ He further observes, "At present there is no form of crime which is specially prevalent in the district. River dacoity which is characteristic of the eastern districts of the Division, is practically unknown in Nadia. Professional cattle thefts are fairly common, but not to a very marked extent."²

Although cattle theft still continued during the sixties (1961-69) of the present century, ordinary theft and burglary took the leading positions. But cattle theft had always a lead over sex crime, dacoity and murder. The respective annual average of these six major crimes during the said nine-year period was: ordinary theft, 1,353; burglary, 8000.7; cattle theft, 105.6; sex crime, 32.4; dacoity, 29.5 and murder, 24. The actual break-ups of the relevant figures would appear from the table below.³

INCIDENCE OF CRIME IN NADIA DISTRICT : 1961-69

Year	Dacoity	Burglary	Cattle theft	Ordinary theft	Murder	Sex Crime
1961	21	736	88	1,232	17	14
1962	19	757	84	1,317	17	21
1963	12	667	96	1,143	25	18
1964	22	639	163	1,162	26	25
1965	24	710	135	1,054	24	15
1966	33	808	74	119	23	18
1967	34	1,150	102	1,695	27	65
1968	58	978	110	1,635	23	61
1969	43	762	99	1,820	34	55
TOTAL	266	7,207	951	12,177	216	292

DISTRICT
POLICE

The East India Company did not interfere with the police administration of the country immediately after acquiring the *Dewani* in 1765. The office of the *Dewan* was mainly for the collection of revenue. But it was soon realized that unless there was peace in the country the very collection of revenue would suffer. The East India Company under the Governor-Generalship of Warren Hastings started some police reforms. But the steps taken were half-hearted and no tangible improvement was effected till the arrival of Lord Cornwallis.

¹ J.H.E. Garrett, *loc. cit.*

² *Loc. cit.*

³ Source : Deputy Inspector General of Police, C.I.D., West Bengal.

The present set up of the district police is in principle the same as obtaining in 1861 with minor changes in the organization. The only change since then has been in the matter of the total number of personnel deployed. The district police organization follows the general pattern of other districts and consists of a District Superintendent of Police assisted by an Additional Superintendent of Police working under the immediate supervision of the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Presidency Range.

There are 13 police thanas in the district of which eight are in the Sadar subdivision and five in Ranaghat subdivision. Each thana is under a senior Sub-Inspector of Police who is called the Officer-in-Charge of a thana. The Officer-in-Charge is assisted by two or three Sub-Inspectors of Police according to the size of the thana and according to immediate necessity. Each thana has its complement of Assistant Sub-Inspector of Police and constables. Every Sub-Inspector of Police is vested with the powers of investigation under Chapter XIV of the *Criminal Procedure Code*. A senior Assistant Sub-Inspector of proved ability is occasionally vested with the powers of investigation.

The Enforcement and Intelligence Branches have offices in the district and look after their respective duties.

Apart from the district police, there is another police organization on the same pattern, namely, the Government Railway Police having jurisdiction over the Railway lines and premises situated in the district. There is a Government Railway Police Station at Ranaghat with outposts at Ranaghat, Kalyani, Krishnanagar, Banpur and Gede. The organization is under the Superintendent of Railway Police at Sealdah. The total number of crimes investigated by the Government Railway Police within the jurisdiction of the district was 1,510 in 1970-71.

"In ancient times the village watchman was an officer maintained by the village community in which he lived. During the Muhammadan rule the Zamindars who were appointed to collect the Emperor's rent were also charged with responsibility for conducting civil and criminal administration including the policing of rural areas. The watchman who was originally the servant of the village community and maintained by them was thus merged into the Zamindari establishment. The police administration, if it can be so called, remained in the hands of the Zamindars until the East India Company decided to

Enforcement

Government
Railway
Police

Rural Police

create a separate police force in 1792. In that year they issued a proclamation transferring the police administration to their own officers and relieving the Zamindars of their police functions. The office of *Daroga* was created and the village watchmen were placed under his authority. The system, however, did not prove a success, the main reason assigned being the unsatisfactory and insufficient provision made for their support. By *Regulation XIII of 1813* a *chaukidari* system by which the inhabitants were made to pay for their watchman was introduced into the larger cities and this was gradually extended to many of the rural areas of Bengal. The term *chaukidari* as applied to the village watchman dates from this time. Provision was made in *Regulation XX of 1817* to legalize this extension of the town *chaukidari* system to the district.¹ During the next fifty years the village watch system became the subject of many criticisms, which mainly centred round these two theories: (1) whether the village watchman should be essentially a village servant subject in all essentials to the control of village authorities and (2) whether he should be essentially an integral part of the police machine, the villagers being merely required to pay for him. Legislations from 1870 to 1905 weakened the connexion between the villagers and the village police and thus brought the latter more and more under the control of the district Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police. Thus the 'village servant' theory adopted in the Act of 1870² was

¹ *Report of the Chaukidari Enquiry Committee* : 1938-40, p. 125.

² Sir Rivers Thompson, in introducing the relevant Bill in the Bengal Council, 22nd January 1870, gave an account of the village police as it existed then, which is worth quoting : "As at present constituted, the organization of the village police is radically bad. The village policeman is appointed by the Zamindar and the village community or by one of these two. He is also maintained by them either by lands or by wages in money or kind; he is also their servant. He is a fellow-villager of the villagers and almost universally he is a tenant of the Zamindar. His wages, if he is paid in money or in kind, are always ludicrously insufficient, are generally in arrears, and are seldom paid regularly. His lands if they are sufficient for the maintenance, are also of that extent that they occupy the whole of his time to cultivate. When they are insufficient—and they always are so—what is the village watchman to do? He must live and he usually not only lives but thrives not unfrequently by being the leader and most usually by being the participator in or the conniver at, the offences it is his duty to prevent or discover and disclose." For the utter inefficiency of the village watch as an instrument in the prevention and detection of crime insufficiency of pay was not the only fault. Also cf. G. Toynbee, *Chaukidari Manual*, Calcutta, 1887, pp. 17-9 for the duties of *chaukidar*; W. R. Gurlay, *A Contribution towards a History of the Police in Bengal*, Calcutta 1916, pp. 106-7.

to some extent abandoned in favour of the 'Police Officer' theory. This tendency received a check after the report of the Police Commission,¹ and a system of dual control between the Union Board and the Magistrate was embodied in the village Self-Government Act of 1919. Whether that was the best working system was one among the subjects of inquiry of the Chaukidari Enquiry Committee, 1938-40.² The Committee, among other things, was of view that the scope and intention of the powers and duties of the village watchmen should be intelligently appreciated by all concerned, that is, the Union Boards, the police and the watchmen themselves. This appreciation has probably become a fact with the passage of the West Bengal Panchayat Act, 1956.

A semi-official organization with local volunteers, the Nadia Unit of the West Bengal National Volunteer Force is headed by a Company Commander responsible to the State Commandant, Chief District Commandant or Deputy Chief District Commandant for overall administration of his unit, including enrolment of recruits for basic training. He has under him 2 Assistant Company Commanders and 10 Platoon Commanders.

During 1970-71, the force was called up for various duties connected with law and order, harvesting, cordoning, mid-term election, etc. Total establishment expenditure for the unit during the said year was Rs. 91,976.³

During the regime of the East India Company, *foujdari* jails were crowded with numerous criminals, whose maintenance proved to be a serious problem for the Government. Reforms of the jails had to be undertaken. For instance, the *foujdari* jail at Krishnanagar was materially improved after 1792.⁴ Up to the year 1860, the administration of the district jails had been the responsibility of the Magistrates. But with the passage of time the Magistrates became so over burdened with other works that they found little time to look after the jails. Eventually, Civil Surgeons, who had only medical charge of the

National
Volunteer
Force

PRISON AD-
MINISTRATION

¹ *Report of the Police Commission in 1902-3.*

² This committee sat among other places at Krishnanagar on 26th and 27th November 1938 and examined the Chairman of the District Board, the Circle Inspector and Circle Officer, Sadar, ten selected Presidents from the five sub-divisions of the district, the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police.

³ Source : State Commandant, West Bengal National Volunteer Force.

⁴ N. Majumdar, *Justice and Police in Bengal*, Calcutta, 1960, p. 291. According to T. K. Banerjee a new jail at Nadia along with those at different other districts was completed during 1796-98. *Background to Indian Criminal Law*, Calcutta, 1963, p. 322.

jails, were invested with the entire charge.¹ A full jail establishment during the latter half of the nineteenth century consisted of the Superintendent or Officer-in-Charge, Jailor, *Naib* or Deputy Jailor, paid Trunkey establishment, Police or Special Guards, Clerk or Writer, Warden and Work-Overseer establishment.²

At present, there is a District Jail at Krishnanagar and a Sub-jail at Ranaghat. A whole-time Superintendent holds charge of the District Jail. He is assisted by a Jailor and a Deputy Jailor. The Subdivisional Officer, Ranaghat is the part-time Superintendent of the Sub-jail there. The Subdivisional Medical Officer acts as the Medical Officer and *ex-officio* Deputy Superintendent of the Sub-jail.

Prisoners of the Sub-jail are mostly under trial. Convicts with sentences for more than fourteen days are transferred to the Krishnanagar District Jail. The Krishnanagar Jail has accommodation for 498 prisoners, while the Ranaghat Sub-jail has accommodation for 61. The daily average of prisoners in 1972 in the Krishnanagar Jail was 38.82 for convicts and 665.64 for undertrials, while in Ranaghat Sub-jail it was 26.49 for convicts and 161.18 for undertrials. In 1970 and 1971 respectively 14,927 and 15,387 prisoners received medical treatment in the Krishnanagar District Jail, while during those years the number of prisoners treated medically in the Ranaghat Sub-jail was 7,585 and 7,665 respectively.

The prisoners receive general treatment as provided for in the *West Bengal Jail Code*. There is arrangement for imparting compulsory literacy to illiterate prisoners. They are provided with facilities to prosecute higher studies and to appear in the School Board and University examinations. They are supplied with daily newspapers and are allowed to participate in indoor and outdoor games. They also take training in weaving, tailoring and laundry service, such facilities being provided within the jail.

The daily average number of juvenile delinquents in the Krishnanagar District Jail is 32.13, most of them being illiterate and their ages ranging between 15 and 21 years. The number of juvenile delinquents in the Ranaghat Sub-jail during 1972 was

559 of whom 258 were below 10 years and 301 above 10. Of the said delinquents, 277 were literate and 282 illiterate.

There is a Probation Officer in the district headquarters who recommends to trying courts the cases of offenders who can be released on probation instead of being sent to jail. He makes necessary inquiries about the offenders for the purpose. He also supervises the offenders who are released on probation.

For the purpose of excise administration the district is divided into four circles, each consisting of certain police stations. Kotwali, Navadwip and Krishnaganj police stations are in the Sadar circle. Ranaghat circle is constituted of Ranaghat, Shantipur and Hanskhali police stations; Chakdaha circle has within its jurisdiction Chakdaha, Haringhata and Kalyani police stations; while Bethuadahari circle consists of Nakasipara, Chapra, Kali-ganj, Tehatta and Karimpur police stations. Subordinate to the District Collector, the Superintendent of Excise looks after the administration of these excise circles.

The Superintendent has under him one Inspector having jurisdiction over the entire district and another Inspector for Kalyani Brewery. There are in all five Sub-Inspectors, one each for the four excise circles and another for the Krishnanagar warehouse. There are also four Assistant Sub-Inspectors, of whom one is attached with Kalyani Brewery, and thirtythree constables.

The following table would indicate the number of licences issued for the sale of excise articles.

EXCISE ADMINIS-
TRATION

LICENCES ISSUED: 1962-63 to 1970-71 ¹							
Year	Country Foreign						
	spirit	liquor	Tari	Pachai	Ganja	Bhang	Opium
1962-63	14	1	12	19	18	6	13
1963-64	14	1	12	19	18	6	13
1964-65	16	1	12	19	18	6	13
1965-66	16	1	12	19	18	6	13
1966-67	16	1	12	19	18	6	13
1967-68	16	1	12	19	18	6	12
1968-69	16	1	12	19	18	6	12
1969-70	16	3	12	20	18	6	12
1970-71	16	3	12	20	18	6	12

¹ Source: Commissioner of Excise, West Bengal. For a comparative interest, number of licences in force during 1870-71 are given: Country spirits—54; tari—36; pachai—20; bhang including siddhi, sabzi—5; ganja—92; opium—84. *Vide, Report on the Financial Results of the Excise Administration in the Lower Provinces, 1871-72.*

¹ A. P. Howell, *Note on Jails and Jail Discipline in India*, Calcutta, 1868, p. 4.

² W. Z. Healey, *Administration Report on the Jails of the Lower Provinces, Bengal Presidency for the year 1871*, Calcutta, 1872.

There is no area under prohibition; but all the excise and opium shops are to be kept closed on the Independence Day, Mahatma Gandhi's Birth Day, Republic Day and *Mahashīti* Day. The licensees of the excise shops have also the option to keep their shops closed on these days, namely, Netaji's Birth Day, *Rathayatra*, *Jannashīti*, *Saraswati Puja*, *Ramnavami*, *Id-ul-fitr*, *Bakr id*, *Fateha Duaz doham*, *Muharram*, *Jagaddhatri Puja* and the first Day of the *Baisākh*, the Bengali month.

A brief outline of the evolution of the criminal courts in the district, namely, the Court of the District Magistrate and the courts of the Magistrates of the First, Second and Third classes and the Court of Sessions has been given in Chapter IX of this volume. The composition and powers of the different courts including the Court of Sessions were finally codified in the *Criminal Procedure Code* which superseded all previous Orders, Regulations and Acts on the subject. Hunter notes that there were twelve magisterial courts in the undivided district of Nadia in 1869.¹ In the present district of Nadia the number of magisterial courts is also twelve. The total number of working days spent by these twelve Magistrates for the administration of criminal justice was 2,084 days. The district has one Sessions Judge and one Assistant Sessions Judge. The total number of days spent on Sessions trial in the district in 1969 was about 480 days.

GENERAL RESULTS OF TRIAL OF CRIMINAL CASES IN
NADIA DISTRICT: 1965-69²

	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
Magistrates :					
No. of offences reported	18,103	14,035	10,871	17,000	7,887
No. of persons under trial	34,568	22,628	18,673	25,291	27,313
Persons whose cases were disposed of :					
Acquitted or discharged	12,114	6,982	6,348	7,000	10,577
Convicted	13,683	9,020	5,103	6,887	5,743
Committed or referred	294	242	255	558	—

¹ W. W. Hunter, *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. II, London, 1875, p. 116.

² Source: High Court, Calcutta.

Contd.

Died, escaped or transferred	388	514	313	1,359	427
Persons under trial at the end of the year	8,089	5,870	6,654	9,487	10,566
No. of cases disposed of	14,310	9,830	7,114	8,351	8,524
Courts of Sessions :					
No. of offences reported	84	83	92	141	141
No. of persons under trial	424	304	335	698	568
Persons whose cases were disposed of :					
Acquitted or discharged	236	177	130	251	310
Convicted	93	59	63	150	88
Committed or referred	3	1	1	—	2
Died, escaped or transferred	6	2	1	2	1
Persons under trial at the end of the year	86	65	140	295	167
No. of cases disposed of	67	67	68	82	96

The total number of witnesses examined and the amount paid as expenses in the district in recent years are given below.¹

Year	No. of witnesses examined		Amount paid as expenses	
	Magistrates	Sessions	Magistrates Rs.	Sessions Rs.
1965	16,743	1,153	68,937	6,483
1966	14,456	1,263	59,090	6,291
1967	14,558	1,231	77,203	6,072
1968	14,027	1,634	70,318	8,070
1969	14,777	1,657	7,908	8,954

¹ Source: High Court of Calcutta. For a comparative interest relevant figures of witnesses examined in the magisterial courts with the periods of their attendance in 1869 are given: one day, 8,327; two days, 1024; three days, 82; more than three days, 25. In 1969, the number of witnesses discharged on the 1st day by the magisterial courts was 11,619; on the second day, 2,710; on the third day, 1,033.

At the time of East India Company's accession to the *Dewani* of Bengal, there were two types of civil judicature operating at Murshidabad, the headquarters of the civil administration, namely, (1) the court of the *daroga-i-adalat* and (2) the court of the *daroga-i-dewani-adalat*. The former tried and decided all matters of property, except claims of land and inheritance, and took cognizance of quarrels, fighting and abusive names. The *Naib* or deputy to the *Nazim* presided over this court. The latter was a deputy to the *Dewani*, who decided all claims of real property in land and succession.¹ Though with the grant of *Dewani*, the Company virtually attempted to take over the administration of the country, yet in the eye of law they (that is, the Company) were mere Collector of revenue. Hastings became the Governor of Bengal in 1772. He proposed a plan which was immediately adopted by the Government, under which *Mofussil Dewani Adalats* or Provincial Courts of Justice, superintended by Collectors of revenue, were established in each district. Thus the district jurisdiction of the civil courts, which had disappeared several years earlier owing to the disintegration of the Moghul administration, was reconstructed and the same was made distinct from the criminal court. Its cognizance extended to all civil disputes of property, inheritance, marriage, caste, debt, accounts, contracts, partnership and rent. The European Collector of the district was to preside on the part of the Company and administer civil justice with the help of the District *Dewan* and other Indian Officers of the *cutchery*. The district courts were placed directly under the *Sudder* Court at Calcutta. In course of time this structure of civil administration of justice underwent changes, such as, the administration of civil justice was transferred from the European Collectors, who were recalled, to Indian *Aumils*, who were appointed instead. The superintendence of the collection of the revenue was vested in six provincial councils appointed at Calcutta, Burdwan, Dacca, Murshidabad, Dinajpur and Patna. By the *Regulation of 1780*, the jurisdiction of the six provincial councils was confined exclusively to revenue matters and it was resolved that for the more effectual regular administration of civil justice, district courts or *Dewani Adalat* should be established within the jurisdictions of the six provincial councils. Thus since Warren Hastings' scheme, there ensued a struggle between the civil and

¹ *Proceedings of the Committee of Circuit, Kasimbazar*, Vols. 1-3 (in one), pp. 118-20, 15 Aug., 1772.

revenue courts. Although reunion of civil and revenue jurisdictions took place in 1787, by *Regulation III of 1793* courts of *Dewani Adalat* for the trial of civil suits in the first instance were established in twenty three *zillahs* and three cities. But the undefined character of rights and tenures under the Permanent Settlement opened the flood-gate of litigation. So the problem arose how to separate the magistracy from the office of the Judge for enabling the latter to devote his time and energy exclusively to civil justice. In Nadia a provision was doubtless made for such separation but the state of the service stood in the way and the operation of that provision could not extend to other districts.¹ The general district structure was thus: "Below the city and *zillah* courts were two classes of inferior Judges. First in order were the Registrars of those courts who could decide cases for amounts not exceeding Rs. 200 subject to revision by the Judges. The next and lowest grade of Judges were the Native Commissioners, who under *Regulation XL of 1793* could decide civil suits for sums of money or personal property of a value not exceeding 50 *sicca* rupees. Of these Officers, the Head Commissioners were called *Sudder Ameens* and the rest were called *Moonsiffs*."² Thus during the sixties of the nineteenth century the civil judiciary in Nadia is found to consist of Judge and Additional Judge, Principal *Sudder Ameen* and *Munsiff*.³ In 1969, the civil judiciary in the district consisted of the Courts of the District Judge, Additional District Judge, Subordinate Judge, Additional Subordinate Judge, three *Munsiffs*, at Krishnanagar and two *Munsiffs* at Ranaghat.⁴

The suits which came up before the civil courts during 1965-70 were mainly title and other suits, closely followed by those

¹ B. B. Misra, *The Central Administration of the East India Company: 1773-1834*, London, 1959, p. 227.

² H. Cowell, *History and Constitution of the Courts and Legislative Authorities in India*, Calcutta, 1936, p. 177. Alterations had to be made by different *Regulations* from time to time owing to the rivalry between the civil and revenue courts. In 1823, the offices of Judge and Magistrate had to be separated in India (Home, Misc., 530, f. 769, 12 June, 1823). The *Adalat* system was revised and placed upon a definite footing by the Bengal Civil Courts Act of 1871 which again became subject to changes with the passage of time under the exigencies of circumstances. It should also be mentioned here that Small Causes Courts were established in the *mofussil* areas in 1860.

³ *Report on the administration of civil justice in the Lower Provinces of Bengal, 1869*.

⁴ Source: High Court, Calcutta.

for money or movable property. Of the matrimonial suits, those for divorce were generally more than those for judicial separation or nullity of marriage or restoration of conjugal right. Suits under rent law were very seldom filed during this period. In support of these observations, a table is given in Appendix.¹

¹ Source : High Court, Calcutta.

APPENDIX

NO. AND DESCRIPTION OF CIVIL SUITS INSTITUTED
IN THE CIVIL COURTS IN NADIA DISTRICT: 1965-70

	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
Suits for money or movable property	642	552	463	458	398	419
Suits under Rent Law						
Arrears of rent with or without ejectment	1	—	—	—	—	—
Title and other suits						
Suits for immovable property	1,665	1,234	1,237	1,156	1,566	1,503
Suits for specified relief	102	77	103	90	66	60
Mortgage suits	17	7	16	26	7	3
Other suits not falling under any of the previous heads	167	751	687	633	65	122
Matrimonial Suits						
Suits for divorce	45	40	34	25	30	18
Suits for judicial separation	15	22	18	19	23	13
Suits for nullity of marriage	16	6	7	12	5	10
Suits for restitution of conjugal rights	19	27	12	11	11	10
Other suits not falling under any of the previous heads	—	—	1	1	—	—
Grand Total	2,689	2,716	2,578	2,431	2,171	2,158

CHAPTER XII

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

Local self-governing agencies in the district can be classified into two groups, urban and rural. Urban agencies, namely, the municipalities came into being under the provisions of Act III of 1864 in which year were constituted the municipalities of Krishnanagar and Ranaghat. Shantipur, Navadwip, Birnagar and Chakdaha municipalities were constituted successively, their respective dates of establishment being 1865, 1869, 1869 and 1886. All these municipalities are now re-constituted under the Bengal Municipal Act of 1932 as amended from time to time. Of the rural agencies, first to make its appearance was the District Road Cess Committee of 1871 with only one function, namely, of opening and maintaining roads. This Road Cess Committee was followed by the establishment of District Boards under Bengal Act III of 1885. The Nadia District Board since its introduction had been the educational, medical and sanitary authority for the rural areas of the district. The construction and maintenance of the communications was another main work of the Board. The authority of the District Board was shared to a large extent by the Local Boards. Nadia had five Local Boards at Krishnanagar, Ranaghat, Chuadanga, Meherpur and Kushthia (the last three places are now in Bangladesh). During the year 1895-96, another set of local self-governing agencies were constituted in the district. They were Union Committees which were four in number at Muragachha, Krishnaganj, Poradah and Chuadanga (the last two places are now in Bangladesh).¹ These Committees were entrusted with the control of pounds, village roads, sanitation and water-supply. The authority in respect to primary schools was restricted to inspection. Thus, more than one set of bodies were in operation to perform the municipal functions in the rural areas of the district. For a proper functional integration, the necessity for the fusion of separate bodies was increasingly felt. It was out of this feeling that Union Boards came into existence under the provisions of Bengal Act V of 1919. There were in all 131 Union Boards in the district, of which 33 were in Sadar (South) subdivision and 49 in Sadar (North) subdivision and 49 in Ranaghat sub-

¹ J. H. E. Garrett, *Nadia District Gazetteer*, Calcutta, 1910, p. 122.

division.¹ These Union Boards and the District Board remained the rural self-governing agencies till the Gram Panchayats, Anchal Panchayats, Anchalik Parishads and the Zilla Parishad were constituted. The Gram and Anchal Panchayats are constituted under West Bengal Act I of 1957, while the Anchalik Parishads and the Zilla Parishad are constituted under West Bengal Act XXV of 1963.

The Table 1 would indicate some important particulars of the municipalities as prevailing in 1969-70. MUNICIPALITIES

The various sources of income along with the corresponding figures valid for 1969-70 are given in Table 2.

It becomes clear from the Table 2 that the municipal rates and taxes and grants and contributions are the two major sources of income. While the taxes are levied on houses, lands, animals, vehicles, professions and trade, rates are on water, lighting and conservancy. Grants and contributions comprise both revenue and capital grants. It is difficult to separate the two absolutely. The revenue subventions from the State Government constitute a major share of grants.

Since the municipal rates and taxes are the major sources of income of the municipalities, their efficiency in respect of their performance of the obligations naturally depend on their efficiency of realizing the income from this source. So an important aspect of the fiscal administration of the municipalities relate to assessments, collections, remissions and unrealized balances of rates and taxes. Table 3 would indicate these figures for the year 1969-70. The figures show a wide disparity in the performance of different municipalities. The reasons of such disparity are not quite apparent. This may be due to administrative failure, litigations, political problems, etc.

To what extent the municipalities performed their obligations would be clear from the figures of expenditures incurred by them during 1969-70 as shown in Table 4.

It becomes clear from Table 4 that two major heads of expenditure are general administration and collection charges and public health and convenience. Under the budgetary head public health and convenience, the three major items are conservancy, public works and water-supply. In terms of relative importance, expenditure for public instruction was very low.

¹ Government of West Bengal, *List of Union Boards in West Bengal*, Alipore, 1955, pp. 39-42.

TABLE 1

Municipalities	Area in sq. miles	Occupied residential houses		Total No. of persons	No. of rate payers	Incidence of taxation per head of population (in rupees)
		No. of houses	No. of households			
Krishnanagar	6.10	12,190	11,906	70,440	10,147	10.17
Ranaghat	2.98	6,150	6,294	35,266	6,209	8.52
Birnagar	2.13	1,509	1,395	7,623	3,810	2.37
Shantipur	9.50	8,953	9,365	51,190	14,600	4.17
Chakdaha	6.00	7,045	6,557	35,089	7,115	2.51
Navadwip	4.50	12,781	14,830	72,861	15,413	6.89

TABLE 2

INCOME OF THE MUNICIPALITIES OF NADIA DISTRICT:
1969-70 (IN RUPEES)

Source of Income	Krishnanagar	Ranaghat	Birnagar	Shantipur	Chakdaha	Navadwip
Balance in hand at the close of the year 1968-69	1,24,029.24	71,683	9,228	53,258.87	35,504	1,21,680
Municipal rates and taxes	7,16,000.24	3,06,037	18,000	2,84,819.21	88,139	5,02,112
Realization under special acts	12,971.15	3,017	304	148.45	706	22,560
Revenue derived from municipal property and powers apart from taxation	10,386.86	46,310	29,735	9,394.00	14,542	30,086
Grants and contributions	4,63,694.55	2,23,554	53,141	2,11,949.57	60,061	3,65,069
Miscellaneous	21,814.84	26,487	5	13,129.67	2,169	4,540
Extraordinary and debt	69,258.72	28,902	12,086	18,219.26	52,368	98,540
Total receipts including opening balance	14,18,155.60	7,05,990	1,22,499	5,37,660.22	2,53,489	11,44,587
Total ordinary income (excluding opening balance and the amount under extraordinary and debt head)	12,24,867.64	6,05,405	1,01,185	4,66,182.09	1,65,617	9,24,367

TABLE 3

DEMAND, COLLECTION, ETC. OF THE MUNICIPALITIES
OF NADIA DISTRICT: 1969-70

	Krishnanagar	Ranaghat	Birnagar	Shantipur	Chakdaha	Navadwip
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
DEMAND	4,61,257.82	4,19,397	40,861	1,69,016	52,011	4,20,564
Arrear	7,06,902.33	3,77,582	41,835	2,14,200	85,870	3,75,629
Current	11,68,160.15	7,96,979	82,696	3,83,216	1,37,881	7,96,193
Total						
COLLECTION	1,58,109.99	1,19,079	9,636	98,743	19,271	1,54,992
Arrear	4,84,907.70	2,24,945	24,371	99,970	59,971	2,38,789
Current	6,43,017.69	3,44,024	34,007	1,98,713	79,242	3,93,781
Total						
PERCENTAGE						
Of current collection on current demand	74	59.57	58.25	46.62	69.83	63.57
Of arrear collection on arrear demand	47	28.39	23.58	50.83	37.05	36.85
Of total collection on total demand	64	43.16	41	51.81	57.47	49.47
REMISSION						
Arrear	60,894.69	N.A.	529	6,796	N.A.	39
Current	33,057.63	18,707	1,448	3,976	104	13,774
Total	93,952.32	18,707	1,977	10,772	104	13,813
PERCENTAGE						
of total remissions on total demand	8.04	2.34	2.39	2.67	.07	0.57
OUTSTANDING BALANCE	4,20,294.05	4,34,248	46,712	1,73,731	58,535	3,84,082

NADIA

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

TABLE 4
EXPENDITURE OF THE MUNICIPALITIES OF NADIA DISTRICT, 1969-70

Heads of expenditure	(In Rupees)					
	Krishnanagar	Ranaghat	Birnagar	Shantipur	Chakdaha	Navadwip
General administration and collection charges	1,74,847.97	90,126	24,381	93,704.95	37,129	1,08,517
Public safety	34,650.64	44,186	4,986	26,837.85	11,149	21,538
Public health and convenience	7,32,195.34	4,78,463	63,861	2,95,636.06	58,059	4,61,161
Public instruction	96,083.17	2,955	1,640	39,233.03	—	—
Contributions	101.00	—	—	—	41,960	—
Miscellaneous	1,78,232.66	18,411	2,099	9,138.74	49,521	3,47,605
Extraordinary and debt	32,651.97	23,860	9,460	30,247.45	36,177	1,12,326
Total expenditure	12,48,661.75	6,58,091	1,06,515	4,94,798.08	1,92,034	10,51,147
Total ordinary expenditure (excluding the amount under extraordinary and debt head)	12,16,009.78	6,34,231	97,055	4,64,550.63	1,55,857	9,38,821

Panchayats in the rural areas were formed with the coming into force of the West Bengal *Panchayat* Act, 1957. The West Bengal *Zilla Parishads* Act, 1963 similarly came into being to provide for the re-modelling of Local Government with a view to associating the local authorities with development activities and bring about democratic decentralization and people's participation in planning and development.

The Nadia Zilla Parishad came into existence on 23rd October 1964. In 1968-69, the Nadia Zilla Parishad had 41 members of whom 39 were men and 2 women. Of the members, 37 were Hindus including 2 belonging to the Scheduled Castes, while 4 were Muslims. There were, during 1968-69, 7 Standing Committees of the Parishad. The following table gives information about their meetings.

Standing Committees	No. of meetings	No. of members	Average attendance
Finance and Establishment	15	10	7
Public Health	1	20	10
Public Works	11	12	9
Agriculture and Irrigation	4	12	8
Industry and Cooperation	2	12	6
Public and Social Welfare	3	10	5

Appointed by the State Government the Executive Officer¹ who is a member of the West Bengal Civil Service runs the administration of the Parishad and secures coordination between the Parishad, its Standing Committees and the district level officers concerned with the *panchayati* functions. The complement of personnel under him during 1968-69 included a Head Assistant, an Accountant, 10 Assistants and 7 Inferior staff. Besides the District Engineer, the Civil Engineering unit of the Parishad consisted of 3 Overseers, a Sub-Overseer, 3 Assistant Estimators, a Driver, 2 Compositor-Pressmen, 2 Office Assistants and 18 Inferior Staff including Chowkidars. The medical services of the Parishad were looked after by 8 Medical Officers assisted by 8 Compounders and 10 others. An Administrator, appointed by the State Government, took over the entire administration of the Parishad on and from 24th April 1969.

The following table would indicate the income composition and expenditure pattern of the Parishad for 1968-69 :

¹ The first incumbent joined on 6 May 1965.

NCOMES	AMOUNT	EXPENDITURE	AMOUNT
Head of account	Rs.	Head of expenditure	Rs.
Opening balance		Establishment	
For specific schemes	1,60,002	Salaries and allowances of personnel	1,50,682
Untied funds	2,11,930		
Grants and contributions by the Central/State Governments		Travelling Allowance of personnel	3,342
Land revenue	77,008	T.A. to the members of Parishad	6,210
Augmentation	14,000	Office charges	8,841
Subvention for dearness allowance to the employees	41,426	Allotment to Anchalik Parishads	32,000
Test relief	6,305		
For specific schemes other than relief	11,500	For execution of schemes	3,89,871
Other Government grants	4,971	Grants to public institutions	10,937
Proceeds of Road Cess	1,78,500	Scholarships and wards	385
Receipts from toll, rates, etc.	1,20,110	Other expenditure	42,067
Receipts from institutions	7,229	Debts, deposits and advances	47,693
Fines, penalties, etc.	1,655		
Other receipts recovered by/or on behalf of the Parishad	1,08,166	Total expenditure	6,92,028
Debts, deposits and advances	11,109	Closing balance	
Total receipts	5,81,979	For specific schemes	92,086
Total income including opening balance	9,53,911	Untied funds	1,69,797

The district had 16 Anchalik Parishads during 1968-69. The composition of each of them is given in table below:

ANCHALIK
PARISHADS

Name of the Anchalik Parishad	Area in sq. miles	Population	No. of members
Kaliganj	124	1,12,538	35
Krishnaganj	54.43	52,151	23
Karimpur	184.84	1,46,038	32
Nakasipara	139.09	1,19,241	35
Navadwip	40.21	51,998	22
Chapra	124.95	1,01,124	32
Tehatta I	96.37	87,500	28
Tehatta II	71.22	52,415	16
Krishnanagar I	87.66	79,616	30
Krishnanagar II	45.46	66,662	18
Shantipur	65.50	61,445	26
Chakdaha	100.77	1,41,412	30
Ranaghat I	64.02	61,224	27
Ranaghat II	106.90	1,06,561	29
Hanskhali	94.03	84,162	26
Haringhata	65.02	68,340	20

Each Anchalik Parishad maintained funds to which were credited grants from the Panchayat Department, receipts from the Zilla Parishad and receipts on account of tolls, rates and fees levied by it. It was from this fund that each Parishad incurs its diverse expenditure. The two tables in Appendices A and B would indicate the patterns of income and expenditure of the Parishads for 1968-69.

Table 5 would indicate Anchalik Parishad-wise number of Anchal Panchayats along with figures relating to the population covered by them, number of households within their respective jurisdictions and the number of tax, rates and fees payers under different clauses of Section 57 of the enabling legislation.

The total number of members of the Anchal Panchayats as also the number of meetings and average attendance would be clear from Table 6.

