CHAPTER V

NINETEENTH CENTURY SOUTH-WEST BENGAL - AN ASPECT OF REGENERATION

In the backdrop of a disintegrated agrarian economy in India urban life got a momentum. A modernisation process started in the life and culture of the urban middle segment of the population. This process has generally been categorised as an aspect of regeneration. Some modern historians, writing on the nineteenth century Bengal, presented three premises to define the nature of modernisation and the role of the emerging urban middle stratum of the society in the socio-cultural regeneration of Bengal. One, the process of modernisation was associated with the advent of British rule in India since 1757. Two, crisis in the agrarian economy and decline of its village crafts and industry were the direct results of British rule. This decline was registered, despite the government's economic and political measures to ameliorate the deplorable condition of primary producers, which led to the emergence of the relatively affluent middle peasantry. Third, the British rule, as the catalytic agent for a societal change, paved the way for the emergence of a non-peasant urban middle class, a class of recipient of new English education, urban job opportunities and as such enjoying a high social status dissociated from the agrarian economy and acting as the vanguard for the advent of industrial capitalism in India.
Thus, the rise of this so-called middle class in the undivided Bengal was associated with two phenomena: One, decline of the agrarian economy with its attendant traditional social structure and the other was the modernisation of life and work culture, generally termed as Renaissance, an imposed change in the urban life non-existent in agrarian Bengal during the rule of the Bengal Nababs till 1757. No doubt, the Raj was instrumental in creating imbalance between agriculture and industry owing to its very colonial interest, leading to heavy pressure of population on land, decline of traditional village-based industries, migratory movements towards urban growth centres and pauperisation of tillers of the soil. There was also the paucity of capital formation, though due to colonial rule, and therefore less industrialisation. Even the new middle class could not industrialise the economy. Their non-peasant class interest prompted them to collaborate with the Raj to rule the country and not to work for economic regeneration while they could not identify themselves with the rising expectations of the people below them.

The present study aims at testing the veracity of the premises already formulated and at finding out possible interrelation among them, taking the two districts of south-west Bengal as a case study. The present study aims to answer the following questions: (1) Was there any Renaissance of the European type in South-west Bengal? (2) Was there any
non-peasant middle class in south-west Bengal completely 
dissociated from the agricultural economy? (3) Was the time-frame 
and the locale of the present study ready for an imposed 
modernisation which could have been instrumental in an indu-
trial breakthrough, leading to capital formation, mechanisa-
tion of agriculture for a capitalist industrialisation, 
development of secular learning, social regeneration and 
societal changes from its shell of joint family system, 
preparing the ground for a capitalist social system? These 
points may be discussed within the frame work of the locale 
of this study, two districts of south-west Bengal of the 
nineteenth century.

The contention of the historians is related to the question, 
when did modernisation begin in India, Bengal and as such in 
south-west Bengal as an integral part of India? To answer 
this question the historians have drawn a parallel between the 
European Renaissance and that which was revealed in the 
Indian context. It is stated that, with the fall of Constantin-
ople in 1453, fundamental changes occurred in the social, 
economic and intellectual life of Europe. It led to the 
formation of nation-states, Reformation in Catholic church, 
exploration of distant lands bringing in bullion and raw 
materials by the merchant capitalists leading to rapid 
capital formation and industrialisation of Europe and, above 
all, to the rise of a rational approach to life called
Humanism. This transitional life, coupled with a secular Humanistic approach, ushered in the new era, described as Renaissance, which prepared within two centuries the ground for Industrial Revolution. Historians argue that a similar situation more or less happened in the case of Bengal, as such may be in the two districts, after the British conquest in 1757.

For analysing the case of South-west Bengal the present scholar is also tempted to study the Bengali historiography which enunciated that the process of modernisation in Bengal started with the spread of English education after the passing of Charter Act, 1813, which allocated one lakh of rupees annually for educational development. To them, the coming of Ram Mohan Roy to Calcutta in 1815 marks the emergence of a new awareness for changing the life-style of urban Calcutta, termed as the 'Bhadralok' class. This elite middle class exposed the evils of Hindu religion, characterised by traditionalism and superstition, endeavoured to enrich the Bengali literature and preached religious revivalism through the Brahmo Samaj. They stimulated the idea of nationalism through political associations and demanded industrialisation in Bengal. This phenomenon is termed as Renaissance in Bengal. To the emergent middle class in rural Bengal, Calcutta culture became a phenomenon to be absorbed. In the vast undivided Bengal, Calcutta became an oasis, where population from all parts thronged for job
opportunities and for an urban culture. Calcutta became the
epicentre of a new culture movement, which presumably had its
inescapable reflexes in south-west Bengal. 9

Another question comes to mind, whether these developments
were connected with the modernisation imposed by the foreign
rulers or were the fruits of modernity - a response from within
the traditional society owing to the challenge from the rising
tide of merchant capitalism of England. This response was
typified by the industrial developments in Japan after the
Meiji restoration in 1867. The Russian Marxist historians,
like V.I. Pavlov and Levkovsky, believed that the middle class
came to the forefront even before the germination of industrial
capitalism in India. The British policy of laissez faire and
her monopolistic market economy hindered the process of capital
formation in South Asia, exemplified in the slow process of
industrialisation in India. This, in the ultimate analysis,
failed to absorb the disguised unemployment in villages, put
pressure on land as the only means of subsistence and hence
the crisis in the nineteenth century agrarian economy and
migratory movements towards towns and development of urban
culture. But the regenerative aspect of British rule is
obviously left unnoticed by these Marxist historians. 10

This regenerative aspect, no doubt, led to the rise of
an English-educated middle class, a class which was both urban
but not non-peasant at the same time in the context of agrarian crisis in south-west Bengal. The present author is aware of the contradiction in his statement when he describes the middle class both as the agent of an inevitable agrarian crisis and of an emergent urban culture. Throughout the nineteenth century, the middle class in the moffussil south-west Bengal remained out and out a prisoner of contradiction, as a legacy to the decadent agrarian economy. In this study it is proposed to probe the genesis and quantification of the middle class, their class composition and limitation in their awareness for modernisation of life and work culture. We will discuss to what extent this spread of English education was connected with the new awareness which brought in social reforms, economic programmes for a regenerated life style through the conglomeration of a segment of an elite middle class, often termed as Brahma movement and spread of Christianity. The peasant resistance movements did dawn. But the advent of an industrial India in the last half of the nineteenth century influenced the political consciousness of segments of the middle class in south-west Bengal and prepared the ground for freedom movement of the twentieth century. The study would be a pointer to the peasant participation in the freedom struggle up to the first two decades of the twentieth century.
1. Genesis of the Middle Class

It is generally accepted that the middle class is the product of capitalist economy, since the merchant capitalism gave birth to a segment of the urban, non-peasant, elite population who, though thoroughly dependent for their sustenance on the declining agrarian economy, yet ushered in the industrial capitalist phase, changing the traditional value system based on the joint family, giving rise to an urban work culture and even mechanising the agrarian economy. During the Mughal period, the middle men, the then merchants and bureaucrats, lived in the fortified towns but drew their elixir of life from agrarian India. They were entrusted with administrative and military services and enjoyed urban privileges. These middle men, like Chintaman Shah and Shairam Gopal Das, were also connected with internal and oceanic trade and, as the most influential section of the society, controlled the economy and social value systems. These middlemen, in order to protect themselves from piracy over the high seas and financial extortions of the Mughal bureaucrats, took the shelter of British merchant capitalists. This collaboration between the indigenous merchant middlemen and the British merchants prepared the ground for the Indian middle class to emerge. But it would be wrong to contend that the merchant middlemen of the Mughal period formed the foundation of the nineteenth century non-peasant elite middle class unless they could acquire a status in the fast-changing rural society.
by acquiring land holdings as the middle segment of the peasantry and earn for themselves the rank of 'madhyabitta bhadralok' to the exclusion of the Marwari, Gujarati and Lala Punjabi merchant communities. These alien merchant communities were never allowed to be an inherent agent of the urban Bengali culture, although they had a major share in industrialising the riverine banks of the Ganga and absorbing immigrants from the rural hinterland.\textsuperscript{15}

