

Salt Satyagraha (1930) in the District of South 24 Parganas of West Bengal: Revisit the Territorial Nature of the National Movement

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Abstract:

People of 24 Parganas, an important district of west Bengal, participated in Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930 on Gandhi's clarion call. This movement was also known as Salt Satyagraha. This large coastal area of West Bengal was geographically and naturally suitable place for producing salt. Kalikapur-Champahati, Nila-Diamond Harbor, Namkhana-Kakdwip were the significant places of Salt Satyagraha in South 24 Parganas. Here Salt Satyagraha reached a unique dimension because people from all walks of life, particularly women, participated in this movement. Civil Disobedience Movement was most intense in an area called Nila. Most of us do not know that, Ashutosh Dolui, a very young man from that place was the first martyr of this movement. Congress leaders from Kolkata keep them regularly updated about this place, and some of them even visited here as well. However, there are not much discussions among the scholars or historian about Salt Satyagraha of this place. So, the purpose of this article is to explore an authentic history about Salt Satyagraha took place in South 24 Parganas based on primary sources found in archives, newspapers, local annals and other resources.

Keywords: Salt Satyagraha, Civil Disobedience, Picketing, Procession, Gathering

Introduction:

Mahatma Gandhi called for many nationalist mass movements in all India context and many regions of India played significant roles in succeeding those movements. But there are no sufficient discussion about these movements regarding local perspectives. The Civil Disobedience Movement which is also known as Salt Satyagraha called by Gandhi in 1930's was unique. The purpose of this movement was to disobey the Salt Act. Gandhi decided to disregard the British draconian rule by violating Salt Act that act was about imposing tax on salt and many other things. Simply say that if you want to manufacture salt then you have to pay highD tax to the British government. His step made the British Government angry. That is why he was arrested by the British. But thousands of his followers had maintained order in their activities. Gandhi said, "Wherever possible disobeying of salt law should be initiated."¹ So, it is observed that, regional leaders became active against government's failure. Many people across India came in support of those activities, and same reaction was seen in coastal area of Bengal as well. Particularly in South 24 Parganas Satyagraha was very much intense. Because the place was coastal area and suitable place for producing salt. It should be remembered that, Salt Satyagraha made significant impact on southern part of 24 Parganas which is our topic of discussion. The important places of this movement were Kalikapur, Diamond Harbor, Nila, and adjacent areas. Salt Satyagraha movement became very much

intense in those remote places of the southern part of 24 Parganas but there is no such discussion about that successful mass movement. Even we are not aware of this fact that the first martyr of Civil Disobedience Movement was in 24 Parganas. Here some specific aspects like background of Satyagraha people's participation, role of leaders, connection with leaders of Calcutta, subdue by British administration and its significance in the district of South 24 Parganas will be discussed briefly.

(a)

Discussion:

In the beginning of this discussion, we must remember one thing that, 24 Parganas was an undivided territory during the period we are discussing. Most significant places of Salt Satyagraha was Mahishbathan in the northern part of 24 Parganas, and Diamond Harbor, Nila, and Kalikapur in southern part.² Now the question is why Salt Satyagraha took place in those places? Or it can be asked that, which aspects were active behind violating Salt Law? Salt manufacturing had been occupation of many people in this coastal area of south Bengal from very earlier. During those days, common people of almost every household used to manufacture salt by boiling saline water of rivers, canals, and marshes of this area for their own use and to supply for neighboring cities and even to Calcutta for money.³ Salt had been manufactured here before the arrival of British. Salt makers were known as *Malangi*. But British administration declared by imposing a law that producing salt was illegal; actually, they tried to enhance their own revenue. Such act deprived the local people from the right of manufacturing salt.⁴ The severe atrocity by the British Government on lower order working class people such as *Rajbanshi, Tiyaar, Raowa, Pod, Dom* etc. in 24 Parganas was also observed in other regions of India during the Civil Disobedience Movement.⁵ If anyone was caught for manufacturing salt 'illegally' and selling that in furtive way, then he/she had to pay fine or faced even imprisonment.