ANCHAL
PANCHAYATS

TABLE 5

Name of Anchalik Parishad	No. of Anchal Panchayats	No. of house-holds	No. of tax, rates & fees payers			
			Under Sec. 57(1)(a)	Under Sec. 57(1)(b)	Under Sec. 57(2)	Total
			Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Kaliganj	13	22,488	21,364	2,444	4,480	28,288
Krishnaganj	7	10,839	9,808	890	1,563	12,261
Karimpur	13	29,606	27,780	1,204	5,006	33,990
Nakasipara	13	26,924	24,587	3,430	3,672	31,689
Navadwip	7	9,626	7,973	1,560	93	9,626
Chapra	11	18,335	18,335	3,835	4,620	26,790
Tehatta I	8	12,865	16,764	2,875	2,730	22,369
Tehatta II	6	11,588	11,510	2,205	1,912	15,627
Krishnanagar I	11	17,145	16,250	523	—	16,773
Krishnanagar II	4	10,034	9,358	1,238	381	10,977
Shantipur	8	13,872	8,844	2,367	—	11,211
Chakdaha	11	24,018	23,348	1,659	1,250	26,257
Ranaghat I	9	14,432	13,014	1,403	15	14,432
Ranaghat II	11	21,725	21,216	1,026	3,983	26,225
Hanskhali	8	19,319	17,941	1,425	5,048	24,414
Haringhata	5	11,899	9,297	3,666	2,115	15,078

TABLE 6

Name of the Anchalik Parishad	Total No. of members of the Anchal Panchayat	No. of meetings	Average attendance
Kaliganj	280	103	12
Krishnaganj	133	168	12
Karimpur	323	162	12
Nakasipara	215	140	10
Navadwip	112	69	8
Chapra	221	60	13
Tehatta I	127	79	9
Tehatta II	134	64	10
Krishnanagar I	212	123	8
Krishnanagar II	175	36	11
Shantipur	98	74	10
Chakdaha	294	165	21
Ranaghat I	101	79	9
Ranaghat II	185	94	8
Hanskhali	196	85	13
Haringhata	124	38	15

A Secretary supervises the day to day business of each Anchal Panchayat which has also a *dafadar*, *chowkidars* and other staff to maintain.

The income break-up of the Anchal Panchayats valid for the year 1968-69 is as follows in the table:

Name of the Anchalik Parishad	Total of tax, rates, etc. realized	Total of grant & contribution by the Panchayat Department	Receipt from the Anchalik Parishad	Receipts from other sources
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Kaliganj	71,640.83	63,132.40	4,600.00	9,346.38
Krishnaganj	19,815.60	34,314.63	1,600.00	6,294.38
Karimpur	72,739.54	70,928.85	—	9,196.45
Nakasipara	44,865.97	59,489.75	1,050.00	8,813.22
Navadwip	13,420.85	29,646.10	—	3,063.60
Chapra	53,149.87	58,832.00	—	16,069.93
Tehatta I	34,081.47	42,245.73	—	6,326.86
Tehatta II	31,416.35	27,524.67	—	898.47
Krishnanagar I	35,311.89	53,448.61	8,606.87	10,911.33
Krishnanagar II	16,345.52	27,347.65	1,650.00	303.95
Shantipur	18,236.43	37,816.06	239.00	565.35
Chakdaha	36,876.99	46,474.45	7,368.07	7,990.16
Ranaghat I	20,569.45	42,059.05	—	—
Ranaghat II	37,197.71	59,501.54	12,741.78	3,732.60
Hanskhali	31,394.16	42,135.01	—	6,002.03
Haringhata	22,086.85	22,320.30	500.00	2,493.80

The break-up of the expenditure incurred by Anchalik Panchayats for the year given in the table below:

Name of the Anchalik Parishad	Total expenditure in respect of grants received from the Panchayat Department	Expenditure in respect of grants from the Anchalik Parishad	Other expenditure
Kaliganj	63,132.40	4,600.00	90,434.15
Krishnaganj	34,314.43	1,321.00	28,592.27
Karimpur	70,928.85	—	81,646.50
Nakasipara	59,489.75	1,050.00	47,417.73
Navadwip	29,646.10	—	15,814.45
Chapra	58,832.00	—	71,758.47
Tehatta I	42,245.73	—	39,785.20
Tehatta II	27,452.30	—	30,926.61
Krishnanagar I	51,736.61	—	39,479.19
Krishnanagar II	21,545.23	1,110.00	13,203.17
Shantipur	37,221.96	239.00	17,929.93
Chakdaha	46,474.45	10,050.07	48,238.04
Ranaghat I	39,859.24	—	13,215.60
Ranaghat II	59,501.54	12,539.64	44,769.87
skurH	35,695.41	—	45,950.53
Haringhata	21,018.10	499.77	29,158.95

GRAM
PANCHAYAT

The number of Gram Panchayats within each Anchalik Parishad along with their strength of members and the number of meetings of the Gram Panchayats, and the average attendance thereof valid for the year 1968-69 are furnished in the table below:*

* Some of the Gram Panchayats within the Chapra and Tehatta I Anchalik Parishads were not functioning during the year.

Name of the Anchalik Parishad	No. of Gram Panchayats	No. of members	No. of meetings	Average attendance
Kaliganj	88	971	402	86
Krishnaganj	41	492	246	41
Karimpur	100	1,115	835	125
Nakasipara	95	1,084	431	—
Navadwip	39	490	124	39
Chapra	81	977	274	14
Tehatta I	58	612	225	—
Tehatta II	42	510	174	47
Krishnanagar I	60	740	311	18
Krishnanagar II	45	325	96	—
Shantipur	40	483	85	39
Chakdaha	74	885	619	85
Ranaghat I	53	609	145	103
Ranaghat II	78	793	270	97
Hanskhali	60	774	474	68
Haringhata	50	554	185	65

The tables in Appendices C and D would indicate the income composition and expenditure pattern of the Gram Panchayats for 1968-69.

The West Bengal Panchayat Act, 1973 (Act XLI of 1973) has been assented to by the President of India in 1974. It supersedes the West Bengal Panchayat Act, 1957 and the West Bengal Zilla Parishads Act, 1963 and provides for the formation of the Zilla Parishad, Panchayat Samitis and Gram Panchayats. Thus a three-tier system of rural bodies instead of a four-tier one has been introduced in the State.

THE NEW
ACT

APPENDIX A
INCOME OF THE ANCHALIK PARISHADS OF NADIA DISTRICT : 1968-69

Name of the Anchalik Parishad	Opening balance		Receipt from Panchayat Department	Allotment received from other Depts. of Govt. for execution of specific project		Receipts on account of tolls, rates and fees levied by the Anchalik Parishad		Gifts, contributions, etc.	Other receipts	Total income including opening balance
	Rs.			Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.			
	Specific	United		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.			
	Rs.	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.			
Kaliganj	15,023.50	7,615.55	7,469.25	41,414.25	—	—	—	—	—	71,522.55
Krishnaganj	3,486.00	6,986.94	14,813.00	25,925.00	2,656.00	336.00	4,407.50	—	—	58,610.44
Karimpur	13,109.90	8,000.00	4,813.00	—	11,608.82	—	—	—	9,685.61	47,217.33
Nakasipara	35,343.91	—	—	20,946.00	21,311.25	—	—	—	—	77,601.16
Navadwip	23,252.55	3,768.85	4,813.00	5,484.00	3,056.25	—	—	—	—	40,374.65
Chapra	8,323.08	9,527.15	4,813.00	31,151.45	2,000.00	40.00	—	—	—	55,654.68
Tehatta I	—	11,817.32	4,813.00	22,100.63	15,204.25	225.00	—	—	—	54,160.20

NADIA

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

Tehatta II	7,776.72	4,335.99	6,063.00	11,079.25	2,000.00	—	1,937.25	8.00	—	33,200.21
Krishnanagar I	8,386.01	7,512.13	4,813.00	22,007.40	3,056.25	—	—	944.00	—	46,718.79
Krishnanagar II	8,778.87	8,706.97	4,813.00	11,366.00	3,056.25	—	—	1,043.57	—	37,764.66
Shantipur	—	1,65,963.40	6,581.00	—	3,496.25	—	—	4,735.00	—	1,80,775.65
Chakdaha	—	17,505.60	5,713.00	9,814.00	39,677.00	—	—	1,975.50	—	74,685.90
Ranaghat I	7,008.35	26,616.78	6,063.00	7,185.00	2,656.25	—	14,039.76	1,829.00	—	65,398.14
Ranaghat II	29,894.95	7,220.46	—	12,417.00	2,000.00	—	—	—	—	51,532.41
Hanskhali	12,529.55	6,855.90	4,813.00	41,990.00	12,896.25	—	—	—	—	79,082.70
Haringhata	42,141.80	2,376.64	6,038.00	46,290.00	14,811.25	—	—	2,960.53	—	1,14,618.22

APPENDIX B
EXPENDITURE OF THE ANCHALIK PARISHADS OF NADIA DISTRICT: 1968-69

Name of the Anchalik Parishad	Establishment expenditure : total	Allotment to Gram & Anchal Panchayats	Expenditure incurred by the Anchalik Parishad for Development work	Other expenditure, refund, if any	Total expenditure of Anchalik Parishad	Closing balance		
						For specific schemes	Untied funds	Total
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Kaliganj	4,418.74	4,950.00	867.50	18,279.91	28,516.15	27,264.25	15,742.15	43,006.40
Krishnaganj	6,005.33	500.00	20,105.31	1,750.00	28,360.64	22,366.47	7,883.33	30,249.80
Karimpur	6,972.50	—	2,393.80	2,863.04	12,229.34	24,652.10	10,335.89	34,907.99
Nakasipara	5,899.52	—	7,049.98	—	12,949.50	—	64,651.66	64,651.66
Navadwip	5,721.85	—	3,312.38	6,992.00	16,026.23	19,089.22	5,259.20	24,348.42
Chapra	5,824.34	—	—	14,922.57	20,751.91	21,361.97	13,740.80	35,102.77
Tehatta I	4,834.50	—	5,225.00	16,673.00	29,232.50	16,815.16	8,112.54	24,927.70

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

Tehatta II	6,115.45	—	4,860.50	1,250.00	—	12,225.95	16,638.27	4,335.99	20,974.26
Krishnanagar I	6,100.70	8,606.87	11,409.22	—	—	26,116.79	19,428.19	1,173.81	20,602.00
Krishnanagar II	3,279.29	2,200.00	8,686.56	—	—	14,165.85	13,146.73	10,452.08	23,598.81
Shantipur	6,710.63	239.00	—	26,877.34	—	33,826.97	—	1,46,948.68	1,46,948.68
Chakdaha	5,954.29	7,368.07	7,380.74	1,353.99	—	22,057.09	48,880.47	3,748.34	52,628.81
Ranaghat I	5,265.01	—	4,494.00	9,759.01	—	9,759.01	9,008.35	46,630.78	55,639.13
Ranaghat II	6,656.11	—	4,502.94	—	—	11,159.05	36,809.01	3,564.35	40,373.36
Hanskhali	5,527.17	—	15,957.21	—	—	21,484.38	50,998.59	6,599.73	57,598.32
Haringhata	8,663.45	—	18,259.90	—	—	26,923.35	85,853.48	1,841.39	87,694.87

APPENDIX C

INCOME COMPOSITION OF THE GRAM PANCHAYATS OF NADIA
DISTRICT : 1968-69

Name of the Anchalik Parishad	Opening Balance		Allotment from Anchal Panchayats		Receipts from gifts, endow- ments and other sources	Allot- ment received from other sources for develop- ment works
	For Specific schemes	Untied funds	From Pancha- yat Depart- ment	Own Source		
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Kaliganj	—	18,031.02	16,900.00	25,503.08	1,469.63	1,048.40
Krishnaganj	—	4,130.25	9,062.00	52.00	4,100.00	—
Karimpur	—	9,687.27	16,829.80	—	7,341.24	—
Nakasipara	—	4,651.25	15,547.40	2,424.60	759.50	—
Navadwip	—	6,163.38	9,100.00	1,112.00	1,695.28	—
Chapra	—	20,447.28	14,800.00	17,018.78	3,709.00	—
Tehatta I	—	955.56	10,400.00	7,380.50	487.45	—
Tehatta II	—	6,507.33	6,360.00	6,997.00	157.80	—
Krishnanagar I	—	12,541.09	12,588.00	2,580.85	2,110.08	—
Krishnanagar II	—	4,837.19	2,524.25	—	227.55	3,021.71
Shantipur	7,275.12	4,637.74	8,532.70	—	2,218.32	—
Chakdaha	—	17,975.98	10,381.80	2,455.85	2,169.50	—
Ranaghat I	12,302.07	—	11,327.21	—	—	—
Ranaghat II	116.20	19,947.64	14,240.60	9,919.45	2,455.68	119.34
Hanskhali	—	2,746.90	6,156.70	9,185.78	5,871.53	—
Haringhata	—	3,262.92	5,200.00	5,982.00	1,260.33	—

APPENDIX D

EXPENDITURE PATTERN OF THE GRAM PANCHAYATS OF NADIA
DISTRICT : 1968-69

Name of the Anchalik Parishad	Expenditure		Closing balance	
	For Development works	Other expenditure	For specific schemes	Untied funds
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Kaliganj	38,385.93	1,734.20	—	19,232.00
Krishnaganj	14,260.00	1,025.00	—	2,050.75
Karimpur	26,485.74	1,076.37	—	6,296.20
Nakasipara	17,892.00	936.50	—	4,584.25
Navadwip	10,665.97	435.72	—	6,968.97
Chapra	37,211.44	2,553.96	—	15,709.66
Tehatta I	15,177.33	1,233.00	—	2,813.18
Tehatta II	13,857.03	675.11	—	5,489.99
Krishnanagar I	13,645.24	1,882.93	—	14,291.83
Krishnanagar II	6,666.16	1,674.93	—	5,944.26
Shantipur	8,451.19	499.65	10,780.11	2,932.93
Chakdaha	20,307.03	909.68	—	11,766.42
Ranaghat I	10,887.01	—	—	12,742.27
Ranaghat II	26,697.34	2,756.29	—	17,345.08
Hanskhali	16,863.84	—	—	7,097.07
Haringhata	13,288.33	860.23	—	4,204.12

CHAPTER XIII

EDUCATION & CULTURE

EARLY
HISTORY

We have no record of institutionalized and organized activities concerning learning in the areas comprising the modern district of Nadia in ancient times. But the district, unlike many other districts of West Bengal, specially the areas in and around the towns of Navadwip and Shantipur, can boast of a fairly long and continuous tradition of cultivation of learning.

Tradition in India associates Navadwip with the cultivation of a kind of formal logic called *Navya-nyāya*. Although Mithilā in Bihar of the tenth century was the area where *Navya-nyāya* first developed, Navadwip, undoubtedly, was the centre where the Gauḍīya or the Bengal variety of *Navya-nyāya* was nurtured and elaborated till the first decades of the 20th century.

Myths and legends shroud the early history of Navadwip as a centre of learning. The first person to emerge from the realm of myth to the area of sober history was Narahari Vishārad, the father of the famous grammarian and logician Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma. Narahari was a scholar of *smṛiti* (law) from whom Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma had his training in grammar and logic. It may be presumed that Narahari did not run a regular seminary or *ṭol*; he only taught his son Vāsudeva. But the title *Vishārad* or the 'accomplished one' suggests that teaching was his profession. Narahari was alive probably between the last quarter of the 14th and third quarter of the 15th centuries, part of which falls during the reign of Sultan Barbak Shah, the king of Gauḍa.¹

Narahari had a younger brother or a cousin named Srīnāth Bhaṭṭāchārya-Chakravartī who was also a logician of some repute.

Narahari Vishārad's son Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma was the first great logician of all-India repute that Gauḍīya school of *Navya-nyāya* had produced. Vāsudeva was born sometime between A.D. 1430 and 1435 and probably completed his education in logic and grammar between A.D. 1450 and 1455.² Around the year 1486, that is, in the year of Chaitanya's birth, Vāsudeva left Navadwip for Puri in Orissa. Up till now only two books

by Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma have been discovered, one a commentary on the *Anumānakhaṇḍa* (inference portion) of *Tattva-chintāmaṇi* and the other a commentary on *Vedānta-prakaraṇa Advaita-makaranda*. Three other books commonly ascribed to Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma are possibly not his work. Vāsudeva, though primarily a logician, was also well versed in the six principal systems of Indian philosophy (which, however, include *nyāya* or logic).

Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma had a younger brother named Viṣṇu-dāsa Vidyāvāchaspati. According to tradition prevalent in Navadwip, the name of this particular brother of Sārvabhauma was Ratnākar, which seems to be incorrect. He also wrote a commentary on *Tattvachintāmaṇi*. Sārvabhauma had another brother, probably older than Viṣṇudāsa, whose name was Krishṇānanda Vidyābiriṇchi. According to Jayānanda, the author of *Chaitanya-maṅgal*, when Sārvabhauma left for Puri, Krishṇānanda was still teaching logic at his seminary.¹

The year in which Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma left Navadwip for Puri and Chaitanya was born perhaps coincided. The accounts about the early life of Śrī Chaitanya, as told by his contemporaries like Murāri Gupta, Paramānanda Sen Kavikarṇapūra, Vṛindāvana Dās and Krishṇadās Kavirāj give us some information about his early education in Navadwip.

Chaitanya, or Viśvambhar as he was then known, received his elementary education at the *pāṭhśālā* or school of Viṣṇu Paṇḍit. Viṣṇu Paṇḍit was in all probability different from Viṣṇudāsa Vidyāvāchaspati who was a contemporary professor of logic at his own *ṭol*. After finishing his primary education, Viśvambar entered the *ṭol* or seminary of Gaṅgādās Paṇḍit and specialized in Sanskrit grammar of *Kalāpa* system. Murāri Gupta, his earliest biographer, was his class mate at this *ṭol*. At the age of sixteen, that is, around the year A.D. 1502, he finished his studies at the *ṭol*, distinguishing himself as a deft grammarian. After coming out of the *ṭol*, Chaitanya himself started giving tuition to the students by opening a *ṭol* at the house of Mukunda Sañjay.

It would be very interesting to try to reconstruct the system of institutionalized education prevalent during the 15th and 16th centuries in the district from the information at our disposal. It is evident that there were a set of elementary schools or *pāṭh-*

¹ Dineshchandra Bhattacharyya, *Bāṅgālir Sārasvat Avadān*, Vol. I: *Baṅgey Navya-nyāyacharchā*, Calcutta, 1358 B.S., p. 49.

² *Ibid.*, p. 42.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

śālās, distinguished from the seminaries or *ṭols* of higher learning. These *pāṭhśālās* presumably helped the youngsters in learning to read and write a language and in mastering some simple arithmetic. There is no way of knowing what else were taught at these *pāṭhśālās* or who were the people eligible to be taught at these *pāṭhśālās*. Nor do we know anything about the medium of instruction of these *pāṭhśālās*. We do not know whether the language taught used to be Bengali or Sanskrit. About the system of education available at the seminaries of higher learning, that is, at the *ṭols*, to which one could enter presumably after finishing the education at the *pāṭhśālā*, we are on surer grounds. The *ṭol* education was meant to specialize the learner in a single subject besides grammar. Most of the *ṭols* in Navadwip specialized in logic of the Gauḍīya variety of *Navya-nyāya*. Incidentally, it should be mentioned that the *ṭols* either specialized in any one of the six principal systems of Indian philosophy, *kāvya* and *alaṅkāra* (poetry and rhetoric), *jyotiṣa* and *gaṇita* (astronomy, astrology and mathematics), etc. as the subjects had been developed through the medium of the Sanskrit language. So, higher education was available only in the Sanskrit language and was probably available only to the Brāhmaṇas or at best to the regional higher castes like Vaidyas and Kāyasthas in Bengal. Whether it was the elementary school (*pāṭhśālā*) or it was the seminary of higher education (*ṭol*), the institution would invariably be a one-teacher institution. If the son or the nephew or a younger brother of a *guru* too was a scholar by his own right, the institution would continue its existence after the death of the *guru* or would simply close its doors after his demise.

We are speaking of a time when the Turko-Afghan Sultans were firmly entrenched in Lakhnauti with hegemony spreading over most of Bengal. Persian was the language of the court. It may be presumed that there were schools which taught Persian language and literature and Muslim law through the medium of Persian, at least for the children belonging to the Muslim gentry, comprising land-owning Ashrafs and the military nobility. But, unfortunately, we do not have any information about the existence of Persian-medium *maktab* or *mādrāsāh* within the bounds of the area comprising the present district of Nadia. Nor do we have any information about mosque-schools that imparted religious instructions through the medium of Arabic.

To go back to our survey once again, the next landmark in the history of education and cultivation of learning is the emergence of a scholar of all-India fame in Navadwip in the person of Raghunāth Śiromaṇi. The place of birth and nativity and the approximate time of birth of Raghunāth Śiromaṇi are subjects of controversy among scholars. According to Dineshchandra Bhattacharyya, the latest to write on the subject, Raghunāth Śiromaṇi was born somewhere in or around Navadwip, between A.D. 1455 and 1460.¹ After finishing his higher education in logic at the seminary of Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, Raghunāth went to Mithilā to the court of King Bhairav Sūnha to prove his prowess and scholarship. There he defeated Paṇḍit Pakshadhar Miśra, the great logician, in a debate sometime between A.D. 1480 and 1485. On his return from Mithilā, he established his own *ṭol* in Navadwip and started teaching logic to his pupils. He probably established his *ṭol* sometime between A.D. 1480 and 1485, that is, before his erstwhile teacher Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma had left for Puri supposedly on account of *rājabhaya* or political persecution. Śiromaṇi obviously did not leave Navadwip.

Among many books ascribed to Raghunāth Śiromaṇi's authorship one can be certain about eleven books. These eleven were: (1) *Pratyaksha-maṇi-dīdhiti*, probably his first book, (2) *Anumāna-dīdhiti*, Raghunāth's most known book, (3) *Śabda-maṇi-dīdhiti*, (4) *Ākhyāta-vāda*, (5) *Jñāna-vāda*, (6) *Padārtha-khaṇḍana*, (7) *Dravya-kiraṇāvali-prakāśa-dīdhiti*, (8) *Guṇa-kiraṇāvali-prakāśa-dīdhiti*, (9) *Ātma-tattva-viveka-dīdhiti*, (10) *Nyāya-lilāvali-prakāśa-dīdhiti* and (11) *Malimlucha-viveka*. According to Mahādeva Āchāryasūnha, the son of Viṣṇu Paṇḍit, the early teacher of Chaitanyadeva and writer of a commentary on the Sanskrit play *Mālatīmādhava*, Śiromaṇi along with other scholars of Navadwip received the patronage of Majlis Barbak, the administrator of Navadwip area, during the reign of Sultan Alauddin Husain Shah of Gauḍa-Lakhnauti.

Another great teacher of Navadwip school of *Navya-nyāya* was Jānakīnāth Bhaṭṭāchārya-chuḍāmaṇi, a younger contemporary of Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma and an elder contemporary of Raghunāth Śiromaṇi. Among his works mention may be made of (a) *Nyāya-siddhānta-mañjarī*, (b) *Maṇi-marīchi*, (c) *Tātparyā-dīpikā* and (d) *Ānvīkshiki-tattva-vivaraṇa*.

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 79-101.

Kanāda Tarkavāgīś, a pupil of Jānakīnāth Bhaṭṭācharya, was an elder contemporary of Raghunāth Śiromaṇi. It is presumed that he began his studies in *Navya-nyāya* logic with Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, but later, on Vāsudeva's departure for Puri, transferred himself to Jānakīnāth Bhaṭṭācharya-chuḍāmaṇi. To this day only two books by Kanāda have been found, namely, *Bhāṣhā-ratna* and *Tattva-chintāmaṇi-ṭīkā*.

Haridās Nyāyālaṅkāra Bhaṭṭācharya, the earliest commentator on Śiromaṇi's *dīdhiti* philosophy, was contemporary of Śiromaṇi and a student-turned-critic of Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma. Haridās had probably written his commentary around A.D. 1525. Kṛishṇadās Sārvabhauma, another important logician of Navadwip was born in *circa* A.D. 1500 and probably wrote his last book around A.D. 1550. He also wrote commentaries on Śiromaṇi's *dīdhiti* philosophy. Among his works mention should be made of *Pratyaksha-dīdhiti-prasāriṇī*, *Anumāna-dīdhiti-prasāriṇī*, *Ākhyāta-dīdhiti-prasāriṇī*, *Jñāna-vāda-tippaṇī*, *Guṇa-dīdhiti-ṭīkā*, *Anumana-loka-prasāriṇī* and two volumes of *Bhāṣhā-parichchheda-muktāvalī*.

Rāmabhadra Sārvabhauma, from whom the logicians of Navadwip like Mathurānāth Tarkavāgīś, Jagadīś Tarkālaṅkāra, Gaurīkānta Sārvabhauma and Jayrām Nyāyapañchāna of Vārāṇasī had their lessons in *Nyāya* and *Tārkaśāstra*, had written the following works: *Nyāya-rahasya*, a commentary on *Gautama-sūtra*, *Guṇa-rahasya*, *Siddhānta-sāra*, *Samāsa-rahasya*, *Samāsa-vāda*, *Śabda-nityatā-vāda*, *Suvarṇa-taijastattva-vāda*, *Padārtha-tattva-vivechanā-prakāśa*, a commentary on Śiromaṇi's *Padārtha-khaṇḍana*, *Siddhānta-rahasya* and *Kusumāñjali-kārikā-byākhyā*.

Jagadguru Śrīrām Tarkālaṅkāra, father of Mahāmahopādhyāya Mathurānāth Tarkavāgīś, was alive in A.D. 1568 when a *Vazīr* named Sheikh Farid was administering Navadwip within Husainabad Pargana with authority from Hazrat Ala Sulaiman Karrani, as is evident from a land-sale deed found from Navdwp.¹ Among the books written by Śrīrām Tarkālaṅkāra, only two, namely, *Anumāna-dīdhiti-ṭīkā* and *Ātma-tattva-viveka-dīdhiti-ṭīkā* have been found.

From *Āin-i-Ākbari* we get the name of Kāśīnāth Bhaṭṭācharya Chakravartī, a logician, who migrated from the village Anandanibaria to Navadwip to run a *ṭol* there.

Bhavānanda Siddhāntavāgīś was perhaps the greatest logician

of Navadwip in the sixteenth century. Though he had written commentaries on eight of Raghunāth Śiromaṇi's books, yet he is known for the authorship of only *Kāraka-chakra*, as it happens to be a text book of Sanskrit grammar. Bhavānanda was born around the year A.D. 1514 and possibly wrote his works between 1540 and 1600. He possibly had his lessons in *Navya-nyāya* from Kṛishṇadās Sārvabhauma. Among his direct students, Rāghabendra Śatābadhāna Bhaṭṭācharya of Guptipara in Hugli and Debīdas Vidyābhushaṇ of Pātuli attained fame as logicians. Bhavānanda's grandson was the famous *paṇḍit* Rudra Tarkavāgīś.

Rudra Tarkavāgīś had his lessons in *Nyāya* from his elder brother Madhusūdan Vāchaspati. Among his works mention should be made of *Sāmānya-lakṣhmaṇa-dīdhiti-roudrī-ṭīkā*, and *Siddhānta-muktāvalī-roudrī-ṭīkā*. According to some modern scholars, Rudra Tarkavāgīś did not belong to Navadwip proper, but this seems to be an erroneous assumption. Another commentator of Śiromaṇi's *dīdhiti* philosophy was Guṇānanda Vidyavāgīś, a contemporary of Rudra Tarkavāgīś. But Guṇānanda did not belong to Navadwip proper, nor did he have his *ṭol* in Navadwip, although he might have had his education in Navadwip. He hailed from the village Gānguriā, some 7 miles to the north of Kanchrapara on the road from Calcutta to Baharampur (within Nadia district). Guṇānanda lived and worked during the second half of the 16th century.

The greatest logician to teach and work in Navadwip after Raghunāth Śiromaṇi was Mahāmahopādhyāya Mathurānāth Tarkavāgīś. Mathurānāth was a son of Śrīrām Tarkālaṅkāra already referred to. Mathurānāth had his training in *Navya-nyāya* either from Kṛishṇadās Sārvabhauma or from Rāmabhadra, more probably from the latter, since Rāmabhadra did not subscribe to the views of *dīdhiti* school of Śiromaṇi like Mathurānāth and unlike Kṛishṇadās. The upper limit of Mathurānāth's rise to fame as a scholar might not have extended to a period later than *circa* A.D. 1550. Among his works mention should be made of *Tattva-chintāmaṇi-rahasya*, a commentary on Gaṅgeś Mahopādhyāya's *Tattva-chintāmaṇi*, in three volumes, namely, *Pratyaksha-khaṇḍa*, *Anumāna-khaṇḍa* and *Śabda-khaṇḍa*, *Guṇa-dīdhiti-māthurī*, *Bauddhādhikāra-dīdhiti-māthurī*, *Lilāvati-dīdhiti-māthurī*, *Bauddhādhikāra-vivṛiti*, *Lilāvati-māthurī*, *Dravyaprakāśa-ṭīkā*, *Guṇa-prakāśa-vivṛiti*, *Lilāvati-prakāśa-ṭīkā*, *Gautama-sūtra-vṛitti*, *Supśaktivāva* and his *magnum opus* *Siddhānta-rahasya*. Besides these books pertaining to logic of the *Navya-nyāya* school,

¹ 'Usha', Vol. I, No. 10, *Jyāishṭha*, 1813 Śaka (A.D. 1891), pp. 23-24.

Mathurānāth had written one book on *smṛiti* or law, by the name of *Pāṇi-graṇṭhādi-viveka*.

Jagadīś Tarkālaṅkāra, grandson of the brother of Vishṇupriyā Devī, the second wife of Chaitanyadeva, happens to have been the best known commentator on the *Anumāna-khaṇḍa* of Raghunāth Śiromaṇi's *ādhiti*. Jagadīś Tarkālaṅkāra was a younger contemporary of Mathurānāth and was born probably between A.D. 1540 and 1550. Like Mathurānāth, he too was a pupil of Rāmbhadra Sārvabhauma. He probably established his fame as a scholar between A.D. 1540 and 1600.

Jagadīś Tarkālaṅkāra had a younger contemporary by the name of Jagadīś Pañchānan in Nadia. When Navadvīp was a citadel of the logicians of the *Navya-nyāya* school, Jagadīś Pañchānan flourished there as a *Smṛta* or a scholar of *smṛiti* or law. He had written commentaries on *Śrāddha-viveka* and *Kāvya-prakāśa* among others.

Among other eminent teachers and logicians of the Navadvīp school of *Navya-nyāya*, mention should be made of Gopikānta Nyāyālaṅkāra of the early part of the 17th century and Govinda Bhaṭṭāchārya Chakravartī, author of *Samāsa-tattva* of the same time.

Gadādhara Bhaṭṭāchārya Chakravartī, a pupil of Harirāma Tarkavāgīś, was perhaps the last important commentator of *Anumāna-ādhiti* of Śiromaṇi, belonging to the same school. Gadādhara was born in December 1604 and died in February 1709, that is, he lived for more than a hundred years. Apart from his commentaries on *Nyāya*, he had written a law book (*smṛiti*) called *Rig-Vedokta Daśakarma-paddhati* and a commentary on *Kāvya-prakāśa*. Rāghava Roy, the Rājā of Krishnanagar, made a gift of a piece of land in 1661 in recognition of the scholarship of Gadādhara.

Gadādhara's pupil Jayadeva Sānyāl Tarkālaṅkāra, although he originally hailed from Varendrī or North Bengal, settled down in Navadvīp after finishing his education there and opened a *ṭol*.

Another Varendra Brāhmin — Śrīkrishṇa Sānyāl Sārvabhauma rose to fame as a logician and teacher in the second and third quarters of the 18th century. His treatise on logic, written in a poetic form, *Padāṅka-dūta-kāvya* saw the light of the day in *circa* A.D. 1723.

Viśvanātha Sānyāl Nyāyālaṅkāra flourished in Navadvīp as a logician and teacher of logic around the middle of the 18th century. In A.D. 1753, Viśvanātha, along with seventeen other

paṇḍits of Navadvīp, was present at the *dvijāchār-upanayana* ceremony of Rājā Rājballabh. Viśvanātha was a recipient of land gift made by Mahārājā Kṛṣṇachandra of Nadia.

A contemporary of Viśvanātha was Paṇḍit Śivarāma Vāchaspati of *Gautama-sūtra-vṛtti* and *Gadādhara's Mukti-vāda-ṭīkā* fame. He too was present at the *dvijāchār-upanayana* ceremony of Rājā Rājballabh. Though primarily a logician, he had proficiency in all the six principal systems of Indian philosophy.

A younger contemporary of Viśvanātha and Śivarāma was Rādhāmohan Vidyā-vāchaspati Gosvāmī, who had his *ṭol* not in Navadvīp but in Shantipur. Rādhāmohan was born sometime between A.D. 1730 and 1740. He had his training in *smṛiti* or law from Gopāl Nyāyālaṅkāra of Jorabari; we do not, however, know the name of his preceptor in *smṛiti*. He was a devout *Vaiṣṇava*. He had written several books on *Vaiṣṇava* theology, *smṛiti* or law and *Navya-nyāya*. His approach to *smṛiti* bore a stamp of his scholarship in *Navya-nyāya* and it is, therefore, known as *Navya-smṛiti*.

The last great *paṇḍit* of *Navya-nyāya* in Navadvīp was Śaṅkara Tarkavāgīś, who wrote a commentary called *Patrikā* on the harder passages of Mathurānātha, Jagadīś and Gadādhara. Śaṅkara was born around *circa* A.D. 1723. He was one of the eighteen *paṇḍits* of Navadvīp whom Rājā Rājballabh invited to the *dvijāchār-upanayana* ceremony. During his time, Śaṅkara had the largest *ṭol* in Navadvīp and he taught for 65 long years. According to one estimate, he once had 300 pupils at a time. Śaṅkara died in A.D. 1816 at the age of 93.

Mādhavachandra Tarkasiddhānta, who flourished in the middle of the 19th century, was perhaps the last mentionable author that the Navadvīp school of *Navya-nyāya* had produced.

The names of *paṇḍits* so far mentioned do not exhaust the list of *paṇḍits* who flourished in Navadvīp and Shantipur. The list gives the names of some of the more famous scholars, researchers and teachers of *Navya-nyāya* who had contributed significantly to make Navadvīp a famous seat of learning of the early and late medieval times. It does not give the names of *paṇḍits* in other fields of learning, namely, *smṛiti*, etc. It should not also be assumed that the *ṭols* and *chatuṣpāṭhīs* run by the *paṇḍits* mentioned in the list were the only ones during the lifetime of these *paṇḍits*, though the ones run by these *paṇḍits* were the most important ones. Writing in 1822, Rev. Ward of Serampore Mission reported that there were no less than fifty or sixty schools

in Navadwip. In 1864, E. B. Cowell found six *ṭols* of *smṛiti* and six of *Nyāya* existing in Navadwip.