During the early British period, the elite middle class, connected with land, specially after the Permanent Settlement, lived in the Sadr, the headquarters of the districts and other urban administrative centres, particularly in Calcutta, but they had a close link with the villages from where they drew their sustenance. They enjoyed urban facilities of schooling their children in the Anglo-Bengali schools to ensure an alternative means of earning livelihood as teachers, mukteers and clerks which, in turn, would give them an opportunity to increase the size of their land-holdings in villages to enhance the margin of their profit from land. This class of Bengali Bhadrâtoks was prosperous because, as petty businessmen with link in villages, they acted as corn dealers, textile merchants, controlled money circulation and internal commodity distribution net work and aspired to become land holders.
One significant phenomenon was that the up-country merchants and Mahajans, mainly the Punjabi, Gujarati, Marwari and Sindhis, started their trade in this more or less inaccessible region since the advent of the Mughal period. While the Lala Punjabis settled as landlords getting lease-hold estates from the Mughal subedars, the Gujarati and Marwari baniyas more or less carried on textile business and, in the nineteenth century, invested money in developing industry around Howrah and Calcutta and were also busy in the trade of grain, British textile goods and ornaments in rural Bengal. But they did not crave to identify themselves with the status of a Bengalee Bhadralok, until they could identify their roots in the rural Bengal society. With the development of urban culture since the mid-nineteenth century, many administrative officials and migratory elements from northern and western India gradually crowded the urban centres for job opportunities and participated in developing internal trade. This migratory population had to interact in a love-hate, conflict and collaboration relationship with a class of middle peasantry and talukdars as their class interest demanded. After the introduction of Permanent Settlement in south-west Bengal, a new urban rich vied with one another to purchase new taluks in auction sales. But as aliens to the rural scene, they had no traditional link with the land they purchased and, as the primary producers venerated their traditional land lords, most of the new purchasers, in the face of the Chuar Revolt of 1799, could not stick to the estates they purchased.
Moreover, many of the new tenure-holders, who entered the rural scene after 1833, were Bengalee Rârhi brahmins and kayasthas but not the dominant caste group of the Baidyas in south-west Bengal. They served the traditional landed gentry as Diwans and gomasthas in the eighteenth century and came to the forefront as new zamindars by the pattani system or by sale malls from 1859 to 1928 and 1938 through the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885. In the early nineteenth century they could not exercise their proprietary rights upon the land they purchased by auction sales, as already discussed. Many traditional zamindars of this region, specially in Midnapore and the Jungle Mahals of Bankura, who survived the early decades of the nineteenth century, were ruined and the land system in practice subverted their former status. In their place a new category of rural middle peasantry, an enlarged number of new revenue-paying talukdar class, came to occupy the top position in the urban social structure and came to be called the elite Madhâbita Bhadraloks. The Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885 had categorised three classes of tenure holders below the rank of revenue-paying proprietors and small talukdars: 1) tenure-holders and under-tenure holders, 2) occupancy and non-occupancy tenants and 3) under-tenants. Out of these categories of land holders the middle class originated. "The origin and growth of the middle class is to be traced to land rights. The zamindars may be the proprietors of the land, but hitherto it is the middle class which had exercised authority on the land".
This urban middle class earned new revenue-paying landed estates and even purchased ryoti rent-paying interests in expanded cultivable land-holdings of coastal Midnapore and forest lands of Bankura and north Midnapore. This segment of the population may be subdivided into three distinct caste groups. But in no case a non-peasant, absentee urban middle class could be found to dominate the then economy of south-west Bengal. One group was the Utkal brahmin and the old Oriya karamika landed gentry who, since the fifteenth century, held non-revenue paying lands for discharging their service to the Hindu Gajapati rulers of Orissa till parts of the district were ceded to south-west Bengal in 1803. They inherited, in the early eighteenth century, the taluks from the Marathas in the coastal parts of Midnapore and in Bankura from the Mall Rajas of Bishnupur. The other was the segment of brahmins and kayasthas of Rarha who, since the Sena period and during the rule of the Bengal Bababs, exerted considerable influence over the agrarian relations in south-west Bengal as rent collectors and professionals. The third segment of the population belonged to the rising middle peasantry of the Mahatos and Mandals in north Midnapore but not the Rajus and Khandaits found in the border areas of Midnapore and Bankura. These former caste groups, taking advantage of the restoration of law and order, Permanent Settlement and the Rent Act X of 1859, served as agents for expansion of cultivation in the northern jungle.
mahals beyond Jhargram and Bishnupur through denudation of forest lands and developed cultivation in the marshy jalpai lands of nimki mahals.

An element of intra-class and interclass conflict was inevitably introduced with this process of cultivation expansion. But it would be wrong to assume that the elite middle class as a social class contained the inherent seeds of conflict within its rank. There was both collaboration and conflict within the groups for the control of land, social power and government offices. There was conflict between the Bengali and non-Bengali non-peasant elements in Calcutta and rural south-west Bengal. (But the most prominent love-hate relationship was between the Calcutta-based bhadraloks and the affluent middle peasantry of rural Bengal, who craved to have real estates in Calcutta after migrating from Midnapore and Bankura.) It often took the form of conflict between the so-called Ghati and Bangals, the Hindu bhadraloks and absentee talukdars from east Bengal and the relatively affluent landholders of south-west Bengal residing in Calcutta, a conflict typified in the freedom movement in Midnapore between 1920-1932.

The traditional conflict between the Utkal brahmins and karunikas, as evident in the Oriya society, now joined hands with the conflict between the traditional Oriya landlords and
the new landed gentry of the indigenous Bengalee, mainly Kārhi brahmins and kayastha middle class elite segment of the population, participating in the local collectorate services and having alternative income as teachers and vakils and as agent of western education and work culture. 22 Again, the Mahatos in the Jhargram and the Mahisyas in the Contai sub-divisions of Midnapore, as the traditional landholders and as recipients of new education, emerged as new caste groups for social leadership and as new landed gentry from among the relatively affluent middle peasantry to contend with the first two segments of the urban leadership. This segment of the middle peasantry socially dissociated themselves from the Raju and Khandaits and Karana caste groups of Orissa settled in parts of Midnapore, Balasore and Mayurbhanj border areas.

(The whole history of freedom movement in Midnapore in the twentieth century was coloured by these conflicting and contradictory tendencies and clash of class interests in bringing societal changes.) From the Rent Act of 1859 to the amended S.T. Act of 1928, these conflicts gathered storm in the processs of property-making which sometimes assumed the character of regional chauvinism. A strong detestation for Oriya culture was evident, while a love-hate relation with Calcutta culture is also discernible, which became more pronounced after 1920. The conflict between Birendra Nath Sasmal and the Calcutta leaders of the Swarajya Party may be mentioned as a pointer to this premise. 23
But a sharp differentiation between the rural scene of
east and south-west Bengal became evident with the dawn of
the twentieth century, which had its seedtime in the nineteenth
century. While in east Bengal, an overwhelming number of
ryots belonged to the Muslim community, the majority of talukdars
were absentee 'Hindu Bhadraloks', oblivious of land improve-
ment but eager to grab surplus labour value for shaping
their cultural heaven land in Calcutta. But in the rural
scene of south-west Bengal, both the ryots and talukdars
belonged to the Hindu ritual community and sometimes to the
same sub-castes with probability of upward mobility simulta-
neously through cultivation expansion and educational develop-
ment. The minority Muslim peasantry, living at the periphery
of villages, had never seen a communal holocaust because of
mutual interdependence between the two sections of the
community in agricultural operations all the year round. The
conversion of jalpai and forest lands offered ample opportunity
to the whole population to rise to the rank of middle peasantry,
negating the possibility of emergence of a non-peasant
urban elite Bhadralok class in the society despite possibilities
of educational and urban employment. Consequently, the middle
peasant money-lenders and the corn-dealer mahajans entrenched
themselves in the rural economy and, as such, became 'almost
as important as landlords' during the first half of the
nineteenth century. 24
Thus, to summarize the whole range of arguments, the whole power structure in the two districts of rural south-west Bengal changed with the ruin of the traditional zamindars by the mid-nineteenth century and subsequent rise of a new class of town-bred but rural educated landowners and 'Mahajans' (money-lenders), occasioned by the British revenue experiments along with the sale laws starting from the Permanent Settlement down to the amended tenancy Acts of 1928 and 1938. Simultaneously, with the emergence of this middle peasant rural elite class, the so-called Bangalee Bhadraloks of Calcutta attempted to dominate the then society as a link between the declining landed aristocracy and peasantry on the one hand and the British bureaucracy on the other. According to Sunil Sen, they emerged as distinct social groups, which was mainly a product and beneficiary of the Permanent Settlement, since these bhadraloks had the tendency to purchase lands and turn them over to share-cropping cultivation. From within the caste and class conflicts, emerged the English-educated group of professional men like pleaders, Mukteers, teachers and Government service-holders, all combining together against the Raj in a peculiar love-hate relationship. From the biographical sketches of some of these prominent bhadraloks, the class composition of the elite would be clear.

With the exception of a few 'Mohantas', notably Rai Radha Shyam Das Adhikari Bahadur in Contai, Nandanananda
Goswami in Gopiballavpur, Ramdas Ramanujdas Mohanta in Chandrakrama and Brajakishore Agasti in Garbeta, who possessed fairly extensive non-revenue paying Debottar properties, the priestly class, mainly the Utkal Brahmans, like the Nandas of Mughberia, Patis of Keshiary, Satpathis of Khala and Ghnhi and Mahapatra, Kar Mahapatra Talukdars strewn over the whole of Bankura and Midnapore, occupied a very subordinate position in the landed hierarchy in the two districts. Many Mohantas (or Sebaits) retained a sufficient sense of value judgement of the spiritual nature of their offices and tried to adjust themselves to the changed society after the resumption of non-revenue paying estates and landed holdings. (But the overwhelming majority of the middle class were lawyers and did not think of leaving the districts, allured by the dazzling urban culture of Calcutta bhadraloks, since they had close contact with their own village estates.)