There was another reason that local farmers and fishermen once faced British exploitation and atrocities from leaseholders particularly fishermen. They were constrained to leave that profession after British arrival, and their atrocities, and they faced torture from leaseholders as well regarding revenue. Then they took the profession of fishing for livelihood. So, they were agitated against British for generations to generation.⁶ Colonial government and their employees imposed discriminating and exploiting policies regarding salt and other products in the context of internal trade of Bengal. That is why the salt manufacturing industry of 24 Parganas was destroyed during later half of the nineteenth century.⁷ According to statistics, average twelve thousand maund salt was produced in 1878-79 and following six years in 24 Parganas. But during those six years more than 16 lakh mound salt had been sold each year at several markets of 24 Parganas. That means, only seven percent of total demand was domestic production. A secured market was created in Bengal. According to their standard practice of the British reduced custom duty on the import of salt from their country and increased duty on indigenous salt. In this way they created a situation where manufacturing of indigenous salt was stopped, and even thousands of *Malangis* who were involved in salt production of salt lost their livelihood and faced uncertainty. In this way salt workers of 24 Parganas overthrown from their family profession and leaned towards farming. Many of them entered crime world as well.⁸ Salt played as a role of catalyst here. Descendants of salt workers expressed their agitation against British financial policy.

(b)

Now if we see Bengal politics, there two groups of Congress were active in conducting the Civil Disobedience Movement. The first was *Bangiya Aain Amania Parishad* (Bengal Civil Disobedience

Council) by Satish Chandra Dasgupta who led Salt Satyagraha in Mahishbathan situated in northern part of 24 Parganas. Another group was *Bangiya Pradeshik Aain Amanyta Committee* (Bengal Provincial Civil Disobedience Committee) under the leadership of Subhash Chandra Bose. They established Salt Law Defiance Camps mainly in places like Nila, Kalikapur, Champahati, Raipur, etc. situated in southern part of 24 Parganas.⁹ Gandhi violated Salt Law by producing salt in Dandi on 6 April. On that day *Bangiya Pradeshik Congress Committee* gave responsibility to Hari Kumar Chakraborty and his one of the associates Bijay Kumar Dutta and Professor Atul Sen to conduct Salt Satyagraha in regional level.

Hari Kumar Chakraborty concentrated on forming a revolutionary group, and it was planned to violate Salt Law in Kalikapur area with the help of that group. It is known from the confidential records of the British government that twenty members of Bhabanipur Revolutionary Party under the leadership of Bibhuti Chatterjee and members of the *Bani Mandir Sangha* (Local revolutionary group) situated under the jurisdiction of Falta P.S. went to the river Hooghly situated near Diamond Harbor to violate Salt Law. Nikunja Bihari Maity, Head Master of a school in Diamond Harbor violated Salt Law in Kakdwip. He was dismissed from his school service due to his 'offence'.¹⁰ But Civil Disobedience Movement created a huge sensation when salt was produced on the bank of river Bidyadhari on 9th April, 1930. Adjacent area of river Bidyadhari became a suitable place for violating Salt Law because salt can be easily manufacture from the saline water used to enter Bidyadhari during high tide.¹¹ Gour Mohan Mandal was regional leader in Kalikapur area who used to carry salt from here for sale to Calcutta and that salt was sold there in small packets. Youths of that place used to disobey law by buying those packets.¹² There was a time when Kalikapur became large salt manufacturing center after Dandi of Gujrat. So Regional Congress Committee of Bengal proposed before District Committee that, Salt Law should be violated by establishing many salt producing centers in Kalikapur area situated on the bank of river Bidyadhari.¹³ From that period, Salt Satyagraha Movement was started in almost all areas situated on the banks of rivers in southern part of 24 Parganas.

(c)

Next day i.e. 10th April huge amount of salt was produced on the bank of river Bidyadhari at Kalikapur area under the leadership of Professor Atul Sen and Sushil Mukherjee. Massive *lathi*-charge (tortured by stick) was organized by the on the *Satyagrahi* (who involved in producing salt). Severely injured persons were admitted to Chitta Ranjan Hospital in Kolkata. Other two popular local leaders Bijay Kumar Dutta and Basanta Kumar Mandal, and their followers were arrested for the 'offence' of violating Salt Law. Strike was observed in entire area against that arrest.¹⁴ Even salt, which was declared as illegal by the British government, was being manufactured in Champahati and Ghutiyari Sharif area. Police had *lathi*-charged brutally on agitators. Next day (12th April) almost all villagers protested in support of Satyagraha and a sensation was seen in many areas. But local *zamindar* Upen Mandal was strongly against Salt Satyagraha. He was closely associated with British. Because, he had no other way out to sustain his *zamindari* and existence.