The *ṭols* not only did not charge any tuition fee from the pupils but took it to be a duty to provide the pupils with food, clothing and lodging during their periods of stay at the school. The *paṇḍit* of the *ṭol* used to sustain the *ṭol* and his family on the product of the *devottar* or *brahmottar* grant of land he would get from the king or the local *Jāgīrdār* or Zamindar and from the alms and gifts he would get by being present at the religious ceremonies held by Zamindars and wealthy house-holders.

Ṭols used to be run on hereditary lines. A scholar son or nephew would inherit the *ṭol* of the scholar father or uncle. If there were more than one scholar son or nephew in the family of a scholar, the eldest would inherit the *ṭol* and the others would either establish new *ṭols* or would assist the brother or the cousin managing the *ṭol* or would be scholars without *ṭol*. In 1864, Cowell found nine *paṇḍits* in Navadwip without *ṭols*. In the absence of a scholar in the family, a scholar pupil of the scholar *guru* would inherit the *ṭol*. In majority of the cases, the *ṭols* were one-teacher institutions. In some cases, however, the senior pupils or scholars in the family assisted the *guru* in imparting lessons.

Though Navadwip had been the most renowned centre of *smṛiti* and *Nyāya* studies in eastern India from about the closing decades of the 14th to about the first two decades of the 20th century, it was not the only centre of Sanskrit studies in what is now Nadia district. We have already mentioned something about the *paṇḍits* who had their *ṭols* elsewhere in the district, of which more will be stated presently. But before we proceed on to a description of other centres of Sanskrit learning, we have to round up our description of *ṭols* at Navadwip in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

In 1811, Lord Minto, then Governor-General, proposed to establish a Hindu College at Navadwip, considering the importance of the place as a traditional seat of Sanskrit learning. The plan, however, was abandoned in favour of a Sanskrit College in Calcutta.

In July 1816, the Committee of Superintendence reported that there were 46 schools in Navadwip, kept and supported by the most learned and respectable *paṇḍits* of that place. The total number of pupils amounted to about 380; their ages averaging between 25 and 30 years.

In 1818, Mr. Ward of Serampore Mission enumerated 31 schools

of learning in Navadwip, containing in all 747 students. There were 18 *ṭols* of *nyāya* (logic), 11 *ṭols* of *smṛiti* (law), and one each of *Kāvya-Alaṅkāra* (poetics and rhetoric), *Jyotiṣa* (astronomy and astrology) and *Byākaraṇa* (grammar).

H. H. Wilson, Member and Secretary to the General Committee of Public Instruction, visited Navadwip in 1824. He saw 25 *ṭols* in existence in Navadwip, where between 500 and 600 pupils were studying either *nyāya* or *smṛiti* under different *gurus*.

E. B. Cowell in his *Report on the Sanskrit Tols of Nadia of 1864* reported to have found 12 *ṭols* in Navadwip, 6 of which were specializing in *nyāya* and six in *smṛiti*. Altogether about 150 pupils were being imparted lessons by 8 *paṇḍits* of *nyāya* and six *paṇḍits* of *smṛiti*. There were nine very eminent *paṇḍits*, two versed in *smṛiti* and seven in *nyāya* at Navadwip at that time, who had no *ṭols*.

As has already been pointed out that though Navadwip had been the oldest and most renowned seat of learning of Bengal, it was not the only seat of Sanskrit studies in Nadia district. There had been other seats of Sanskrit studies in the district. Shantipur had been one such seat of learning. We have practically no information about the early days of Shantipur Vidyāsamāj excepting the fact that Advaitāchārya, the spiritual preceptor of Chaitanya, flourished here in the latter part of the 15th century. We get a connected account of Shantipur Vidyāsamāj only from the end of the 17th century when Rājā Rāmakṛishṇa of Nadia granted Śivarām Chakravartī's son Rājendra Vidyāvāgīś a piece of land in A.D. 1692 or 1693 and again another in A.D. 1701 or 1702 towards meeting the expenses of his *ṭol*. Rājendra's son Harideva, great-great grandsons Śivacharan Vidyāvāchaspati and Rādhācharan Nyāyapañchānan earned their fames as logicians and *gurus*. Between the 17th and the 20th centuries, the Sarvānandi, Ballabhi, Napadi, Chaital, Sobhākar and Kāshyap-Bhaṭṭāchārya Brahmin families of Shantipur had produced a few hundred scholars and *gurus*, among whom mention should be made of Rāmasundar Nyāyavāchaspati, Rādhāmohan Gosvāmī Bhaṭṭāchārya, Tārinīcharan Tarkaratna, Kālidās Vidyāvāgīś, Rāmakṛishṇa Śiromaṇi, Kālidās Tarkasiddhānta, Baikunṭhanāth Nyāyaratna, Bhuvanmohan Tarkālaṅkāra and Ānandachandra Vidyaratna.

Ulā-Birnagar was another important seat of Sanskrit studies, specially of *smṛiti* and *nyāya*. Over one hundred names of scholars and *gurus* belonging to Ulā-Birnagar Vidyāsamāj are available in different documents of the Nadia Raj. This Vidyāsamāj came to

an end by the upheaval and famine of 1857. The most famous among the *paṇḍits* of Ulā-Birnagar Vidyāsamāj was Kṛṣṇarām Nyāyapañchānan, a contemporary of Rājā Kṛṣṇachandra of Nadia.

Belpukuriā was another important Vidyāsamāj. There were two lineages in Belpukuriā, one specializing mainly in *nyāya* and another in *smṛiti*. We get the names of about sixty *paṇḍits* with scholarly titles in these two lineages from about the middle of the 17th century to about the beginning of the 20th century.

Kamalpur, to the east of Chakdaha railway station, had once been a famous seat of Sanskrit studies. The number of scholars that the two lineages of this place between them have produced is remarkable. The list of only the more famous ones among them who flourished between the 17th and the early part of the 20th centuries would run into a few pages.

Kumārhaṭṭa-Hālisahar (now in 24-Parganas district) was another famous seat of *nyāya* and *smṛiti* studies. At the middle of the last century, there had been four *chatuṣpāṭhīs* at this place. The Kumārhaṭṭa-Hālisahar Vidyāsamāj used to be sustained by the Rājās of Nadia and Sāvarna-Chaudhuris of Calcutta.

Due to social, economic and political changes of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, *ṭols* and *chatuṣpāṭhīs* as well as *mādrāsāhs* and *maktabs* imparting Muslim theological education and teaching Arabic and Persian, of which we have practically no information in so far as Nadia district is concerned, were slowly fading out. Decay of old Zamindar families and landed aristocracy who sustained these *ṭols*, *chatuṣpāṭhīs*, *mādrāsāhs* and *maktabs*, replacement of Persian by English as the language of the courts in 1835, Macaulay's proposals on education of 1835 and Lord William Bentinck's acceptance of those proposals sealed the fate of these traditional institutions of learning.

Apart from the *ṭols* and *chatuṣpāṭhīs*, *maktabs* and *mādrāsāhs* there were perhaps some indigenous elementary schools which taught rudiments of reading and writing the vernacular and rudiments of arithmetic and accounting. These schools were relatively open ones and less sectarian than the other types, but information about these schools are scarce.

The beginnings of modern education can be traced back to the efforts of the Christian missionaries after the ban on their activities in the dominions of the East India Company was lifted in 1813. The first recorded visit of Church of England Missionaries to the district occurred in 1822. But the first schools were not

opened before 1832, when a Church of England Missionary by the name of Mr. Deerr, then stationed at Kalna in Barddhaman district, went to Krishnanagar and Navadwip. He opened two schools in Navadwip and one in Krishnanagar. For the next few years his and the Church of England's work consisted mainly in the establishment of more schools in the district. The Church Missionary Society started functioning in the district from its headquarters in Krishnanagar in 1841. The school at Krishnanagar established by the Society came into existence in 1843 with free boarding for boys and girls. On 1st October 1845, the Governor General sanctioned the foundation of a college at Krishnanagar in Nadia district. The college was finally opened on 1st January 1846. Its first Principal was D. L. Richardson. Among the earliest teachers of the College were Ramtanu Lahiri and Madan Mohan Tarkālāṅkār. In June 1848, the control of the College was transferred from the local committee to the Council of Education in Calcutta. In 1850, the Church Missionary Society established a school at the mission premises, in existence since 1840. In 1850, 1851 and 1852 some attempts were made to impart craft and industrial training at the school. In 1864, the Church Missionary Society founded the Training or the Normal School at Solo, which was afterwards transferred to Kāpāsdāṅgā, then to Shantipur and finally to Krishnanagar. In 1885, the Church of England Zenana Mission Society commenced work in the district and by 1891 the Church Missionary Society Girls' School at Krishnanagar was put on a satisfactory basis. The efforts of the Church Missionary Society in the fifties to establish a craft and industrial school became fruitful with the establishment of the Industrial School at Chapra. Such was the beginning of modern education in the district.

According to the Census of 1971, out of a total of 22,30,270 persons, 6,98,341 persons could read and write a simple letter in the script of their mother tongue. In other words, 31.31 per cent of the total population was found to be literate. Of 11,44,977 males, 4,42,117 persons or 39.28 per cent of the total male population was found to be literate and 2,56,224 females out of a total of 10,85,293 females or 22.92 per cent of the female population was literate. In so far as the extent of literacy is concerned, Nadia comes after Calcutta, Howrah, Hugli, 24-Parganas, Barddhaman, Darjiling and Medinipur districts, in that order. Since 33.05 per cent of the total population of West Bengal in

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1971 was found to be literate, the district average falling below that could be taken to be an index of backwardness. But as far as literacy among the female population was concerned, the district average was somewhat better than the West Bengal average of 22.08 per cent.

In the Census of 1961, out of a total population of 17,13,324 persons, 4,66,796 persons or 27.25 per cent of the population were found literate. 3,14,703 out of a total of 8,79,430 male persons or 35.78 per cent of the male population and 1,52,093 out of total of 8,33,894 female persons or 18.24 per cent of female population were found literate in Nadia district. Between 1951 and 1961, the growth of literacy was appreciable but the same rate of growth could not be maintained between 1961 and 1971.

At the Census of 1951, only 15.31 per cent of the total population of Nadia was found literate as against the all West Bengal average of 21.5 per cent. At the beginning of the century in 1901 only 12.08 per cent of the total district population was literate. Female literacy then was negligible. The progress in growth of literacy till 1931 was not only imperceptible but there were actual declines in the percentage of literates in the total population between 1901 and 1911 and between 1921 and 1931. Males having had the major share in the literate section of the population showed these declines in the growth of literacy. Percentage of female literates, however, maintained a steady rate of growth. In 1931, the percentage of literates in the total district population stood at 12.49; from there in a decade it rose to 20.32 per cent of total population in 1941. The increase had indeed been very sharp. The increase was particularly noticeable among the female population; in 1931, only 4.74 per cent of the total female population was literate, but in 1941, 9.83 per cent of the total female population was found literate.

The table given below shows the percentage of literates in total population, as well as the percentage of literate males and females in male and female population respectively, as found in different Census enumerations since 1901.

Year	Percentage of literates		
	Persons	Males	Females
1901	12.08	22.43	1.87
1911	11.72	20.55	2.85

(Contd.)

1921	13.54	22.35	4.31
1931	12.49	19.85	4.74
1941	20.32	30.24	9.83
1951	15.31	18.16	12.23
1961	27.25	35.78	18.24
1971	31.31	39.28	22.92

One aspect of the situation, as indicated by the table is worth noticing. Though the percentage of literates among the male population is considerably higher than the percentage of literates among the female population, and as such the fluctuation in the percentage of literates among male population registers its impact on the fluctuations of percentage of literates in the total population more visibly, the rate of growth of literacy amongst the female population had always been higher and steady, as a result of which the gap between the percentage of literates amongst males and females is narrowing.

A larger gap has always existed between the percentage of literates in population in rural and in urban areas of the district. That gap, instead of closing, is actually widening with every Census. The table below gives the percentage of literates in total population as well as the percentage of literate males and females in male and female populations respectively in rural and urban areas separately for the years 1951 and 1961.

Year	Rural/ Urban	Percentage of literates		
		Persons	Males	Females
1951	Rural	12.41	16.06	8.76
	Urban	28.17	28.03	28.31
1961	Rural	21.64	29.97	12.89
	Urban	52.10	61.33	42.20

One aspect of the situation is worth our attention. While in the rural areas in 1951 percentage of female literates in the female population was half the percentage of literates in male population, in the urban areas percentagewise a slightly larger number of females were available than males. But between 1951

and 1961, the growth of literacy amongst urban males far outstripped the growth of it amongst urban women. The growth of literacy amongst rural women was even slower.

Among the towns of the district — Kalyani, the planned township with a University — showed the highest incidence of literates amongst the male population in 1961. There 69.85 per cent of the male population was found literate. Ranaghat, Chakdaha, Krishnanagar and Navadwip towns showed the male literacy above the district average; 64.01 per cent of the males of Ranaghat town, 64.30 per cent of males of Chakdaha town, 61.39 per cent males of Krishnanagar town and 63.68 of the males of Navadwip town were literate. Lowest percentage of male literacy (52.54 per cent of males) was available in Shantipur town. Krishnanagar having 47.50 per cent of its female population, Ranaghat having 45.26 per cent of its female population and Navadwip having 42.69 per cent of its females as literates registered better averages in so far as literacy amongst the females of the urban areas of the district was concerned. In this respect also Shantipur town was the most backward having 33.05 per cent of its female population as literate.

Among the rural areas of the district Ranaghat police station area had the highest incidence of literates in 1961. 30.44 persons, out of 100, were found literate in the villages of Ranaghat police station area. These villages also had the highest incidence of female literates. 19.75 per cent of the female population and 40.67 per cent of the male population of the rural areas within the jurisdiction of Ranaghat police station were literates. The rural areas of Chakdaha police station come next with 26.82 per cent comprising literates. 16.42 per cent of the females and 36.36 per cent of the males living in the rural areas of Chakdaha police station were found literate. The rural areas of Krishnaganj police station had 25.22 per cent of its total population, 16.02 per cent of its female population and 33.86 per cent of its male population as literates. Lowest incidences of literacy were obtainable in the rural areas of Chapra and Karimpur police stations. 14.23 and 14.75 per cent of the total populations of these police stations respectively were literates. Incidence of female literacy was also lowest in these two police stations. The following table shows the percentage of literates in total population and among the males and females separately in the rural and urban areas of the two subdivisions as the situation was obtainable in March 1961.

		Percentage of literates		
Subdivision		Persons	Males	Females
Sadar (Krishnanagar)	Total	23.67	31.20	15.79
	Rural	18.65	25.97	11.02
	Urban	54.07	62.54	45.03
Ranaghat	Total	32.40	42.33	21.81
	Rural	26.53	36.45	15.99
	Urban	50.46	60.32	39.84

As can be deduced from the preceding table, Ranaghat subdivision is more advanced in so far as the incidence of literacy among the males and females of the rural areas are concerned. But Sadar (Krishnanagar) subdivision has a slight edge over Ranaghat in so far as incidence of literacy among the urban people is concerned. But this slight edge does not upset the overall picture.

In 1951, only 14.27 per cent of children in the age-group of 5-14 was found literate; in 1961, the corresponding percentage was 28.57. The following table gives an age-groupwise break-up of percentage of literates among urban and rural males and females separately for 1961.

Age-group (years)	Rural		Urban	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
5-14	28.3	18.3	56.0	47.1
15-34	43.7	18.6	79.3	62.1
35-59	32.8	10.4	73.6	39.2
60+	34.4	5.1	72.4	23.5

According to the 1961 Census, 11.68 per cent of the male and 4.17 per cent of the female population of the rural areas of Nadia district had education up to the Primary or Junior Basic level. In the urban areas of the district, 26.78 per cent of the males and 15.97 per cent of females had the same level of education. The total number of persons (males and females separately) having education up to the Primary or Junior Basic in the dis-

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tract as a whole, and in urban and rural areas separately, in 1961 was as follows.

NO. OF PERSONS HAVING EDUCATION UP TO PRIMARY OR
JUNIOR BASIC LEVEL: 1961

	Males (% of males)	Females (% of females)
District as a whole	1,27,319 (19.23%)	52,741 (10.71%)
Rural areas only	83,629 (11.68%)	28,441 (4.17%)
Urban areas only	43,690 (26.78%)	24,300 (15.97%)

According to W. W. Hunter, there were 229 Primary schools, including *pāḥśālās*, in the district in 1871-72, and a total of 4,836 pupils were attending those schools in that year. In 1898-99, there were 615 Lower Primary and 85 Upper Primary schools in the district which were being attended by a total of 20,824 students. In *Bengal District Gazetteers: Nadia* of 1910, J. H. E. Garrett reported 706 Lower Primary and 123 Upper Primary schools in the district, being attended by a total of 31,235 pupils, of whom 5,118 pupils were studying in the primary sections of the Middle and High schools. Among these Primary schools 152 were meant exclusively for girls. Some girls, however, did attend boys' schools. A total of 3,983 girls were there in the Primary schools meant for girls and 589 were enlisted as students in boys' schools. There were two Model Primary schools for girls, one at Shantipur and the other at Navadwip. In 1945-46, there were altogether 1,249 Primary schools attended by 62,445 pupils. The partition of the country in 1947 left the district with half the former population and area in India and had 760 Primary schools attended by some 60,903 pupils. Of the existing Primary schools of 1950-51, 64 institutions, comprising 8,227 pupils, were under Government management; 638 institutions, comprising 47,859 pupils were either managed by the municipalities or by the District School Board; 58 institutions, comprising 4,817 pupils, were privately managed organizations receiving financial aid from Government or Local Self-governing organizations. There were 48 more Primary schools in the district in 1951. These were but Primary sections attached to the Middle English and High English schools and a total of 12,271 pupils were on the rolls of these Primary sections of the Middle English and High English schools.

After the Independence of the country, reorganization of the system of education was being done slowly phase by phase. Some of these affected the structure of Primary education as well. While the old type of Primary schools was retained, a new type of Primary education through the medium of Junior Basic schools was introduced. The following table, prepared from the data provided by the Planning and Statistics Cell of the Directorate of Public Instruction, West Bengal gives the relevant information in quantitative terms about Primary education in Nadia district in 1955-56, 1960-61 and 1965-66.

STATISTICS ON PRIMARY EDUCATION IN
NADIA DISTRICT: 1955-66

	1955-56	1960-61	1965-66
1. Primary Schools:			
Total no. of institutions	1,185	1,312	1,626
Government managed institutions	123	125	109
Privately managed institutions aided by Government	66	71	87
Privately managed institutions aided by Local Self-government	996	1,116	1,430
No. of boys enrolled	80,358	85,819	1,12,467
No. of girls enrolled	55,338	58,310	77,245
Total Government expenditure (Rs.)	28,61,435	37,14,600	61,61,915
2. Junior Basic Schools:			
Total no. of institutions	51	81	92
Government managed institutions	nil	nil	nil
Privately managed institutions aided by Government	nil	2	6
Privately managed institutions aided by Local Self-government	51	79	86
Total no. of boys enrolled	3,550	5,278	8,308
Total no. of girls enrolled	2,279	3,670	5,838
Total Government expenditure (Rs.)	1,76,968	2,24,509	3,01,436

Secondary
education

From the early days of modern education in Bengal, Secondary education is imparted through a two-stage system. While the High English schools of pre-Independence period, X-class High schools of post-Independence period, XI-class High schools of the preceding times and the X and X+II class systems of the present times necessarily institutionalize both the stages of Secondary education, the Middle English schools of the pre-Independence era, Middle schools of immediate post-Independence days and present day Junior High schools and Senior Basic schools institutionalize only the first stage of Secondary education.

Junior
Secondary
education

According to Hunter, in 1871-72, there were altogether 69 Middle schools in Nadia district, attended by a total of 3,526 pupils.¹ Of these institutions, 38 were Middle English schools and 31 were Middle Vernacular schools. 4 of these institutions, all Middle Vernacular schools, were under Government management. 53 were privately managed institutions receiving grants-in-aid from Government (30 were Middle English and 23 were Middle Vernacular institutions). 8 privately managed Middle English and 4 privately managed Middle Vernacular schools did not have any grants-in-aid. Only 4 of the privately managed schools were under the management of the European Christian missionaries.

In 1945-46, there were 83 Middle English schools in the district having a roll strength of 3,407 pupils. The partition of the district, along with the country in 1947, left the district with less than half the number of schools of this category. After the Independence of the country when more and more of the institutions of this category began to be upgraded into High schools and from the time when opening of new Middle schools began to be discouraged, the number of these schools began to decrease and with it decreased the number of pupils attending these schools. In 1950-51, there were only 35 Middle English schools in the district, having a roll strength of 60,903 pupils; 25 of these schools were privately managed institutions receiving grants-in-aid from Government or from the Local Self-governing Organizations and 10 were privately managed unaided institutions. After the Independence, some changes were introduced in the structure of institutional education; one of these changes related to the replacement of Middle English schools by Junior High schools. Especially, after the introduction of XI-class multi-

stream Higher Secondary schools, the number of institutions began to grow and with it the number of pupils. Another significant innovation was also made at this time. In accordance with Gandhiji's scheme of Basic Education, as adopted by the Directorate of Public Instruction, West Bengal, a new type of schools styled as Senior Basic schools were set up to cater to the needs of Junior Secondary education coupled with practical training in socially necessary avocations. The following table, prepared from the data supplied by the Statistical Cell of the Directorate of Education, West Bengal gives the information regarding Junior Secondary education, in quantitative terms, in Nadia district for the years 1955-56, 1960-61 and 1965-66.

STATISTICS ON JUNIOR SECONDARY EDUCATION
IN NADIA: 1955-66

	1955-56	1960-61	1965-66
1. Junior High Schools:			
No. of institutions for boys	67	89	81
No. of institutions for girls	11	24	20
No. of institutions managed by Government	nil	nil	nil
No. of institutions privately managed, aided by Government	42	75	82
No. of privately managed unaided institutions	36	38	19
No. of boys enrolled	5,665	7,671	6,142
No. of girls enrolled	1,860	3,861	5,510
Total Government expenditure (Rs.)	1,21,088	2,74,644	3,32,718
2. Senior Basic Schools:			
No. of institutions for boys	4	6	
No. of institutions for girls	nil	nil	
No. of Government managed schools	nil	nil	
No. of privately managed Government aided schools	4	6	
No. of privately managed unaided schools	nil	nil	
No. of boys enrolled	227	381	
No. of girls enrolled	15	107	
Total Government expenditure (Rs.)	21,267	62,035	

¹ W. W. Hunter, *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. II, London, 1875, pp. 124-25.

Government English School, Krishnanagar or Krishnanagar Collegiate School or Nadia Zillah School, as it was then called, happens to be the first High English school of the district. This school was established in 1846. After the establishment of the University of Calcutta in 1857, this school got affiliated to the University.

According to W. W. Hunter, in 1871-72 there were altogether 15 High schools in Nadia district, being attended by a total of 1,903 pupils. Of these High schools 1 was managed by Government directly, 10 were under private management but were receiving grants-in-aid from Government, and 4 were privately managed unaided institutions. Only one school among the 15 was run by the Christian missionaries.

But there are schools in Nadia district which were established before Krishnanagar Collegiate School. St. John's Cathedral Mission School, Krishnanagar, was established in 1834 and Hatchapra King Edward School was established in 1841, but these schools were raised to the level of High school in 1901 and 1948 respectively long after Krishnanagar Collegiate School became a High school.

A list of schools in Nadia district established in the 19th century is given below.

SCHOOLS IN NADIA DISTRICT ESTABLISHED IN
THE 19TH CENTURY

Name and address of the school	Year of establishment	Year of becoming High school
1. St. John's C.M.S. School, Krishnanagar	1834	1901
2. Hāchāprā King Edward School, Vill. & P.S. Chapra	1841	1948
3. Krishnanagar Collegiate School, Krishnanagar	1846	1846
4. Lākhuriā High School, Vill. & P.S. Kaliganj	1848	1950
5. Krishnanagar A. V. High School, Krishnanagar	1849	1863
6. Ranaghat Pal Chowdhury High School, Ranaghat	1853	N. A.

N.A.—Not available.

7. Shantipur Municipal High School, Shantipur	1856	1861
8. Muragachha High School, Vill. Muragachha, P.S. Nakasipara	1864	1869
9. Majdia Railbazar High School, Vill. Majdia, P.S. Krishnaganj	1868	1891
10. Tārāsundari Girls' High School, Navadwip	1870	1950
11. Sutragarh N. M. High School, Shantipur	1872	1901
12. Navadwip Hindu School, Navadwip	1873	N. A.
13. Sudhākarpur High School, Vill. Kāsiādāngā, P.S. Nakasipara	1886	1888
14. Navadwip Bakultalā High School, Navadwip	1875	1924
15. Belpukur High School, Vill. Belpukur, P.S. Krishnanagar	1895	1895
16. Shantipur Oriental Academy, Shantipur	1896	1902
17. The Palashi High School, Vill. Palashi, P.S. Kaliganj	1897	1942
18. Jamserpur B. N. High School, Vill. Jamserpur, P.S. Karimpur	1899	1900
19. Shikarpur High School, Vill. Bāruipārā, P.S. Karimpur	1900	1916
20. Kutipārā Rural High School, Vill. Pātharghātā, P.S. Tehatta	1900	1944
21. Aranghata High School, Vill. Aranghata, P.S. Ranaghat	1900	1948

In 1945, there were 50 High English schools in the then undivided district of Nadia, and altogether 15,415 boys and girls were on the rolls of these schools. The number of institutions rose to 51 just before the partition of the country. The partition left Nadia district in West Bengal with 39 schools and 14,035 pupils in 1947-48. In 1950-51, the number of High schools in Nadia district rose to a total of 56. A total of 15,376 boys and girls were found on the rolls of these 56 schools that year.

N.A.—Not available.

Of these 56 schools, 2 were under Government management, 34 were privately managed institutions receiving grants-in-aid from Government and/or Local Self-governing agencies, and 20 were privately managed unaided schools.

The number of the old type X-class High schools rose to 73 (having a total strength of 29,992 pupils) in 1955-56, the year before the introduction of the new type XI-class multi-stream Higher Secondary schools in accordance with the plan of re-organization of Secondary education as suggested by the Mudaliar Commission on Education and adopted by the Government of West Bengal. In 1956-57, when 8 of the old existing X-class High schools were upgraded to the level of XI-class multi-stream Higher Secondary schools, the number of X-class High schools came down to 65. In the first year of existence of the XI-class Higher Secondary schools, 7 new schools were established, which straightway became XI-class Higher Secondary schools. Thereafter the number of XI-class Higher Secondary schools has steadily increased and X-class schools have maintained a steady decline in number except in the years when upgrading from below offset the trend. The following table, prepared from the data supplied by the Planning and Statistics Cell of the Directorate of Education, West Bengal, gives a quantitative picture of the situation in Secondary education in Nadia in 1955-56, 1960-61 and 1965-66.

SITUATION IN SECONDARY (FINAL) EDUCATION IN
NADIA DISTRICT: 1955-66

	1955-56	1960-61	1965-66
1. X-class High schools :			
No. of institutions for boys	64	43	55
No. of institutions for girls	9	19	24
No. of institutions managed by Government	2	nil	nil
No. of privately managed institutions aided by Government	48	47	69
No. of privately managed unaided institutions	23	15	10
Total No. of boys enrolled	25,413	17,912	16,589
Total Government expenditure (Rs.)	5,65,885	5,20,437	10,38,489

1955-56 1960-61 1965-66

2. XI-class multi-stream Higher
Secondary schools :

No. of institutions for boys	...	24	54
No. of institutions for girls	...	7	15
No. of institutions managed by Government	...	2	2
No. of privately managed institutions aided by Government	...	34	67
No. of privately managed unaided institutions	nil	nil	nil
Total No. of boys enrolled	...	12,393	29,084
Total No. of girls enrolled	...	3,532	8,802
Total Government expenditure (Rs.)	...	9,43,827	25,56,411

The Census of 1961 found 29,156 males out of a total of 8,79,430 or 3.31 per cent of the total male population as having education, the minimum of which is Matriculation or School Final or Higher Secondary or Indian School Leaving examinations. The Census of 1961 at the same time found only 3,536 females in a total of 8,33,894 females, or only 0.42 per cent of the total female population of the district had education, the minimum of which was Matriculation or an equivalent examination.

In the rural areas of the district, only 1.69 per cent of the male population and 0.12 per cent of the female population in 1961 were having education, the minimum of which was Matriculation and equivalent examination.

According to the Census of 1961, in the urban areas of the district, 6.21 per cent of the male population was found to have an education equivalent to Matriculation or School Final or Higher Secondary or Indian School Leaving level. Similarly, 1.05 per cent of the urban female population was found to have passed either of the above-mentioned examinations only.

In 1970-71, there were altogether 9 colleges of general education in Arts, Science and Commerce conducting classes up to the degree standard. Together they had a roll strength of 4,619 students.

General
collegiate
Education

Krishnanagar Government College is not only the oldest college in the district but one of the older institutions of its kind in West Bengal. On the 1st October 1845, the Governor General in Council took the decision to establish the college in Krishnanagar, which was finally opened on the 1st January 1846 with D. L. Richardson as the Principal. Rāmtanu Lāhiri and Paṇḍit Madanmohan Tarkālāṅkār were engaged in teaching at the College from the very first year. Government appointed a Local Committee to manage the affairs of the College. But in June 1848, the control of the College was transferred from the Local Committee to the Council of Education of the Government in Calcutta. In 1856, the College went into the new buildings which still stand in Krishnanagar. In 1857, when the University of Calcutta came into existence, the College got affiliated to it as an institution empowered to conduct classes for the First Examination in Arts (later called Intermediate in Arts) and the Bachelor of Arts examinations. In 1871, B.A. classes were abolished by Sir George Campbell, the then Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. In 1875, however, Sir Richard Temple, on the petition of the chief inhabitants of the district, consented to restore the College to the former status, provided that a considerable share of the increased cost was subscribed by the community. This was done and the College started the classes again.

From around 1896-97 to around 1920-21, Krishnanagar Government College had conducted classes in Law and Pledership for students preparing themselves for the Bachelor of Law and Pledership certificate examinations.

In 1908-09, the University of Calcutta extended its affiliation to the College to conduct classes for students preparing for Intermediate in Science and Bachelor of Science examinations of the University. The College is at present affiliated to the University of Calcutta for conducting classes for students preparing for the Pre-University Arts, Pre-University Science, B.A. and B.Sc. examinations of the University. Teaching up to the Honours standards in English, Sanskrit, History, Economics, Political Science, Philosophy and Bengali among Arts subjects and Physics, Chemistry and Mathematics among the Science subjects is provided at the college.

The College stands on an enclosed compound of over 34 acres and is spread over two main buildings. The bigger building, constructed in 1856, is used for holding classes and discharging administrative functions and the smaller building houses the

laboratories. The College has a fairly good library with a reading room. Part of the ground occupied was purchased by Government; for the remainder, the College is indebted to the munificence of the Mahārāja of Nadia and Mahārājī Swarnamayī of Kashimbazar.

For a long time this College had remained the only College of general education in the district, till the establishment of the College in Shantipur.

Shantipur College was established in 1947 and got its first affiliation to the University of Calcutta in 1948-49 for conducting Intermediate in Arts and Intermediate in Science classes. The College became an institution under the Dispersal scheme of the Government of West Bengal in 1950-51 and later it became a privately managed Government Sponsored College. The College got affiliated to the University of Calcutta in 1955-56 for conducting B.A. and B.Sc. classes and in 1965-66 for conducting B.Com. classes. The College prepares students for appearing at the B.A. (Honours), B.Sc. (Honours) and B.Com. (Honours) examinations. The College is situated on a campus comprising about 16.6 acres of land. It has its own building equipped with laboratories and a library.

Navadwip Vidyasagar College in Navadwip town was established in March 1942 as a branch of Vidyasagar College, Calcutta and had no independent status as an institution till 1948. In 1948, it got its own Governing Body and got affiliated to the University of Calcutta for conducting Intermediate in Arts and Intermediate in Science classes. A morning section meant exclusively for girl students came into existence in 1952-53 and got affiliated to the University for conducting I.A. and I.Sc. classes. In 1956-57, the University extended its affiliation to both the sections of the College to conduct B.A. and B.Sc. classes and in 1964-65 the University accorded affiliation to the day department, empowering it to prepare students for the Bachelor of Commerce examination. The College provides Honours courses in Bengali (B.A.), Sanskrit (B.A.), Mathematics (B.A. & B.Sc.) and Accountancy (B.Com.).

The authorities of the college have secured a long term lease for the lands and buildings of the College. Laboratories are not equipped for Honours courses in Physics and Chemistry. The College has a small library.

Ranaghat College in Ranaghat town was established in 1950 under the Dispersal scheme and as such later came to be regarded

as a privately managed Government Sponsored College. It got affiliated to the University of Calcutta in the same year for conducting I.A. and I.Sc. classes. In 1957-58, affiliation was extended to enable it to prepare students for B.A., in 1961-62 for B.Sc. and in 1969-70 for B.Com. examinations. The College prepares students for degree with Honours examinations in History (B.A.), Sanskrit (B.A.) and Chemistry (B.Sc.). The College is housed in its own buildings and is equipped with laboratories and a library.

Srikrishna College, Bagula was originally situated in Rāmdīā in Faridpur district, having been established there in 1942-43. It shifted to Bagula in Nadia after the partition and began functioning from its new site in July 1950. It got affiliated to the University of Calcutta in 1952 with powers to prepare pupils for the Intermediate in Arts examination. Subsequently, in 1958-59, it got affiliated to the University for conducting B.A. classes and in 1962-63, it was permitted to prepare students for the B.Com. examination. The College imparts training in Bangali (B.A.), Advanced Accountancy and Auditing, Income Tax and Costing (all B.Com.) up to Honours level.

Krishnanagar Girls' College in Krishnanagar town was established in 1958-59 and was affiliated to the University of Calcutta the same year for Pre-University Arts and B.A. classes. In 1961-62, affiliation was extended to empower the College to prepare students for the Pre-University Science and B.Sc. examinations. The College offers Honours courses in Bengali, Sanskrit, Philosophy and Economics.