A quantitative analysis of some 'Okalatnams' of the early twentieth century reveals that Brahmans, both Rarhi and Utkal Shreni, constituted the majority of the pleaders, while the kayasthas belonged to the second largest group. But gradually the mahisya and cultivator kaibarta elements came to the forefront, particularly as revealed in the membership of the Bar Associations of Contai and Tamluk Munshiff Courts, while the Mahatos constituted 50% of the pleaders along with the Utkal brahmans in Jhargram Munshiff Court. 27

Parbaticharan Mohanta, a resident of Basudebpur (in Daspur Thana), graduated with Honours in History from the Presidency
College in 1871. He was the first M.A. in 1873 and B.L. in the Daspur Thana and second in the district. He joined the Midnapore Bar and blossomed into an eminent lawyer but did not go to Calcutta. Chandra Kumar Basu of Rajnagar (Midnapore) also became an eminent lawyer. Kartickchandra Mitra, born in July, 1848 at Chakganesh under Kharagpur Thana (Midnapore), stood first in F.A., B.A. and M.A. examinations from the Presidency College, the first Ishan Scholar of the Calcutta University, passing B.L. degree he resumed his career as a pleader at the Midnapore Court. He was the founder of Midnapore Town School. Jnanadacharan Basu of Mangamura under Pataspur Thana (Midnapore) was first educated in Danton M.E. School and then in the Midnapore Zilla School during the early years of the second half of the nineteenth century and ended up as a Government servant.

After the foundation of Calcutta University, among the first batch of seven students who passed the entrance examination (under this University in 1859 from the Midnapore Zilla School), four were the inhabitants of Midnapore town. Aghorenath Datta was one of them. He was the younger brother of Rakhal Das Datta of Barasasikpur (Midnapore). He passed the engineering course and then began his career as a Government servant in the Public Works Department. His son Manomohan Datta became famous as a lawyer at the Midnapore Collectorate. Iswarchandra Bera of Aliganj (Midnapore) began his career as the seristadar of Midnapore Collectorate. Madhusudan Ray,
born in 1839 at Balyagobindapur under Pataspur Thana, passed
the entrance examination in 1859 from Midnapore Zilla School.
He was the first graduate of the Midnapore district. After
graduation, he began his career as the Head Master of the
Barah High School in 1865. Mahendra Nath Maiti (Mahisya by
caste) of Tilantapara under Sabang Thana, after taking the
B.L. degree, began his career as a lawyer in Contai Court.

The Surhawardy line of zamindars of Ghoramara village
under the Midnapore Sadr sub-division earned fame in the history
of the district as the descendents of a sufi mystic group of
Muslim saints, who originally migrated from western India
but ultimately submerged their identity, although temporarily,
with the group of middle peasantry belonging to the minority
community in south-west Bengal. The sufi mystic saints in
Midnapore acted as catalysts to the dissemination of English
education as well as for the maintenance of communal harmony
in the agrarian economy of south-west Bengal. The sons of
Amin-ud-din Surhawardy received English education after the
foundation of Calcutta University. His eldest son, Muhammad
Ali Surhawardy, passed the entrance examination from the
Calcutta Madrassa in the first division in 1857. After passing
the Law examination he began his career as a lawyer at the
Midnapore Judge's Court. Mubarak Ali Surhawardy, the second son
of Amin-ud-din, was also educated in law and he became a Munsif.
Sir Jahadur Rahim Sahid Surhawardy, the noted judge of Calcutta
High Court, was his son. The third son of Amin-ud-din was Obayadulla-al-Obedi Surhawardy, who was highly learned in both Arabic and Persian and became a Lecturer at Dacca College.

To explain the emergence of a class of talukdars of the category of elite and relatively affluent middle peasantry, the sketch history of Midnapore zamindary company may be taken up. The Midnapore Zamindary Company secured sole ownership over the whole of Bogri Pargana through a deed registered by Messrs Robert Watson and Company, which originally secured its rights on landed estate on 14 April, 1838. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the Midnapore Zamindary Company sold various maujas through registered pattas to various persons of the locality as also to some outsiders, who formed the bulk of the middle class of the whole of North Midnapore during the nineteenth century. The names of purchasers may be mentioned to explain that a non-peasant urban leadership was absolutely absent in south-west Bengal. Since these persons initially enjoyed landed interests as lease-holders of the Watson and Company and afterwards during the early years of the twentieth century, they became the real owners over those interests as permanent pattanidars made by the Midnapore Zamindary Company. Such persons were Ashutosh Sinha (over Kechkapore mauja), Anath Nath Mitra (over Chhatraganj mauja), Mangalaprasad Pandey (over Akhchhora mauja), Harischandra Sen (over Manglapota mauja), Ramsundar Sinha (over Kathgora and Dhanguria mauja), Fakir Kundu and Radhanath
Kundu (over Nagar Danga mauja), Basantakumar Sarkar (over Katraball mauja), Nityagopal Sikdar and others (over Garanga mauja). 33

The sons and relatives of some such persons, to whom landed interests had accrued ever since the middle of the nineteenth century, received both English and vernacular education and most of them were established as lawyers, teachers or government service-holders with an eye to defending land rights of their parents. Hemchandra Mukherjee (originally a resident of Dhara, under Bankura district) passed the entrance examination and read up to the B.A. course. His father acquired some landed interests through a deed of purchase direct from the Midnapore Collectorate and resided at Naraharipur village near Garhbeta. Hemchandra served as the Head Master of Garhbeta and Belda High Schools in Midnapore district. 34 Sashi Bhusan Ray, born at Siur (under Burdwan district) in 1859, read up to entrance course. His father acquired some landed property in Midnapore district from the Watson and Company and resided at Bankati. Sashi Bhusan took to Mukteership at the Garhbeta Munsif Court. Kartikchandra Mukherjee, born in 1840 at Salna Balarampur (under Bankura district), passed the entrance examination and began to practise as a pleader at the Garhbeta Court. He transferred his residence from Bankura to Midnapore district while he obtained Pattani tenure over eight maujas from Din Dayal Agasti, who acquired devottar landed proprietorship from the Bogri Rajya of Bogri-Garhbeta. 35
Sarodaprasad Bandyopadhyay, born in 1843 at Sanmura village under Garhbeta Thana, passed the entrance examination and then began his career as a Mukteer at first at the Midnapore Court and afterwards at Garhbeta Court. At a latter stage, he was appointed the Am-mukteer under the Midnapore Zamindary Company. He was the youngest son of his father Ramchandra Bandyopadhyay, who held a landed property at his paternal residence then situated at Mirzapur under Bankura district. But Sarodaprasad earned a good deal of money through his career as a Mukteer and acquired interests over several large maujas of land in the vicinity of Garhbeta. Nityagopal Sikdar came of a big land-owning family. His forefathers acquired landed interests at Garanga mauja under Garhbeta thana through the purchase of pattani taluks from Messrs Watson and Company (subsequently merged into the Midnapore Zamindary Company). After passing the F.A. and B.L. examinations, Nityagopal began his career as a pleader at the Garhbeta Court, Jaygopal Sikdar (of the same family) also took B.L. degree and practised as lawyer at Midnapore Court.

The case of Agasthi family may be mentioned to explain how an upcountry brahmin family, coming originally from western India, holding non-rental debottar property from the Bogri estate, entrenched themselves in the agrarian economy and ultimately submerged their identity with the middle peasantry caste groups of south-west Bengal. Thakur Dayal Agasti, along with his parents, came from west India to Garhbeta, where they acquired landed interests (as lease-holders) from Bama Sundari.
Debi (Benamdar of Sambhuchandra Mukherjee). At a later stage, the Agasthi family held that property as permanent pattanidars, was established at Garhbeta while Thakur Dayal became famous as a Mukteer at the local court. His son Suryakumar Agasthi, born in 1857, passed the entrance examination from the Midnapore Zilla School when Rajnarain Basu was the Head Master of that school. After taking the M.A. degree he became a P.R.S. and was also successful at the Civil Service examination. He was a Magistrate in various places, including Midnapore, and founded a High School in his locality. The noted Ramananda Chatterjee (1865-1943) passed entrance in 1883 from Bankura Zilla School but ultimately made Calcutta his seat of literary activities as the eminent editor of Prabashi and Modern Review. Another great son of Bankura was Joges Chandra Roy (1859-1956), who also passed entrance from Bankura Zilla School and made Bankura his seat of learning after serving Ravenshaw College in Cuttack for a number of years. It is thus evident that almost all persons forming the nucleus of educated middle class, a mere microscopic minority, were compelled to receive higher education through the medium of English language, were subsequently engaged mainly in the legal, and teaching professions or in some government service, ultimately became resident landlords strewn over the whole districts of Midnapore and Bankura and endeavoured to protect landed interests acquired by them during the nineteenth century. Thus, the new education became a catalyst for moving the machinery of property-making for the emergent elite middle class, as this education did not give them a non-peasant urban character.
But an exception was also noticeable. He is Pandit Iswarchandra Vidyasagar, who was able to rise as one of the most eminent personalities of the country, responsible for bringing in regeneration of the society as a whole, even without having any landed interest and he never participated in the agrarian property-making. He came of a very poor Brahmin family of Birshingha village in 1820 (which was then under Hooghly district and was transferred to the Midnapore district in 1872). After completion of his primary education in the village Pathasala, Iswarchandra came to Calcutta with his father for higher education. But being very poor, it was extremely difficult for Iswarchandra to get his admission in the Hindu College meant for the Calcutta bhadraloks. However, after facing great financial hardship, he entered the Sanskrit College to learn only classical learning but not English education meant for the affluent Calcutta Bhadraloks and proved to be one of the most brilliant students in classical learning.39

A review of his career, his reformist zeal and endeavour for the educational development would reflect the conflict between the Calcutta Bhadraloks and the mofossil elite middle class in the life of a representative personality.