Civil Disobedience Movement was spread in far south of 24 Parganas such as, Hasnabad, Canning, Bhangar, Kakdwip, etc. Volunteers used to produce salt in those areas.¹⁵ Some notable observers of Congress were Ashwini Kumar Ganguly, Debnath Chakraborty, Shibani Chakraborty, Shanti Lata Ghosh, Nistarini Ganguly, and Shaila Bala Roy of Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. It is also known that, Sarojini Naidu visited Kalikapur, and bought salt for Rs.8. So, it is noticed that, most members of the group were women.

Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, Hari Kumar Chakraborty, Kiran Shankar Roy, and Dr. Anil Chakraborty also visited a large area of that place for field investigation. They set up medical camp for the injured volunteer of Satyagraha of Kalikapur.¹⁶ Dr. Roy gave many suggestions to the young revolutionaries. They used to raise burning issues in legislative assembly. In other words, they were not interested to follow Gandhian political ideology in the context of mass movement. They were rather more comfortable in mass politics. This group of Congress became more influential during 1930s.¹⁷ Whatsoever, the movement was becoming more intense day-by-day. Here significant leadership was provided by Bijay Kumar Dutta, he was from Kodaliya village of Sonarpur. Huge police force was deployed to destroy the Satyagraha movement. But villagers did not care about it, and they practically boycotted the police.¹⁸ The agitators in Kalikapur, Champahati, and Sonarpur areas sat for picketing in front of wine shops and they even demolished those liquor shops.¹⁹ Such type of activity was much more successfully observed at Rajpur market in Sonarpur P.S. Under the leadership of Nripendra Nath Chakraborty, Secretary of Charingpota of Congress Committee, and Bijay Kumar Dutta from Kodaliya the youths and the teenagers of Rajpur and neighboring villages participated in that movement. During those days, Annada Charan Nath and Moti Lal Bishwas had shops of British clothes. Volunteers picketed in front of those shops, and shut those down. They took initiative to spread awareness about that among common people. That means, local leaders of that place took step to prevent unsocial activities. They took social responsibility as well while conducting Satyagraha.

Police started nabbing many people on 19th April in Kalikapur; in spite that, Congress leaders from Baruipur, Sonarpur, and Magrahat area came to Kalikapur area to participate in Salt Satyagraha movement. They made local administration restless by organizing several meetings, anti-salt law procession, and picketing, etc. Dr. Tulsi Paul, Satish Dey, Professor Rasbihari Chatterjee (he was professor of St. Paul's College) were arrested during the movement. On the other hand, youths of this place were arrested by police while picketing in support of boycott the British clothes in Bow Bazar area of Calcutta.²⁰ So, it is to be noted that, Congress leaders from Kolkata had connections in the movement took place in local areas of 24 Parganas. Thus, by the participation of villagers in Civil Disobedience Movement in the local area added a new dimension in the nationalist movement.

(d)

Nila was a significant place of Salt Satyagraha movement in South 24 Parganas. Now the question is why that place was significant? Nila was a suitable place for producing salt as it is situated in the juncture of three famous rivers, such as, Rup Narayan, Damodar, and Hooghly, and three districts, such as Midnapore, 24 Parganas, and Howrah.²¹ Nila was not just a suitable place of salt production, it was also under the demesne of Indian Government. The first meeting was organized in Nila on 23rd March, that meeting was presided over by senior activist Mr. Pran Krishna Roy. However, positive mass movement took place in this place on 31st March, under the leadership of Mr. Murari Sharan Chakraborty.²² On 6 April, that means the day when Gandhi violated Salt Law, Salt Satyagraha movement took place extensively in a remote area of far south of Bengal as well. But that history is still unknown. Here one more thing we need to notice that, planning for movement was started in Nila well before the beginning of Civil Disobedience Movement in pan-Indian context. Lalit Mohan Dev Sharma was the main organizer of agitation in Nila. He allowed Satyagrahis to use his residence and its courtyard and pond. That place was turned into a camp, and named as *Nila Samar Shibir* (Nila Military Camp). The responsibility of that camp was taken by Prabhas Chandra Purkayastha, Gadadhar Haldar, Satish Chandra Roy, and most importantly Dharendra Nath Mandal who was just seventeen years old then and was a student of Bangabasi College of Calcutta