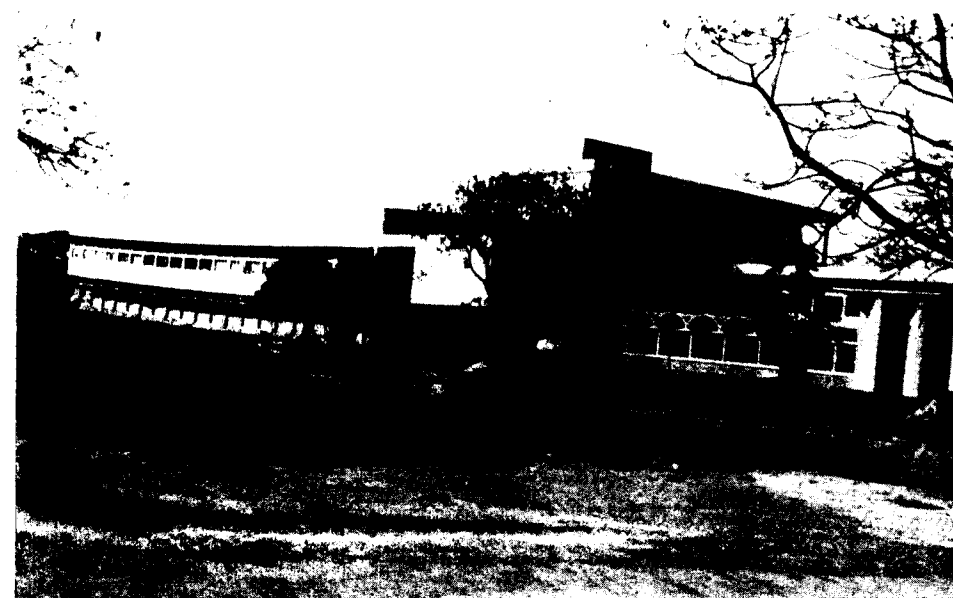
Sudhiranjan Lahiri Mahavidyalaya in Majdia was established in 1966 and was affiliated to the University of Calcutta for Pre-University Arts and B.A. (Pass) courses the same year. B.Com. (Pass) course was introduced in 1970-71.

Karimpur Pānnādevi College in Karimpur came into existence in 1968-69 and was affiliated to the University of Calcutta for P.U. (Arts) and B.A. courses the same year. B. Com (Pass) course was introduced in 1969-70.

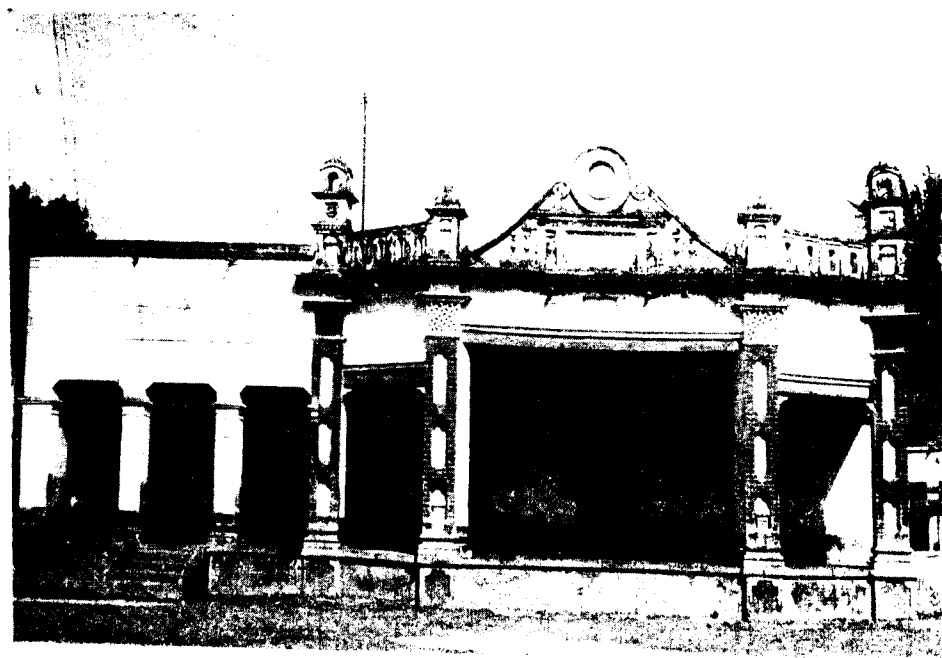
Krishnanagar College of Commerce in Krishnanagar town came into being and was affiliated to the University of Calcutta in 1968-69 for preparing students for the P.U. (Arts) and B.Com. (Pass) examinations of the University.



1. Krishnanagar College.



2. Kalyani University.



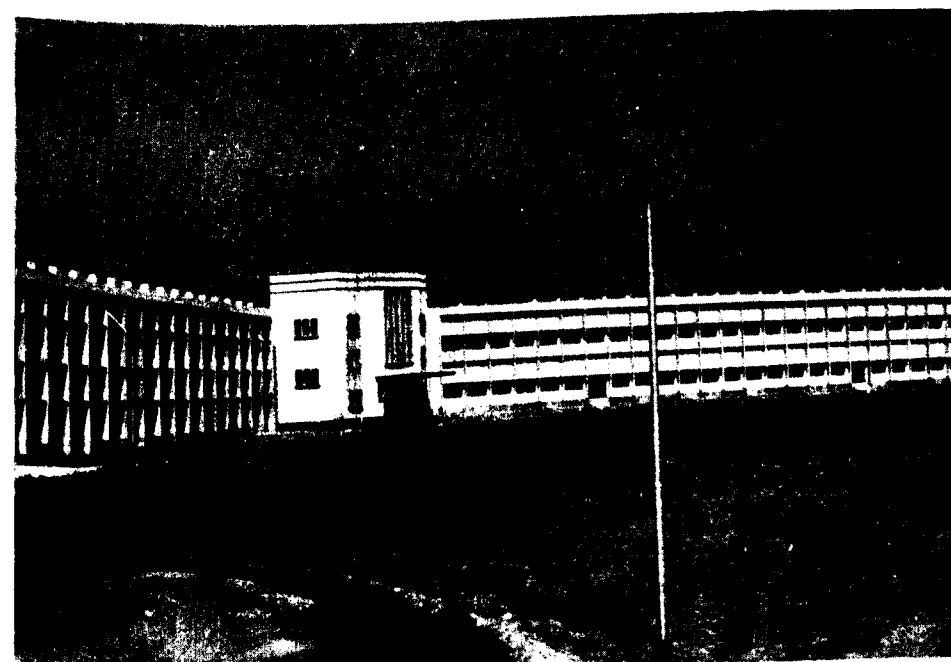
1. Baṅgīya Purāṇ Parishad, Shantipur.



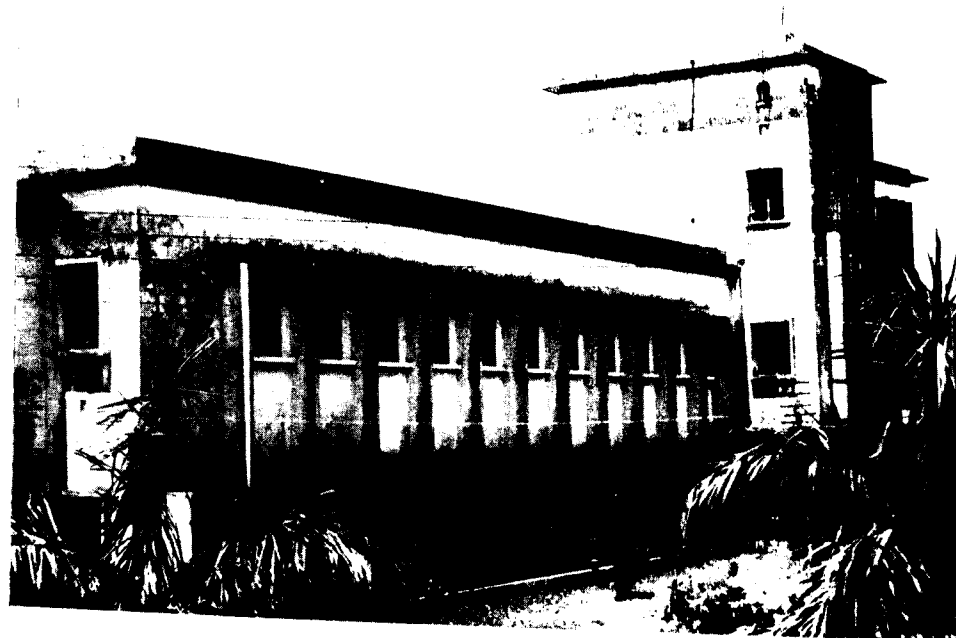
2. Shantipur Sahitya Parishad.



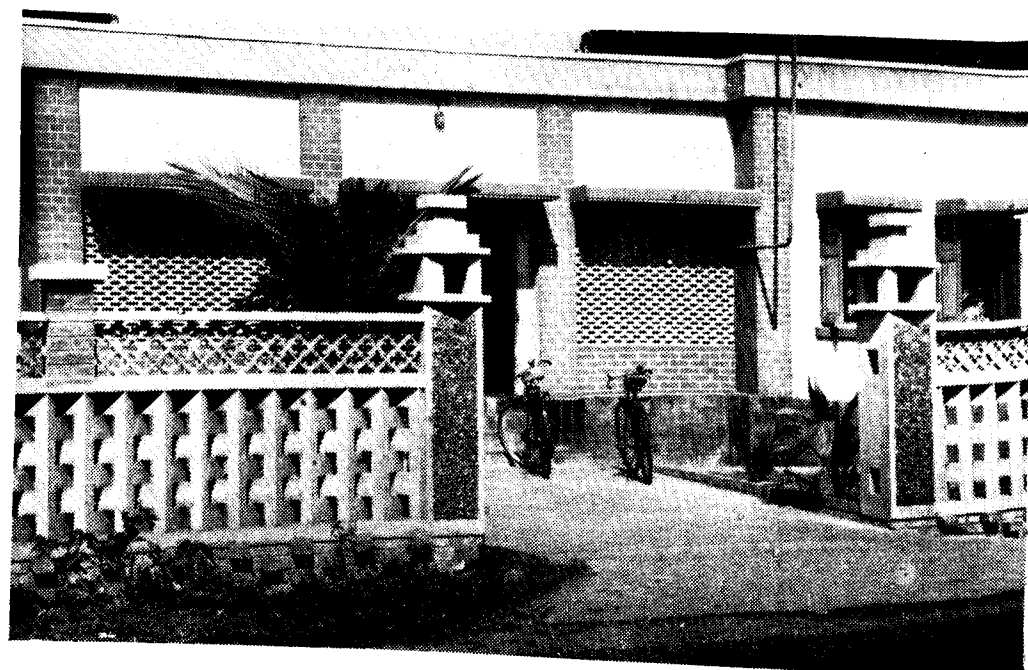
1. Nārjī T. B. Hospital (Kanchrapara), Kalyani.



2. Jawaharlal Nēru Memorial Hospital, Kalyani.



1. Kalyani Spinning Mill.



2. Haringhata Anchal Panchayat Office Building.

The first attempts at imparting training in crafts and industries, which can be carried on by individuals or small groups of people with low investments, were made by the Christian missionaries around the years 1850-52. These attempts, however, were abortive. In 1864, the Church Missionary Society founded the Training or the Normal School at Solo which was afterwards shifted to Kāpāsdāngā, then to Shantipur and finally to Krishnanagar. This school had facilities to provide training in several crafts and industries.

The Hatchapra Industrial School within Chapra Police Station was established in 1900 by Revd. G. H. Bradburn of the Church Missionary Society for providing practical instruction to pupils with an object to make them self-employed. Instructions were provided in carpentry, tin-smithy, black-smithy, brasswork and basketmaking.

In 1951, there were altogether 10 institutions for technical training in Nadia district which had a total roll strength of 540 students. Technical schools were four in number and came under the technical education scheme of Government. Of these, the Bipradas Pal Chaudhuri Technical School at Krishnanagar, imparting training in smithy, carpentry and turnery, etc. was under the management of the Directorate of Industries, West Bengal. The Phulia Polytechnic in Phulia, imparting training in as many as sixteen crafts and services, was also a Government managed institution. Krishnanagar Mahilā Samiti Śilpa Vidyālaya, imparting training in handloom weaving, embroidery, lace making, knitting and tailoring to women and the Roman Catholic Girls' Industrial School, Krishnanagar were privately managed Government aided schools for technical education, granting certificates and diplomas to the students after successful completion of the courses offered.

Apart from the aforementioned technical schools, there were six industrial training centres; excepting two the rest were managed by private bodies, receiving grants-in-aid from the Directorate of Industries, West Bengal. These were Umāśaśī Nārī Śilpa Śikshā Mandir at Krishnanagar for girls, Shantipur Weaving School at Shantipur, Śilpavānī at Navadwip, Navadwip Kuṭir Śilpa Pratishṭhān at Navadwip, Śilpa Vidyālaya at Chakdaha and Kuṭir Śilpa Śikshā Pratishṭhān at Ranaghat. Two of these institutions are under Government management.

The following table, prepared from the data supplied by the Planning and Statistics cell of the Directorate of Education, West

Bengal, gives in quantitative terms the situation in technical and industrial training in Nadia district for the years 1955-56, 1960-61 and 1965-66.

SITUATION IN TECHNICAL EDUCATION IN NADIA DISTRICT: 1955-66			
	1955-56	1960-61	1965-66
No. of technical & industrial schools (including polytechnics)	14	18	15
No. of Government managed institutions	4	2	3
No. of privately managed Government aided institutions	10	16	12
Total No. of boys enrolled	609	1,017	1,257
Total No. of girls enrolled	1,213	1,235	1,075
Total Government expenditure (Rs.)	91,745	2,70,684	4,99,933

Teachers' training institutions

The first attempts at imparting training to the pupils intending to take up the profession of teaching, were made by the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society at their Training or Normal School which was set up at Solo in 1864 and later was shifted to Kāpāsdāngā and subsequently to Shantipur and finally to Krishnanagar. The Government aided C.M.S. Training School imparted teachership training to male students only from the very beginning. The *First Quinquennial Review on the Education in Bengal for 1892-93 to 1896-97* (Calcutta, 1897) points to the existence in 1896-97 of a Roman Catholic Boarding and Training School at Krishnanagar, aided by Government, for training female students in teachership. The *Fifth Quinquennial Report for 1912-13 to 1916-17* reports that the Church of England Zanana Mission Training School imparted training to females intending to teach in lower classes. The same source reports about the closure of a Training school at Mollāh-bāliā village in the district which had specialized in training Muallims for *madrasahs* and *pāthśālās*. The aforementioned C.M.S. Training School for men at Krishnanagar was closed down in 1932.

In 1951, there were altogether 5 teachers' training institutions, all Government managed, in the district. Four of these were Teachers' Training Schools to train non-graduate students for teachership in Primary schools, the other was a Teachers' Training College for training graduate-students in teachership for Secondary schools. With the coming into being of Kalyani

University, this college became a department of the University.

In 1955-56, the aforementioned five institutions for teachers' training were intact and there were altogether 109 students on their rolls. In 1959-60, a new institution came into the field and in 1960-61, there was a further addition of one institution to the hitherto existing six. The seven institutions together had a roll strength of 194 students. These seven included the Teachers' Training College of Kalyani University.

Kalyani University at Kalyani came into existence by the Kalyani University Act, 1960 (West Bengal Act XIII of 1960) of 1st September 1960 and started functioning from 1st November 1960 with the appointment of the first Vice-Chancellor.

It is basically a Unitary type University, but it has power to recognize, derecognize, affiliate and dis-affiliate any College within the Police Stations of Chakdaha and Haringhata in Nadia district and the Police Station of Bijpur in 24-Parganas district. Pupils can either stay at the residential hostels of the University or commute between home and the University.

The Faculty of Arts which includes both Humanities and Social Sciences came into being in 1961 and comprises the following Departments, namely, Bengali, English, Economics, Sociology, History and Political Science. The Faculty offers 3-year Honours degree courses in Economics, English, Bengali and Sociology. 2-year post-graduate courses in Bengali, English, Economics, Sociology, History and Political Science leading to M.A. degrees are offered. The Faculty of Arts provides facilities for research leading to Ph.D. degree. The Departments of the Faculty of Arts are spread out over five buildings situated in the campus of the University at Kalyani. The Departments of the Faculty of Arts utilize the facilities provided by the Departmental libraries and the Central Library.

The Faculty of Education including the Departments of Education and Physical Education are still housed in the building of the Kalyani Teachers' Training College which formed the nucleus of these Departments. The two Departments respectively offer B.T./M.A. (Education) and B.Ed. (Physical Education) degrees. The Departments of Education and Physical Education have their own library and the laboratory which have grown out of the nucleus provided by the library and the laboratory of the erstwhile Teachers' Training College.

KALYANI
UNIVERSITY

The Faculty of Science came into existence in 1962 and comprises the following Departments, namely, Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics, Statistics, Botany and Zoology. The Faculty offers 3-year Honours degree courses in the subjects just mentioned leading to B.Sc. (Honours) degree and 2-year post-graduate course in each of the subjects leading to M.Sc. degree.

There are separate buildings for housing the class rooms, lecture theatres, laboratories, libraries and teachers' rooms for each of the following subjects, namely, Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics and Statistics, Botany and Zoology. Over and above these buildings there is a workshop.

The Central Library of the University is yet to get a house of its own and is at present located in the University Administrative Building. On the 15 November 1977 there were altogether 50,800 volumes in the Library. Average yearly acquisition stands at 3,978 volumes. The Library subscribes 445 journals.

There are two hostels for the female resident students of the University with a capacity to accommodate 80 students at a time. One of these hostels is housed in a rented premise. There are 5 hostels for the male residential students of the University with a capacity for 500 inmates at a time.

Facilities of indoor and outdoor games are available at Kalyani campus. The University is now constructing University Health Centre, Guest House, Central Library etc.

The Faculty of Commerce is going to be started soon.

The Faculty of Agriculture of Kalyani University had its nucleus in the Birla College of Agriculture at Haringhata which became a part of that University as soon as it came into being.

The State Government decided in March 1973 to divide Kalyani University and establish an agricultural University. Accordingly, Bidhan Chandra Krishi Viswa Vidyalaya at Haringhata was established on 1 September 1974 under Bidhan Chandra Krishi Viswa Vidyalaya Act (West Bengal Act XLIX of 1974) by disaffiliating the Faculty of Agriculture from Kalyani University and Bengal Veterinary College, Calcutta from the Calcutta University and simultaneously transferring them as constituent units to the new Viswa Vidyalaya.

It has two Faculties, namely, the Faculty of Agriculture at Kalyani and the Faculty of Veterinary and Animal Sciences located at Belgachia, Calcutta.

BIDHAN CHANDRA
KRISHI VISWA
VIDYALAYA

The Faculty of Agriculture comprises 10¹ and the Faculty of Veterinary and Animal Sciences comprises 9² Departments.

The following table gives in quantitative terms a picture of the situation in the field of Fine Arts and Music. Most of the institutions in this field are schools imparting training in Music and Dancing. These schools, however, do not follow any standardized course of training, nor does any central institute conduct the passing out examination or give certificates or diplomas after the successful completion of training at these institutions. Yet, many of these schools are recognized by and affiliated to either the West Bengal State Saṅgīt Nāṭak Akademi or Rabindra Bharati University or Central Saṅgīt Nāṭak Akademi or to Music College of Lucknow and get grants-in-aid from these and/or the Education Department of the Government of West Bengal and/or from Local Self-governing agencies as shown in the table below.

EDUCATION IN
FINE ARTS

EDUCATION IN MUSIC & FINE ARTS IN
NADIA DISTRICT: 1955-66

	1955-56	1960-61	1965-66
No. of institutions	5	6	10
No. of institutions aided			
by the Government	5	5	8
Total No. of boys enrolled	129	106	155
Total No. of girls enrolled	392	238	422
Total Government expenditure (Rs.)	5,320	39,380	20,099

The most important of the institutions in this field is Baṅgavāṇī of Nidayāghāt, Navadwip. The Baṅgavāṇī Society was founded in October 1929 and manages a number of educational and cultural institutions in Navadwip. Geetavāṇī is the name of the school for Music and Dance managed by the Baṅgavāṇī Society. The school offers 4-year certificate and 6-year diploma courses in Vocal Music (Hindusthani Classical, *Kīrtana*, *Rabindra Saṅgīt* and Folk Music of Bengal), Dance (Manipuri, etc.) and Instrumental Music (North Indian Classical and Light Music).

¹ Agronomy, Agricultural Chemistry & Soil Science, Agricultural Economics, Agricultural Statistics, Agricultural Entomology, Agricultural Engineering, Agricultural Extension, Genetics & Plant Breeding, Horticulture and Plant Pathology.

² Animal Husbandry & Dairy Science, Animal Physiology, Anatomy, Pathology & Preventive Veterinary Medicine, Medicine & Pharmacology, Animal Gynaecology & Obstetrics, Surgery, Animal Husbandry and Extension.

A Government-sponsored Music Teachers' Training College functions as a separate Department of Geetavāṇī. The Department offers a 2-year diploma, with provision for an additional year of specialization, to women. The school maintains a Department for teaching the students who take up Music as a subject for their Higher Secondary Examination.

The Baṅgavāṇī Society also runs a school for non-performing Visual Arts. This school, named Rupavāṇī, offers a 5-year diploma course in Drawing, Painting, Clay Modelling and Commercial Art. Both the schools are housed in the building owned by Baṅgavāṇī.

Another important institution in this field is the Hṛishīkes Saṅgīt Vidyālaya of Navadwip. The institution was founded in 1944. The institution offers a 4-year junior and a 4-year senior diploma course in Vocal Music (Hindusthani Classical, *Rabindra Saṅgīt*, *Kīrtana* and Folk Music of Bengal), a 3-year junior and a 3-year senior diploma course in Instrumental Music (North Indian Classical, Folk and Light Music). The school is housed in its own building.

PHYSICAL EDUCATION

The Youth Welfare Council, Nadia came into existence in 1939 to render help to organized activities in the fields of sports, games and athletics. One important area of its operation had been the schools and colleges.

The District Officer of Physical Education and Youth Welfare organizes training camps, sends out trained instructors, arranges for sports meets and competitions and forwards grants-in-aid to various clubs and sports organizations, etc. through the Nadia District Sports Association, Nadia School Sports Association, Nadia District Body Builders' and Weight Lifters' Association, District Commissioner for Bharat Scouts and Guides and Nadia Referees' Association.

SOCIAL EDUCATION

The district first came into the Social Education Scheme of the Government of West Bengal in 1950, when Social Education Centres and Adult Education Centres were set up in different villages to spread literacy among the adult illiterates and disseminate such useful information to them as would make them responsible citizens of the country. The Centres also try to couple the education with wholesome entertainment.

After the introduction of the Social Education Scheme, a majority of libraries in the district have come under the purview of the scheme.

Following is a list of Public Libraries in Nadia district.

Name of the Public Library	Thana	No. of books (Approx.)	Date of establishment
1. Krishnanagar Public Library	Kotwali	13,000	1856
2. Rānāghāt Public Library	Ranaghat	8,000	1884
3. Chākdaha Basanta Smṛiti Pāthāgār	Chakdaha	3,500	1919
4. Sāadhanā Library, Krishnanagar	Kotwali	2,000	1923
5. The Co-operative Library, Krishnanagar	-do-	1,500	1945
6. Purnadās Pāthāgār, Gobrapota	-do-	700	—
7. Ulasi Sādhāran Granthāgār	Hanskhali	550	1956
8. Chāprā Sādhāran Pāthāgār	Chapra	1,000	1954
9. Tehatta Milan Sangha Public Library	Tehatta	700	—
10. Kendoā Vivekānanda Pāthāgār	Nakasipara	1,500	1356 B.S.
11. Kāsiādāngā Tarun Pāthāgār	-do-	1,750	1945
12. Sundalpur Pallimangal Public Library	Karimpur	1,000	1348 B.S.
13. Mahishbāthān Lābanya Provā Public Library	-do-	750	—
14. Mājhergrām Pallimangal Public Library	Ranaghat	750	1945
15. Udayana Pāthachakra	-do-	750	1954
16. Sri Rāmkrishna Pāthāgār, Krishnanagar	Kotwali	2,000	1944
17. Ādarsa Pāthāgār, Navadwip	Navadwip	2,000	1358 B.S.

Name of the Public Library	Thana	No. of books (Approx.)	Date of establishment
18. Mrinālinī Smṛiti Pāthāgār. Pāglāchandi	Kaliganj	750	1333 B.S.
19. Matīāri Yubak Samity Sādhāran Pāthāgār	-do-	2,500	1362 B.S.
20. Jnān Bhāndār Sādhāran Granthāgār, Majdia	Krishnaganj	5,250	1345 B.S.
21. Sarak Sādhānpārā Chittaranjan Pāthāgār	Kotwali	1,500	1927
22. Bādkullā Rāni Bhawāni Pāthāgār	Hanskhali	3,000	1942
23. Khanturā Bāni Mandir Public Library	Krishnaganj	800	1933
24. Anil Smṛiti Pāthāgār	-do-	700	---
25. Dakshinpārā Vivekānanda Pāthāgār	Hanskhali	700	---
26. Akshay Granthāgār	Shantipur	3,000	1947
27. Chhātra Sangha Public Library	Ranaghat	500	---
28. Suhrīd Sangha Granthāgār	Kotwali	800	1361 B.S.
29. Bāgānchrā Tarit Sangha Public Library	Shantipur	800	1958
30. Kulgāchhi Pallimangal Public Library	Tehatta	700	1953

In addition, there are, on an average, 4-5 small libraries in each Block. Most of these libraries --- the rural libraries, the public libraries and the smaller libraries in the Block areas --- are institutional members of District Library, Nadia. The total number of such institutional members (libraries) of the District Library, Nadia, is 112.

The District Library has two main sections---(1) the local section and (2) the mobile section.

There are 112 libraries which are institutional members of the District Library and are fed with books from the District Library, Nadia once a month through a mobile van. The District Library has a complement of about 15,000 volumes at its disposal.

The following are some of the better known and old Rural Libraries in the District.

Name of Rural Library	Thana	No. of books (Approx.)
1. Kishori Mohon Public Library	Karimpur	900
2. Natidāngā Tarun Sangha Pāthāgār	-do-	500
3. Dharmadā Sevābrati Sangha	Nakasipara	1,000
4. Bethuādahari Deshbandhu Smṛiti Pāthāgār	-do-	2,000
5. Iswar Gupta Pāthāgār	Chakdaha	2,023
6. Madanpur Sādhāran Pāthāgār	-do-	836
7. Navadwip Sādhāran Granthāgār	Navadwip	21,996
8. Bāmanpukur Public Library	-do-	863
9. Pradyut Smṛiti Pāthāgār	Tehatta	933
10. Rāmkrishna Pāthāgār	Chapra	2,200
11. Netaji Club Library	Hanskhali	842
12. Ānulia Kedār Nāth Smṛiti Pāthāgār	Ranaghat	931
13. Ulā Sādhāran Pāthāgār	-do-	2,032
14. Barajāguli Prajnānānanda Pāthāgār	Haringhata	930
15. Shantipur Public Library	Shantipur	3,392
16. Phulia Community Recreation Centre	Shantipur	400
17. Ankurikā Granthāgār	Kaliganj	1,825
18. Digambarpur Sahid Smṛiti Pāthāgār	Krishnaganj	992
19. Mājdiā Sushilā Sundari Lāhiri Smṛiti Granthāgār	-do-	2,118
20. Āsānnagar Tarun Pāthāgār	Kotwali	956

MUSEUM

The Krittivās Memorial Community Hall and Museum at village Phulia within Shantipur police station, commemorating the memory of the poet Krittivās, the author of the Bengali *Rāmāyana*, established in 1964, is the only museum in the district.

There were 9 permanent and 15 temporary cinema halls in the district in 1965-66.

A list of public halls and auditoria in Nadia district is given in the Appendix.

Shantipur Sahitya Parishad at Shantipur, housed in its own building, has collections of old Bengali manuscripts, a set of old Bengali *pañjikās*, terracotta plaques, stone images, old books, magazines, etc.

APPENDIX
LIST OF PUBLIC HALLS AND AUDITORIA IN
NADIA DISTRICT

Name of the Public Hall or Auditorium	Where located	Year of establishment	Managed by	Electrified or not	Total accommodation	Free or can be hired on payment of rent
Rāmgopāl Town Hall	Krishnanagar	1909	A committee of the Hall	Electrified	308	Free
Rabindra Bhavan	Krishnanagar	1961	Rabindra Bhavan	"	125	Can be hired on payment of rent
Chāprā Village Hall	Chapra	1957	Anchal Panchayat, Chapra	Not electrified	150	Free
Bhūmpur Village Hall	Bhūmpur	1957	Anchal Panchayat, Bhūmpur	"	150	"
Hātisālā Village Hall	Hātisālā	1958	Anchal Panchayat, Hātisālā	"	150	"
Natidāngā Community Hall	Natidāngā	1957	Local Senior Basic School Committee	"	50	"
Rabindra Bhavan	Anandapalli, Karimpur	1962	Local Committee of the Hall	"	150	"
Community Hall	Tehatta	1958	Tehatta High School	"	50	"
Rabindra Bhavan	Ranaghat Town, Bosepara	1962	Rabindra Bhavan Committee, Ranaghat	Electrified	800	Rs. 35.00 per night and electric charges
Shantipur Public Library Hall	Shantipur	1912	Shantipur Public Library (elected body)	"	900	Rs. 35.00 per day for the hall and Rs. 10.00 per day for electric charges

CHAPTER XIV

MEDICAL AND PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICES

SURVEY OF PUBLIC
HEALTH AND MEDICAL
FACILITIES IN
EARLY TIMES

The earliest reference to diseases in the district is perhaps connected with the life of Śrī Chaitanya. It has been said that Śrī Chaitanya suffered from acidity and had epileptic fits at times. The indigenous prescriptions made to cure the disease were that the feet of the patient should be kept tied together, that a kind of *ghee* (*śivāghṛita*) and cooking oil should be applied to the head of the patient and then he should be bathed, and that the patient should be given the water of green coconut to drink.¹ Śrī Chaitanya himself is said to have told a Pāṭhān soldier that he became unconscious at times because of epilepsy.² We find from the descriptions the indigenous method of treatment of acidity in the medieval days in the district.

The river-fed district with its dry climate in some pockets might have inspired some visitors in the past to call it a health resort. While there was periodic and beneficial flooding of the country in eastern Bengal (Bangladesh) such flooding was no longer to be found in central Bengal including Nadia district.³ Besides, the Ganga had strayed further east degenerating many of its distributaries into stagnant lagoons.⁴ Several authorities during the late 19th and the early 20th centuries pointed out that Nadia rivers were being silted up and that for want of annual flooding, the conditions of both health and agriculture were deteriorating.⁵ Thus the want of facilities for the "ingress and egress of rain and flood water" combined with the "indiscriminate embanking of vast tracts" in this area for flood prevention and the construction of a net-work of railways and roads caused serious damage to health of the people in the district.⁶ In the early sixties of the 19th century, an epidemic fever visited the district called the 'Burdwan Fever'. That fever perhaps broke out as a consequence of raising embankments in this region, whether for roads, for railways or for flood prevention.

¹ Brindāvāna Das, *Chaitanya Bhāgavata, Madhya Khaṇḍa*, Chap. II, *Śloka* 99-102 (Bhaktibihārī Tīrtha-ed.), Mayapur (Nadia).

² Krishnadas Kaviraj, *Chaitanya Charitāmṛita, Madhya Līlā*, Chap. 18, *Śloka* 174 (Radhagovinda Nath-ed.), Calcutta, 1957 B.S.

³ C. A. Bentley, *Malaria and Agriculture in Bengal*, Calcutta, 1925, p. 10.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

The Special Committee, appointed in 1863 in this behalf, reported in 1864 that the area first affected by the disease had ceased to be inundated and enriched by flood water from the rivers.¹ Dr. Elliot submitted a "Report on Epidemic Remittent and Inter-remittent occurring in parts of Burdwan and Nadia divisions" which was published in 1863.² His contention was that one of the principal causes of the epidemic was want of cultivation. He suggested that the epidemic appeared first and was most virulent in the oldest and most populous villages, the lands around which had gone out of cultivation. Bentley observed, "while the Fever Committee showed that the fever was associated with relative infertility of the soil owing to lack of inundation, Dr. Elliot commented on the associated lack of cultivation. The one statement corroborates the other, for, as is well known, lack of fertility leads to lack of cultivation."³ Another serious epidemic occurred in the district and continued between 1881 and 1885. The Nadia Fever Commission of 1881 *inter alia* said that the district was becoming more and more arid. Tanks and other reservoirs of water were drying up before the hot season. Some such fevers were again prevalent in the district in 1902-05 and a Drainage Committee submitted its report in April 1907 regarding such fevers. The Drainage Committee of 1906-07 considered *inter alia* the insanitary state of the village sides due to thick jungles, existence of a large number of tanks, pits and collection of water and scanty supply of drinking water to be responsible for the spread of disease in the district. The District Board, however, began sinking several tube-wells since 1930. The problem of apprehended spread of diseases due to a heavy influx of displaced persons in the wake of the partition of Bengal in 1947, was satisfactorily tackled by the sinking of tube-wells and by the excavation of dug-well latrines and the making of Septic tank latrines in the colonies and camps sheltering these people. Piped water supply was also introduced in some municipalities.

While registration of births and deaths is compulsory in the municipal areas under the Bengal Municipal Act, 1932, in rural areas the Chowkidars remained the primary reporting authorities since 1892. The Chowkidars bring their note-books, recording

VITAL STATISTICS

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

² *Loc. cit.*

³ *Loc. cit.*

to the people of the locality with their proper assessment and evaluation and (5) other ad-hoc enquiries.¹

The work of the 'Model Health and Ideal Registration Unit' consisted of complete registration by house-to-house visit by the staff of the Basic Public Health Unit during a 3-month period in 1962 unlike the normal registration under which people themselves go to the local Registrar of Births and Deaths for registration. The households under each of the Basic Public Health Units were divided into more or less 3 equal groups, namely, A, B and C so that the households of each group could be completely covered for convenience of survey operation.

The table No. 2 shows birth and death rates obtaining in the urban and rural areas of the district in recent years.

It appears from the table that the birth rate has exceeded the death rate both in the urban and the rural areas of the district in recent years.

In Nadia district, as elsewhere, children form the largest single component of the total population as revealed in the following table classifying the population (17,13,324) of the district in 1961 under different age-groups.

Table 3.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION OF NADIA DISTRICT ACCORDING TO AGE-GROUPS: 1961				
Age-Group (Years)	Rural		Urban	
	Male	Persons	Male	Persons
0- 4	1,16,979	2,37,050	20,824	41,696
5- 9	1,16,529	2,32,849	24,235	47,786
10-14	82,225	1,51,511	19,194	36,956
15-19	59,438	1,13,502	15,340	29,256
20-24	54,719	1,11,664	14,778	28,008
25-29	55,262	1,08,783	12,718	24,268
30-34	46,149	88,862	11,174	21,296
35-44	77,184	1,42,076	18,767	33,886
45-59	70,188	1,32,638	17,356	32,775
60 +	37,028	78,082	8,770	19,399

Infant mortality had always been a scourge in society; and children die because of the lack of proper pre-natal and post-

¹ J. Datta Gupta and P. G. Choudhury, *Census of India: 1961: Vol. XVI: West Bengal & Sikkim: Report on Vital Statistics*, Delhi, 1967, pp. 177-78.

natal care. The following table brings out the relative proportions between total deaths and infant deaths in the district between 1961 and 1966.