Modernisation in the life of the bhadralok middle class in Midnapore and Bankura in south-west Bengal in the nineteenth century is evidenced by various measures which the newly emerging middle class urged upon their new rulers to undertake. They stimulated the awareness of the right of self-determination,
freedom to develop the Bengali culture and to form political associations. They helped to develop a respect for the rule of law through introduction of the western legal system. The middle class people strove for modern economic activities like construction of railways, irrigation, and embankment projects for agricultural regeneration and sought to end the geographical isolation of the inaccessible jungle and nimki mahals of south-west Bengal. The construction of roads opened to them an easy access to Calcutta for higher studies and to develop social contact with intellectuals of the different provinces.

But they had neither any definite economic programme to regenerate the decaying economy nor was there any conscious awareness about the causes of the economic decay of their region. Therefore, the part played by the middle class was a vague socio-economic programme for its socio-cultural regeneration and collaboration with the Raj to eliminate the alarming poverty of the people, droughts and famines which often threatened this region. When the twentieth century dawned, these Brahmo ideas and collaborating with the Raj to eliminate the alarming poverty of the people, droughts and famines which often threatened this region. When the twentieth century dawned, these Brahmo ideas and collaborating with the Raj to eliminate the alarming poverty of the people, droughts and famines which often threatened this region. When the twentieth century dawned, these Brahmo ideas and collaborating with the Raj to eliminate the alarming poverty of the people, droughts and famines which often threatened this region. When the twentieth century dawned, these Brahmo ideas and collaborating with the Raj to eliminate the alarming poverty of the people, droughts and famines which often threatened this region. When the twentieth century dawned, these Brahmo ideas and collaborating with the Raj to eliminate the alarming poverty of the people, droughts and famines which often threatened this region. When the twentieth century dawned, these Brahmo ideas and collaborating with the Raj to eliminate the alarming poverty of the people, droughts and famines which often threatened this region. When the twentieth century dawned, these Brahmo ideas and collaborating with the Raj to eliminate the alarming poverty of the people, droughts and famines which often threatened this region. 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When the twentieth century dawned, these Brahmo ideas and collaborating with the Raj to eliminate the alarming poverty of the people, droughts and famines which often threatened this region. When the twentieth century dawned, these Brahmo ideas and collaborating with the Raj to eliminate the alarming poverty of the people, droughts and famines which often threatened this region. When the twentieth century dawned, these Brahmo ideas and collaborating with the Raj to eliminate the alarming poverty of the people, droughts and famines which often threatened this region. When the twentieth century dawned, these Brahmo ideas and collaborating with the Raj to eliminate the alarming poverty of the people, droughts and famines which often threatened this region. When the twentieth century dawned, these Brahmo ideas and collaborating with the Raj to eliminate the alarming poverty of the people, droughts and famines which often threatened this region. When the twentieth century dawned, these Brahmo ideas and collaborating with the Raj to eliminate the alarming poverty of the people, droughts and famines which often threatened this region. When the twentieth century dawned, these Brahmo ideas and collaborating with the Raj to eliminate the alarming poverty of the people, droughts and famines which often threatened this region. When the twentieth century dawned, these Brahmo ideas and collaborating with the Raj to eliminate the alarming poverty of the people, droughts and famines which often threatened this region. When the
2. Quantitative analysis of the Middle Class

It is evident from the sample survey of biographical sketches that the emergence of the middle class with developed interests in land and with alternative occupations as lawyers, teachers and service-holders acted as a catalyst for the modernisation of this region. But due to the paucity of data, it is impossible to have a quantitative analysis of the size of this class, their class interests, income groups to which they belonged and their percentage in the total size of the population. A methodological exercise may be made through the collection of bio-data from contemporary regional literature, records of educational institutions and private papers to ascertain their type of ancestry, concentration of habitation, caste groups, annual income, educational attainment, profession and their ideas for social, political and economic regeneration of the region. The data collected from contemporary literature, newspapers and archival records have been systematically analysed, keeping in view the total size of the population between 1833-1901. An estimate of renowned persons reveals that the intelligentsia of the region constituted a microscopic minority, not even 1% of the total population within a period of fifty years in the nineteenth century. This analytical frame work may be attempted by the process of sample survey of one hundred literary persons in the nineteenth century south-west Bengal. Since the total size and quantity of the population and the size of the middle
peasantry is not possible to quantify, the methodology of random sampling has to be abandoned.

Table No. 67

List of Literary persons with their caste group, locality, academic attainment and income group.

(a) Caste group:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste Group</th>
<th>Caste group in percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Brahmin</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Kayastha</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Telis</td>
<td>16% lower caste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Baisnab</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Muslim</td>
<td>10% Khatriya and others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Khatrtya</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Mahisya</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Barbar</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Business class</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Kaibarta Mahisya</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the above table it is found that the Brahmins and the Kayasthas, exercising their socio-economic influence as usual, came forward to imbibe English education.
(b) Locality:

1. Eastern zone (Bankura) 12%
2. Western zone (Bankura) 28%
3. Eastern zone (Midnapore) 20%
4. Western zone (Midnapore) 40%

(c) Academic attainment:

1. Non-Matric 18%
2. Non-Graduate 16%
3. B.A. and above 66%

(d) Income group:

1. Below Rs. 400 8% Rs. 250-400
2. Below Rs. 800 10% Rs. 400-800
3. Below Rs. 1200 42% Rs. 800-1200
4. Rs. 1200 and above 40% Rs. 1200 and above

Source: Collected from different individuals in Bankura and Midnapore.

From the above table, it is clear that only men from the higher stratum of the society accepted new education. But this picture has altered in the twenties of the twentieth century when the mahisyas and kaibartas dominated the south and eastern zones, while the Brahmins and Mahatos had dominance in the northern zones of Midnapore and Bankura. The picture,
represented in the subsequent table to categorise the professional groups and income brackets, remained more or less unaltered.

Table 68

Estimate of the nature of the educated elites in South-west Bengal

| 1. Pleader   | 34 | Legal Profession | 36% |
| 2. Teacher   | 12 | Academician      | 24% |
| 3. Principal | 4  | Government service | 28% |
| 4. Musician  | 10 |                  |     |
| 5. Judge     | 2  | Self employed    | 12% |
| 6. Civil service | 6 | land holders     |     |
| 7. Magistrate| 2  |                  |     |
| 8. Zamindars | 4  |                  |     |
| 9. Social workers | 4 |                  |     |
| 10. Professors| 4 |                  |     |
| 11. Govt. service holders | 6 |                  |     |
| 12. Dy. Inspector | 2 |                  |     |
| 13. Muleteer | 6  |                  |     |
| 14. Seristadar| 2 |                  |     |
| 15. Mendicant | 2 |                  |     |
| 16. Patriot | 2  |                  |     |

Percentage

100

Source: Collected from different private individuals from the district of Bankura and Midnapore.
It is apparent from the table No. 67-68 that these selected litterateurs with their social activities served within the categories of teachers, lawyers, government assistants, periodical editors and diwans and zamindari amlas in the big estates. Most of them came either from the traditional elite class (Brahmins, Kayasthas) or feudal landed magnates (Khatriyas, Rajus, and Khandaites). These two classes, during the colonial rule, were compelled by the socio-economic changes to adjust themselves to the emerging middle peasant caste groups, while they failed to shed their old social heritage and traditional backward looking pull. But this middle segment of the population in the social hierarchy, belonging to the upper caste groups, could not but suffer from inherent contradictions. They wanted to modernise their socio-political institutions to collaborate with the British Raj for efficient administration but they could never forget their past heritage, their value system centred round their joint family clustered round a 'para' and village zone and their idea of reviving the lost glory of the village economy and petty commodity production in villages.

Thus, through reform movements, they longed to discover the golden past, a never-attainable utopia, a village Raj as thought to be prevalent at the time of the illustrious Rama's reign without any programme of modernisation and innovative
industrial infrastructure. This inner contradiction of the middle class made them swing like a pendulum from one end to another for their anxiety to identify their class interest with the heaven land of classical Europe, which they could never reach, and the utopia of the imaginary Vedic age, which they could not revive. Ultimately, they failed to elicit from them any pragmatic economic programme for the economic prosperity and regeneration of south-west Bengal, despite economic extortion of the British Raj. The example of Vidyasagar may be given to show a synthesis between the two extremes.