and was native of Abdalpur.²³ With their activeness the movement spread to many centers from that camp. One of the prominent centers of salt production was Shibtala area of Nila.²⁴ Simple villagers, farmers, women, and even children joined those persons whose names are mentioned above. It was undoubtedly a unique phenomenon. Was there any place in India, where children also participated in Civil Disobedience Movement?

They not only violated Salt Law, they even violated other laws as well, and in that way, they sped up the momentum of that movement. Excitement of the people from all walks of life about the movement was easily visible. We have noticed in the context of Kalikapur area that Congress leaders arrived that place, similarly Amar Nath Bishwas belongs to the Christian community from Entally a place of Kolkata participated whole-heartedly in this Movement.²⁵ Participants of the Satyagraha, specifically women got immense support from local people. In this context, a report from *Masik Basumati*, a Bengali newspaper, can be quoted:

“Women welcomed them by blowing conches. They blessed them by offering flowers and *Laaj* or *Khoi* (flaked rice) on their heads. With that shield of blessings, the Congress workers appeared in battle-field. People came from all places and assembled there to witness non-violent movement.”²⁶

The huge wave of excitement regarding Salt Satyagraha movement was spread from Nila village to nearby Midnapore. Eminent revolutionary named Satish Chandra Samanta (he was one of the leaders of Quit India Movement of 1942) presided over a meeting at Nila where Bijay Kumar Dutta and Basanta Kumar Mandal were others frontline leaders were present there. Bijay Dutta and Basanta Mandal were arrested. When these two ‘soldiers’ of Civil Disobedience Movement in Nila were arrested, then the news spread everywhere with lightning speed. People called strike against this arrests in entire Diamond Harbor. Lawyers of criminal court boycotted court. On the other hand, lawyers of civil court donated the money to the camp named *Nila Samar Shibir*. But they faced six-month imprisonment. Local people then assembled in front of BDO office and protested that imprisonment. The administration issued public alertness in Nila and its adjacent areas. But the situation became more intense gradually, and that is known from administrative report.²⁷ Local Congress leader Chandra Kanta Chakraborty took the leadership of that movement after the frontline leaders were arrested. In such situation, Congress leader Kiran Shankar Roy from Kolkata came to Nila on 19 April to motivate the local freedom fighters. He called on a woman to join the movement. Her participation would create an awkward situation.²⁸ However, after two days, twenty women in Nila violated Salt Law by hoodwinking the police. Women’s participation added a new chapter in this movement. Around five hundred women assembled in an open field of Nila and started manufacturing salt. But police did not excuse them, although they were women. Police attacked them barbarously. There is a harrowing detail about that incident in a Bengali newspaper *Basumati*:

“When atrocities reached its peak, then a group of women brought in sharp items like chopper, axe, large knife from nearby houses, and started attacking police violently. After seeing those innumerable violent women, police fled from that place immediately and saved themselves.”²⁹

Women of Nila village observed a token hunger strike to express their sympathy towards injured freedom fighters.

It was truly positive that local women in a far and remote place of 24 Parganas participated directly and indirectly in Salt Satyagraha movement. Such women participation was not seen in any other villages of Bengal during Civil Disobedience Movement. It is known from daily reports about Civil Disobedience