Table 4.

INFANT MORTALITY IN NADIA DISTRICT: 1961-66

Year	Total deaths	Total death rate per 1,000 population	Infant deaths	Infant death rate per 1,000 live births
1961	9,562	5.5	1,750	44.8
1962	10,364	5.8	1,954	50.6
1963	12,396	6.9	1,916	48.4
1964	9,147	4.9	1,466	51.2
1965	12,568	6.6	1,637	43.7
1966	11,664	5.9	1,777	46.9

In recent years, it has been seen that the most common disease of the district is influenza. Though not fatal, this disease compels a large number of patients to visit the outdoor departments of different hospitals in the district. A large number of patients visiting the outdoor departments of hospitals suffer from dysentery, eye diseases, other gastric diseases and anaemia. A detailed picture of the patients treated in the recognized hospitals of the district and the number of deaths occurring therefrom between 1961 and 1967 are set forth in Appendix A. Deaths from some selected causes between 1961 and 1967 occurring in the district have been set forth in Appendix B.

A list of public hospitals and dispensaries is given in Appendix C. They are classified into State hospitals and General hospitals catering to the needs of the members of the public, and departmental hospitals meant for different Government departments. Rural hospitals of various categories, namely, primary health centres and subsidiary health centres have been listed in Appendix D.

The following table¹ would illustrate the total number of beds, beds meant for maternity, tuberculosis and infectious cases in the district during 1966 for 115 medical institutions. The table would

DISEASES COMMON TO THE DISTRICT

PUBLIC HOSPITALS AND DISPENSARIES

¹ Government of West Bengal, Directorate of Health Services, *Annual Report on the State of Health of West Bengal (Hospital Statistics)*, 1966, Part II, p. 5.

also show the quantum of beds per 1,000 population for total number of cases, and for maternity, tuberculosis and infectious disease cases.

Table 5.
MEDICAL INSTITUTIONS WITH BEDS IN
NADIA DISTRICT: 1966

	Beds	Beds per 1,000 population
Total	2,989	14.8
Maternity	339	1.7
Tuberculosis	1,768	8.8
Infectious diseases	118	0.6

As against the present position it will appear interesting that there were only 14 dispensaries and hospitals under Government supervision, though supported by local funds, in the undivided district of Nadia during the first decade of this century.¹

As to the services rendered in hospitals, it is interesting to note that 16,420 out-patients and 412 in-patients were treated respectively during the year 1907 in Krishnanagar hospital², whereas in 1966 the total number of out-patients and in-patients in the district was 21,77,521 and 7,824 respectively. The following table³ would reveal the number of patients treated and medical services rendered to them in hospitals, etc. in 1966.

Table 6.
NO. OF PATIENTS TREATED IN HOSPITALS, HEALTH CENTRES
AND DISPENSARIES IN NADIA DISTRICT: 1966

Outdoor patients treated	Total: new and old	..	21,77,521
	Total: new	..	10,21,949
	Percentage of new cases to total (old & new)	..	46.9
Indoor patients treated (20 per cent sample)	Total beds for which returns received	..	1,895
	Total No. treated	..	7,824

¹ J. H. E. Garrett, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

² *Loc. cit.*

³ Government of West Bengal, Directorate of Health Services, *Annual Report on the State of Health of West Bengal (Hospital Statistics)*, 1966, Part II, p. 55.

(Contd.)

<i>Surgical operation done</i>		
No.	..	261
Ratio in percentage	..	3.3
<i>X-ray done</i>		
No.	..	1,343
Ratio in percentage	..	17.2
<i>Laboratory examination</i>		
No.	..	1,593
Ratio in percentage	..	20.4
Blood transfusion in c.c.	..	3,660
Total estimates	..	34,036
Deaths	..	1,271
Case fatality ratio	..	3.9
Estimated patients treated per bed	..	17.9

The following table would indicate the health staff position against 3,359 beds in the district in 1971.

Table 7.

Medical Officers		Trained <i>Dāi</i>	34
Men	165	Pharmacist/Compounder	93
Women	18		
Nurses	691		
Public Health Nurses/			
Lady Health Visitors	14	X-ray Assistant	24
Midwife	18	Laboratory Assistant	28

SELECTED PUBLIC
HOSPITALSKrishnanagar
Sadar Hospital

Krishnanagar Sadar Hospital began functioning as a dispensary since 1858. Formerly, it was managed by the Krishnanagar Municipality with aids received from the District Board. It was provincialized before Independence and became an important hospital of the district since Partition when a large number of displaced persons began to pour into the district. In 1959 as many as 4,264 patients were admitted to its indoor department of whom 225 died. In 1962, the number of patients admitted in the indoor department rose up to 7,353 of whom 476 died. The number of admissions swelled up to 11,380 in 1965 of whom 9,215 were discharged after treatment (this figure includes the number of deaths which is not available). In 1968, the number of admissions was 17,334 of whom 13,233 were discharged (this figure includes the number of deaths which is not available separately). In 1970, 16,885 patients were admitted to the hospital of whom 802 died. As to the outdoor department of this hospital, the following table would indicate the number of new cases treated there as also the number of new and old cases treated together.

Table 8.

PATIENTS IN OUTDOOR DEPARTMENT OF KRISHNANAGAR
SADAR HOSPITAL: 1965-70

Year	No. of new cases treated	No. of cases Old & New
1965	5,806	1,04,564
1968	1,03,594	2,72,854
1970	1,06,806	3,31,418

Jawaharlal Nehru
Memorial Hospi-
tal, Kalyani

Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Hospital at Kalyani started functioning as a referral specialized hospital as also a general hospital from 1st December 1966 with only 175 beds. The number of beds has now (1971) gone up to 500 of which 160 are specialized beds and 340 general beds. Of the total number of 500 beds, 400 are free beds and the rest are paying beds. The hospital serves patients through several departments like Neuro-Surgery and Medicine, Plastic Surgery, Orthopaedic Surgery and Physiotherapy. It also handles Gynaecological and Maternity cases. Eye, ENT (Ear, Nose, Throat) and Dental cases. The following table gives the number of patients treated in the hospital in its indoor and outdoor departments between 1967 and 1970.

Table 9.

NO. OF PATIENTS TREATED IN JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
MEMORIAL HOSPITAL, KALYANI: 1967-70

Year	Indoor ward				Outdoor ward	
	Admitted	Dis- charged	Died	Operation performed	New cases	Old cases
1967	2,533	2,275	136	267	28,799	27,753
1968	4,669	4,382	217	1,140	48,798	52,423
1969	6,372	5,976	328	2,075	71,114	78,855
1970	7,339	6,880	448	2,519	96,749	1,63,883

This hospital was converted into a temporary infectious diseases hospital from May 1971 to August 1971 for treating patients coming from Bangladesh. Between May and October 1971, 1,948 Bangladesh patients were admitted in its indoor ward, of whom 1,764 were discharged and 184 died. In its outdoor department such patients numbered 27,349 (new cases 13,043 and old cases 14,306).

Rural health activities prior to Independence were mostly concerned with preventive measures like immunization of people against Cholera, Plague, Smallpox, Enteric fever through inoculation, vaccination, etc. Anti-epidemic activities, anti-malarial activities, disinfection of public water supply and prevention of sale of adulterated food articles, etc. were also undertaken. The scheme formulating the preventive measures was initiated in 1927 by Dr. C. A. Bentley, the then Director of Public Health of Bengal.

Rural health
organizations

After Independence, the Bhow Committee of 1946 recommended the setting up of Primary Health Centres with 75 beds each for every 20,000 people, but for want of fund and trained personnel the committee suggested that such centres may be opened with only two beds for Maternity and two for emergency cases for every 4,000 people. Since 1948, however, the State Government began to set up health centres, each of which was to have 4 to 10 indoor beds for serving an area now covered by an Anchal Panchayat. They were called Union Health Centres and were affiliated to the Primary Health Centres at the thana level, the latter having a minimum of 20 and a maximum of 50 beds. All health centres were again affiliated to the subdivisional hospital

having 68 indoor beds each. The scheme for establishing Union Health Centres and Thana Health Centres continued till 1949 when, at the instance of the Government of India, Primary Health Centres with 10 beds each began to be opened at the head quarters of every community development block along with two or three Subsidiary Health Centres within the block area. Subsidiary Health Centres were to have only two non-dieted emergency beds.

Though it appears that all the rural health centres have not furnished their returns during 1966, still from the figures in the following table¹ it will appear that remarkable service to the suffering patients has been rendered in different rural health centres of the district in 1966.

Table 10.

NO. OF PATIENTS TREATED IN THE HEALTH CENTRES OF
NADIA DISTRICT: 1966

Health Centres from which returns were due	No.	..	53
	Bed	..	426
Health Centres submitting returns	No.	..	35
	Bed	..	336
Outdoor patients	Total: Old and new cases	..	15,96,017
	Total: new cases	..	7,58,723
	Percentage of new cases to total cases	..	47.7
Indoor patients	Total new cases (20% sample)	..	2,781
	Turnover per bed	..	38.2
	Deaths	..	270
	Case fatality ratio	..	2.2
	Estimated total new cases	..	12,825

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

The Chief Medical Officer of Health is in charge of the medical and public health administration of the district. Formerly, the curative side of public health was looked after by the Civil Surgeon, prototype of the present day CMOH. The preventive aspects were then looked after by the District Health Officer under Bengal Act III of 1885 and Bengal Act V of 1919. On the recommendation of the Bhore Committee both the curative and preventive aspects of public health were brought under the control of the CMOH in 1958. The CMOH is assisted by the District Medical Officer on the curative side and by the District Health Officer on the preventive side of public health. He is also assisted by an Assistant CMOH, and other Medical Officers of the Subdivisional Hospital and of the rural health centres.

Although there are quite a large number of public hospitals both in the urban and rural areas, the district has a number of hospitals and dispensaries managed by private agencies as given in the list below.

Table 11.
NAMES OF PRIVATE HOSPITALS AND DISPENSARIES IN
NADIA DISTRICT: 1971

[illegible]

+ Government-aided
* Non-aided

Medical ad-
ministration

Table 12.
NAMES OF DISPENSARIES MAINTAINED BY MUNICIPALITIES
AND THE ZILLA PARISHAD, NADIA: 1971

Name	Maintained by	Police Station	Post Office
Krishnanagar Municipal Charitable Dispensary	Krishnanagar Municipality	Kotwali	Krishnanagar
Ula Public Charitable Dispensary	Birnagar Municipality	Ranaghat	Birnagar
Majdia Charitable Dispensary	Nadia Zilla Parishad	Krishnaganj	Majdia
Kalinga Charitable Dispensary	-do-	Chapra	Kalinga
Jagannathpur Charitable Dispensary	-do-	Nakaspura	Kasiadanga
Narayanpur Charitable Dispensary	-do-	Karimpur	Omio-Narayanpur
Tehatta Charitable Dispensary	-do-	Tehatta	Tehatta
Bagula Charitable Dispensary	-do-	Hanskhali	Bagula
Majhergram (R) Charitable Dispensary	-do-	Ranaghat	Gangsara Majhergram
Haringhata Charitable Dispensary	-do-	Haringhata	Subarnapur
Betai Charitable Dispensary	-do-	Tehatta	Betai

The Zilla Parishad of the district and some municipalities also maintain a number of dispensaries to render outdoor treatment to patients as given in the list at Table 12.

The Government of India has given an impetus to family planning in recent years. Prior to Independence, the idea of family planning did not reach the ordinary masses owing to deficient education and communication. Contraceptive materials were not easily available at that time. During the First Five Year Plan period after Independence, a clinical approach was undertaken in connexion with family planning. Later on, however, a massive drive was undertaken to spread knowledge of family planning as a national mission.

In 1960, family planning clinics were attached to Krishnanagar and Ranaghat Hospitals and also to the Health Centres at Shantipur, Chakdaha, Karimpur, Bethuadahari and Chapra. The number of such Centres increased over the years and at present there are 14 Rural Family Welfare Planning Centres attached to the Health Centres at Aranghata, Bethuadahari, Chakdaha, Chapra, Dakshinpara, Haringhata, Habibpur, Kaliganj, Karimpur, Krishnanagar, Mahesganj, Palasipara, Shantipur, and Tehatta. There are also two such Family Welfare Planning Centres in the upgraded Subsidiary Health Centres at Asannagar and Nowpara. The urban Family Welfare Planning Centres are now attached to Sadar Hospital at Krishnanagar and Subdivisional Hospital at Ranaghat, Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Hospital at Kalyani. Besides, there is an Urban Family Welfare Planning Centre at Krishnanagar. There is also an Urban Family Welfare Planning Centre at Rādhārāṇī Sevāsadan Śīśu Maṅgal Samiti, Ranaghat, which is a voluntary organization. The following table would indicate the number of users of conventional contraceptives in the district in recent years.

Table 13.
NO. OF USERS OF CONVENTIONAL CONTRACEPTIVES RECEIVED
FROM PUBLIC AGENCIES IN NADIA DISTRICT: 1969-71

Year	Target	Achievement	Percentage of target achieved
1969-70	6,500	1,661	25.5
1970-71	11,500	2,500	21.7

PUBLIC HEALTH
WELFARE ORGA-
NIZATIONS
Family Planning

The following table would reveal the number of IUCD (Intra-Uterine Contraceptive Device) cases done by the family planning agencies in the district during the last six years.

Table 14.
NO. OF IUCD CASES DONE IN NADIA DISTRICT: 1965-71

Year	Target	Achievement	Percentage of target achieved
1965-66	5,961	11,783	197.7
1966-67	11,922	4,465	37.5
1967-68	6,913	661	9.6
1968-69	8,440	304	3.6
1969-70	1,700	477	28.1
1970-71	2,900	382	13.2

The following table reveals the number of sterilization cases (tubectomy for females and vasectomy for males) done by the family planning agencies in the district during the last five years.

Table 15.
NO. OF STERILIZATION CASES IN NADIA DISTRICT: 1966-71

Year	Target	Achievement	Percentage of target achieved
1966-67	2,000	632	31.6
1967-68	6,000	16,466	274.4
1968-69	12,600	13,466	106.9
1969-70	12,700	3,734	29.4
1970-71	13,300	1,608	12.1

Apart from the Medical Officers and other assistants in the family planning clinics, the district organization is controlled by a District Family Planning Officer, who is under the administrative control of the Chief Medical Officer of Health of the district, assisted by an Administrative Officer, Mass Education Information Officer, a Medical Officer (male), a Medical Officer (female) and a number of statistical, field, extension and general duty assistants.

Although outdoor and domiciliary treatment was rendered to T.B. patients for a long time, an extensive drive to eradicate tuberculosis has been taken up since 1966 in the district under the National T.B. Programme, 1962. For this reason, the district T.B. clinic attached to Sadar Hospital, Krishnanagar, was up-

Anti-tuberculosis activities

graded to a District T.B. Centre under the aforesaid programme in 1966. The following table will show the performance of the district T.B. Centre during 1970.

Table 16.
TREATMENT RENDERED IN THE DISTRICT T.B. CENTRE, KRISHNANAGAR: 1970

No. of average daily attendance		No. of new cases detected		Patients under treatment
New	Old	Pulmonary	Non-Pulmonary	(Old & New)
12.5	66.6	1,582	187	4,169

There is a trained District Tuberculosis Officer along with a team of technicians posted in the centre to organize, supervise and co-ordinate all anti-T.B. activities in the district.

Outdoor treatment to T.B. patients is rendered in the rural health centres, the District T.B. Centre, Krishnanagar and in three private clinics, namely, K. C. Guha Memorial T.B. Clinic, Ranaghat; Navadwip Yakshma Nibāraṇī Samiti Clinic, Navadwip; and Paśchim Baṅga Samāj Sevā Samiti Clinic, Swarupganj. While the latter is Government-aided, a domiciliary unit of the State Government is attached to each of the former two private clinics. The following is the list of T.B. hospitals in the district rendering indoor treatment.

Table 17.
T.B. HOSPITALS IN NADIA DISTRICT: 1971

Name of hospital	Year of establishment	Kind of hospital	No. of sanctioned beds
Kanchrapara T.B. hospital, Kanchrapara*	1946	public	925
Dhubulia T.B. hospital, Dhubulia+	1959	„	1,000
K. C. Guha Memorial T.B. hospital, Ranaghat	N.A.	private	110

N.A.—Not Available

* Now Netaji Subhas Sanatorium, Kalyani.

+ Now Dr. B. C. Roy Chest Sanatorium.

There are also two mobile medical units under the Chief Medical Officer of Health of the district for treatment of displaced T.B. patients. One of them is stationed at Ranaghat and the other at Krishnanagar. Moreover, isolation beds numbering 4, 25 and 4 have been attached to the Sadar Hospital, Krishnanagar, Dhubulia Relief Camp Hospital, Dhubulia and Police Hospital, Krishnanagar (a Departmental hospital) respectively.

The following table gives the figures of Tuberculin tests undertaken and B.C.G. vaccination given in the district between 1965 and 1970. As direct vaccination has been introduced without Tuberculin tests since 1968, no figures for Tuberculin tests are available for 1969 and 1970.

Table 18.
B.C.G. VACCINATION IN NADIA DISTRICT: 1965-70

Year	Tuberculin tests	B.C.G. vaccination +	Direct B.C.G. vaccination*
1965	72,584	45,679	—
1966	71,950	30,802	—
1967	75,710	35,043	—
1968	55,995	23,563	38,245
1969	—	—	87,765
1970	—	—	99,718

Admission to the public hospitals and in respect of Government beds in the private hospital is controlled by the Directorate of Health Services. The following table gives the number of cases referred to for admission to the hospitals in the district between 1968 and 1970.

Table 19.
ADMISSION OF T.B. PATIENTS IN THE HOSPITALS OF NADIA DISTRICT: 1968-70

Name of hospital	Year	No. of cases referred to for admission	Patients admitted		
			Total	Rural	Urban
Kanchrapara	1968	596	519	329	190
T.B. Hospital,	1969	530	421	272	149
Kanchrapara	1970	495	390	270	120

+ After Tuberculin tests
* Without Tuberculin tests

Name of hospital	Year	No. of cases referred to for admission	Patients admitted		
			Total	Rural	Urban
Dhubulia T.B. Hospital.	1968	639	517	323	194
Dhubulia	1969	566	407	N.A.	N.A.
K. C. Guha Memorial T.B. Hospital.	1970	458	281	183	98
Ranaghat (for Government beds only)	1968	61	54	54	—
	1969	48	29	16	13
	1970	82	50	39	11

School Health activities like the examination of health of students and suggesting treatment of their diseases and also administering vaccinations, etc. form a part of the duties of the Medical officers, specially in the rural health centres. The activities of such Medical officers, who work in close liaison with the Head Masters of Institutions and the guardians of the students in respective areas, are co-ordinated by a District School Medical Officer under the direct control of the Chief Medical Officer of Health.

In Nadia district, 36 Health Centres sent reports of their activities to the Directorate of Health Services of the State in 1970. It appears therefrom that out of a total of 456 schools in the area covered, only 299 schools were visited during that time. Out of a total number of 65,109 students, 22,207 students were examined, of whom 6,282 students were found suffering from some ailment. It appears that the largest number of students suffered from diseases of teeth and gum (3,434), defective nutrition (798), enlarged tonsils and adenoids (522), anaemia (241) and eye diseases (176).

The following table gives the number of immunizations done to them in 1970.

Table 20.
IMMUNIZATION DONE TO SCHOOL STUDENTS OF NADIA DISTRICT: 1970

Small-pox Vaccinations		Re-vaccination			Cholera
Primary			T.A.B.C.	T.A.B.	
460		7,539	13,306	34	7,098

School Health activities

Milk feeding
programme

The UNICEF skimmed milk feeding programme in the district was executed through the Primary Health Centres and a few Maternity and Child Health Centres under the Control of the Chief Medical Officer of Health. The District Health Officer assisted the CMOH in the matter of supervising the Feeding Centres. There is, however, no Non-government Distributing Agency in the district.

As UNICEF finally decided to withdraw from the field of milk feeding programme, there has been no supply of such milk in the district since 1970-71. The State Government, however, has been considering another milk feeding programme with the assistance of CARE.¹ In that scheme Corn-SOYA-Milk and Salad Oil would be supplied to under-nourished, expectant and nursing mothers and children in cooked form.

The following table gives figures as to the number of beneficiaries under the programme and other relevant details of the district for the years between 1965 and 1970.

Table 21.
MILK FEEDING PROGRAMME IN NADIA DISTRICT: 1965-70

Year	No. of Feeding Centres	Total No. of beneficiaries	Quantity of milk powder supplied (lbs.)
1965-66	12	963	28,800
1966-67	13	1,300	7,922
1967-68*	13	1,276	11,800
1968-69	14	1,215	21,790
1969-70	13	1,200	5,400

Anti-malaria
activities

Malaria used to take a heavy toll of lives in this district, as in other districts of West Bengal in the past. As a preliminary step to control the disease, anti-larval measures with 50 per cent grants from the State Government were taken up by the municipalities of the district between 1949 and 1951. In 1952-53, the State Government took up a bigger scheme for control of malaria by spraying DDT in all the houses of the district. At that time a District Medical Officer with several Malaria Supervisors, Inspectors, etc. actively participated in the control of malaria by spraying two rounds of DDT in different zones. The

¹ Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere.

* In addition, 12,000 lbs. of Corn-SOYA-Milk Mix was supplied this year as there was shortage of skimmed milk powder.

National Malaria Control Programme was adopted in 1953-54 and insecticides were sprayed in large scale inside all the houses and cattle sheds throughout the district, which activity continued till 1958-59. It will be seen that in 1948 the number of deaths from malaria in Nadia was 8,551 (9.9 per thousand), which figure went down to 78 (0.05 per thousand) in 1961 owing to the measures taken to eradicate malaria from the district. As malaria was controlled, eradication programme continued under the name Surveillance Operation since 1961-62 till 1966. When the Surveillance Operation found that intensity of the disease could not be re-established, the spraying operation began to be withdrawn.

Malaria used to contribute more than 40 per cent of cases treated in the hospitals, health centres and dispensaries in a year in the district prior to the introduction of anti-malarial measures. The appendices A and B will show how the number of malaria cases has gone down in recent years. The following table would indicate the incidence of malaria in the district in the years immediately preceding and following the anti-malaria operation.

Table 22.
MALARIA CASES PRECEDING AND FOLLOWING ANTI-MALARIA MEASURES IN NADIA DISTRICT: 1948-61

Year	Total No. of cases	Percentage of such cases	Total deaths	Death rate per thousand
1948	1,82,032	58.2	8,551	9.9
1949	1,74,236	55.4	8,602	9.9
1950	1,18,718	49.2	6,317	7.3
1951	1,01,272	44.6	3,437	4.0
1952	1,08,832	46.8	3,554	3.1
1953	55,256	26.7	3,772	3.2
1954	82,460	16.9	2,540	2.1
1955	56,768	12.5	1,396	1.1
1956	48,236	7.5	1,058	0.8
1957	40,098	5.0	1,194	0.9
1958	14,636	1.7	663	0.5
1959	7,318	1.07	247	0.2
1960	3,374	0.4	196	0.1
1961	1,792	0.2	78	0.05

One of the methods of measuring the degree of prevalence of malaria in a locality is to determine the spleen rate, that is,

the percentage of children between the ages of 2 and 10 showing enlarged spleen. The spleen census undertaken in the villages of the district, before anti-malaria measures were instituted in 1952-53, indicated prevalence of endemic condition in all the police stations except Navadwip, Kaliganj, Chapra and Karimpur. The following table shows how the spleen rate in different police stations in Nadia has gone down after the introduction of anti-malaria measures in 1952-53.

Table 23.
SPLEEN RATE IN NADIA DISTRICT: BEFORE AND AFTER 1952-53

Name of police stations	Prior to institution of control operation—Spleen rate per cent (Before 1952-53)	After control operation—Spleen rate per cent (1959-60)
Krishnanagar	26.5	0.3
Chapra	8.8	0.1
Navadwip	0.7	0.0
Krishnaganj	28.8	0.1
Nakasipara	10.8	0.0
Kaliganj	5.2	0.0
Tehatta	11.2	0.3
Karimpur	8.9	0.08
Ranaghat	56.8	0.05
Chakdaha	52.3	0.0
Hanskhali	51.9	0.0
Shantipur	30.2	0.3
Haringhata	54.8	0.0

SANITATION

Public health activities were formerly performed by the District Board in the rural areas. This part of the work was, however, taken over by the government with effect from 1st January 1959. Although the Chief Medical Officer of Health became the head of public health administration of the district since 1959, the person directly responsible for public health activities in the district is the District Health Officer. He looks after the public health activities of the district in general and of the Sadar subdivision in particular. There is also a Subdivisional Health Officer in the Ranaghat subdivision to look after the public health activities there. There is an Assistant District Health Officer in the district who looks to the malaria eradication programme. The District Health Officer is responsible for the

administration of the Central Prevention of Food Adulteration Act, 1954 of the entire district as also for supervision of the District Public Health Laboratory and the working of the Sub-divisional Health Officer in regard to the public health activities. He is also the Superintendent of Vaccination as defined in the Vaccination Act, 1880. The district is divided into 16 rural health circles covering 93 Anchal Panchayats in connexion with the public health activities. There is a Sanitary Inspector in each circle assisted by Supervisors, health and other assistants. There are also basic health workers numbering between 4 and 6 in each circle belonging to the malaria eradication programme.

Although a Supervisor has been deputed by Government to each of the Navadwip and Krishnanagar Municipalities, the public health activities of the municipalities of the district are conducted by the municipalities themselves. They have their own Sanitary Inspectors, Vaccinators and Inoculators to look after the public health welfare activities in their areas.

The following statement shows the Immunization status in the district between 1966 and 1970.

Immunization

Table 24.

Year	Primary Vaccination	Re-vaccination	A.C.I.	T.A.B.C.
1966	40,124	70,470	2,31,002	519
1967	46,296	1,53,698	2,74,811	802
1968	61,767	2,13,535	91,530	1,204
1969	65,089	3,01,684	1,99,769	1,703
1970	65,424	2,46,005	67,022	1,107

Drinking water in the rural areas is obtained from tube-wells. There is an Assistant Engineer for Rural Water Supply under the Directorate of Public Health Engineering to look after the sinking, re-sinking and maintenance of the tube-wells of the district. He is helped by a Sub-Assistant Engineer and a Sub-Overseer posted in each of the two subdivisions, namely, Sadar and Ranaghat. Tube-wells are sunk by different local and Government agencies, namely Anchalik Parishad, Gram Sabha, Tribal Welfare Directorate, Subdivisional Officers executing local development schemes and the Public Health Engineering Directorate. The district is provided with tube-wells on the basis of one

Water supply

tube-well per 400 heads. The following table would indicate the number of tube-wells sunk, re-sunk and existing between 1961 and 1969 in the district.

Table 25.
NO. OF TUBEWELLS IN NADIA DISTRICT: 1961-69

Year	Sunk	Re-sunk	Existing
1961	150	200	6,865
1962	72	128	7,215
1963	20	30	7,415
1964	78	72	7,465
1965	26	30	7,615
1966	20	14	7,671
1967	—	355	7,705
1968	20	20	8,060
1969	13	12	8,085

While in Chakdaha police station potable water is available at an average depth between 200 ft. and 300 ft., in Haringhata police station it is available between 300 ft. and 350 ft. In the other police stations, the average depth for obtaining potable water is 250 ft.

Piped water supply exists in Krishnanagar and Navadwip municipal areas. It is looked after by the municipalities themselves. A Water Supply Scheme for Shantipur municipality is under execution.

APPENDIX A
PATIENTS TREATED IN RECOGNIZED HOSPITALS IN NADIA
DISTRICT AND DEATHS FROM SPECIFIC CAUSES : 1961-67

Name of diseases	1961	1963	1965	1967
Total patients treated in West Bengal	1,00,72,599	1,12,53,999	1,12,52,054	1,16,71,555
	1,00,745	5,31,644	5,06,021	4,66,991
	16,408	26,843	21,561	24,465
Total patients treated in Nadia district	7,41,777	9,36,609	9,50,817	8,49,343
	5,544	31,235	30,572	25,518
	742	1,336	962	1,093
Allergic diseases	2,343	5,341	6,410	6,903
	5	40	45	24
	—	—	—	—
Anaemias	12,560	16,195	17,068	19,645
	148	626	771	628
	34	59	46	119
Cholera	330	767	1,380	433
	2	90	16	28
	2	16	1	—

APPENDIX A (Contd.)

Name of diseases	1961	1963	1965	1967
Diabetes				
Outdoor	396	27	522	134
Indoor	2	16	16	20
Deaths	—	1	1	2
Diphtheria				
Outdoor	182	225	137	122
Indoor	45	198	269	101
Deaths	16	41	24	20
Diseases of child-birth				
Outdoor	5,293	6,935	4,898	6,680
Indoor	466	2,649	2,695	1,941
Deaths	78	89	45	28
Dysentery				
Outdoor	55,103	79,917	78,784	93,073
Indoor	166	961	828	524
Deaths	37	55	38	24
Early Infancy diseases				
Outdoor	356	385	166	311
Indoor	42	106	20	41
Deaths	33	82	15	9

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Effects of poisons				
Outdoor	377	498	385	360
Indoor	156	862	955	808
Deaths	33	63	55	72
Eye diseases				
Outdoor	44,079	29,346	46,753	51,098
Indoor	90	354	440	448
Deaths	—	—	—	—
Filariasis				
Outdoor	436	349	587	607
Indoor	1	12	5	10
Deaths	—	—	—	—
Food poisoning				
Outdoor	1,241	1,684	1,133	874
Indoor	2	79	66	35
Deaths	2	2	1	—
Gastric diseases				
Outdoor	30,617	34,214	41,507	39,027
Indoor	150	794	923	628
Deaths	18	25	18	15
Gonococcal infection				
Outdoor	196	376	271	102
Indoor	1	1	—	1
Deaths	—	—	—	—

APPENDIX A (Contd.)

Name of diseases	1961	1963	1965	1967
Heart diseases				
Outdoor	412	515	706	205
Indoor	41	128	161	141
Deaths	21	34	26	19
Infectious				
Outdoor	773	2,725	731	2,156
Indoor	3	15	36	43
Deaths	—	2	1	7
Influenza				
Outdoor	61,048	71,146	44,851	62,673
Indoor	66	359	395	284
Deaths	—	1	—	—
Kala-azar				
Outdoor	93	47	53	36
Indoor	1	6	10	2
Deaths	1	2	—	—
Leprosy				
Outdoor	380	194	208	83
Indoor	—	2	5	—
Deaths	—	—	—	—
Malaria				
Outdoor	1,736	3,146	1,003	334
Indoor	12	67	25	17
Deaths	1	—	—	—

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Measles				
Outdoor	2,229	2,994	2,417	3,600
Indoor	—	9	5	24
Deaths	—	2	—	3
Mental diseases				
Outdoor	286	311	253	413
Indoor	21	79	110	70
Deaths	1	3	—	—
Metabolic & nutritional diseases				
Outdoor	13,330	19,865	17,686	16,207
Indoor	38	120	207	180
Deaths	16	19	12	17
Neoplasm group of diseases				
Outdoor	9,463	8,436	7,681	13,519
Indoor	13	53	41	86
Deaths	5	15	5	24
Other Venereal diseases				
Outdoor	264	185	282	807
Indoor	3	4	10	1
Deaths	—	—	—	—
Paratyphoid fever				
Outdoor	8,269	8,079	3,371	3,754
Indoor	18	64	30	3
Deaths	2	—	—	—

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APPENDIX A (Contd.)

Name of diseases	1961	1963	1965	1967
Pneumonia	3,739	3,924	2,158	3,371
Outdoor				
Indoor	63	242	246	138
Deaths	28	27	21	20
Scurvy	9	80	10	7
Outdoor				
Indoor	—	—	—	—
Deaths	—	—	—	—
Small-pox	100	250	231	179
Outdoor				
Indoor	—	15	—	2
Deaths	—	7	—	—
Syphilis	111	251	287	118
Outdoor				
Indoor	—	6	—	—
Deaths	—	—	—	—
Tetanus	94	181	135	114
Outdoor				
Indoor	81	328	355	328
Deaths	50	109	85	110
T.B. — Bones	76	106	28	153
Outdoor				
Indoor	13	51	20	11
Deaths	2	1	—	—

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T.B. — Intestines	6	71	29	39
Outdoor				
Indoor	6	11	4	35
Deaths	3	3	4	9
T.B. — Meninges	1	—	—	4
Outdoor				
Indoor	1	5	8	3
Deaths	1	5	3	1
T.B. — Other forms	33	158	84	461
Outdoor				
Indoor	1	4	1	8
Deaths	—	—	1	—
T.B. — Pulmonary	1,567	2,997	1,828	2,088
Outdoor				
Indoor	64	577	1,075	1,074
Deaths	27	97	125	162
T.B. — Respiratory system	70	216	387	168
Outdoor				
Indoor	15	56	23	16
Deaths	3	8	3	2
Typhoid fever	2,355	4,049	1,590	2,315
Outdoor				
Indoor	84	578	472	391
Deaths	7	10	7	7
Whooping Cough	2,809	3,983	2,099	4,885
Outdoor				
Indoor	—	5	—	3
Deaths	—	—	—	—

¹ Source : Directorate of Health Services, Government of West Bengal, *Annual Reports on the State of Health of West Bengal, Part-II*, 1961, 1963, 1965, 1967 (unpublished).