The middle class fought for the survival of the vernacular language and demanded socio-economic developments for the increased productivity of their agricultural holdings. While the segment of the landed gentry, belonging to the Utkal brahmins and karanikas, demanded a coalition with Orissa and revival of the lost culture of Orissa, the Rajh brahmins and kayasthas of Midnapore and Tamluk, joined by the mahisyas of Contai, who by opening up new cultivable areas towards the Sundarbans wanted closer contact with Calcutta, a symbol of urban heaven land for the rising middle class of south-west Bengal. Their double personality and imposed social status forced them to live in urban areas, while they themselves remained entrenched in their rural base, and invested their surplus income for purchasing land holdings in villages as a status symbol to attain the utopian heaven land they had aspired to attain for generations together.
But here a differentiation could be noticed between the absentee land-holder Hindu Bhadraloks of the then east Bengal and their counterparts in these two districts of south-west Bengal. In east Bengal the majority peasantry, consisting of the Muslim caste groups, in their resistance movements to revive their lost socio-economic privileges, could not enlist the support and leadership of the absentee but affluent Hindu middle class-turned-capitalist landlords. But in south-west Bengal, everyone from the highest rung of landed proprietors down to the rural small talukdars and landed proprietors and rent-paying middle peasantry always maintained an organic link with the subordinate tenure holders, occupancy, non-occupancy ryots for their inherent interdependence among the castes and classes in the opened up process of property making through the mechanics of cultivation expansion.

Settlement officer A.K. Jameson has admitted this sense of moderation among the different categories of rural-urban classes, which was also revealed in the representation of land holders associations and ryots societies. But this middle class, as entrenched in the rural economy, also suffered from inner conflict among themselves. As leaders of their own communities, they gave priority for implementing welfare measures for their own caste community before they could think of regeneration of the whole of India. As a case study, one may note the mahisya movement in the economy of south and
south-east Midnapore. The mahisya movement was started in Tajpur by the local landlord, who invited the agricultural kaivartas as the offshoot of the ancient mahisya caste. From the conference originated a permanent body, called the Jati Nircharani Sabha, which received financial assistance from the local Mahisya landed proprietors and middle peasantry. By 1901 many local Mahisya associations sprang up and a Central Mahisya Samiti was founded in Calcutta. The movement became divided at a conference called at Subadi by a local zamindar of Midnapore. As against these emerging caste groups dominating the agrarian economy, south-west Bengal also witnessed the advent of a segment of non-peasant middle class, who at least could think in terms of regeneration of a Hindu culture for ensuring Hindu superiority by reforming the religion in its pristine glory, lost during the Mughal rule.

There were some socio-political constraints which impeded the non-peasant elite section of the urban middle class in contradiction to the middle peasant rural (muffassil) middle class of south-west Bengal in bringing about a slow transformation in the socio-economic framework of these two districts. This explains the very underdeveloped character of the emerging capitalist economy. It also hindered the development of potentiality for social leadership of this middle class when the freedom struggle became the dominant feature in the early twentieth century. These constraints may be listed as follows.
First, the urban non-peasant middle class, dissociated from the rural districts and mainly based on Calcutta, could not provide leadership to the peasantry. They could neither identify themselves with the class interest of the peasantry nor could they strive for capital formation for an industrial breakthrough in south-west Bengal because of their dual character and social position. Consequently, the peasants looked to the upper and middle strata of their traditional propertied interests, the caste-based middle peasantry, the muffassil bhadraloks, mainly the mahisyas and mahatos, to get the benefit of their leadership. This rural aristocracy, having connection with urban culture, remained dominant in the peasant society and overshadowed the influence of the urban middle class non-peasant Hindu Bhadraloks of Calcutta in rural areas. Second, many native Rajas, the landed proprietors of big estates still unbroken, who were so long beyond the spell of economic programme for westernisation and modernisation, now adopted different measures for developing resources of their estates. Third, most of the native rajas (except of Jhargram, Mahisadal and Bishnupur) made no effort for a political interlink with the emerging middle class of Bengal, but the smaller landed proprietors in the early twentieth century developed a close link with the emerging petty bourgeoisie tenant insurgency, as evident from the life of Devendralal Khan of Narajole and Digambar Nanda of Mugberia. 51
On the other hand, the middle class, the so-called Calcutta maddhavitta Bhadraloks, suffered from some inherent self-defeating contradictions in their relation with south-west Bengal. They accepted modernisation on the British line, praising the beneficial role of British rule, but could not develop an outlook similar to the middle class of Victorian England, nor could they develop social leadership as in the Post-Meiji Restoration of Japan. Living predominantly in a tradition-bound agrarian society, they developed a split personality. On outward behaviour they posed themselves as westernised, but on the emotional plane they remained attached to the traditional values. They could neither break themselves away from their feudal inheritance nor could they identify themselves with the heaven land of England to which their masters belonged and which they could not reach. They emphasised the spread of vernacular education in the village, while for those who lived in the urban areas, they preferred English education spread by Christian Missionaries as an only outlet to the heaven land in England.

The fear of tumult haunted them, since they were scared of the stories of Chuar and Paik revolts of the earlier decades. They advocated a slow but gradual reform, which characterised the class interest of the Derozians of Bengal. The angry Young Bengal was angry towards village-based traditional value systems but were enthusiastic in reviving the western value-based life style.
and work culture. It was this attitude which made them loyal to the Raj and apathetic to the peasant movements in the jungle mahals.\textsuperscript{55} They developed a firm belief in the regenerative aspect of Pax Britannica and ignored the exploitative aspect of British rule. Their urban upbringing and life-long ambition to have a status in the agrarian society equal to the traditional landed proprietors made them corrupt and litigant. They could not develop entrepreneurship for lack of capital formation due to their meagre income, which their non-Bengalee counterpart, particularly the Parsi community, had done in and around Bombay and Jamshedpur of Bihar. This contradiction became apparent in Midnapore when the partition of Midnapore district was mooted and the upsurge against Bengal partition became a focal point in the first decade of the twentieth century. The conflict between Anglophiles, headed by K.B. Datta, and the moderates, led by Debdas Karan, was a case for illustration.\textsuperscript{56}

But these constraints are explained by the economic historians by attributing these to the colonial character of the market economy, leading to the drainage of wealth. For survival, the middle class had to remain loyal to the Raj and stood for the programme of westernisation. On the other hand, the middle class was subjected to the pull of traditionalism, found chiefly in the agrarian economy. The powerful influence of Jagannath cult on the Oriya society of south-west Bengal
and of Vaishnavism on Bishnupur and Cossipurpur acted as a backward-looking force opposing any tumult in a slow-changing traditional society. 57

Despite these limitations, one should not lose sight of the positive and regenerative aspect of the programme of the middle class. They, no doubt, played a leading part in the progress of English education and in enriching the vernacular language with new style and thought. They supported the reformist tendency of the Brahmo movement and Christian missionaries to eliminate the maladies of casteism from society. They established political associations with the dual motives of bringing political unity and economic nationalism.

During the twentieth century they became the vanguard of nationalist movement to achieve economic nationalism on regional, but not on national, plane. Thus was prepared the ground for regional independence movement in the different parts of Midnapore and never could the various caste groups in different parts of south-west Bengal fuse themselves into one singular channel of protest against the Raj early this century before the advent of Gandhi's impact in this region in the 1920s.

3. Spread of English Education:

The spread of English education in the last half of the nineteenth century is a significant event. Three segments of
the changing urban society wanted to learn English education, 

wiz., the professionals like teachers, service holders and lawyers. The Government wanted to spread English education since the abolition of trade monopoly led the Company to adopt administrative economy by enlisting support of the educated middle class service-holders after 1833, of the lawyers to defend the newly-acquired landed interests of the middle peasantry and talukdars and of teachers who would act as a catalyst to move the machinery of property-making and upward mobility of classes and castes in the rural society.

The middle peasantry, urban professionals and petty service-holders wanted English learning to educate their children in the western ethos who, in future, as professionals could earn alternative livelihood, defend the newly-acquired landed interest and maintain the status once enjoyed by the declining traditional estate holders. Thus, a collaboration between the Raj and the rising middle peasantry became an accomplished fact between 1859 and 1885.