Movement that, one hundred women assembled in the house of King Pyari Mukherjee in a place named Noongola of Diamond Harbor region. That meeting was named as 'Private Ladies Conference'. Interestingly in the meeting prostitutes were joined also. No doubt it had a far reaching consequences, Secretary of *Bangiya Naari Aain Amany Andolan* (Bengal Women Civil Disobedience Movement) of Calcutta presided over that meeting. She delivered a lecture here. One important aspect of that meeting was that prostitute women were called on to abandon the act of drinking alcohol and to leave their unchaste lives.³⁰ That means, agitators thought about social liberation as well while they carried on their political movement. The uniqueness of Civil Disobedience Movement called on by Gandhi was the participation of women and the working class people which was not seen during Gandhi's Non-Cooperation Movement. Women associated with and showed their sympathy to volunteers of Civil Disobedience Movement in many ways. And people irrespective of men and women did not cooperate at all with government employees. Therefore, native policemen could not buy any food or beverage from villagers after even so many efforts. That means, people non-violently stood against their opponents through non-cooperation and boycotting activities. That added a new dimension to Gandhian ideology. A report from contemporary Bengali journal wrote:

“Police were insulted and put in risk by the non-cooperation from common people of Nila and its nearby places. Police and their senior officials have given such tragic details in many places that tears would come out even from the eyes of stony-hearted persons. They could not buy food from markets, when they go near some ponds to quench their thirst; they were driven away by people. They could not get any vehicles.”³¹

Here we can observe unique nature of the movement. Villagers socially boycotted the natives who were joined in British police force and tortured their own countrymen. In short, native policemen were ostracized. Those policemen were sycophants of British, so they were out casted. That social boycott was one of the main characteristics of Civil Disobedience Movement of that region.

Social boycott and Civil Disobedience Movement went hand in hand. When movement became more intense, and people became more furious in anti-British activities, then British police took initiative to suppress that movement strictly. 24th April is a memorable day in the history of 24 Parganas, and India. On that day, at noon, more than two thousand people started assembling in Nila to violate Salt Law. The situation was fury yet activists of Civil Disobedience Movement executed their programs in non-violent and peaceful way. Police termed that assemblage as illegal, and ordered people to vacate that place. But activists of Salt Law Movement ignored that order, and then police started *lathi*-charging on activists indiscriminately. That *lathi*-charge severely injured a leader named Ashwini Kumar Deb Sarkar; Sarada Prasad Halder, a renowned lawyer from Diamond Harbor; and Padma Lochan Sardar, a local octogenarian. Some activists snatched sticks from the hand of police, and threw on police, that injured two policemen. Immediately, police officers were rushed to Satyagraha camp by volunteers of movement, both officers were treated there, and then they were sent to police camp.³² Police officers attacked activists during Civil Disobedience Movement, and when police officers themselves got injured, and then activists provided them first-aid. Such thing ever happened in entire India? Was Gandhi informed about such unprecedented incident? Was it publicized in pan-Indian level that activists had shown excellent example of non-violent policy?

When the clash between both parties reached peak point, then Assistant Commissioner of Police gave the order to fire, in that firing six persons immediately got shot. Ashutosh Dolui was among those six persons, and he was then just sixteen years old. He died on the spot. He was first martyr of Salt Satyagraha or Civil

Disobedience Movement in India.³³ The SDO reached that spot immediately to handle the situation. Meher Ali was Ashutosh's associate; his both legs were amputated. On the other hand, L.S. Bingemann, Magistrate of 24 Parganas, proposed after realizing the significance of the incident that the trials on the arrested persons should be conducted in head quarter. Because he assumed that local people were so much emotional that that could create ruckus if trials were conducted in local court.³⁴

Subhas Chandra Bose respectfully praised that heroic and revolutionary mentality of Nila region. He did not visit this region, but always kept him updated about the incidents of this place. After one year of this incident, that means on 26 April, 1931, Subhash Chandra sent his invaluable message to the commemoration held in memory of Ashutosh Dolui. Excerpts:

“The courage, heroism, and patriotism shown by Mr. Ashutosh Dolui are rarely seen in history of India. He happily sacrificed his invaluable life for the country. Who can sacrifice more than that? He made his life blessed by dying, and he moved forward our nation towards freedom.”³⁵