APPENDIX B

DEATHS FROM SELECTED CAUSES IN NADIA DISTRICT: 1961-67¹

Causes	1961		1963		1965		1967	
	Deaths	Rate (per 1000)	Deaths	Rate (per 1000)	Deaths	Rate (per 1000)	Deaths	Rate (per 1000)
All causes:								
WEST BENGAL*	2,00,677	6.2	2,17,710	6.5	1,93,536	5.6	1,64,221	—
NADIA DISTRICT	9,562	5.5	12,396	6.9	12,568	6.6	10,422	5.24
Accidents	237	.1	290	.2	349	.2	349	.18
Anaemias	70	.04	94	.05	123	.06	126	.06
Bronchitis	84	.05	99	.05	153	.08	157	.08
Cholera	17	.01	311	.2	94	.05	3	—
Diabetes	10	.01	12	.01	7	—	18	.01
Diphtheria	20	.01	38	.02	57	.03	24	.01
Dysentery	381	.2	706	.4	743	.39	620	.31
Early Infancy diseases	1,383	.8	767	.4	668	.3	483	.24
Food poisoning	1	—	3	—	3	—	7	—
Gastritis, etc.	137	.1	184	.1	197	.1	163	.08
Gonococcal infection, etc.	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—

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Causes	1961		1963		1965		1967	
	Deaths	Rate (per 1000)	Deaths	Rate (per 1000)	Deaths	Rate (per 1000)	Deaths	Rate (per 1000)
Heart diseases	20	.01	25	.01	57	.03	40	.02
Leprosy	24	.01	17	.01	15	—	6	—
Malaria	78	.05	13	.01	17	—	5	—
Malignant neoplasm	33	.02	62	.03	60	.03	99	.05
Measles	20	.01	30	.02	31	.02	20	.01
Pneumonia	246	.1	252	.1	246	.1	192	.10
Pregnancy diseases	125	3.2	102	2.5	69	1.8	60	1.54
Senility, etc.	5,213	3.0	7,352	4.1	7,657	4.0	5,897	2.96
Small-pox	—	—	186	.1	16	—	4	—
Snake-bite, etc.	103	.1	162	.09	156	.08	100	.05
Suicide	129	.1	81	.04	127	.07	101	.05
Syphilis	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
Tetanus	143	.1	258	.1	239	.1	318	.16
T.B. — Bones	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—
T.B. — Meninges	3	—	1	—	1	—	6	—
T.B. — Other forms	1	—	—	—	1	—	4	—
T.B. — Pulmonary	74	.04	60	.03	63	.03	70	.04
T.B. — Respiratory system	161	.1	205	.1	181	.09	170	.09
Typhoid	159	.1	204	.1	141	.07	149	.07
Ulcer of Stomach	32	.02	36	.02	40	.02	52	.03

MEDICAL AND PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICES

¹ Source: Directorate of Health Services, Government of West Bengal, *Annual Reports on the State of Health of West Bengal (Part-I)*, 1961, 1963, 1965, 1967 (unpublished).

* Excluding Calcutta.

APPENDIX C

NAMES OF PUBLIC HOSPITALS IN NADIA DISTRICT: 1976

STATE HOSPITALS

No. of beds

Controlled by

Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Hospital,
KalyaniDirectorate of Health Services,
West Bengal

500

Gandhi Memorial Hospital, Kalyani
(for chest cases only)

"

200

Dr. B. C. Roy Chest Sanatorium
(Dhubulia T. B. Hospital)

"

1,000

Netaji Subhas Sanatorium
(Kanchrapara T. B. Hospital)

"

925

Kalyani E.S.I. Hospital

Labour Department,
Government of West Bengal

266

GENERAL HOSPITALS

Nadia District Hospital

C. M. O. H., Nadia

450

Subdivisional Hospital, Ranaghat

"

131

Police Hospital, Krishnanagar

Departmental hospital

46

Jail Hospital, Krishnanagar

"

33

Dhubulia R. C. Hospital, Nadia

C. M. O. H., Nadia

50

Cooper's P. L. Home, Ranaghat

"

30

Navadwip General Hospital

"

125

Shantipur Rural Hospital

"

50

Names of dispensaries for displaced persons
in Nadia: 1971Champta Women's Home Outpatients'
Dispensary, Kotwali

C. M. O. H., Nadia

Ranaghat Women's Home
Outpatients' Dispensary

"

Dhubulia Outpatients'
Dispensary, Dhubulia

"

Rūpasrīpallī P. L. Camp,
Ranaghat

"

Chāndmāri P. L. Camp
Outpatients' Dispensary,
Gayespur Colony

"

NADIA

MEDICAL AND PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICES

APPENDIX D
NAMES OF RURAL HEALTH CENTRES IN NADIA DISTRICT: 1971

Subdivision	Development Blocks	Primary Health Centres at	Subsidiary Health Centres at
Ranaghat	Chakdaha	Chakdaha (20)	Moshra Sutragachi Chowgacha Srinagar
	Hanskhali	Dakshinpara (10)	Badkulla (10) Ramnagar
	Ranaghat I	Habibpur (10)	Paharpur Paschim Noapara
	Ranaghat II	Aranghata (10)	Gangnapur Duttaphulia (10) Kamalpur
Sadar	Haringhata	Haringhata (20)	Kasthadanga (4) Birohi Nagarukhra
	Shantipur	Shantipur (20)	Baganchra (10) Gayespur (10) Nabla (10) Arbandi (10)
	Kaliganj	Kaliganj (20)	Mira (10) Panighata (10) Juranpur (4) Debagram Matiari
	Krishnaganj	Krishnaganj (20)	Matiari Banpur Bhajanghat Joyghata
	Karimpur	Karimpur (20)	Jamsherpur (10) Natidanga (10) Nadanpur (Gopālpur) Sikārpur

APPENDIX D (Contd.)

Subdivision	Development Blocks	Primary Health Centres at	Subsidiary Health Centres at
Sadar (Contd.)	Nakasipara	Bethuadahari (50)	Dharmada (10) Nakasipara (Dadpur) (10) Chak Ghurni Majhergram
	Navadwip	Mahesganj (10)	Sri Mayapur
	Chapra	Chapra (20)	Hridaypur (10)
	Krishnanagar-I	—	Asannagar Bhāluka
	Krishnanagar II	—	Nowpara
	Tehatta I	Tehatta (10)	Barnia
	Tehatta II	Palashipara (10)	—

No. of beds in the Health Centres has been shown within brackets. Each Subsidiary Health Centre contains 2 beds where not otherwise mentioned.

CHAPTER XV

PUBLIC LIFE AND VOLUNTARY SOCIAL SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS

At the time of the General Elections in 1967, the district had 14 Vidhan Sabha (Legislative Assembly) constituencies, all single-member, namely Karimpur, Tehatta, Kaliganj, Nakasipara, Chapra, Navadwip, Krishnanagar West, Krishnanagar East, Hanskhali, Shantipur, Ranaghat West, Ranaghat East, Chakdaha and Haringhata. Three of these, namely Nakasipara, Hanskhali and Ranaghat East constituencies were reserved for the Scheduled Caste candidates.

For election to the Lok Sabha (the House of the People) the district was divided into two single-member constituencies one of which, Navadwip was reserved for a Scheduled Caste candidate. The Navadwip constituency covered the Navadwip, Hanskhali, Shantipur, Ranaghat West, Ranaghat East, Chakdaha and Haringhata Assembly constituencies. The other constituency, Krishnanagar consisted of Karimpur, Tehatta, Kaliganj, Nakasipara, Chapra, Krishnanagar West, Krishnanagar East Assembly constituencies.

Under the Delimitation of Council Constituency (West Bengal) Order 1951, substituted by the Delimitation of Council Constituencies (West Bengal) Amendment Order 1961, the district had a provision for representation on the State Vidhan Parishad (Legislative Council). But except for the single nominee of the district local authorities, the seat for the West Bengal South East Graduates' constituency was shared by the district along with Murshidabad, 24-Parganas and Howrah, and that for the West Bengal South-East Teachers' constituency with Murshidabad, Hugli and Howrah. The Vidhan Parishad was abolished in 1969.

Besides the General Elections of 1952, 1957, 1962 and 1967, mid-term elections to both the State Vidhan Sabha and the Central House of the People were held in 1971 and elections to the State Vidhan Sabha were held in 1969*. In addition to these, 4 by-elections were held in different constituencies of the district as detailed below.

In the First General Elections in 1952, the district elected 10 representatives from 9 Vidhan Sabha constituencies. Eight, out

REPRESENTATION OF THE DISTRICT IN THE STATE AND UNION LEGISLATURES

Vidhan Sabha

Lok Sabha

Vidhan Parishad

First General Elections 1952

* Fifth General Elections of 1972 is described later.

of these ten, were single-member constituencies, one a double-member constituency had provision for electing one Scheduled Caste candidate. Of the 10 representatives 9 belonged to the Indian National Congress and 1 to the Krishak Mazdoor Praja Party. The successful Congress candidate polled 48.24% of valid votes cast in Tehatta, 58.08% in Kaliganj, 45.71% in Nakasipara, 56.29% in Chapra, 53.21% in Krishnanagar, 39.88% in Navadwip and 38.11% in Shantipur constituencies. In the two Ranaghat constituencies (one reserved for a Scheduled Caste candidate) the successful Congress candidates secured respectively 30.75% and 25.31% of the valid votes cast. In Karimpur constituency, the successful KMPP candidate obtained 48.44% of the valid votes polled. In the constituency last mentioned, the nearest rival to the successful KMPP candidate belonged to the Congress party and polled 41.92% of the votes. The predominant hold of the Indian National Congress on the electorate of the district at the time of the First General Elections is indicated by the election results. The Krishak Mazdoor Praja Party which put up candidates at Kaliganj and Shantipur constituencies, polled 12.86% of the votes at the latter constituency, whereas in the former its hold on the electorate appeared to be negligible.

The Socialist Party, another all India party, set up 4 candidates. In the Ranaghat double-member constituency, the Socialist Party candidate secured 14.21% votes, the successful Congress candidates scoring 30.75% and 25.35% votes respectively. In Tehatta, the Socialist Party candidate polled 16.52% votes, the third highest, his nearest rival, an Independent, scoring 28.16%, while in Chapra, where the Socialist Party candidate also stood third on the list and secured 14.97% as compared to the second, an Independent who polled 20.04% of the valid votes.

The Bharatiya Jana Sangha set up 4 candidates. The party showed some hold on the electorate at the Kaliganj constituency where the party's nominee polled 30.14% of the valid votes and came next to the winning candidate belonging to the Indian National Congress who secured 58.08%. In the Shantipur constituency, where there were as many as seven candidates, the Bharatiya Jana Sangha nominee secured 12.43% and stood fourth on the voting list, the first three belonging to the Congress, (38.11%), the Revolutionary Communist Party of India (21.43%) and the KMPP (12.86%). In two other constituencies, Ranaghat and Chapra, the Bharatiya Jana Sangha candidate obtained only 5.6% and 2.04% votes respectively.

The only Communist Party candidate in the district was set up in the Navadwip constituency. Although he lost to the Congress candidate, he had polled 36.61% votes against 39.88% secured by the latter.

The Hindu Mahasabha candidate at the Ranaghat double-member constituency obtained only 7.11% of votes. The Ram Rajya Parishad too set up a candidate in Chapra but its influence was negligible.

In the elections to the Lok Sabha both the seats of the district went to the Congress. At Krishnanagar the Congress candidate, who was opposed by Independent candidates, polled 57.52% of the valid votes cast. In Shantipur, the Congress candidate, who was opposed by an RCPI nominee and 4 Independents, polled 49.98% votes, the RCPI candidate securing 16.31%.

During the period 1952-55, one by-election to the State Vidhan Sabha from the Shantipur constituency and one to the Lok Sabha from Navadwip were held for seats rendered vacant by the death of Congress members. Both these seats were retained by the Congress, both the representatives to the Lok Sabha securing more than 55% of the valid votes cast. The winning candidate's nearest rival, a Communist Party of India nominee, won about 22% and a third candidate belonging to the Praja Socialist Party secured a little over 15%. In the Vidhan Sabha election, the winning Congress candidate who secured over 60% of the votes, was opposed by an Independent candidate.

In the Second General Elections held in 1957, the district elected 11 representatives to the Vidhan Sabha from 9 Assembly constituencies, two of which were double-member. In the two double-member constituencies, one of the seats was reserved for a Scheduled Caste candidate. In the Second General Elections, too, all the State Vidhan Sabha seats, except one, went to the Congress, the Praja Socialist Party securing the single remaining seat.

Four political parties contested the elections, the Indian National Congress in all the 11 constituencies, PSP in 4 constituencies, the Communist Party of India in 3 constituencies and the Bharatiya Jana Sangha in one. Ten constituencies returned Congress candidates. In Tehatta, there was a straight contest between a Congress candidate and a PSP nominee, the former won securing 71% of the valid votes. At the other constituencies, the percentage of the valid votes polled by the Congress candidates was as follows: Ranaghat 46.60, Haringhata 25.29,

Lok Sabha

By election

Second General
Elections 1957

Haringhata Scheduled Caste 25.87, Shantipur 46.99, Navadwip 50, Krishnanagar 62, Nakasipara 40, Nakasipara (S.C.) 39 and Karimpur 56.

The PSP secured the Chakdaha seat, its candidate polling 52.20% of the valid votes. The nearest rival, a Congress candidate, obtained 42.80%. In other constituencies where the party set up its candidates, it showed some hold on the electorate. At Ranaghat, the PSP candidate polled 32.30% and at Tehatta 29%. At Karimpur, however, the party's candidate secured 11%, the winning Congress candidate polling 56%.

The Communist Party of India which set up candidates at the Haringhata and Navadwip constituencies, did well although they failed to win a seat. At the Haringhata general constituency, the CPI nominee polled 21.81%, the winning Congress candidate securing 25.29%. In the Haringhata (S.C.) constituency, the respective figures for the CPI nominee and the winning Congress candidate were 21.99% and 25.87%. In Navadwip, the CPI candidate, who polled 47%, was defeated by the Congress candidate securing 50% of the valid votes.

The Bharatiya Jana Sangha whose sole nominee contested the elections at Ranaghat secured only 6.50% votes.

Lok Sabha

For election to the Lok Sabha, the district returned only one representative from the Navadwip constituency which covered the Sadar subdivision (excluding Krishnanagar P.S.) and the Shantipur P.S. in the Ranaghat subdivision. In this constituency, the Congress candidate was elected in a straight contest polling 61.21 per cent of valid votes cast, the remaining votes going to an Independent candidate.

Third General Elections 1962

In the Third General Elections held in 1962, the hold of the Congress on the electorate in the district showed a decline in some areas. The district returned 11 representatives to the State Vidhan Sabha from 11 constituencies, all single-member, two of these, Chapra and Hanskhali, reserved for Scheduled Caste candidates. Six, out of these 11 seats, went to the Congress. In the Karimpur constituency, the Congress candidate won with 47.30% votes, his nearest rival, an Independent candidate securing 40.72%. The other constituencies where the Congress candidate won, were: Nakasipara (55.04%), Tehatta (56.39%), Hanskhali (S.C.) (38.88%), Chakdaha (51.04%) and Haringhata (46.97%).

The CPI showed greater hold on the electorate than in the previous elections. It returned two candidates, one from the

Navadwip constituency polling (59.19%) valid votes, and another from Ranaghat polling 46.82%. The CPI candidate set up in Haringhata constituency, lost to the Congress candidate but polled 39.26% votes. So, also in Hanskhali the CPI candidate, who lost to the Congress nominee, secured 30.22% votes, the winning candidate polling 38.88%. In Chakdaha where the CPI nominee polled least, secured 24.72% of the votes cast.

Samjukta Biplabi Parishad (SBP) won the Chapra (S.C.) seat polling 51.62% vote. Of the three other SBP candidates who contested the elections, the one from Nakasipara stood next to the winning Congress nominee and polled 20.41% votes. The other two, one from Tehatta and the other from Shantipur, secured 11.20% and 10.93% votes respectively.

The PSP set up two candidates of whom one was returned from the Krishnanagar constituency securing 46.76% votes. The other candidate who was set up from the Ranaghat constituency, obtained 8.62%.

The Bharatiya Jana Sangha set up four candidates, but its hold on the electorate was very small as reflected in the percentage of the votes polled by the party's candidate which ranged from 1.17 at Haringhata to 3.32 at Karimpur.

The only candidate set up by Hindu Mahasabha secured 3.32% votes at Hanskhali.

The Socialist Unity Centre (SUC) set up a candidate at Nakasipara. He showed insignificant influence on the electorate.

Lok Sabha

For the Lok Sabha seat, the district had one constituency, Navadwip, comprising the assembly constituencies of Karimpur, Tehatta, Nakasipara, Krishnanagar, Navadwip and Shantipur. This Parliamentary constituency returned an Independent candidate who contested the Congress nominee in a straight fight. The Congress candidate, though defeated, polled 44.31% votes.

By-election 1964

In December 1964, a by-election was held for the Hanskhali Legislative Assembly seat caused by the resignation of the Congress member of the Vidhan Sabha representing the constituency. In the election, the Congress retained the seat polling 51.01% of the valid votes cast. He was opposed by a CPI nominee and two Independents. The CPI candidate came third on the voting list polling 18%.

The picture was radically different in the Fourth General Elections, 1967. In these elections, the predominant position of the Indian National Congress was severely undermined by the leftist parties. In the 14 Assembly constituencies in the district,

Fourth General Elections 1967

the score card was as follows: Indian National Congress 4, Bangla Congress 5, CPI 1, CPI (Marxist) 2, SSP 1, and one seat went to an Independent candidate. The Indian National Congress set up 14 candidates, the Bangla Congress 6, the Communist Party of India (Marxist) 5, CPI 2, the Samyukta Socialist Party 2, the Bharatiya Jana Sangha 3, and the Republican Party of India 1. Of the 14 constituencies, all of them single membered, three, namely, Nakasipara, Hanskhali and Ranaghat East were reserved for Scheduled Caste candidates.

In the five constituencies which returned the Bangla Congress candidates, the winning candidates polled 68.95% votes at Karimpur, 49.96% at Nakasipara, 60.24% at Chapra, 67.70% at Hanskhali and 42.11% at Chakdaha. The nominee of the party who lost to a Congress candidate in a straight fight at Kaliganj polled 46.88% votes.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) bagged the Shantipur and the Krishnanagar West seats, the candidates polling 47.63% and 43.57% votes respectively. In the Tehatta constituency where the CPI (M) candidate lost to a Congress nominee in a fourcornered contest, he secured 43.26% votes, the Congress candidate polling 44.36%. In Navadwip constituency, the CPI (M) candidate secured 44.28% votes although he failed to reach the top of the polls. In Ranaghat West, the CPI (M) candidate polled 38.15%, his nearest rival, the winning Congress candidate, secured 49.55%.

In Krishnanagar East, the Samyukta Socialist Party candidate who defeated the Congress nominee in a straight contest, polled 67.99% votes. But the party's candidate from Krishnanagar West obtained only 9.06%.

The Communist Party of India won the Ranaghat East seat, its candidate polling 50.46%. Its other candidate who was set up in the Haringhata constituency, obtained 16.30% votes.

The Indian National Congress set up 14 candidates, from each constituency. The party's candidates won at Tehatta with 44.36% votes, at Kaliganj with 53.15% votes, and at Navadwip with 50.94% votes. At 10 other constituencies, the Congress candidates, though losing the elections, came next to the winner with 22.39% votes at Karimpur, 38.61% at Nakasipara, 30.19% at Chapra, 37.73% at Krishnanagar West, 32.01% at Krishnanagar East, 32.88% at Hanskhali, 38.15% at Shantipur, 40.77% at Ranaghat East and 40.98% at Haringhata. At Chakdaha

where the Congress nominee stood third on the voting list, secured 26.11% votes.

The Bharatiya Jana Sangha and the Republican Party of India showed insignificant influence on the electorate.

For the Lok Sabha election the entire district was divided into two constituencies: Krishnanagar, consisting of Karimpur, Tehatta, Kaliganj, Nakasipara and Krishnanagar East and West Assembly constituencies; and Navadwip covering Navadwip, Hanskhali, Shantipur, Ranaghat East and West, Chakdaha and Haringhata Assembly constituencies.

Both the constituencies had provision to return one member each, the Navadwip constituency being reserved for a Scheduled Caste representative.

The results of the elections from both the constituencies show wins for non-Congress candidates. In Krishnanagar, the Congress candidate lost to an Independent, the former polling 37.48% votes, the latter 47.52%. In the Navadwip (S.C.) constituency, the Bangla Congress nominee secured 61.84%, the Indian National Congress candidate polling 38.76%.

Two mid-term elections of a general nature were held after the Fourth General Elections. The first of these were held in February 1969 for the election of members of the State Vidhan Sabha which was earlier dissolved. The Second Elections, which were held on 10th March 1971, elected, along with the other States members of the Lok Sabha. At the same time, the members of the State Vidhan Sabha, which meanwhile stood dissolved for the second time, were also elected.

These elections show some interesting trends so far as the State's political parties are concerned. In the first elections (1969), all India parties like the Hindu Mahasabha and the Jana Sangha did not set up candidates. The Congress in West Bengal faced the challenge of the United Front of left parties which had combined to set up candidates against the Congress nominee. Another feature was the growth in influence of parties like the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and the Communist Party of India, a larger number of whose members were successful at the polls.

In these elections, the Congress set up candidates for all the 14 constituencies of the district of whom 5 were elected. The stiffest opposition, a successful Congress candidate had to face was at Karimpur where the Congress candidate polled 33.71% of the valid votes cast, while the CPI (M) candidate who came

Lok Sabha

Mid-term
Elections
1969, 1971

next secured 33.61%. The actual difference in the votes obtained by the candidates was 50 only.

The influence of the Congress on the electorate showed its highest at Nakasipara where the party's candidate won with 53.78% of votes. At other centres where the Congress candidate won, the percentages of votes polled, were as follows: Tehatta 52.18, Kaliganj 51.83 and Navadwip 51.75.

In the constituencies where the Congress was defeated, its influence was not inconsiderable as may be evident from the percentage of votes polled by the party's candidates who were defeated but came next to the winning candidates at the following constituencies: Chapra 39.77%, Krishnanagar West 40.03%, Krishnanagar East 37.92%, Hanskhali (S.C.) 45.69%, Shantipur 42.19%, Ranaghat East 43.59%, Ranaghat West 40.07%, Chakdaha 28.73% and Haringhata 44.58%.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) and the Bangla Congress secured 3 seats each. The CPI(M) candidate won the Krishnanagar West seat polling 50.69%, the Ranaghat East seat polling 55.72%, and the Ranaghat West polling 53.71% votes. The party set up 6 candidates and the three defeated candidates polled as follows: 33.61% at Karimpur, 44.94% at Tehatta and 45.92% at Navadwip. The narrow margin of votes by which the CPI(M) candidate lost at Karimpur has been mentioned earlier.

The Bangla Congress proved a formidable rival to the Congress and three of the five candidates set up by the party won with 40.24% votes at Chapra, 51.75% at Hanskhali (S.C.) and 56.12% at Chakdaha. Even where the party candidate lost, his influence on the electorate was considerable. Thus, at Kaliganj and Nakasipara where the party's candidates lost the elections, they secured the second place on the voting list polling 48.16% and 44.33% votes respectively.

The Progressive Muslim League showed some hold in Chapra where its candidate secured 18.13% votes, but the two other candidates of the party, one at Krishnanagar West and another at Nakasipara, secured 4.62% and 1.89% respectively.

Of the other candidates returned from the district was one belonging to the SSP. The candidate, who was the only one the party set up from any constituency in the district, won from Krishnanagar East polling 58.07% votes.

The Revolutionary Communist Party of India set up one candidate at Shantipur who won with 47.49% votes. A dissident

group of the Party, the Tagore group, set up one candidate at Chakdaha and another at Haringhata. But both of them failed to secure even one per cent of the votes cast.

Parties like the Indian National Democratic Front, the Proutists and the Lok Dal set up candidates at different constituencies. But the results of the polls showed that the hold of the parties on the electorate was nowhere of any significance.

It may be mentioned that at Haringhata an Independent candidate, who was supported by the United Front of Leftist Parties, won the seat securing 55.02% of votes. His rival, a Congress nominee, polled 44.58%.

Following the dissolution of the Lok Sabha, mid-term elections were held for the Parliamentary seats all over the country. In West Bengal, elections were held on 10 March 1971 for the Parliamentary seats. Simultaneously, second mid-term elections were held for the Vidhan Sabha which was dissolved a year earlier. In these elections in the Nadia district the Communist Party of India (Marxist) registered further gains securing as many as 9 out of the 14 seats.

Of the 5 remaining seats only one went to Congress (Requisitionists) one to the Samyukta Socialist Party, one to the Revolutionary Communist Party of India and two to Independents.

The influence these political parties had on the electorate may be gauged from the following details.

The CPI(M) candidate won the Karimpur constituency with 47.64%, Tehatta with 46.49%, Chapra with 41.08%, Navadwip with 55.52%, Krishnanagar West with 50.78%, Haringhata with 48.61%, Chakdaha with 50.90%, Ranaghat East with 37.60% and Ranaghat West with 48.94% of the votes. Besides these nine, the party set up three candidates, two of whom secured the second higher number of votes, one at Hanskhali, a constituency reserved for Scheduled Castes polling 35.82% votes, and the other at Krishnanagar East polling 31.74%. At Nakasipara where the CPI(M) candidate came third in order of voting secured 20.03% votes.

The Congress(R) set up candidates in 11 constituencies. Though the party won only one seat, its hold on the electorate in the other constituencies may be seen from the following analysis.

The Congress(R) candidate won the Hanskhali (S.C.) seat polling 45.47% votes. The percentage of votes polled by the party at the other constituencies is as follows.

Mid-term
Elections
1971

Karimpur 23.60%, Tehatta 21.41%, Navadwip 18.71%, Haringhata 44.10%, Krishnanagar West 26.04%, Ranaghat West 46.99%, Ranaghat East 32.95%, Shantipur 39.07%, Chapra 16.84%, Hanskhali 35.82%, Nakasipara 20.69%, Kaliganj 13.01% and Shantipur 39.72%.

It will appear from the above that the hold of the Congress (R) on the electorate was the greatest in Ranaghat West where the party polled 46.99% as against 48.94% secured by the winning CPI (M) candidate, at Haringhata the party polled 44.10%. The party candidate gave the winning RCPI candidate a tough fight, the difference in the percentage of the votes polled by the candidates being less than 0.70. The Samyukta Socialist Party won the Krishnanagar East seat polling 48.87% votes. It was the only seat contested by the party. The Shantipur seat went to an RCPI candidate who defeated his Congress (R) rival by a narrow margin in a multi-cornered contest. A second candidate set up by the RCPI (rival group) from the same constituency polled 8.84%.

The Congress (Organization) Party which set up candidates in as many as 12 constituencies, generally fared miserably. Only in four constituencies its nominees polled more than 10% of the votes polled. The highest influence the party showed in any constituency was Navadwip where its candidate polled 22.04% votes while the Congress (R) candidate secured 18.71%. In constituencies other than the four mentioned above, the votes polled by the Congress (O) never rose much above 5% of the votes cast.

The Bangla Congress set up 9 candidates in 9 constituencies but failed to win a seat. Its influence, however, showed unevenly ranging from 28.76% at Chakdaha to less than one per cent at Navadwip and Ranaghat (West). The party's candidate polled 17.70% votes at Chapra, 16.02% at Nakasipara, 8.79% at Hanskhali, 5.76% at Karimpur, 5.46% at Tehatta and 3.69% at Krishnanagar (West). The Forward Bloc and the RSP set up one candidate each at Haringhata and Ranaghat (West) respectively. They polled respectively 6.51% and 2.78% of votes.

The Muslim League contested elections at six constituencies, namely, Kaliganj, Karimpur, Krishnanagar West, Tehatta, Chapra and Navadwip. At Kaliganj, Tehatta, Karimpur and Chapra its candidates polled 22.80%, 21.41%, 20.44% and 18.80% votes respectively. At Krishnanagar West, the party nominee polled 5.59%. At Navadwip the party's influence was negligible.

The CPI set up 6 candidates. The Party's influence showed its highest at Ranaghat East where its nominee came second on the voting list, polling 28.93% votes, its rival the winning CPI (M) candidate securing 37.60%. At other places, its voting record ranged from 5.68% at Kaliganj to 11.14% at Krishnanagar West.

At these mid-term elections of March 1971, two members of Lok Sabha were elected from the two constituencies of the district, one of which was reserved for a Scheduled Caste candidate. At both the constituencies, the CPI (M) candidates were victorious. At Krishnanagar the CPI (M) nominee polled 36.96% of the votes polled. At Navadwip the party's candidate polled 46.87%.

The Congress (R) came next to the CPI (M) in its influence on the electorate. At Navadwip its nominee secured 44.06% and at Krishnanagar 26.93%.

The Bangla Congress and the Congress (O) also set up candidates at both the constituencies. The Bangla Congress candidate secured 9.21% votes at Krishnanagar and 3.71% at Navadwip. The Congress (O) candidates secured 1.18% votes at Krishnanagar and 5.34% at Navadwip.

The Fifth General Elections of 1972 for Vidhan Sabha seats was a keenly contested election in the 14 constituencies of the district. The Congress won as many as 12 seats, the remaining 2 being won by the CPI. The table in Appendix A would show the number of votes polled by different parties from each constituency in the said election.

The sixth Lok Sabha Election was held on 16 March 1977. The poll results in the district were as follows.

LOK SABHA ELECTION FROM NADIA DISTRICT: 1977¹

Name of constituency	Parties contesting	Party winning	No. of Voters	Votes secured by the winning candidate
Krishnanagar	CPI(M), Congress, Independents (4)	CPI(M)	5,34,845	1,98,830

¹ Source: Government of West Bengal, Information & Public Relations Department -- *West Bengal*, Vol. XX, Nos. 9112 p. 129.

Lok Sabha

Fifth General Elections (Vidhan Sabha) 1972

Lok Sabha Election 1977

(Contd.)

Navadwip (SC) CPI(M), CPI, CPI(M) 6,35,456 1,93,714
Independents
(3)

Legislative
Assembly
Election 1977
NEWSPAPERS

The election to the West Bengal Assembly was held on 14 June 1977 and the election results are given in Appendix B.

No daily newspapers are published in the district. The daily newspapers of Calcutta like the *Anrita Bazar Patrika*, the *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, the *Basumati*, the *Hindusthan Standard*, the *Jugantar*, the *Kalantar* and the *Statesman*, together with the weeklies *Desh* and *Amrita* are in common circulation in the district. A list in the Appendix C shows the names of the periodicals published from the district which are still continuing.

ADVANCEMENT OF
BACKWARD CLASSES
AND TRIBES

According to the 1961 Census, 20.44% of the total population of the district (3.50 lakhs) belong to the Scheduled Castes and 1.28% (21.9 thousand) to the Scheduled tribes. They live scattered throughout the district, the main concentration being at Ranaghat, Chakdaha and Hanskhali.

Various schemes * have been drawn up and worked upon for the development of these Scheduled castes and Scheduled tribes. These are in the spheres of education, cooperative housing, water-supply, agriculture and small industry. The work done during recent years is detailed below.

The problem of lack of education among the Scheduled castes and tribes of the district has been tackled from many angles. Attention has been given to the spread of education at all levels, from the primary to the collegiate. Buildings have been constructed for 7 primary schools, where majority of students belong to the Scheduled castes and Scheduled tribes. These are mostly situated in the remote areas of the district. Their names are given below. The class of people benefiting most out of them is mentioned in brackets.

- (1) Ramdulapur Primary School (Scheduled Castes).
P.S. Hanskhali.
- (2) Bejpara Primary School (Scheduled Castes).
P.S. Nakasipara.
- (3) Nicherpara Primary School (Scheduled Castes).
P.S. Kotwali.
- (4) Udamdanga Primary School (Scheduled Castes).
P.S. Nakasipara.

* Unless otherwise stated figures in this section are as they stood on 18th December 1971. Source : District Magistrate, Nadia.

- (5) Nafarchandrapur Primary School (Scheduled tribes).
P.S. Tehatta.
- (6) Beharia Primary School (Scheduled tribes).
P.S. Haringhata.
- (7) Teghoria Primary School (Scheduled tribes).
P.S. Kotwali.

Students belonging to the Scheduled castes and Scheduled tribes are provided with stipends in the form of tuition fees and hostel charges. Every year 1,196 students of the Scheduled castes and 244 students of the Scheduled tribes on an average reading in 178 Secondary schools (both for boys and girls) are awarded stipends. Examination fees are granted to those appearing in the School Final and Higher Secondary examinations. Students residing in hostels approved by the Education Department of the State Government are awarded money towards meeting their hostel charges.

Grants for the construction of three hostels have been made over to the school authorities for the accommodation of 60 students belonging to the Scheduled castes and Scheduled tribes. The three hostels are : (i) the Sankar Mission Hostel, Krishnanagar, (ii) Hanskhali High School Hostel, and (iii) Rajar Math High School (under construction), Chakdaha P.S.

Every year, on an average, 1,097 students belonging to the Scheduled castes and 3 belonging to the Scheduled tribes reading in 16 colleges are awarded 'Post-matric scholarships' which are to cover their tuition fees, examination fees, compulsory charges and maintenance charges. In 1971, 7 students from the Scheduled castes who were in the Post-graduate classes of the Kalyani University, were enjoying the scholarship. Scholarships are awarded every year to students of the Scheduled castes and Scheduled tribes studying in polytechnics and industrial, technical and commercial institutions. For students of lower educational attainment stipends are awarded for taking up training courses in various trades, such as, turners, fitters, electricians, wiremen, welders, smiths, etc. In 1971, as many as 89 students belonging to Scheduled castes and 4 students belonging to the Scheduled tribes were enjoying the stipends.

A tribal Welfare Centre has been set up at Garali village under Haringhata P.S. for promoting the social education of the tribals of the area. Literacy classes are held there for the tribal people.

With a view to improving the economic condition of the people belonging to the Scheduled tribes, 15 cooperative grain-golas have

been formed in the district. The jurisdiction of every grain-gola has been limited to an Anchal Panchayat. The grain-golas have been financed entirely by the Government for purchasing paddy, constructing godown and purchasing shares of the Central Co-operative Bank. Loans in paddy are advanced to the members at a moderate rate of interest which is also re-payable in paddy. The grain-golas can have agricultural loans from the Central Co-operative Bank for their members. The grain-golas are paid subsidy annually for the maintenance of staff, etc. The grain-golas have saved these poor people from the clutches of the exacting village money-lenders. About 1,500 families have already come under the fold of the cooperative grain-golas.

Following is a list of the grain-golas and their location :

Chhoto Jiakur Co-operative Grain-gola and Babla Gobindapur Co-operative Grain-gola in Shantipur P.S., Jatrapur Co-operative Grain-gola, Ektapur Co-operative Grain-gola and Hazaripota Co-operative Grain-gola in Kotwali P.S., Silinda Co-operative Grain-gola, Srirampur Co-operative Grain-gola and Damuria Co-operative Grain-gola in Chakdaha P.S., Garali Co-operative Grain-gola, Chanda Co-operative Grain-gola and Mollabelia Co-operative Grain-gola in Haringhata P.S., Korabari Co-operative Grain-gola and Dakshin Dhakuria Co-operative Grain-gola in Ranaghat P.S., Gachha Co-operative Grain-gola in Nakasipara P.S. and Madna Co-operative Grain-gola in Hanskhali P.S.

In rural areas of the district, 135 families belonging to the Scheduled castes and 285 belonging to the Scheduled tribes have been provided with specious mud-houses with proper ventilation facilities. The six municipalities of the district have been provided with grants for construction of 133 quarters to house the town's sweeper-families.