By the end of the nineteenth century, as in other spheres of life, the traditional learning of classical teaching was in a decaying condition in the three types of educational institutions: Tols or institutions of Sanskrit learning, scattered in villages and towns; Madrasas where the Arabic and Persian, the decaying official language of the country, were
taught, and third, pathsalas or Maktabs where elementary education was imparted to the village poor. There was no dearth of primary schools in south-west Bengal. But the method followed for imparting education and the condition of the institutions were not satisfactory. Coercion and physical punishment of the most inhuman nature were generally used in making the students read mathematics, vernacular and scriptures and in enforcing discipline. The businessmen and cultivators preferred education in mathematics, vernacular and scriptures in the traditional vernacular schools. The traditional priestly class and affluent professionals preferred the institutions of Sanskrit learning, mainly monopolised by the Brahmins and Baidyas. The number of Madrasas, the town-based Islamic academic institutions, was not very large, but students for Madrasas generally came from the well-to-do people mainly because the Persian dress and learning were rewarded as status symbol even in the nineteenth century in administrative appointments.

As such, in the early decades of the nineteenth century, English education mainly catered to the needs of urban population round Calcutta. However, the condition of education in south-west Bengal changed, since western education infiltrated this area during the late 30's and 50's of the nineteenth century on a low key. Thus, district towns like Midnapore and Bankura and subdivisional towns like Bishnupur, Tamluk and Contai.
not so culturally developed like Calcutta, became only cultural islands drawing sustenance from the heaven land of Calcutta.

The influx of population from outside, particularly the rapid immigration of an English-educated non-peasant urban middle class in south-west Bengal, has been presumed to have prepared the dawn of an era of cultural regeneration.\textsuperscript{62} Since English education was considered expedient and consistent with the political requirements of the then administrative apparatus introduced in the country, and the basic policy of the Government was also to widen its scope, practically it became limited to the upper middle class of the rural-urban society for obvious reasons.\textsuperscript{63} But the rural people of this country, who contributed the largest share of public revenue to the exchequer, remained outside the purview of higher education.\textsuperscript{64} (However, the people of Midnapore were fortunate that, at the initiative of the zamindars of Narajole, Hoyna, Mughberia, Mahisadal, Jhargram and Contai, many primary, middle English and Higher English Schools were established in different centres of the district for the rural people.) The district English School at Midnapore was founded near the old Killa (Fort) in 1834. A brilliant student of Hindu College who was a Derozian, Rasikdal Sen, was the first Headmaster. In 1835 the local founders of the
school, most of them belonging to the landed gentry, handed
over the institution to the Government local committee for
education development. The institution was fortunate in
having two Englishmen, F. Tydd and Sinclaire, as its
Headmasters. F. Tydd worked as Headmaster from 1836 for about
eleven years. In 1840, when the school building was destroyed
by the collapse of a tree, a pucca roof was constructed
by the Government. In 1847, Sinclaire came but he could not
stay here for more than three years due to ill-health.

Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, the great Bengali novelist, who
became settlement officer in Contai after 1862 to settle
the salt mahals among the middle peasantry, and Principal
Shyamacharan Das were the students at this time. 65

By the 70's of the nineteenth century, as many as ten
Anglo-Bengali schools were founded in Midnapore for English
education through the Bengali vernacular, while in 1861 there
were twelve schools in Bankura. 66 Before the end of the century,
some of them were upgraded. The teachers were mostly recruited
from the Brahmin caste and the students belonged invariably
to the non-Brahmin community. The list of recipients of junior
scholarship in Midnapore district school from 1845-48 shows
that all of them were non-Brahmins, belonging to the urbanised
middle class with landed interest in nearby villages but with
alternative sources of income in towns. This shows that the
rigidity of the social caste system had broken down and the
new education had been made available to the children of the traditional non-teachers of non-Brahmin caste, the following table shows the number of schools, number of students and types of schools in Midnapore.

Table No. 69

Education Statistics of Midnapore District up to 1870

Return of Government and Aided Schools:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Schools</th>
<th>No. of schools</th>
<th>No. of pupils</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>Muslim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Government English School</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Government Vernacular School</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>597</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Govt. Institution for special education (i.e., Midnapore Training School or Normal School for Masters established in 1854)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Aided English School</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>945</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Aided Vernacular School (there were only 9 schools in 1860-61)</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>5727</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Aided Girls' School</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Private Institution for special Education</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is found from the gazetteer literature that training schools for Masters were supported partly by the Government and partly by the American Baptist Mission and were intended to supply masters to the schools in Santal villages.

There was no Government middle English school in Midnapore, while about seventeen such schools were aided and there was also an unaided school. Among them two (one at Contai and the other at Panskura) were 'excellent', four were 'good', seven 'fair', four moderate and one (that at Manglapota) 'bad'. It was regretted that, considering them from the point of view of their management and local financiers, nine of them were excellent, seven fair and two (at Chhatraganj and Kadra) were very indifferent. Moreover, it is strange that the three worst schools of this class (at Manglapota, Chhatraganj and Kadra) were in the north of the District, i.e. in the Garhbeta subdivision. Of the students attending primary schools, 4789 were Hindus, 193 were Muslims, whilst 689 were either Santals or Christians, of whom 1264 belonged to the middle and 4405 to the lower caste rural urban population. The following table shows the return of Primary schools and students of different caste groups attending these schools in Midnapore.

Table No. 70

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Return of Primary Schools</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under native managers</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Run by American Baptist Mission</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improved Day Pathsala</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improved Night Pathsala</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Students of different caste group attending these schools:

Hindu 4789  
Mahammadan 193  
Santals or 689  
Christian  

Total: 5671

Amongst them 1266 belonged to middle income group and 4405 belonged to lower class, total 5671

Source: Computed from Bengal Administration Reports and Hunter, Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. III, 1876, pp. 173, 176-177, 179-183.

Two tables can be computed to show the spread of literacy in the district of Midnapore from the Gazetteer literature, and Administration and Census Reports.

Table No. 71

Schools and Scholars from 1871-72 to 1908-09

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>School</th>
<th>Scholars</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1871-72</td>
<td>20 24</td>
<td>28,144</td>
<td>26,31,466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880-81</td>
<td>3,966</td>
<td>74,791</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900-01</td>
<td>4,919</td>
<td>1,18,399</td>
<td>27,89,104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908-09</td>
<td>4,392</td>
<td>1,24,734</td>
<td>28,21,201</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table No. 72

Distribution per 10,000 total male and female literates in Midnapore 1901-51

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>1278</td>
<td>1360</td>
<td>1019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>1253</td>
<td>1348</td>
<td>881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>1845</td>
<td>1040</td>
<td>1260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4921</td>
<td>1298</td>
<td>1354</td>
<td>728</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>1400</td>
<td>1459</td>
<td>665</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1825</td>
<td>1875</td>
<td>1050</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computed from Gazetteer literature and Census Reports.

Gestrell, in his 'Statistical and Geographical Report of the District of Bankura', depicted the backward condition of education in 1863 in Bankura on the basis of the information of Deputy Collector as reported in 1847: "Education is well attended to, few indeed can do more than write their names even in the town. In the villages education may be said to be entirely neglected. In town the children of trading people attend to Gurumahasaya or Pandit's school until they understand common account. Upto 1861, there were only twelve schools with 967 students, established by the Government. And the state of these schools was not satisfactory owing to the want of interest in them being taken by the people". 68
Bankura owes most to the pioneering efforts of Christian missionaries. Rev. Weihtbrecht of the Church Missionery Society appeared to have been the first Christian Missionary to visit the district and he used to pay visit to Bankura from his station in Burdwan around 1840. He established seven schools in and around Bankura town and kept them running with funds obtained from the society. But after he left, the society ceased to advance financial assistance, as a result of which three of the schools set up by him had to close down and the remaining four were taken over voluntarily by the civil servants stationed in Bankura. The principal school, which Weihtbrecht had established, was self-sustaining and it kept on functioning till it was taken over by the Government and converted into the Zilla School, still in existence in Bankura town.

According to Gastrell, there were ten Anglo-Vernacular Schools in Bankura district in 1861. All of them were being voluntarily run by the local civil servants in their private capacity although attendance in them was very poor. Modern education in the district had to wait until the arrival of the Missionaries of the Wesleyan Mission who later came to belong to the Methodist Church. In 1870, Rev. John Richards of the Wesleyan Mission opened a Middle English School in Kuchkuchia on the outskirts of Bankura town, in 1889, collegiate education in this district was yet to come. The following two tables show the number of different types of schools in different years.
Table No. 73 Directory of High Schools in the nineteenth century Bankura.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>J.L.O. No.</th>
<th>Municipal Ward No.</th>
<th>Name of School</th>
<th>Dt. of origin</th>
<th>Dt. of affiliating</th>
<th>Total No. of class</th>
<th>Average No. of pupil</th>
<th>Total No. of Graduates</th>
<th>Total No. of teachers</th>
<th>No. of trained Graduates</th>
<th>Total Govt. Grant received</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bankura Zilla School</td>
<td>1840</td>
<td>1857</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14711</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Christian College School</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td>1899</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>503</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>36892</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Vivekananda Hindu Vidyalaya</td>
<td>1846</td>
<td>1.1.1942</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7473</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bankura Hindu High School (English)</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>2.5.1901</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>408</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>27036</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Banga Vidyalaya</td>
<td>1840</td>
<td>1949</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1418</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

P.S. Onda:

| 6       |            |                   | Rathia J.L.O. Onda H.S. School        | 1886          | 1.1.1944          | 9                  | 275                   | 12                     | 6                      | 2                       | 12000                     |