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Nila was prime spot of anti-Salt Law. Similarly, activities regarding Civil Disobedience Movement had taken place almost every day in Ramrampur of Diamond Harbor as well. Here around seven hundred volunteers used to produce salt daily by hoodwinking police. Salt was produced and collected from the remote villages of Mathurapur, and Kakdwip situated in far south of 24 Parganas, those villages were surrounded by rivers; and the collected salt sent to far and near towns for trading.³⁶ Here the Civil Disobedience Movement was led by Jyotish Roy, he later joined Communist Party. Another leader was Kangsari Haldar, he later became part of history of Tebhaga peasant movement of this district. Satyagrahis were active in almost all places of Diamond Harbor sub-division. A large procession was seen in the place where trials were conducted on those who were involved in violating Nila Case, U/S. 144 C.P.C of Diamond Harbor. Many volunteers among the activists of that procession shouted revolutionary slogans in the premises of Diamond Harbor Court and they sold salt there as well. Indian members of several local boards of Diamond Harbor and its nearby places came out to join protest activities. They started resigning. Such as, Assistant of Kamarpole Union resigned from Panchayat, he was a president of Diamond Harbor Local Board, and his name was Charu Chandra Bhandari.³⁷ On 13th May, more than ten thousand men and women took out a procession from Nila, and moved forward by violating Section 144 in many places to reach their destination Diamond Harbor. Charu Chandra joined that procession when it was reached the town. He was arrested with other activists by police, and imprisoned for six months. In this way, movement was going on in many places of 24 Parganas' southern part. On 18 August seven hundred local people conducted Civil Disobedience Movement in Ramrampur area near Diamond Harbor; and it was the last chapter of Salt Satyagraha in Bengal.³⁸

Whatsoever, it is seen in all-Indian contexts that, first part of Civil Disobedience Movement was stopped because of Gandhi-Irwin Pact. Congress leadership lost motivation to carry on that movement for a long period. Traders' communities also pressurized Gandhi; and Bengal Congress was tattered because of internal conflict. Politics of Congress was decaying.³⁹ 24 Parganas was also no exception; so, Congress was subdued here as well. Moreover, the movement in the beginning was very much motivated, but police atrocities made that low-spirited. Although Congress was tattered because of internal conflict; yet leaders of this party were directly involved with the movement. Salt Satyagraha of this place. And Congress had constant internal conflict.⁴⁰ Salt Satyagraha left an exceptional nature in the politics of 24 Parganas

(f)

Conclusion:

It is observed in the context of this discussion that, Salt Satyagraha started as a part of Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930 was short-lived but it made a far reaching impact and its movement had a specific nature as well.

Firstly, in the beginning only common people started Salt Satyagraha in two obscure villages (Kalikapur and Nila). Many of them produced salt in their homes as well. Local Congress leaders led their movement. People from all the neighboring places directly or indirectly participated in that movement.

Secondly, this movement was not incoherent or unorganized. Because, Congress leaders from Kolkata, such as, Bidhan Chandra Roy, Kiran Shankar Roy and even Sarojini Naidu visited Kalikapur and Nila several times to understand and keep the momentum of that movement. So, there was a connection between provincial leadership and local leadership.

Thirdly, one of the main aspects of that movement was participation of women along with men. Many of them directly participated in salt producing, joined meetings and processions, and participated in sit-in protests in front of the shops of British products. That means, women appeared with supreme role.

Fourthly, It should be however admitted that, there was an effort to turn the urban-centric movement into rural based movement, and it got response from less educated rural farmers, fishermen, and common people. Students, teachers, villagers, lawyers, and housewives joined those common people in villages, neighborhoods, and even in cities. So, the role of sub-contractors in Gandhian movement is not observed here.

Fifthly, farmers were already awakened against colonialism, later that fueled the farmers to start anti-rent movement against zamindars, and that showed the way of success during Tebhaga peasant movement.⁴¹ We all know that, Kakdwip of South 24 Parganas was the most prominent place of Tebhaga movement

Sixthly, a socio-economically backward place made its position in Bengal politics with the help of Salt Satyagraha. It can be said that a connection was made between 'elite' leadership of Kolkata and subaltern people of this remote place of 24 Parganas. Historian Barun Dey has written veritably, 'The links of these spontaneous movement may be found in the network of their rural relationship with the eastern outskirts of Calcutta it was of such rural and urban bases that the composite movement was formed which is together called the Indian freedom struggle.'⁴²

Notes & References:

1. Bipan Chandra and others, *India's Struggle for Independence 1857-1947* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 1989), 271.
2. It can be said regarding geographical identity of the places where Salt Satyagraha took place that, Mahishbathan was the place where presently Salt Lake City and its adjacent places are situated. On the other hand, Diamond Harbor is last station at far south of Sealdah-Diamond Harbor Railway Section. Nila is a remote village situated on the bank of river Hooghly near Diamond Harbor. Kalikapur is a station of Sealdah-Canning Section, still there is a monument of 1930's Salt Satyagraha in the adjacent area of the station.
3. Archeologist Kali Krishna Mandal showed with archeological survey that, lots of small terracotta pots having impression of a kind of elongated basket are found beneath grounds in several places of present day 24 Parganas. It is surmised that, these earthen pots named *Kunri* and having impression of basket

- had been in use from ancient era to keep and measure salt. Kali Krishna Mandal, *Dakshin 24 Paraganar Bismrita Adhyay* (Kolkata: Naba Chalandika, 1991), 132.
4. Hitesh Ranjan Sanyal, *Swarajer Pathe* (Kolkata: Papyrus, 1994), 237.
 5. *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, April 7, 1930
 6. Balai Chandra Barui, 'Chabbish Paraganar Laban Shilpa O Malangi Shoshan', *Aitihāsik*, First Issue, Baishakh 1383 53.
 7. *Report on the Administration of Salt etc. for the year 1860-61* (Alipore: Bengal Secretariate Press, 1862), 15.
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 10. West Bengal State Archives (W.B.S.A), File no.215/1930, sub: "1930 Civil Disobedience in Connection with Manufacture of Salt," Political Department, Political Branch (Confidential), D.O.no.76 Con., letter from L.S. Bingement to W.D.R. Prentice, March 24, 1930.
 11. *The Liberty*, Calcutta, April 9, 1930.
 12. Pushpa Ranjan Sarkar, 'Chabbish Paragana O Banglar Laban Satyagraha: Dwandwikata Tulaniyata O Jogajog', in *Itihas Anusandhan 22*, ed. Aniruddha Roy ((Kolkata: Pashchimanga Itihas Sangsad, 2008), 556.
 13. *The Libirty*, Calcutta, April 9, 1930
 14. West Bengal State Archives, (W.B.S.A), File no.215/1930, Political Department, Political Branch (Confidential), D.O.no.114 Con., letter from L.S. Bingemann to F.W. Robertson, April 11, 1930.
 15. West Bengal State Archives (W.B.S.A), File no.215/1930, Political Department, Political Branch (Confidential), D.O.no.190 Con., letter from L.S. Bingemann to F.W. Robertson, April 13, 1930.
 16. Kali Krishna Mandal, *Dakhin 24 Parganas Bismritra Adyay* (Kolkata: Naba Chalandika, 1991), 132..
 17. Sumit Sarkar, *Modern India 1885-1947* (New Delhi: Macmillan, 1999), 345, first published 1983.
 18. Bijan Kumar Chakraborty, 'Rajpur, Harinabhi, Kodaliya Anchale Aain Amanyā Andolan' in Rajpur Sonarpur: *Ateet O Aitihya*, Vol. 2, edited by Jiban Mukhopadhyay (Kolkata: Progressive Publishers, 2014), 400.
 19. West Bengal State Archives (W.B.S.A.), File no.215/1930, Political Department, Political Branch (Confidential), D.O.no.114 Con., letter from L.S. Bingemann to F.W. Robertson, April 14, 1930.
 20. West Bengal State Archives (W.B.S.A), File no.776 (1930), Confidential Report, Government of Bengal, Political Department, Political Branch.
 21. Narottam Halder, 'Laban Satyagraher Ekti Bismrita Adhyay, First Part, *Masik Basumati*, Bhadra, 1372(44th Year): 735.
 22. *Ibid*, 736.
 23. A.N. Serajuddin, 'The Condition of Salt Manufacture of Bengal under the Rule of East India Company' *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bangladesh*, Vol. XVIII, No. 1, Dacca (:April 1973) 6
 24. A.N Serajuddin, " The Condition of Salt Manufacture of Bengal under the Rule of East India Company" *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bangladesh*, Vol. XVIII, No, 1, Dacca: (April 1973), 6 see also, Till today Mr. Lalit's residence, known as Nila Camp or Ashram Bari, is carrying old legacy for the people of this region. The place under an old banyan tree situated near that house is popularly

known as *Shib Tala*. Here salt had been produced; and this place still carrying the testimony of Salt Satyagraha.