For supply of pure drinking water to the people of the Scheduled castes and the Scheduled tribes, provision has been made for sinking tube-wells in the villages where there are large concentration of these people. In different parts of the district 417 tube-wells have been sunk for the benefit of the Scheduled castes and 278 for the Scheduled tribes. These people are at the same time enjoying supply of pure drinking water under the general development scheme.

In the sphere of agriculture, vested agricultural lands measuring 116.14 acres and 28.15 acres have been settled with 326 Scheduled castes and 67 Scheduled tribes families respectively. They have been provided with bullocks, help for land reclamation

and minor irrigation facilities. Bullocks have been distributed to 184 families of Scheduled castes and 63 families of Scheduled tribes. Ninety-one Scheduled tribe families have been provided with land reclamation grants and 150 tribal families have been given house-sites free of cost. Under minor irrigation schemes 18 tribal families have been provided with shallow tube-wells and one tank has been excavated.

A training-cum-production centre has been opened for imparting industrial training (one year course) to 10 boys of the Scheduled castes every year. The centre has produced 64 skilled artisans. Provision has been made for grant to artisans in selected trades. 32 boys of the Scheduled castes and 5 tribal boys have received such grants.

Although alienation of land belonging to the tribals has been restricted under chapter IIA of the West Bengal Land Reforms Act, there is a tendency among prosperous people to grab their lands under various pleas. The tribals are ordinarily not allowed to transfer lands. Permission for transfer of land is given by the Collector of the district in special cases only. In 1971, 89 persons belonging to the Scheduled tribes applied for permission to transfer lands. 58 of them were refused permission. In the three year ending with 1971, 17.14 acres of agricultural lands, transferred to non-tribals, have been restored to the tribal transferors.

The names of three trust funds in operation in Nadia district have been obtained from the District Magistrate. A brief description of these is given below.

Trust funds

1. Atal Behari Mitra Trust — the trust fund is administered by the trust fund committee named Atal Behari Mitra Trust Fund Committee, Shantipur. Stipends are awarded to suitable candidates every year from the fund. Cash doles are awarded to destitutes and helpless widows, other females and orphans out of it. The District Magistrate of Nadia is the President and the Chairman, Shantipur Municipality is the Secretary of the trust fund.

2. Sitanath Choudhury Trust Fund — the District Magistrate is the Administrator of the trust which is utilized for the upkeep of beds in the female ward of the Garrett Hospital and Dispensary at Navadwip.

3. Jogendra Memorial Fund — the District Magistrate is the Administrator. The interest of the funds invested is utilised for

awarding stipends to the deserving students of the Muragachha Higher Secondary School.

LABOUR WELFARE

Two Labour Welfare Centres in the district, one at Palashi and the other at Kalyani, are among those administered by the Labour Directorate of the State Government as Government institutions. The Centre in Kalyani is one of the Model Welfare Centres completed under the Five Year Plan Development schemes. These welfare centres hold primary education classes for workers' children and work for adult literacy. Each Labour Welfare Centre has a small library where selected books, newspapers and periodicals are supplied. Group discussions on subjects relating to labour welfare, economic plans and projects, family planning and other current affairs of national interest are arranged from time to time.

Recreation is provided through the radio set provided by the Government. Periodical Cinema shows are arranged with the help of the State Government Information and Public Relations Department and the Field Publicity unit of the Government of India. The Republic Day, the Independence Day, Netaji's Birthday, etc. are celebrated by the welfare centres. The centres have facilities for indoor and outdoor games and competitions, and tournaments are arranged.

Training in knitting, tailoring, embroidery, etc. for women members are provided in the Labour Welfare Centres. In addition to these, provision has been made in the Model Welfare Centre to impart training in basket-making, rope-making, etc. by trained instructors.

PROHIBITION

The State Government has taken no steps so far to enforce prohibition anywhere in West Bengal.

VOLUNTARY SOCIAL SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS

Chronologically, the earliest Social Service Organizations in the district were Christian Missions. Nadia has been an important field for the activities of these missions. Both the Anglican and the Roman Catholic Churches were active.

Two schools were opened, one at Krishnanagar and another at Navadwip in 1832. In the next few years, more schools were established and by 1843, free boarding schools had been started in which 42 boys and 22 girls were being fed and taught.

In 1864, a Training or Normal School, which had first been established at Solo, then transferred to Kapasdanga, then located for a time at Shantipur, was finally transferred to Krishnanagar.

Mention may also be made of the Ranaghat Medical Mission which the CMS took over in 1906 and helped thousands of sick people to obtain medical treatment at its dispensaries.

The Roman Catholic Mission started their philanthropic activities at Krishnanagar in 1846 when Father Thomas Zubiburn, a priest of the Carmelite Order of Spain erected the first little church at Krishnanagar on the site of the present Cathedral and Bishop's House. It was blessed on 26th January 1846 by Archbishop Patrick Joseph Carew. The present Cathedral Church was built in 1898.

The Mission opened many educational institutions including High and Higher Secondary schools for boys and girls. It opened an orphanage. The missionaries are helped in their philanthropic activities by associations like the Catholic Association of Krishnanagar, the Catholic Teacher's Guild, the Legion of Mary, the Yuva Samaj and the pupils of Don Bosco. The mission's activities includes looking after orphans and destitutes, attending to the sick in hospitals and feeding the hungry.

The Ashram¹ was opened in February 1957 by Swami Visuddhananda of *Belur Math*. The main object of the organization is to promote the study of *Vedānta* and its principles as propounded by Śrī Rāmakrishṇa Paramahansa and illustrated in his own life. The organization's activities include running of a library, a nursery school and a Junior Basic school. It is a registered body.

The Ramakrishna Library² was established in Nagendranagar in Krishnanagar town in 1943. Apart from its library, the organization runs a night school in the local Harijan Colony, carries on promotion of adult literacy, sanitation temperence, distribution of milk, attending to the sick and distribution of cloths to the needy. The night school has its own building. The organization's activities include publishing a magazine and holding cultural discussions.

The Sankar Mission³, named after Śaṅkar Śrī Rādhā Raman Deva, was established in 1947 with the object of spiritual and social service. Dedicated to the ideal of Swāmi Vivekānanda and Mahatma Gandhi, the Mission is engaged in social and humanitarian service among the downtrodden.

¹ *Swaranee: Centenary Souvenir*, published by Krishnanagar Municipality, 1964, p. 180.

² *Ibid.*, p. 174.

³ Source: District Magistrate, Nadia.

The Roman Catholic Mission

Śrī Rāmakrishṇa Āśram

Ramakrishna Library

Sankar Mission

Loka Seva Sibir,
Bara Andulia

Loka Seva Sibir, Bara Andulia, was established by Bijoylal Chatterjee, a well known poet and social worker, with the object of promoting basic education and rendering social service. The following institutions have been started on the initiative and under the supervision of Loka Seva Sibir: (i) Junior Basic Training College, (ii) Basic High School for boys and girls, (iii) Nursery School and (iv) Ramakrishna Area Rural Library.

Bhāgirathi
Silpāsram,
Simurāli

Bhāgirathi Silpāsram, Simurāli, is a registered philanthropic society which started a children's home at Simurāli in the Nadia district with 180 orphan children who had been left destitute during the famine of 1943. It was founded by Col. D. N. Bhattacharya. The object of the Asram is not only to rear up orphan children but to rehabilitate them properly in society. Boys and girls here receive school education up to Class V standard and are given various kinds of vocational training like sericulture, weaving, tailoring, carpentry, blacksmith's work, cane and bamboo-work and agriculture. On completion of the training, the boys are placed in suitable jobs. The girls are given in marriage on attainment of the age of 18.

Prajnānānanda
Sevā Kendra,
Barajguli

The Prajnānānanda Sevā Kendra, named after the famous social and political worker of Barisāl, Swāmī Prajnānānanda Sarasvati, was formally opened at Barajaguli in Nadia on May 3, 1953, by Dr. B. C. Roy. The object of the organization is village uplift through social work.

The Sangha has organized one Junior Basic Training College, one nursery school, one girls' school, one community centre for recreational activities, an adult literacy centre and an area rural library.

Mahila Silpa
Vidyālaya,
Krishnanagar

Krishnanagar Mahilā Silpa Vidyālaya established in 1944 was converted into a registered cooperative society in 1948 under the name Krishnanagar Mahila Silpa Vidyālaya Sarbārtha Sādhak Samabāy Samiti. The institution renders useful service to the needy and helpless women and girls to earn their living by imparting training in (i) weaving, (ii) embroidery, (iii) wool-craft, (iv) lace making, (v) doll making, (vi) tailoring, and (vii) needle work. The institution prepares trainees for the Lady Brabourne diploma. The products of the trainees are marketed through co-operative societies and wages are paid to the trainees.

Bangavānī,
Navadwip

Bangavānī, Navadwip, was established in 1928 with the object of educating women in order that they may help in the building of the nation. With this end in view, it has divided the system of education to be imparted into 11 divisions, namely,

Sisuvānī, Ādyvānī, Madhyavānī, Tirthavānī, Ganavānī, Silpavānī, Rupavānī, Geetavānī, Saktivānī, Deepavānī and Vānī tīrtha. The organization runs a Higher Secondary School for girls and gives vocational training to students.

Sivānanda Ārogya Bhavan, sponsored by Sivānanda Samāj Sevā Parishad, is a registered institution. It is recognized by both the Central and the State Governments. It is situated at the confluence of the rivers Bhāgirathi and Jalangi. In 1961 with the help and cooperation of Paschim Banga Samaj Seva Samiti of Calcutta the trustees of Swarupganj Sivananda Mission started its chest clinic. The mission had been carrying on medical service in the area for some years past. At present there are 12 part-time doctors under the Ārogya Bhavan. The units of the institution include the chest clinic, the pathological clinic, the diagnostic-cum-treatment service centre and family planning centre.

Umāśaī Nārī Silpa Sikshā Mandir is one of the oldest institutions for fostering women's education in the district. This was established in 1930 through the munificence of late Umasasi Chakrabarti as a women's industrial training centre which was later recognized by the Central Social Welfare Board. Now, the industrial section of this institution has three wings; the training centre, the production centre and the diploma course. The institution started a primary school for girls in 1946, which has now grown into a Junior High School.

The Krishnanagar Public Library was established in the middle of the nineteenth century. At a public meeting held at Krishnanagar for the purpose ten thousand rupees were collected. A committee was formed with the then Maharaja of Nadia as President, Ramlochan Ghosh as Secretary, his son Monomohan Ghosh, the renowned Barrister, as Assistant Secretary and the District Magistrate as Treasurer. The Library was housed in its own building. Its collection exceeds 12,000 volumes. It has about 300 members.

Ghurni Subhas Saṅgha which has grown out of the Ghurni Subhas Sena established in 1945. It is a registered body and has its own *pucca* building with a playground. The Saṅgha is a non-political social and cultural organization. Its activities include village uplift work by engaging youngmen and children in social welfare. The Saṅgha also conducts various seasonal games, sports and gymnastics.

Sivānanda
Ārogya Bhavan

Umāśaī Nārī
Silpa Sikshā
Mandir,
Krishnanagar

Krishnanagar
Public Library

Ghurni Subhas
Saṅgha

Baṅgiya Purāṇ
Parishad

Baṅgiya Purāṇ Parishad, housed in a building of its own at Bejpara, Shantipur grew out of Balak Samaj which was established there in 1316 B.S. The latter aimed at all-round physical and mental development of the juveniles of the area. The new name was adopted in 1323 B.S. The Parishad holds examinations in Indian philosophy and mythology in three stages, namely, *ādya*, *madhya* and *anta*, and the title conferred on the results of the final examination is called *Purāṇratna* for males; and *Bhārati* for females.

APPENDIX A

NAME OF THE PARTIES WITH THE NO. OF VOTES POLLED: 1972

Name of constituency	Congress (R)	Congress (O)	Muslim league	RCPI	CPI (M)	Independent	CPI
Karimpur	27,557	—	1,611	—	16,019	—	—
Tehatta	27,455	—	844	—	18,835	—	—
Kaliganj	19,074	—	2,976	—	15,757	8,536	—
Nakasipara							
(Scheduled Caste)	20,753	—	2,821	—	13,808	361	—
Chapra	27,514	—	1,835	—	13,228	—	—
Navadwip	34,745	1,888	—	—	13,504	—	—
Krishnanagar							
West	25,552	—	—	—	14,982	—	—
Krishnanagar							
East	33,847	—	—	—	10,332	472	—
Hanskhali (SC)	33,829	—	—	—	15,569	—	—
Shantipur	27,272	—	—	18,626	—	—	—
Ranaghat West	37,892	—	—	—	24,215	—	—
Ranaghat							
East (SC)	—	776	—	—	14,799	—	30,104
Chakdaha	33,144	—	—	—	24,576	—	—
Haringhata	—	1,016	—	—	22,663	—	30,328

APPENDIX B
ELECTION TO THE WEST BENGAL ASSEMBLY FROM
NADIA DISTRICT: 1977

Name of constituency	Parties contesting	Party winning	No. of Voters	Votes secured by the winning candidate	Total valid votes polled	Total rejected votes	Total number of tendered votes
Karimpur	CPI(M), Congress, Janata, Independents (2), Muslim League	CPI(M)	77,161	23,905	55,134	1,044	10
Palashipara	CPI(M), Congress, Janata, Independents (5), Muslim League, SUC	CPI(M)	86,934	25,912	59,283	1,164	7
Nakasipara	CPI(M), Congress, Janata, Independents (6), Muslim League	CPI(M)	74,623	17,645	44,256	1,015	5
Kaliganj	RSP, Congress, Janata, Muslim League	RSP	75,810	21,851	53,088	855	Nil
Chapra	CPI(M), Congress, Janata	CPI(M)	76,944	33,207	54,920	1,220	5
Krishnaganj (SC)	CPI(M), Congress, Independents (3), Janata	CPI(M)	68,430	23,635	44,260	804	1
Krishnanagar East	Janata, Congress, CPI(M), Independent	Janata	81,812	20,649	47,906	880	8
Krishnanagar West	CPI(M), Congress, Janata, Independents (2), Muslim League	CPI(M)	73,972	26,311	43,839	913	5

NADIA

Navadwip	CPI(M), Congress, Janata	CPI(M)	1,03,707	27,818	54,844	1,065	5
Shantipur	RCPI, Congress, Janata, Independents (3)	RCPI	84,344	28,553	51,244	1,054	3
Hanskhali (SC)	CPI(M), Congress, Janata, Independent	CPI(M)	84,223	25,861	57,688	948	6
Ranaghat East (SC)	CPI(M), Congress, Independents (2), CPI	CPI(M)	91,408	28,786	58,768	904	9
Ranaghat West	CPI(M), Congress, Janata, Independents (2), BBCP	CPI(M)	97,357	33,546	59,198	801	8
Chakdaha	Janata, Independents (2) Independent (supported by Left Front), Congress, Janata, CPI, Independents (2), BBCP	Independent (Supported by Left Front)	1,02,835	32,238	59,131	836	10
Haringhata	CPI(M), Congress, Janata, CPI	CPI(M)	86,977	28,652	57,272	1,028	7

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1 Source: Government of West Bengal, Information & Public Relations Department — West Bengal, Assembly Election Number, July 1, 1977; Home (C&E) Department, and District Magistrate, Nadia.

Abbreviations:

BBCP	—	Bharat Biplabi Communist Party	—	Janata Party
Congress	—	Indian National Congress	—	Revolutionary Communist Party of India
CPI	—	Communist Party of India	—	Revolutionary Socialist Party of India
CPI (M)	—	Communist Party of India (Marxist)	—	Socialist Unity Centre of India

APPENDIX C

PERIODICALS PUBLISHED FROM NADIA DISTRICT 1973¹

Name	Address	Year of first publication	Periodicity
<i>Baṅgaratna</i>	Krishnanagar	1905	Weekly
<i>Nadiāmukur</i>	"	1961	"
<i>Bidyut</i>	"	1959	Fortnightly
<i>Nadiāsundar</i>	"	1956	Weekly
<i>Flash</i>	Ranaghat	1959	"
<i>Vārtābaha</i>	"	1910	"
<i>Navadwīpvārtā</i>	Navadwip	1962	"
<i>Sāgnik</i>	Chakdaha	1968	Fortnightly
<i>Janatār Mukh</i>	Shantipur	1972	"
<i>Muktiyug</i>	Krishnanagar	1972	"
<i>Homśikhā</i>	"	1952	Monthly
<i>Rahibāsarāt</i>	"	1967	"
<i>Nūpur</i>	Saktinagar	1971	Quarterly
<i>Anukshyaṇ</i>	Krishnanagar	—	"
<i>Lekhā O Rekhā</i>	Shantipur	1957	"
<i>Rūpasī</i>	Krishnanagar	1968	Monthly
<i>Maṇir Khani</i>	Navadwip	1971	"
<i>Smarāṇikā</i>	Phulia	1972	Quarterly
<i>Austrie</i>	Krishnanagar	1972	Monthly
<i>Goudīya</i>	Sri Mayapur	1922	"
<i>Nadia District Sports News</i>	Krishnanagar	1968	Fortnightly

¹ Source: Nadiā Jela Nāgarik Parishad, Nadiā : *Swādhīnatār Rajat Jayantī Smārak Grantha*, Krishnanagar, 1973, p. 38.

CHAPTER XVI

PLACES OF INTEREST

AMGHATA-GANGABAS (23°25'N. 88°25'E.) — Above 9.6 km. (6 miles) to the west of Krishnanagar lies Amghata, a small village (J.L. No. 57) in the Krishnanagar police station, very near the railway station of the same name on the Krishnanagar City-Navadwip Ghat Light Railway. It had a population of 2,228 in 1961. In one portion of this village, known as Gangābās, are the ruins of palaces and temples built by Maharaja Krishnachandra of Nadia. The Maharaja in his old age desired to spend the rest of his days at a place near the Ganges and away from the cares of worldly life. Accordingly, he built for himself a palace on the Alakananda *bil*, an off shoot of the Jalangi a couple of miles to the east of Navadwip, and called it Gangabas (residence on the Ganga). After installing his son Sibchandra as his successor at Krishnanagar, he retired to this place where he erected some temples and made liberal provisions for the worship of the deities set up in them. By and by the reputation of the place drew pilgrims from far and near who came to bathe in the Alakananda, its water being considered holy because of its link with the Bhagirathi. Paus̥h Sainkrānti, Bārūni and Daśaharā days were special occasions for the holy bath and worship at the shrines.

It was at Gangabas that Maharaja Krishnachandra died in 1782. After his death the place gradually lost its importance. The stream silted up and the palace crumbled and temples fell into decay. Nothing remains today of the past grandeur of the place save the temples of Hari-Hara and Kālā Bhairav, which alone have stood the ravages of time. The temple of Hari-Hara, which is a flat-roofed structure with two domes was erected in 1698 *Śaka* (A.D. 1776) as the inscription on the temple shows. The inscription states that the temple is built and the *advaita* (non-dualistic) image of Hari-Hara installed in it along with those of Lakshmī and Umā, by Maharaja Krishnachandra, in order that the misconception of those, who consider Śiva and Viṣṇu to be different (godheads) and cherish hostile attitude to either may be dispelled. The Ramapadak, that is, foot print of Rama, which is still to be seen here is said to have been brought from the Chitra Kut Hills.

During the time of Kshitiśchandra, a late successor to the Maharaja, four small sized cannons were recovered from the ruins of the palace. These are now kept in the Rājibāī at Krishnanagar.

ARANGHATA (23°15' N. 88°37' E.) — Village (J.L. No. 49) situated in the Ranaghat thana about 6 miles (10 km.) north of Ranaghat. It had a population of 7,769 in 1961. It lies on the Ranaghat-Gede line of the Eastern Railway and has a railway station called after its name. The village stands on the river Churni on whose bank is the temple of Jugalkiśor, believed to have been constructed in about 1728. The temple contains the images of Krishna and Radha. According to tradition, the former was brought from Brindaban and installed first at Samudragarh (near Navadwip) and later transferred to Aranghata by Ganga Ram Das, the first *mahanth* of the temple. The image of Radha is said to have been brought from the palace of Maharaja Krishnachandra Rai of Nadia, who made a grant of 125 bighas of rent-free land for the support of the temple. A big fair is held here annually throughout the month of *Jyāishṭha* and is attended by about 5,000 pilgrims. Among the visitors females predominate, owing to the belief that any woman who visits the temple will escape widowhood, or if she be already a widow, will be spared from that fate in the next birth. To the south of the temple there is another, and a more ancient one containing the idol of Gopīnāth, but this does not possess any special fame or sanctity.

BAGULA (23°22' N. 88°36' E.) — A village (J.L. No. 69) in Hanskhali police station it is 19 km. to the north-east of Ranaghat. It had a population of 4,530 in 1961. It is on the Sealdah-Banpur line of the Eastern Railway. Until Krishnanagar received a direct railway service, it was the nearest railway station to that place with which it is connected by a metalled road 17.6 km. (11 miles) long. It is now of little importance except as a large concentration of displaced population. The place has a college teaching upto the degree standard which was started after Independence. From 1862 onwards, it was for sometime an out-station for the Church Missionary Society.

BAMANPUKUR (23°27' N. 88°24' E.) — A village in Navadwip P.S. in the Sadar subdivision. It is about half a mile to the north of Mayapur. The village contains the grave

of Chand Kaji who is reported to be a contemporary of Sri Chaitanya. There are large mounds in this village which are called Ballāldhibi, which are said to contain the ruins of King Ballāl Sena's palace. Ballāldhibi is about 400 feet long and 25 to 30 feet high. It is now a protected monument.

BALLALDIGHI (MAYAPUR) (23°28' N. 88°20' E.) — A village (J.L. No. 14) with a population of 2,284 in 1961 it is in Navadwip P.S., about 1½ miles (2.4 km.) north of the Mahesganj Railway Station on the Krishnanagar-Navadwip Ghat Light Railway of the Eastern Railway. Mayapur is claimed by a section of Vaishnavas to be the site where Sri Chaitanyadeva was born. The Chaitanya Gaudīya Maṭh has its head-quarters here. All the buildings here are, however, recent.

BIRNAGAR or ULA (23°15' N. 88°34' E.) — Birnagar is a small municipal town in the Ranaghat police station of the district. It has a population of 10,560 according to the Census 1971. It is about 5 miles (8 km.) from Ranaghat and 13 miles (30.8 km.) from Krishnanagar with both of which town it is connected by the Eastern Railway line going from Sealdah to Lalgola Ghat. The railway connexion exists from 1906 when the Murshidabad Branch of the Eastern Bengal Railway was opened and a railway station set up at Birnagar.

The ancient name of this small town was Ula. The origin of the name is obscure. According to one theory, it is derived from the Persian word *Aul* or wise men. According to another view, the *Ula* grasses which grew thick on the *char* land on which the settlement originally sprang up gave the place its name. The place is mentioned in ancient Bengali literary works. Some of these state that at one time Bhagirathi flowed past this town. The bed of a deep and broad river which has now shifted its course is still in evidence in the marshes known as *Dākāter Khāl* and *Bāromāsi bil*. Situated on the east and south of the place, this depression lends ground to the belief that this was the bed of the Ganges while the river washed the sides of the town years ago. Poet Mukundaram Chakravarti Kavikaṅkaṇ (*circa* A.D. 1544) in *Saka* 1466 while narrating in his *Chandī* the story of Śrīmanta Sadāgar's voyage to Ceylon in search of his father stated that the merchant prince anchored his fleet beside Ula and on a Vaiśakhi full-moon day worshipped the goddess *Ulāichandī*, the presiding deity of the place.

The tradition is that as Srimanta was sailing upto the place, a terrific storm came on. In response to divine inspiration, he called upon *Ulaichandi*, one of the wives of Siva, the destroyer, to help him. She answered his prayer and protected his fleet; whereupon he instituted a special worship of her in the place, which has been carried on to the present day. The *Ulaichandi* festival is celebrated here annually in the month of *Vaisakh*, and is attended by 10,000 pilgrims, who it is said, are housed and fed by the residents.

The following account of the place is taken from an article by Rev. J. Long which appeared in the *Calcutta Review* in 1846: "Not far from Ranaghat is Ula, so called from Uli, a goddess whose festival is held here, when many presents are made to her by thousands of people who came from various parts. There are a thousand family of Brahmans, many temples and rich men living in it. As Guptipara is noted for its monkeys, Halisahar for its drunkards, so is Ula for fools, as one man is said to become fool every year at the *mela*. The *Baroari* Puja is celebrated with great pomp: the headmen of the town have passed a bye law that any man, who on this occasion refuses to entertain guests shall be considered infamous and, shall be excluded from society."

There is a cluster of 12 temples in the Bengal hut style called the *dwādaśmandir* in association with a Kali temple. The finest temple in the village is the *jore bungla* temple of Krishna, built by the Mustafi family in 1694. The facade is decorated with terracotta plaques, now badly worn and damaged by lime wash. Nearby is a *Chandimandap* with extensive wood carving on the front pillar and interior roof supports, including many *purāṇic* and secular figures. It originally had a sweeping thatched *bangla* roof, which has now been replaced by tin. There is another terracotta decorated temple (of Vishnu) in Dakshinpara, but this is now in ruins and overgrown with trees.

In *Pālitpārā*, about a mile north of Birnagar, two brothers Kanailal and Nilmoni Acharyya, invented the famous ornaments for images known as *dāker sāj*.

CHAKDAHA (23°05'N. 88°31'E.) — A town in the Ranaghat subdivision on the Sealdah-Ranaghat section of the Eastern Railway, it is situated not far from the left bank of the Hugli river. It had a population of 46,345 according to the Census 1971. Tradition says that Bhagirath, while bringing

the Ganga from the Himalaya to Gangāsagar to water his forefathers' bones, left traces of his chariot wheel (*chakra*) here; hence the name — Chakradaha corrupted into Chakdaha or Chakdah. In the sixteenth century, when Pratapaditya threw off the Moghul yoke at Mohammedpur in Jessore, Raja Mansingh was detailed by the Emperor Akbar to crush him. On his way Mansingh is said to have passed through the south of the Nadia district. "Hatikanda, a village in Chakdaha police station," says Pringle in his *Survey (1918-26) Report*, "contains a banyan tree under which Mansingh is said to have tethered his elephants; and from that tradition the village derived its name. Traces of a road exist in Haringhata police station said to have been constructed for the passage of Mansingh's army." It is believed that at Chakdaha on its way to Jessore Mansingh's army was weatherbound for some days.

Stavorinus in 1785 writes: "The village of Chagda which gives its name to the channel stands like a little island, and there is a great weekly market or bazar here: the channel terminates about three Dutch miles inland, and on its right has many woods in which are tigers and wild beasts; on entering the woods a little way, we soon met with the traces of tigers in plenty, and therefore we met in the Way the remains of a Bengali who had been torn in pieces by a beast of prey."

Chakdaha, as well as Bansberia and Gangasagar, was once notorious for human sacrifices by drowning. In Hamilton's *Description of Hindoostan* (London, 1820) it is stated that "this town was formerly noted for voluntary drownings by the Hindoos, which, however, latterly have become a mere ceremony of immersion without any fatal result."

Chakdaha used to be an important trade centre, but a change in the course of the river affected it adversely. The main public buildings in the town are the Municipal office, the dispensary and the hospital, and the office of the Sub-registrar. The town was constituted a municipality in 1886 with 12 commissioners, all of whom were nominated. Places around Chakdaha contain monuments and mounds of archaeological interest. But much of these is overgrown with jungles and inaccessible even today. In his *Survey Report* mentioned earlier, Pringle says "Its association with the long-established house of Nadia has provided the central and southern parts of the district with... interesting remains. Srinagar on the extreme south-east corner of Chakdaha police station was one of these. It is now so dense a jungle

that no one readily musters up courage to penetrate therein. At the time of the survey (1918-26) a specially stout-hearted up-country *Amin* had to be employed."

Jasra Jasra, one mile west of Chakdaha railway station, contains the *Sripāt* of the famous Vaishṇava Jagadīś Paṇḍit, and a temple called Jagannāthadeva temple. Jagadīś Paṇḍit consecrated the image of this temple.

Kāṇṭhālpuli Kāṇṭhālpuli, about half a mile north-west of Chakdaha railway station contains the *Sripāt* and altar of Maheś Paṇḍit, one of the twelve Gopāls of the Vaishṇava Sect. Maheś Paṇḍit was the brother of Jagadīś Paṇḍit. A large *melā* is held to commemorate the death of Maheś Paṇḍit on the 13th day of the new moon period of the month of *Agrahayana*.

Palpara Palpara, about 2 miles (3.2 km.) from Chakdaha railway station, contains an early brick-temple of the *chārchālā* type, more massive than is usual with this design. The temple was rescued from the jungle and protected by the Archaeological Survey of India in 1920, but is again falling to ruin. Terracotta plaques above the entrance depict the Battle of Laṅkā in lively 17th century style.

Kamalpur In Bhattacharya-Kamalpur, a village near Chakdaha town which was once a renowned seat of learning, the ruins of an ancient Śiva temple stands in the midst of a thick overgrowth. The temple is of the *chārchālā* type and has terracotta work on its facade with beautiful *mithuna* designs. It is surmised from relevant documents that this and another Śiva temple at this place were built at the time of the famous *paṇḍit* Raghudeva Vidyāvinoda.

CHAPRA (23°23' N. 88°32' E.)— Situated about 10 miles (16.0 km.) north of Krishnanagar, this village (J.L. No. 39) is the headquarters of the Chapra police station. It had a population of 1,35,634 in 1971. It has been the centre of work of the Church Missionary Society for well over 100 years. In 1840, mission houses were built at Chapra and in the following year a church was built at this place. A school was started in 1850 which was raised to the Middle-English standard and continued to be a useful institution for a long time. There is a public hall here erected in 1957 with an accommodation for 150 persons which is managed by a local body and is free for public use. Near Chapra

on the bank of the Jalangi is the village of Bāngāljihi which was once an important river mart and where there is still a certain amount of local trade.

DEBAGRĀM (23°40' N. 88°16' E.) — A village (J.L. No. 60) in Kaliganj P.S. of the Sadar subdivision, about 87 miles (139.2 km.) from Calcutta on the Ranaghat-Lalgola branch of the Eastern Railway. It had a population of 8,439 in 1961. Ruins and high mounds can be seen in the village, which many historians believe are the remains of the cantonment of the Sena Kings of Bengal.

DEBAGRĀM (23°10' N. 88°44' E.) — A village (J.L. No. 105) with a population of 2,003 in 1961 it is in Ranaghat P.S. about 2½ miles (4 km.) north-east of Gangnapur on the Ranaghat-Bongaon section of the Eastern Railway. There is a large mound in the village, popularly known as *Deganr Dhibi*. This mound is said to cover the ruins of an ancient fort supposed to be the seat of a *Kumbhakār* Chieftain called Devapāl or Depāl.

According to local tradition, Raja Devapāl was one of the Bengal chieftains who raised their standard of revolt against Delhi during the reign of Emperor Jehangir.¹ He is said to have met with a tragic end as a wrong signal, which meant that he had lost the fight, had escaped him by mischance while he was coming back from the battle-field, victorious over his enemy. He hurried back home only to find that his Rāṇīs had, on receiving the signal, drowned themselves in the tank adjoining the fort. In desperation the Raja too put an end to his life by drowning himself.

DIGNAGAR (23°17' N. 88°28' E.) — Six miles from Krishnanagar and in Krishnanagar police station on the railway to Shantipur lies Dignagar. The village (J.L. No. 83) contains a large tank excavated by Raja Rāghav, great grandfather of Maharaja Krishnachandra of Nadia. Near a tank within the village stands the temple of Rāghaveśvara Śiva consecrated in 1669. It is a *chārchālā* structure, richly decorated with terracotta plaques on both east and south facades, including interesting social scenes along the base. Beside it, stands another temple in a dilapidated condition.

¹ Kumudnath Mullick, *Nadiā Kāhinī*, 1910, p. 26. Raja Devapāl or Depāl is mentioned in Bharatchandra's *Annadāmaṅgal* as the Ruler of Degan.

GHOSH PARA (Dakshin Ghoshpara) ($22^{\circ}59'N$, $88^{\circ}27'E$) — A village in Kalyani P.S. of Ranaghat subdivision, about 5 miles (8 km.) north-west of Kanchrapara railway station on the Eastern Railway. Also known as Nityadhan, this village is the seat of the *Kartābhajā* sect. Festivals are held at Ghoshpara on *Dol Yātrā* in the month of *Phālgun*; at the *Rath Yātrā* in the following month; on the anniversary of the death of Ramdulal or Dulal Chand, the son of the original founder of the sect in the month of *Chaitra*; on the anniversary of the death of the founder in the month of *Ashādh*; and on the anniversary of the founder's wife's death in *Āswīn*. The places visited by the pilgrims are the room where the founder's wife was buried and the rooms containing the relics of the founder and his son. In each of the places, prayers are offered daily. There are two tanks named *Dālimtalā* and *Himsāgar*, which are also places of interest for the pilgrims.

HARINGHATA ($22^{\circ}30'N$, $88^{\circ}34'E$) — It is the southernmost police station of the district with an area of 65.0 sq. miles (168.4 sq. km.) and a population, according to the Census of 1971 of 95,583 persons. The area is entirely rural and contains 89 villages. The State Government's Livestock Research-cum-Breeding Station at Haringhata is growing into a small town with the establishment of the farm itself. At this place is situated the office of the River Research Institute. Bidhan Chandra Krishi Viswa Vidyalaya is also located here.

KALYANI ($22^{\circ}59'N$, $88^{\circ}27'E$) — A model township in the police station of the same name built by the West Bengal Government about 30 miles (48 km.) from Calcutta. It has a railway station connecting it with Calcutta and Ranaghat on the Sealdah-Ranaghat section of the Eastern Railway.

Kalyani has been declared a Notified Area by the State Government and has a population of 18,310 according to the Census 1971. It has all the modern amenities of a modern town including piped water-supply, sewerage and electricity.