P.S. Bartora:

| 7       |            |                   | Dodhimukha J.L.O. 106 School          | 1898          | 1.1.1942          | 7                  | 201                   | 8                      | 5                      | 1                       | 972                       |

Contd.....
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P.S. Bishnupur:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Vishnupur</td>
<td>Bishnupur H.E. Municipality School</td>
<td>1879</td>
<td>1879</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>517</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>35752</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.S. Joypur:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>J.L.O. 34</td>
<td>Rajgram S.S. Haha Institution</td>
<td>1.1.1881</td>
<td>1.1.1881</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7261</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>J.L.O. 46</td>
<td>Kuchiakol Radha Ballav Institution</td>
<td>1891</td>
<td>1891</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>341</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>19358</td>
<td>891</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.S. Katulpur:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>J.L.O. 38</td>
<td>Katulpur H.E. School</td>
<td>1891</td>
<td>1891</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11976</td>
<td>134</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.S. Sonamukhi:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.S. Indus:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>J.L.O. 7</td>
<td>Rol. C.M. Tayyab Institution</td>
<td>1892</td>
<td>1892</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17791</td>
<td>68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The picture of education in the preceding tables remained practically unchanged throughout the nineteenth century. Reporting on the attendance in schools in 1895-96 and 1896-97, C.A. Martin, the then Director of Public Instruction, found that 45.3 percent and 47.6 percent respectively of the boys of school-going age were attending schools in Bankura district, but in 1900-01 43.0 percent and in 1901-02 41.2 percent of the boys of school-going age attended schools and in the later years 37.7 percent of them in the different stages of primary education were attending schools. In 1901-02 only 3.7 percent of girls of school-going age were in schools and all of them attended different categories of primary schools.

From the comparison of the state of education in the district in 1961 with that obtaining 60 years ago in 1901, it is found that only 93 out of every 1000 persons were literate in 1901, which included 90 male literates out of 1000 males and 3 female literates out of every 1000 females. Moreover, according to the enumeration of the Census in 1901, any one who could write his name was considered to be a literate person. The literacy rate among the peasantized tribals was only 4.5 per thousand, sex-wise ratio being 4 in every thousand male and only 0.5 per thousand females. But the systematic educational work by the Christian Missionaries started around 1900 when the Wesleyan Mission opened a centre.
| Type of School               | No. of Schools in Bankura Dist. | No. of pupils | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------|---------------|
| Govt. English School        | 1 1 1 1 | 155 116 215 186 |
| Govt. Vernacular School    | 2 2 5 2 | 105 97 397 199 |
| Aided Eng. School          | 5 4 9 9 | 603 244 629 417 |
| Aided Vernacular School    | 6 5 64 12 | 491 410 2527 504 |
| Aided Girls' School        | - - 4 3 | - - 105 102 |
| Unaided English School     | - - - 1 | - - - 110 |
| Govt. Aided Pry. School    | - - - 107 | - - - 3316 |
| Unaided Pry. School        | - - - 57 | - - - 1591 |
| Total of all types of      | - - - 427 | - - - - |
| unaided schools            |                                  |               |               |

in the village of Sarenga in the P.S. Raipur and commended its evangelical, social and educational activities among the Santals and other backward castes in this region. The Mission was already functioning in Bankura town since 1877 but from that time it began to pay more attention to the upliftment of the backward tribals. Writing in 1933 Mitra and Zacharia remarked, "the chief agencies responsible for education work among the Santals are the American Baptist Mission of Midnapore and the Wesleyan Mission of Bankura".73

From the first quinquennial Report on the progress of education in Bengal, a list of 138 higher and 936 lower primary schools in Bankura is available which were aided from different Government funds. The aid, however, amounted to only Rs. 36 for each higher and Rs. 11 for each lower primary school.74 Writing in 1908, O'Malley stated that the total number of boys of primary school in Bankura district was 1059, of which 190 were of upper primary and 869 were of lower primary schools. With the exception of two upper primary schools attached to the two Guru Training schools, all the schools were under private management, 956 being aided and 101 unaided. There were also 88 night schools attended by 1591 pupils, mostly sons of artisans and day labourers. It is reported that most of the upper primary schools had a separate building, but there was scarcely any lower primary school with separate building. For want of such accommodation,
the classes were generally held in the common puja houses of villages or in the varandahs of some affluent villager's house.

For the cultivation of north Indian classical music since the sixteenth century, Bishnupur in Bankura and Panchetgarh in Midnapore were famous. The growth of the special style (Gharana) of Dhrupad and Thumri singing was aided by the patronage of the landed aristocrats and middle peasantry longing for a status and zamindari life-style. As early as 1901-02, there were four regular schools in Bankura teaching the elements of Hindustani classical music, of which two were situated in Bishnupur and one was set up in Panchetgarh of Midnapore. These institutions, aided by the affluent talukdars, aimed at training musicians to enrapture the emerging baboo society. The number of schools and pupils in each district of Burdwan division during the last two decades of the nineteenth century is given in the following table.

Table No. 75
Schools and students statistics for two years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>No. of Schools 1879-80</th>
<th>% of increase 1879-80</th>
<th>No. of Schools 1880-81</th>
<th>% of increase 1880-81</th>
<th>No. of pupils on 31 March '79</th>
<th>Pupils on 31 March '81</th>
<th>% of increase pupils on 31 March '81</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Burdwan</td>
<td>1302</td>
<td>7.83</td>
<td>1505</td>
<td>11.43</td>
<td>42030</td>
<td>46968</td>
<td>11.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bankura</td>
<td>911</td>
<td>54.77</td>
<td>1410</td>
<td>23.87</td>
<td>26755</td>
<td>33243</td>
<td>23.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midnapore</td>
<td>3697</td>
<td>7.27</td>
<td>3966</td>
<td>5.04</td>
<td>71200</td>
<td>74791</td>
<td>5.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manbhum</td>
<td>338</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>366</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>8385</td>
<td>9197</td>
<td>~</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Bengal Administration Report, 1880-81 (Misc.), p. 9.
From the above table it is clear that in Burdwan, the number of pupils had increased relatively more rapidly than the number of schools. The progress of primary education was also satisfactory, since 178,877 pupils had attended 8,447 schools against 158,388 attending 6,808 schools in the previous years. The full information was not supplied by the district officer regarding girls' school, but it appears that 1,713 girls were attending schools in Midnapore against 1,441 in 1879-80, while in Bankura the number increased from 1,291 to 1,857.

With the spread of education, literary activities of the middle class also developed and vernacular periodicals were published. In the Bankura district, Bankura Darpan in 1894 was published which had close links with Sama prakash and Tattabodhini Patrika of Calcutta. We do not get any trace of other periodical publications in Bankura in the nineteenth century. It was in 1851 that due to the efforts of H.V. Baylay, the then district collector of Midnapore, the first Bengali periodical was published from Midnapore under the patronage of some local zamindars. It was Medinipore O Hizili Anchaler Adhyaksha (i.e. Midnapore and Hizili Guardian), actually a bi-lingual journal, which had large demand from the local readers, published since June 1851. This periodical was published only for one year (1851-52) from Midnapore when
it was closed. Afterwards the stories about the district were published in the Hindu Patriot to generate national feelings. Thus, a famous journal was edited by Harish Chandra Mukherjee, who was one of the ablest organisers of the British Indian Association with which the big zamindars of Midnapore had a close touch. 78

A short description of the newspapers and periodicals published in Midnapore in the late nineteenth century of the post-Rajnarain era is given below:

i) 'Aro Age', a weekly journal was published under the editorship of Bhawanicharan Panja, M.A.B.L., a resident of Kalaikunda (in the Dasipur Thana) from Ghatal. 79

ii) Periodical named 'Panchajanya' edited by Paresh chandra Chakravorty, was published from Nandigram. 80

iii) A weekly named 'Neehar' (a nationalist periodical), edited by Madhusudan Jana, was published from Contai. It was published for nearly four decades. He was the first to set up a printing press at Contai. He was known throughout the district till his death for his various benevolent activities. 81

iv) Ramdayal Majumdar of Janardanpur, born in 1858, was the author of a good number of religious books and he edited the periodical named 'Utsah'. 82

v) Amulyaratan Bhowmik of Nandigram was a regular contributor of various stories to the 'Yugantar' and a local journal named 'Mahisyam Samaj'. 83
vi) A periodical named 'Medini Bandhab', edited by Debdas Karan, was published from Midnapore. In many ways it imbued the youth of the district with revolutionary fervour. 84

vii) Nageswarprasad Singha of Kechkapur (Midnapore) edited a monthly journal named 'Kshatriya Bandhab'. 85

viii) Nikunjabehari Dutta of Janadari village under Bhagawanpur thana (Midnapore) was a member of the 'Royal Agricultural Society'. He wrote two books, 'Kampas Prasanga' and 'Krishi Saha'ya'. He was also the editor of the journal named 'Sachitra Krishak' for some years. 86

ix) Medinipore Hitaisee, a weekly Bengali journal, was published from Midnapore under the editorship of Mammatha Nath Nag. 87

x) Besides these, journals like 'Swaraj O Santathan', 'Sahajatree' and 'Satyabadi' were published from Midnapore in the period of Swadeshi Movement. At a later stage, a journal was published from Tamluk entitled 'Pathik'.