25. *The Liberty* (Calcutta), April, 6, 1930. See also, Dr. Prasit Roy Choudhury, 'Dakshin 24 Paraganar Swadhinata Sangramar Roop-Rekha; published, in *24 Paraganar Anchalik Itihas O Sanskriti*, edited by Gokul Chandra Das (Kolkata: Progressive, 2004), 71.
26. *Masik Basumati*, afore-mentioned, 736.
27. *File No. 2015/1930*, Political Deptt., Political Branch (Confidential) D.O.No.116 Letter from L.S.Bingemann to W.D.R Prentice. 15/4/1930 (W.B.S.A)
28. *File No. 215/1930*, Political Deptt., Political Branch, (Confidential) D.O. No, 124 Con, Letter from L.S.Bingemann to F.W.Robertson 19/4/1930 (W.B.S.A).
29. *Masik Basumati*, Aashwin 1372, 45 Year, Sixth Issue, p 901.
30. *File No. 105A-30/1930*, Sub.Civil Disobedience, *24 Parganas*, Office of the Deputy General of Police, Intelligence Branch, CID, Bengal.
31. *Bangabani*, Kolkata, 23 April, 1930, 3rd Issue.
32. *Masik Basumati*, afore-mentioned, 902.
33. *The Liberty*, (Calcutta) April 27, 1930. See more, *File No. 10R/1-30*, Political Deptt. Political Branch, Iss No. Tel 598A, date 25/04/30. Next day immediately a telegram was sent from Kolkata to the Department of Home in Simla. Historian Ramesh Chandra Mazumdar provided a list of Satyagrahis who were injured and died during Civil Disobedience Movement in Bangladesh. There is name of a Satyagrahi in the list of people who died, and he was from 24 Parganas. R.C. Majumdar, *History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III*, (Calcutta : Firma K.L.M. Pvt. Ltd. 2nd edition, 1977), p. 283. A famous daily of that period named *The Bengalee* published a news on April 27, 1930 at page no. 5 regarding shoot out on Ashutosh Dolui and others, and the headline was, 'Police Open Fire, One Villager killed in Neela, Sequel to Salt Satyagraha'.
34. *File No. 215/1930*, Political Deptt., Political Branch, (Confidential). D.O.No. 143 Con., Letter from L.S.Bingemann to Robertson, dated. 25 April 1930 (W.B.S.A)
35. *Masik Basumati*, afore-mentioned, p 905. This two-page message of reminiscence was first published in *Masik Basumati* only. It was not published in any print media. A booklet having detailed information about movements in Bengal titled *Bangla O Congress* was published during State Congress Conference of West Bengal held in Bara a sat in 1953. Some lines about Nila Movement can be quoted from the booklet: “জাতীয় সংগ্রাম-ভূমি নীলা একটি বিখ্যাত স্থান---- সহস্র সহস্র বীরের রক্তে যে ইতিহাস উজ্জ্বল হয়ে আছে, তাতে নীলার শহীদ আশুতোষ ইতিহাসের একপ্রান্তে অমর হয়ে বিরাজ করছেন” (Nila is a famous place as it is the land of National Movement. Thousands of braves created a glorious history by sacrificing their lives. In that history, there is a name of martyr Ashutosh as well, who was from Nila.)
36. *File No. 215/1930*, Political Department, Political Branch, (Confidential). D.O.No. 189 Con. Letter from L.S.Bingemann to Robertson (W.B.S.A)
37. *Masik Basumati*, afore-mentioned, pp 905-06.
38. *File No. 215/1930*, Extract from the Report of the Deputy Commissioner, 27th September, 1930 (W.B.S.A)
39. Sumit Sarkar, *A Critique of Colonial India*, (Kolkata: Papyrus, 2000,), 127,
40. Leonrd Gordon, *Brothers against the Raj*, (New Delh: Rupa 1997), 268.
41. Pushparanjan Sarkar, 'Salt Movement to Tebagha Movement: Role of Peasantry 24 Parganas' in *Procieedings of the Indian History Congress, 71(2010): 657.*

42. Barun De, *Op.cit*, 115-16.