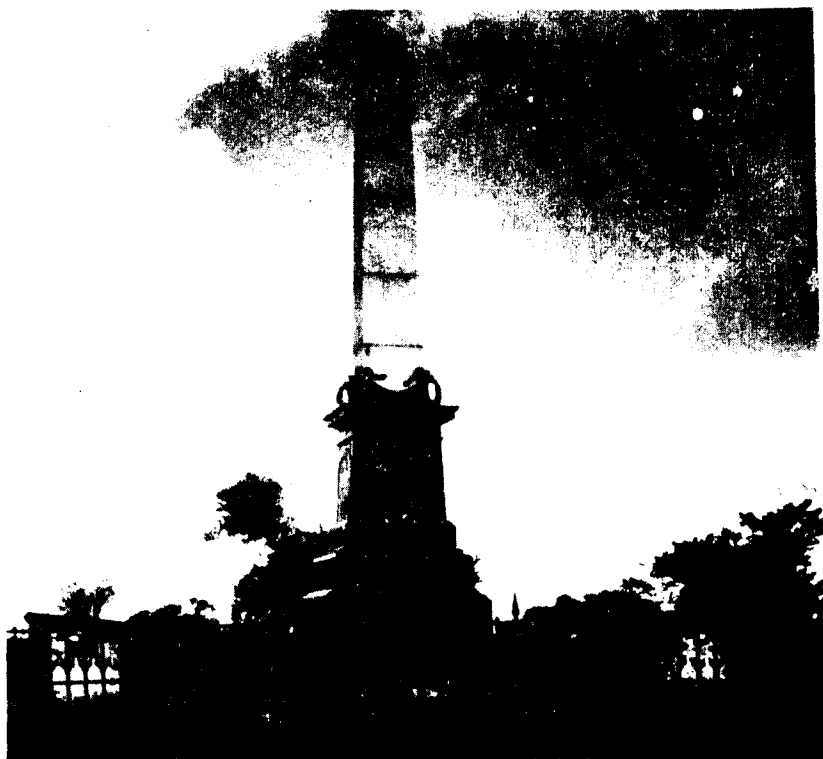
The total area acquired for the Kalyani township was 9,480 acres. The area was divided originally into six blocks, namely A, B, C, D, E & F together with areas reserved as green belt on the periphery of the same. Blocks A, B, C & D are on the western side of the railway line running from Sealdah to Ranaghat and the Blocks E & F are on the eastern side.



1. Picnic Garden, Kalyani.



2. Kalyani township.



1. Obelisk in memory of the Battle of Plassey (23 June 1757) at Palāsi.



2. Main gate of Rājbaḍī at Krishnanagar.

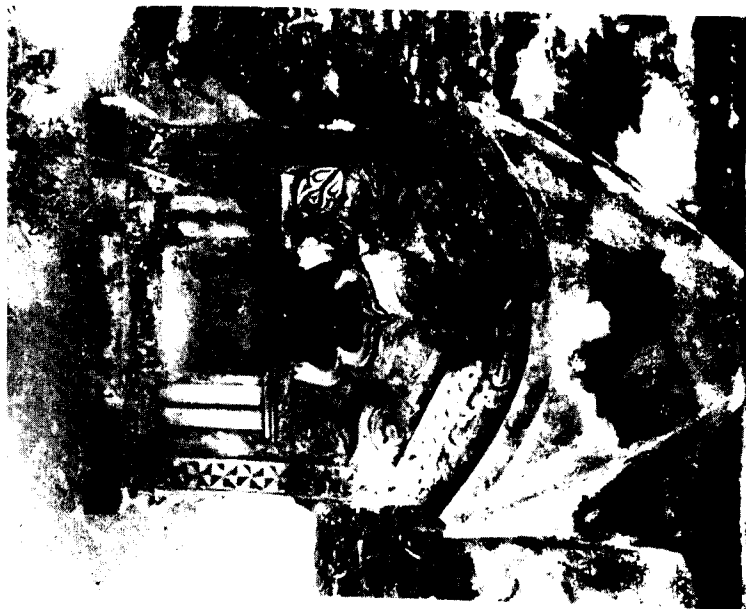


1. Topkhānā mosque, Shantipur.

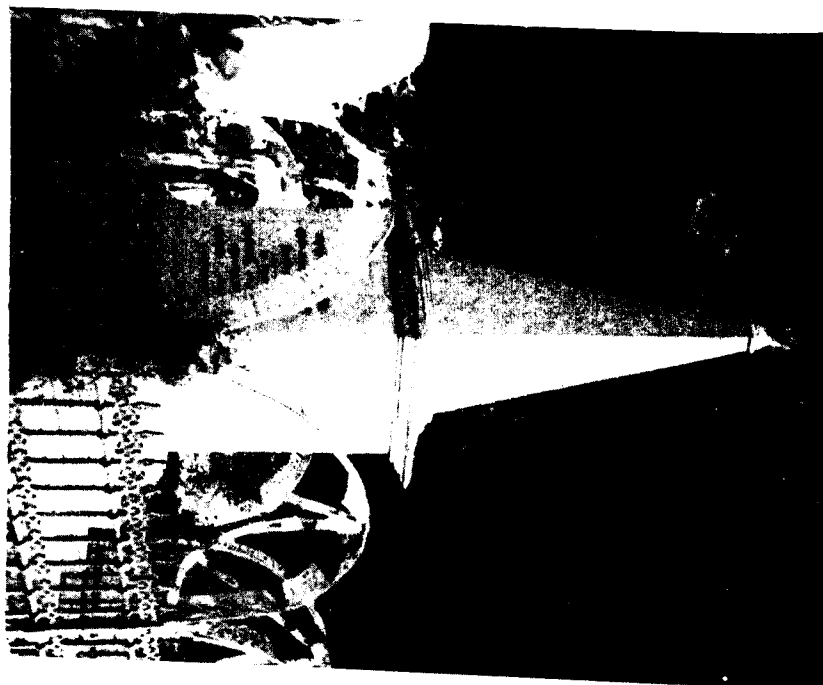


2. Roman Catholic Church, Krishnanagar.

1. A tulsi-mandir in the family temple of Krishnanagar Raj.



2. Krishna's memorial, Pundia.



PLACES OF INTEREST

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In 1950, the foundation stone of the township was laid by the then Governor Dr. K. N. Katju. It was originally intended that Block 'D' should be earmarked for industries and the other areas developed for residential purposes. Initially, Block 'B' was taken up for development. It contained 5,688 residential and commercial plots and 45 parks. Land was allocated for markets, schools, health centres and other social service units. Development of the Block was completed during the Second Five Year Plan.

In Block 'B', an administrative building has been constructed at a cost of about Rs. 4 lakhs. Various offices from Calcutta and other places have been shifted there. A higher secondary school for girls and boys has been built and is functioning. A market with 52 shop-rooms and open platform for fish and vegetable stalls has been started. The development of 'A' Block has been taken up and plots are being allocated. Two hospital buildings have been constructed in this Block by the State Health Department.

It was decided in 1954 to restrict the township area to four Blocks on the western side of the railway line.

The area on the eastern side of the railway line has been transferred to Government Departments, such as, Home (Defence), Public Health, Relief and Rehabilitation, Agriculture, and Animal Husbandry.

The industries developed in Block 'D' include, among others, the Kalyani Spinning Mills, run by the State Government. An Industrial Estate sponsored by the West Bengal Government has been set up where a large number of small-scale industrial units are in operation.

A University has been set up at Kalyani. It is a residential university complete with hostels and lecture halls and having courses in Agriculture, Humanities and Science. A Teachers' Training College is also functioning here.

Besides these, Kalyani has an Industrial Training Institute, a Block-level Co-operative Officer Training Centre sponsored by the Reserve Bank of India, the Government of West Bengal and the Government of Assam and an Orientation Training Centre for Block Development Officers started by the Ministry of Community Development, Government of India.

Kalyani offers attraction for tourists, specially in winter when its parks and open spaces are crowded with visitors from Calcutta and neighbouring places for picnic and holiday-making.

KULIA (22°58' N. 88°29' E.) — A village (J.L. No. 83) with a population of 4,673 in 1961 it is in the Kalyani P.S. of the Ranaghat subdivision, and is about 3 miles (4.80 km.) north-east of Kanchrapara railway station. A fair is held here annually on the 11th day of *Paush*. It is called the *Aparādh Bhañjan melā*. It is said that Sri Chaitanya, who was refused hospitality in the neighbouring village of Kanchrapara, came here and was well received by one Debananda. The saint was so much pleased with the treatment which he received that he sanctified the place and declared that all who worshipped there on the 11th day of *Paush* would be absolved of all sins. There is a temple in the village known as Debanandapāt. It is of comparatively recent date. Adjoining the temple are some tombs, among which one is said to be that of Debananda.

KRISHNANAGAR (23°24' N. 88°31' E.) — Head-quarters of the district, it is on the left bank of the Jalangi, 9 miles (14.5 km.) above its junction with the Bhagirathi. The town covers an area of 6½ sq. miles and has a population, according to the Census of 1971, of 85,923.

Originally named Reui, it was renamed Krishnanagar by Raja Rudra Rai, whose father Raja Raghav Rai built a palace in this place. Since Rudra's time it has remained continuously the residence of the Maharaja of Nadia.

The village Reui is mentioned in the diary of William Hedges who was appointed by the East India Company as the Agent and Governor of their affairs in the Bay of Bengal. Mr. Hedges who went from Hugli to Dacca in the last quarter of 1682, travelled by way of the Jalangi. On October 16, 1682, Mr. Hedges writes in his diary, "Early in the morning we passed by a village called Sinadghur and by 5 O' clock this afternoon we got as far as Rewee, a small village belonging to Wooderay, a Jamadar, that owns the country on that side of the water almost as far as over against Hugli. It is reported by the country people that he pays more than twenty lack of rupees per annum to the king, each for what he possesses — and that about 2 years since he presented a lack of rupees to the Moghul and his favourites to divert his intentions of hunting and hawking in his country for fear of his tenants being raided and plundered by the Emperor's lawless and unruly followers. This is a fine pleasant situation full of great shady trees, most of them, tamarinds, well stored with peacocks and

spotted deer like our fallow deer; we saw 2 of them near the riverside at our first landing."

During the lifetime of Maharaja Krishnachandra, who played a leading part in the social life of the region, Krishnanagar was a centre of learning and culture. Poet Bharatchandra, the author of *Annadūmaṅgal*, and the poet-saint Rāmprasād were associated with the court of the Nadia Raj. Another legendary figure was the Court-Jester Gopal *Bhānr*, whose name is fondly remembered by all lovers of humorous anecdotes. In more recent times, Krishnanagar has seen the early life and education of some eminent literary men, to mention a few, D. L. Roy, the noted Bengali dramatist and composer of patriotic songs, and Pramatha Chaudhuri, the editor of the *Sabujpatra* and celebrated writer and critic. In 1860, Krishnanagar was the head-quarters of a Commissionership. At that time, the district played an important part in the economic life of the province. It was one of the main centres of the indigo industry in Bengal.

The Nadia division with its head-quarters at Krishnanagar was created in 1854 when a rearrangement of the Commissioners' Division was made. For various reasons the Commissioner did not take up his residence at Krishnanagar for more than a year. In 1855, he applied for permission to remain at Alipore, but after correspondence with the Board of Revenue, the Lt. Governor decided that the head-quarters of the division must be at Krishnanagar. In 1860, however, the Murshidabad district having in the meantime been included in the Rajshahi Division, the head-quarters of the Nadia Division was transferred to Alipore.

Krishnanagar is the venue of one of the most famous festivals of West Bengal, the *Bāradol* festival, which is celebrated every year in March or April when twelve idols from twelve different places representing Krishna in twelve different personalities are brought together to the Rajbaḍi and worshipped. Thousands of pilgrims assemble every year to witness the festival and the fair, the latter lasting for thirty days.

Krishnanagar today has three institutions which have significant bearing on the agricultural development of West Bengal. These are the Horticultural Research Station, the Jute-Seed Multiplication Farm and the Training Centre for the Agricultural Extension Staff at the State Agricultural Farm.

The Horticultural Research Station at Krishnanagar, which is the only institution of its kind in the State, was established in 1934 with financial help from the Indian (then called Imperial)

Council of Agricultural Research for carrying on research in fruit-growing in the plains of Bengal. Krishnanagar was selected as the site for the station as it was on the fruit-growing belt of Bengal and was well-known for the quality of mango, lichee and other fruits grown there.

The main work of the station consists of breeding and selection work to evolve better varieties of fruits and vegetables with high yield, good quality, early and late maturity, resistance to insect pests and diseases, etc.; cultural and manurial trials to determine the best cultural methods and manurial practices for different horticultural crops; production of reliable and true-to-type planting materials of fruits and vegetables, such as graft, seeds and seedlings; and advisory work regarding various aspects of fruit and vegetable culture in the State.

The Jute-Seed Multiplication Farm, which has been established in Krishnanagar, covers an area of 250 acres of land adjoining the State Horticulture Research Station. The land was taken over by the Directorate of Agriculture in 1951. Its reclamation is complete and land has been put under cultivation.

The main work of the farm is the production of jute seed of high-yielding varieties. But advantage of crop-rotation is being taken for the production of seeds of recommended varieties of food crops, such as, paddy, wheat, pulses, oilseeds, etc.

The State Agricultural Farm at Krishnanagar has an area of 300 acres of land and contains the State Horticulture Research Station. It is equipped with tractors and mechanical implements suitable both for large and small-scale agriculture. The area is all high land and is, therefore, suitable for growing various types of crops. Irrigation water is available from tanks and tube-wells.

Krishnanagar is famous for its traditional craft of clay modelling. The modellers live in a suburb of the town called Ghurni, where they ply their craft. The craft is said to have received the patronage of Maharaja Krishnachandra of Nadia, the Rajas of Lalgola, Nashipur and Cossimbazar.

At present, about 175 clay-modellers are engaged in the ghurni area. All the existing establishments are proprietary in character working independently, mostly with labour of the members of the family and occasionally with hired labour. The products of these craftsmen are distinguished by their true-to-life representation and masterly treatment of details. The fame of their work

reached the distant shores of Europe and it is on record that Krishnanagar clay-models were displayed in the exhibitions of England and France years ago.

Krishnanagar has few temples or buildings of archaeological interest. The temple of Ānandamoyī consists of a low flat-roofed chamber and a verandah, surmounted by a *chārchālā* upper storey. It contains a magnificent clay image of Kali with the traditional flamboyant head-dress.

The extensive buildings of the *Rājbandi* includes a large *Durgādālān* with typical 19th century stucco decoration.

NAVADWIP (23°24'N, 88°23'E.)—The town from which the district derives its name lies on the west bank of the Bhagirathi, opposite to the confluence of the Jalangi with that river. It covers an area of 4½ sq. miles and has a population of 94,204 according to the 1971 Census.

There are three different traditions as to the origin of the name Navadwip; the first is that the town originally stood on an island, which was called Navadwip (i.e. new island), to distinguish it from Agradwip (former island) which lies about 15 miles (24 km.) up the Bhagirathi from Navadwip; the second is that it was formerly the resort of a recluse who used to practise his religious rites at night surrounded by nine lights, whence it came to be called Navadip or Nine Lights, but this derivation, as will be observed, does not account for the letter 'W' in the last syllable; and lastly, that it formed one of a group of nine islands (Navadwip), an account of which is given by Narahari Das in his *Navadwip Parikramā Paddhati*.

Navadwip stands on the Bandel-Barharwa loop line of the Eastern Railway. A narrow gauge railway line from the opposite bank of the Bhagirathi connects Navadwip Ghat with Krishnanagar City Station on the Lalgola-Ranaghat Section of the Eastern Railway. Ferry boats ply across the Bhagirathi between Navadwip and Navadwip Ghat.

Navadwip is a city with an ancient tradition. According to tradition, it is said to have been founded by one of the Sena kings of Bengal, who took up his residence at a place on the sacred Bhagirathi. On the east bank of the river, immediately opposite to the present Navadwip, is the village of Bamanpukur, where the king Ballalsena used to reside. A large mound known as *Ballāl Dhibi* said to contain the remains of the King's palace and a tank called *Ballāl Dighi* still carry the Sena king's tradition.

Historical evidence indicates that this place was the resort of the Sena kings till the Afghan conquest of Bengal.

For many centuries, Navadwip has been famous as a seat of learning. The patronage of the Hindu kings and the sanctity attached to the place brought scholars from far and near. The place abounded in seminaries where teachers of countrywide fame used to impart lessons in philosophy, *nyāya*, grammar, etc. to scholars drawn from different parts of the land. The names of Halāyudha, Paśupati, Śūlapāṇi and Udayanāchārya may be mentioned in this connexion. They are said to be contemporaries of Lakshmaṇa sena. Abdhīhodha Yogi, a *paṇḍit* from the upper country, is said to have been the first scholar to set up a school of logic in Navadwip. The most celebrated native savants of the place were Bāsudeva Sārvabhauma and his distinguished pupils. Of these, mention may be made of Raghunāth Śiromoṇi, the author of the *Didhiti* and the commentary on the *Gautama Sūtra*; Raghunandan Smarta Bhattacharyya, the most renowned *paṇḍit* on *smṛiti*, whose school is followed even today in West Bengal; Krishnānanda Āgambāgis, whose work on *tantra* is the standard book on the subject. But the most outstanding personality was Sri Chaitanya who became the famous apostle of the Vaishṇava cult. Sri Chaitanya, the son of Sri Jagannath Miśra, was born in A.D. 1485.¹

Navadwip still continues to be famous for its Sanskrit teaching. The indigenous Sanskrit schools known as *ṭols* in which *smṛiti* and *nyāya* are taught form the principal feature of the town. A report submitted by Prof. E. B. Cowell in 1867 contains a full account of the schools.

Sir William Hunter remarks: "The past of Nadia raises very high expectations, but its present state is disappointing. It is not an ancient city with venerable ruins, crowds of temples, a great population and time-honoured *ṭols* in every street, with numbers of learned pandits, such as one might expect from its antiquity. All that meets the eye is a small rural town with little cluster of habitations, and a community of Brahmans, busied with earning their bread rather than in acquiring a profitless learning. The caprices and changes of the river have not left a trace of old Nadia. The people point to the middle of the stream as the spot where Chaitanya was born. The site of the ancient town is now partly *char* land and partly forms the bed of the stream which passes to the north of the present town. The Bhagirathi

¹ Vide Chapter II for life of Sri Chaitanya.

once held a westerly course, and old Nadia was on the same side with Krishnanagar, but about the beginning of this (19th) century the stream changed and swept the ancient town away."

The town, being situated on the bank of the Bhagirathi, is frequented by pilgrims from different parts of India, chiefly those of the Vaishṇava Sect, who bathe in the sacred waters, and at the same time pay their homage at the shrine of Sri Chaitanya. Besides Vaishṇava shrines, there are a large number of *Śākta* and *Saiva* places of worship in the town. In the month of *Kārtik*, *rāsa* is celebrated in the Vaishṇava shrines. At the same time *Saiva* and *Śākta* images of various descriptions are worshipped and immersed with procession. Navadwip was constituted a municipality in 1869 with twelve commissioners, of whom eight were elected and the remainder nominated.

The principal industry of the place at present is the manufacture of brass and bell-metal products. A firm manufacturing clocks and imitation gold ornaments is run on cooperative lines.

PHULIA (23°12'N. 88°29'E.) — A new small town, it is 6 miles (9.6 km.) from Ranaghat and 4 miles (6.4 km.) from Shantipur on the Shantipur-Ranaghat Road. It is in Shantipur police station. Built mainly at the instance of the Government of India to house displaced persons arriving in the district, the town was carefully planned to contain large industrial buildings, a vocational training centre, an agricultural farm, facilities of irrigation, a central pipe-water supply and electricity. The town is well laid out with roads, streets and lanes, including provisions for community recreation centres, hospitals, high schools, primary schools and parks. The population of the town according to 1971 Census is 4,627.

Near the town on the Ranaghat-Tārāpore road stands the birth-place of the poet Krittivās. Here, too, one finds *Haridāser Pāt*, the altar of the famous Vaishṇava Yavana Haridās. The altar of Haridās contains some exquisite specimens of carved wooden images.

PALASHI (23°47'N. 88°16'E.) — A village (J.L. No. 4) in Kaliganj police station, it is situated on the east bank of the Bhagirathi. It is famous as the site of Clive's victory over Siraj-uddawla, Nawab of Bengal, on 23rd June 1757. The battle has been referred to in the Chapter on the history of the district. In 1883, the Bengal Government erected on the spot a monument

to commemorate the battle. The inscription upon it consisted of one word 'Plassey'. This was later replaced by an obelisk. The place is 2 miles (3 km.) away from the nearest railway station Palashi on the Lalgola section of the Eastern Railway. A metalled road now runs from the station to the furnished Dak Bungalow there.

RANAGHAT (23°11' N. 88°34' E.) — Head-quarters of the subdivision of the same name since 1863, the town stands on the left bank of the river Churni and covers an area of about 3 sq. miles. Its population, according to the Census of 1971, is 47,815. It was constituted a municipality in 1864 with fourteen commissioners, five of whom were appointed *ex-officio* and the remaining nine nominated by Government.

Ranaghat is an important railway junction on the Eastern Railway. It connects Calcutta with Gede on the Bangladesh border, with Lalgola and with Shantipur. Another branch line leads *via* Bongaon to the Bangladesh border. Ranaghat carries a large river traffic and is one of the principal seats of commerce in the district.

The Ranaghat Medical Mission was established here by J. Munro in 1893. The head-quarters of this mission has since been moved to a site outside the city limits.

Very little is known of the early history of the town. It is said to have been called Ranighat originally after the Rani of Krishnachandra, Maharaja of Nadia. Pringle, however, in his Survey report¹ says that Rana, a celebrated dacoit of the 18th century, made it his head-quarters, and has given it his name "Ranaghat", says Pringle "is not a new town.... It is shown in Rennell's map." The town is the seat of the Pal Chaudhuri family of Ranaghat referred to by Bishop Heber, in his journal. Pringle says that a trader called Krishna Panti, whose career synchronized with the establishment of British predominance in Bengal, built his palace there. On the disruption of the Nadia Raj at the Permanent Settlement, he acquired and purchased extensive landed property. The title of Chaudhuri was conferred upon him by Raja Sib Chandra of Nadia. He refused the title of Raja offered to him by the Marquess of Hastings when the latter visited Ranaghat. Litigation protracted from 1821 to 1850

¹ Pringle, *Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations of District of Nadia*, 1918-1926.

in connexion with the disposal of Krishnakanta's property after his death crippled the family fortune. The Pal Chaudhuris of Ranaghat, as his descendants are called, are still held in high esteem. The name of the Pal Chaudhuris is cherished in the High School at Ranaghat bearing the family title. The institution was founded by one of the scions of the family and has been supported mainly by his descendants.

The Poultry Multiplication Centre at Ranaghat was established with the object of making readily available poultry of improved strains (namely, Rhode Island Reds and White Leghorns) and also *Khaki* Campbell ducks to villagers for propagation of those strains in the rural areas as also for grading up the indigenous stock.

SHANTIPUR (23°15' N. 88°27' E.) — A town in the Ranaghat subdivision, it is situated on the left bank of the Hugli. It covers an area of about 9½ sq. miles (17.10 sq. km.) and has a population of 61,166 according to the 1971 Census. The town is equidistant from Ranaghat, the subdivisional head-quarters and Krishnanagar, the district head-quarters and is linked to both the towns by road and railway. The National Highway which leads from Calcutta to Siliguri passes through Ranaghat, Shantipur and Krishnanagar. Shantipur has a broad gauge rail-link with Ranaghat, and a narrow gauge (2'6") railway line runs from this place to Navadwip Ghat *via* Krishnanagar City Junction. The metalled road between Krishnanagar and Shantipur was originally constructed by Rudra Rai, Raja of Nadia.

Although very little definite information is available about the ancient history of the town, evidence is not lacking to show that Shantipur was a well-known place even eight hundred years ago. It is on record that about 600 years ago Shantipur was a populous and thriving town. About that time Narasimha Nadial, grandfather of Advaitāchārya one of Sri Chaitanya's close associates, came to Shantipur and settled here. Narasimha was a minister of Raja Ganeśa Danujamardanadeva who became independent king of Gauda in about A.D. 1409. The date of his arrival here is placed sometime before 1291 *śaka* or A.D. 1369 when there arose a violent dispute among the *Kulins*.

Years ago, it is said, the present site of the town and its surrounding areas were under the waters of the Bhagirathi. The surrounding low lands are even today flooded as the river rises in the rains. Traces of the old river bed are still to be seen on

either side of the Ranaghat-Shantipur ferry-fund road. Broken hulls or other parts of boats unearthed while digging wells and tanks prove that the places were under water in the past. According to *Advaitamaṅgala*, the Bhagirathi at one time encircled the town on three sides. Rennell's map shows the river flowing at a distance from the town. Subsequently, it was for sometime washing the southern side of the town. For sometime past it is again changing its course and has already receded considerably from the town.

The origin of the name of the town is obscure. Some hold that the name is derived from that of Santamuni, a Vedic scholar, who lived at Babla near Nijhar which lies to the north of the present-day Shantipur. But the view does not stand scrutiny as the name Shantipur was current even before Santamuni's days and its reputation as a prosperous place was already widespread. Santamuni was Advaita's teacher when the latter was about twelve years old and at a liberal computation Santamuni would be fifty years his senior. Now, Advaita was born when his father was eighty years of age and it was his father, Advaita's grandfather, a much older person, who had come to settle in Shantipur, a place already well-known throughout the land.

Shantipur earned its fame as the home of Advaitāchārya, the great Vaishṇava savant and a close associate of Sri Chaitanya. During his lifetime, a Qazi, who was posted here, used to carry on administration in the name of Hussain Shah, ruler of Gauda. Emperor Akbar granted *Khelayat* to one Khundkar who lived in Sutragarh, a western suburb of Shantipur. It says, "The area bound by the Ganges on the south, Nijhar on the north, Surugarh on the east and Garfeya on the west is granted to you." How the place passed into the possession of the Nadia Raj is not known.

Holwell was landed at Shantipur as a prisoner on his way to Murshidabad. From thence he was sent in an old fishing boat to Murshidabad.

In *Travels in India one hundred years ago* (published in London in 1893), its author Thomas Twining, a civil servant of the East India Company, relates how in 1794 he was at Shantipur, "a large and flourishing town of 70,000 inhabitants, situated two miles from the left bank of the Ganges, 60 miles above Calcutta."

At the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, Shantipur was the centre of a great and prosperous weaving industry. It was, until 1828, the seat of commercial residency, where £ 1,50,000 worth of cotton cloth was annually

purchased for the European market. From 1813, the industry began to decline, being unable to face the competition of cheaper goods from Manchester, and in 1825, it received a severe shock from the introduction of British mill-made yarn, which was used to the utter extinction of country yarn.

In his revenue survey report of the district (1918-23), Mr. Pringle writes, "Weaving is still the chief industry of Santipur. Its products are noted for its borders. A peculiarity of the conditions under which its weaving is now carried on is that the people occupied therein are drawn from every class. Many Brahmins are weavers."

Garrett in his *Nadia District Gazetteer* writes, "The only place in which fine Muslin is manufactured is Santipur, the peculiar speciality of this place is known Santipur cloth, and it is admired for its thin texture and embroidered and flowered work. Mr. Banerjee in his monograph on the cotton fabrics of Bengal published in 1898 says that the outturn of the cotton cloth in Santipur was then worth about 3½ lakhs of rupees per annum; these figures are correct, there has been a great decline during the last ten years, for the value of the present (1909) outturn is not nearly so much."

Santipur is famous for its designed *śāḍis* even today. Out of the 5,000 looms in the Shantipur municipal area, about 3,000 looms are (fly-shuttle) Jacquard looms and the rest ordinary fly-shuttle looms. While the Jacquard looms specialize in design *śāḍis*, the others still weave *dure* (*Matha śāḍī*) and ordinary *dhoti*.

Before the Jacquard looms were introduced about 40-50 years ago by the late Bhupati Charan Pramanick, the weavers used to reproduce designs manually in ordinary shuttle looms as embroidery work. But, now the designs are on punched cards, set on Jacquard machine and the weaver is not necessarily the designer himself. The designs are being evolved as a separate job and the weavers mostly start with the designs converted on punch cards by them. There are, however, weavers who are also designers themselves.

The design weavers of Shantipur have their units concentrated in Sāhāpārā, Dālālpārā, Kuḥirpārā, Sutragarh and Sarbānandapārā.

The pre-Jacquard loom designs were woven on border and *ānchlā*. The border designs were 5"-6" in width. The colour was deep black and red. The design was woven with *Jari* and pure silk. The current speciality of Shantipur *śāḍis* is also

reflected in the border and *ānchlā*. As Jacquard looms now permit the reproduction of any kind of design the weavers set their work as the market demands. The borders are of shorter width now and the designs are reproduced on dyed cotton yarn of lighter shades with *jari* and silk, either pure or artificial.

Another distinctive feature of the Shantipur *śāḍīs* has been its superb texture on fine cotton yarn.

A variety of fabric named *Kalābatī*, woven entirely in *jari* could be produced by Girish Chandra Pal, a master craftsman of the traditional line. In his days it used to cost Rs. 500/- a piece. Kishorilal Pramanick was reputed for embroidery work on the border with *mugā* silk. It is said that the textiles woven by the traditional craftsman were much in demand in Delhi, Kabul, Iran, Arabia, Turkey, Greece and Italy.

In 1846, Bishop Heber mentioned Shantipur and its rows of brick-built houses. He said that the town was reputed for its Gosvamis, tailors and weavers and referred to a big sugar factory about two miles from the place. This factory, according to his account, employed nearly 700 workers and returned about 500 maunds of sugar daily.

The place was famous for Sanskrit studies. The Bishop reported he saw thirty *śōls* here.

Among the prominent families of this place the Gosvamis, the Rays, the Chatterjees, the Bhattacharyas have had a long reputation. The Mukherjees and the Maitreyas have also come into prominence.

Among the 'Oriya Gosvamis', there are some who were keen students of the six systems of Indian philosophy. Mentionable names are those of Madhab Chandra Gosvami, Harinarayan Gosvami and Ramchandra Gosvami. The Gosvamis ran a *chatuspāthī* where students were taught philosophy. Atul Chandra Chatterjee, a distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service who rose to be a member of the Secretary of State's Council, came from the Chatterjee family of Shantipur.

Chandra Sekhar Vachaspati and Ramnath Tarkaratna are two *paṇḍits* who brought fame to Shantipur.

The tale of Shantipur remains incomplete without a mention of the Strong man of Shantipur, Asananda Mukherjee renamed Asananda *Dhenki*. He was so strong that he once chased away a band of dacoits with a *dhenki* (husker) and earned the appellation

The Khan Chaudhuris of Shantipur are remembered for the temple of Syamchand, which was built by Ram Gopal Khan Chaudhuri of this family in *śaka* 1648 (A.D. 1726) at the reputed cost of two lakhs of rupees. The other temples are that of Gokulchand built about A.D. 1740 and that of Jaleśvar, said to have been built by the mother of Raja Ramkrishna of Nadia, about the beginning of the 18th century. The temple facade is ornamented with terracotta work depicting episodes from the *Purāṇas*. Besides these, there is a two-storeyed *Pancharatna* Kali temple which is noteworthy. Shantipur, which contains Advaita's *Pāl* is a place of pilgrimage for the Vaishnavas. There are many mosques in the town. The oldest mosque is in Tophkhana; it was erected by one Yar Mohammad in the year 1115 *Hijri*, during the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb.

Shantipur was constituted a municipality in 1865 with 24 commissioners (of whom 16 were elected and the remainder nominated) and an *ex-officio* Chairman in the person of the Subdivisional Officer, Ranaghat.

Shantipur has a number of high schools and junior high schools. A college was established here a few years ago.

The town is visited by a large number of pilgrims at the time of the full-moon in the month of *Kartik*, when the *Rās Yātrā* festival lasts for two days and ends with a procession in which the idols belonging to the Gosvamis are carried about on elevated wooden platforms. Shantipur is also a noted bathing place.

There are a number of villages near Shantipur which contain objects of historical interest. Bag-Anchra is named after Bag-Devi, the goddess of learning, whose image was installed here by an ascetic named Raghunandan Bandyopadhyaya. He is said to have attained *siddhi* (salvation) in this village.

Bag-Anchra

Chand Rai, a relation of the Rajas of Nadia, who is mentioned in Bharatchandra's *Annadīmanḡal*, was a resident of Bag-Anchra. He is said to have been a *Dewan* of Raja Rudra, at whose behest he set up the neighbouring village of Brahma Sasan. Here he erected a temple with its tall spire "kissing the full moon" in which a *liṅgam* of Śiva was installed. The temple is now in ruins. All that remains of the temple are four crumbling smaller temples on the four corners of a quadrangle. The plinth still carries the little figures carved in the brick work. The date of the erection of this Śiva temple, 1587 *śaka* or A.D. 1665 is inscribed on the lintel of the eastern door of the temple.

Brahma Sasan

SIBNIBAS (23°24'N, 88°41'E.) — A village (J.L. No. 37) on the bank of the river Churni in Thana Krishnanagar of the head-quarters subdivision of the district. It is on the Ranaghat-Banpur section of the Eastern Railway. It had a population of 1,146 in 1961.

Sibnibas was the country seat of Maharaja Krishnachandra of Nadia in the early 18th century. It is said that the Maharaja, while out on a hunting errand in the neighbouring woods, was so struck with the serene beauty of the place that he built a palace here for his occasional residence. According to another account, the place was selected because it was surrounded on three sides by the Churni and afforded a comparatively safe and easily defended retreat from the incursions of the Maharattas who were frequently raiding western Bengal in those days. It is said that through the bounty of the Maharaja no less than 108 temples were constructed at the place. The place was named after Sibchandra, the son of the Maharaja. The place was later deserted, although Bishop Heber who visited Sibnibas in 1824 met some great-grandsons of Maharaja Krishnachandra. In his journal the Bishop gives an account of the ruins of the building overgrown with ivy and jungle. Of the temples, five survive in a more or less dilapidated condition. Three of these are about 60 feet high. Two contain images of Śiva and the third has an image of Rāma.

The most imposing is that of Rājrajesvara Śiva, a very tall Octagonal temple with a pointed *chālā* roof and slender minaret-like projections at each of the corners; the exterior is plain but for brick-panelling. It houses an enormous *liṅgam* 8 feet high. Beside it, is a square-based temple, almost equally tall, with another *chārchālā* roof similarly pointed. It houses another large *liṅgam*. Further to the east is the temple of Rāma-Sitā, a double-storeyed building with straight cornices, as plain as the other two. Apart from the cult images, there is an old stone image of Vishṇu in the porch. The Rājrajesvara temple was built in 1754, that of Rāma-Sitā in 1762.

A fair is held here on the *Bhaimi Ekādaśi* day and is visited by about 15,000 persons. The village was purchased in 1860 by one Swarup Chandra Sarkar Chaudhuri, whose son Brindaban Sarkar Chaudhuri is said to have done much to improve its condition.¹

¹ Census 1961: *District Handbook: Nadia*.

SUBARNABIHAR (23°23'N, 88°26'E.) — About 3 miles (4.8 km.) south-west of Krishnanagar town, it is a village (J.L. No. 54) in Krishnanagar thana has the ruins of an old temple, known as Nrisimhadeva temple. The image of Nrisimhadeva, now housed in recent temple, is supposed to be an ancient image of black alabaster, and is a fine example of carving. There are other extensive ruins in this village in a mound covering about half an acre of land and 12 feet in height. This mound is supposed to be the ruins of a Buddhist *Vihāra* founded by the Pāla Kings.

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