4. Beginning of Political awareness:

The British Indian Association, dominated by the rich land-owning segment of Bengal, heralded the beginning of political awareness of the middle class, but it lost its importance by the end of eighteen fifties when Midnapore was greatly influenced by Vidyasagar, Rajnarain and the Brahmo Samaj. The Brahmo Samaj was perhaps the most representative institutional expression of the prevailing wave of Renaissance
in Midnapore. Under Debendranath Tagore's leadership in the 1840's, the Brahmo Samaj and the 'Tattabodhini Sabha' became the most popular organisation of the increasing number of English-educated intelligentsia in Midnapore, since the Brahmo movement suggested a new way of life within the traditional framework of the classical Hindu social order.

In Midnapore, the new generation of land-owners were not 'anti-British' and thus no response from them was received by Subedar Brindaban Tewari (then posted in Midnapore with the British army) when, influenced by the story of the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, he attempted to call a civil revolt among the Sepoys in Midnapore police barracks. The outbreak, devoid of support from the people, was promptly crushed and subsequently the ring leaders, along with his associates Meer Jangu and Sheikh Jamiruddin, were sentenced to death.

The first 'Swadeshi Movement' was started by Rajnarain in 1866 along with the foundation of society for the 'Promotion of National feeling' (Jatiya Gourab Sampadani Sabha) at Midnapore. He issued a 'Prospectus' for the society among the educated public in 1866, which was published in the 'Nation' and in the 'Tattabodhini Patrika' of 1787 Saka. It was a call to the urban bhadraloks to give up foreign habits and adopt Bengali dress, food and indigenous medicine to promote
the indigenous industry, undertake the study of Sanskrit, use Bengali language free from the admixture of English in private correspondence, and publish in Bengali the researches of European scholars on Indian antiquities. He delivered a lecture on the superiority of Hinduism and boldly proclaimed that notwithstanding its caste system, Hinduism presented a more lofty social idealism than was yet to be attained by Christianity. Rajnarain, an English-educated Brahma leader, and his scholar followers in Midnapore and Contai, always maintained that Brahmoism, a variant of Hindu Samaj, should be spread among the people through education. Despite the communal colour of their views, these two districts never saw any large-scale communal disharmony owing to social link and economic interdependence between the minority Muslim craftsmen and landless peasantry and the Hindu middle peasantry on whom the urban Calcutta-based Bhadraraloks, singing the song of Hindu superiority and Hindu revivalism, had little influence. This picture could not be found in east and north Bengal and thus the economic content of the freedom movement took to two different paths with the dawn of the twentieth century.

In Bankura district, the political unrest started with anti-indigo agitation. Messrs Gisborne and Co. opened a number of indigo plantations in the late nineteenth century. The atrocities of English managers like Scale provoked Somaprapas to write against him. It appears that, in November 1884, another manager was charged with the offence of trespass against which
Sanjivi also wrote. The Bankura Darnu, a local newspaper, wrote against forcible labour procurement for the plantation economy. During the Swadeshi movement, the urban petty bourgeoisie elements and students carried on picketing and boycott of foreign goods under the leadership of Bankura Secret Society (November 1907-January 1908). It appears that the students of the Kotulpur and Kuchiakol schools took part in such boycott movement under the leadership of the Head Pandit of the latter school. 91

In Midnapore, Nagendranath Chatterjee took a prominent part in organising a branch of the Indian Association. The British Indian Association had kept the membership fee at such a high rate that it was absolutely impossible for the lower middle class and even for the rural middle peasantry to be enrolled as its member.92 But the Indian Association, from its very inception, longed to fulfil the class interest of all its members and it had a nominal membership fee for the common people.

At the annual meeting of the Association held on 15 May, 1880, it appointed a committee to draft a scheme of representative government. Another question that engaged the attention of the Association was the proposed Rent Law of the Bengal government which ultimately became the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885. Since the members of this Association had acquired landed property, they could not ignore the rent question. The Indian Association
undertook the solemn duty to ventilate their class interest. The Bengal government placed the draft bill, framed by the Rent Commission, to the Association on 19 July, 1880. A small committee of the Association in Midnapore and other districts was also posted with copies of the draft bill and requested to send its views. While the zamindars ventilated their grievances strongly against the Bill, the Association, as friends of ryots, expressed their views through the writings of Dwarakanath Ghosh.93

The Indian Association organised meetings of the ryot, in which the relatively affluent middle peasants expressed their grievances while evincing interest in the work of the Association. These activities led to the establishment of several ryots' Unions in the rural south-west Bengal.94 It is not known, owing to paucity of records, whether the ryots' union in Midnapore survived, but it is a fact that the ryots participated in the nationalist movement in the 1920's and in the 1930's, the landlords were often led by the Mahisyas for realising the arrears of land rents and to escape from attachment of their property under the government notification for sale. For example, the whole estate of Jallamutha and Majamutha, under the government khas management, which comprised an area of 231,137 acres and extended over a distance of 55 miles from 'north to south' and which was for easy and safe
collection purposes, subdivided into the four naib tahasildars, viz., Devoge, Bhagawanpur, Herya and Contai, developed to be a site of discord between the Revenue Board on one hand and the land holders Association and Indian Association on the other. Ultimately, the government climbed down, resettlement of maujas was drawn and the duty of land settlement was entrusted to "a Sub-Deputy Collector". In Bankura, the social leadership was taken by the town-bred Barhi Brahmins, who had land-holdings in the neighbouring villages. But the mahato movement and the middle peasantry of the Utkal Brahmins and lower sub-castes developed when Gandhi's influence was felt in the 1920's in the Congress movement in Bankura.

During the 'Swadeshi Movement', the middle peasantry with landed interests but with an urban base responded even to form secret societies in south-west Bengal to free their motherland from the foreign yoke.
References:


15. B. T. McCully, op. cit., p. 44.

16. In Midnapore, the Gargs of Mahisadal, the Marwari businessmen and the Saha and Singha families still maintain their matrimonial alliance with Rajasthan, Punjab and Uttar Pradesh.


18. B. S. Das, *Civil Rebellion in the Frontier Bengal*, pp. 75-78.

19. The caste group which could be found in east Bengal in the nineteenth century migrating to Calcutta as a non-peasant element in the urban culture.


22. Appendix C.


26. Appendix C.

27. Field Studies of Okalatnamah and Bar Association membership in Midnapore in 1905, 1920 and 1936.

31. ibid, pp. 33-36.
33. ibid, pp. 36-41.
35. ibid, pp. 173-177.
36. ibid, pp. 173-77.
40. John H Broomfield, op. cit, pp. 30-34.
41. N S Bose, op. cit, pp. 1-5.
42. Appendix C.
46. Orissa movement gathered momentum in the thirties of the twentieth century through the clash of personalities between B C Das and B N Sasmal.

49. SSR Midnapore, pp. 102-105.


57. Broomfield, op. cit, pp. 16-17.


60. Nemaie Sadhan Bose, op. cit, pp. 18-20.


64. CR Bankura, 1961, pp. LVII - LVIII.


68. J E Gestrell, op. cit, pp. 143-44.

69. A N Basu, op. cit, p. 70.


72. ibid, p. 13; A Padler, *Review of Education in Bengal*, 1897-98, to 1901-02, Calcutta, 1902, pp. VI-VIII.


74. C A Martin, op. cit, p. 81.


76. A Padler, op. cit, p. 42.

77. *Sambad Pravachak*, 1st August, 1851.


79. Collected from *Dasipur Itihas* in Bengali, p. 29, written by Panchanan Roy Kabjatirtha.

80. Collected from *Nandigramer Itibritta*, Nandigram, 1366 BS, written by Adharchandra Ghatak.
82. Collected from Medinibane, Hugh, 1345 BS.
83. Collected from Adharchandra Ghatak's Nandigramer Itibritta, Nandigram, 1366 BS, p. 85.
85. Collected from Masik Basumati, Falgun, 1358 BS, p. 689.
86. Collected from Masik Basumati, 1358 BS, p. 690.
87. Collected from Medinipur Hitaisee, Midnapore 1905, now edited by Sibaprasad Nag.
89. S B Chaudhuri, op. cit, p. 302.
90. Rajnarain Bose's Atma Charit, op. cit, pp. 52-53.
91. Fortnightly secret reports on the Native newspapers in Bengal week ending, 9 April, 1884; 27 March, 17 April, 1897, 4 January, 1908 and also paper No. 51.
92. Biman Behari Majumdar, op. cit, p. 36.
94. Jogesh Chandra Bagal, op. cit, p. 54.
95. BOR, Selection from Correspondence of Records on the Re-settlement, etc. 1882, Para VII, pp. 121-124.