

CHAPTER-V

MARKETS OF SOUTH WEST BENGAL

Introduction: The most important feature of the economy of South-West Bengal was the ubiquitous small and large markets. The term market would be used to explain the centres of exchange and factors and process associated with its route and growth as sites and network of trade and commercial transaction. Therefore, market developed in order to circulate man's necessary commodities and their trading.

Market place is not only an arena of exchange but also a remarkable knot in the fabric of social mediation woven around manufacturing villages, ferry *ghats*, checks and tolls, granaries and storages and weekly as well as permanent markets.¹ Kumkum Chaaterjee sees characteristic of this economy appears to be present in some instances.² According to Datta's conception; the producers and the small traders were in the bellows between the mill of coercive state revenue extraction and big merchant domination. According to him markets were like instruments of mercantile control over commercial and production processes.³

The economy of South West Bengal as well as the entire Bengal was mainly subsistence oriented, naturally reciprocal exchange and limited exchange develops through

¹ Sudipta Sen, *Empire of Free Trade; the East India Company and the Making of the Colonial Marketplace*, 1998, p. 42.

² Kumkum Chaaterjee, *Merchants ,Politics and Society in Early Modern India ,Bihar;1733-1820*, Leiden; E.J. Brill,1996

³ Rajat Datta, *Society, Economy and the Market, Commercialization in Rural Bengal c.1760-1800*, Delhi, Monohar, 2000

'haat' in the scenario of weaving industry.⁴ According to Planter, trade is drawn towards a particular site, specifically when the place economically, politically, and socially well organized.⁵ Regional integration comes from the investment in the infrastructure including suitable and cheap transport system.⁶ Besides, there remains political integration and persons having knowledge about trade. These rudimentary conditions remained intact in this regard. It may be considered that many people from different strata of society joined together in this trading system.

In the Second half of the 18th century longitudinal economic development and expansion in South -West Bengal was found through urbanization and economic fortification. Remarkably, we are least aware of the markets and its system of exchange in South-West Bengal. Therefore, emphasis has been laid on the market system of South-West Bengal. In this chapter, there will be discussion on the establishment of markets, the role of different community in controlling market system of South-West Bengal, the general rules and regulations of establishing markets and its charity, exactions of different kinds of levies from the markets. Moreover, the East India Company tried to control for smooth running of market system by the regulations as a ruler.

V.1: Establishment of Markets in South West Bengal

Markets have been established in every sphere of political authorization. Markets developed on the basis of different conditions – favourable geographical locations, religious places, on the way of trading, places famous for the production of special

⁴ Hameeda Hossion, *The Company Weavers of Bengal. The East India Company and the Organization of Textile Production in Bengal, 1750-1813*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1988, p. xi

⁵ S. Plattner 'Markets and Marketplaces' 1991, pp.181-182

⁶ Tilottama Mukherjee, '*Of Roads and Rivers; Aspects of Travel and Transport in Eighteenth Century Bengal*', M. Phil Dissertation, Jawaharlal Nehru University, 1997, pp.15-42

commodities and places of military regiments. It has been referred to in various research works that markets developed on the basis of landlords' revenue collection. It was found that local *ryots* were compelled to bring the excess production into the markets due to the levy exacted on them. However, evidence of the diversity and sophistication of trade pathways suggests that the spontaneity of markets depended on the balance of the market exchange system, which created a junction where contractors' or owner's control and revenue collection were comparatively light.⁷

In modern research, alongside the establishment of the *bazar* and its expansion, regulations of markets became the most significant part. During the contemporary market system many people were connected with markets, specifically the common people (the *ryots* and the artisans) of the village. The presence of the ruler in the market was for the demand of the duties. The *ryots*, the traders, and the intermediaries' businessmen were connected with the markets not only for the institutional pressure and to remit rents but also for their own self-interests.

At the beginning of the 18th century, a harmonious network of business developed among indigenous traders, merchants of Asia, and of Europe through thousands of tiny exchanges and businesses. Many people of different social strata such as from *Najim* to the aristocrat, from the *fakirs* to the land lords were permitted to establish *bazar*. But, it was not a rare incident that the final ownership of market and the collection of tax were under the control of the state. Market came out to be the place of hope and expectation for the authority, founder and its users.⁸

⁷ Tillotama Mukherjee, *Markets in Eighteenth Century Bengal Economy*, The Indian and Social History review,48,2(2011); 143-76, pp. 146-147

⁸ Rajat Datta, *From Medieval to Colonial; Markets, Territoriality and the Transition in Eighteenth Century Bengal*, The Medieval History Journal, Vol. 2, 1999, 1; 143-67

History bears the evidence of the inception and destruction of every market, periodic or permanent. The development of markets depended on the patronization of the ruler. Markets were established specially by the rulers and those families closely related to the rulers. The rulers gave permission to establish markets to those families favoured by him as a token of patronization for serving them.⁹ The ruler established markets adjacent to their residences for patronization and for the enhancement of honour of their families. The ruling elite and their officials took a leading role to raise markets.¹⁰ Such as Azeem- us-Shan, who resided at Burdwan in South-West Bengal, built a public mosque in the city and also caused to be constructed a new *bazar* in Hoogly to which he gave the name of 'Shahgunj' but people in compliment to him called it Azeemgunj.¹¹ In the first half the 18th century Raja Kirti Chand(1702-1740)established a *bazar* named Kanchannagar.¹² Dower Haatta *Bazar* was established by Jower Sing; Diwangunj by Nimbhund Babu; Chandempore by Nanda Kumar Roy.¹³

Market density across the eighteenth century in South West Bengal as well as entire Bengal very clearly increased towards the end of the century. The rural and urban landscape of the region appears to have been permitted with *haat* (periodic small market), *bazar* (permanent market), and *gunj* (permanent grain market) of different sizes catering to different classes of people. Evidence from across the region testifies to the immense number such sites of exchange. Burdwan, for instance, had a total of 380 *haats*, *gunjs* and *bazars*. Some of these are situated in Midnapore at present. The *zaminders* were closely

⁹ Sudipta Sen, op.cit, 1998, p.41

¹⁰ Salim Ghulam Hussion, *Riyaz-Us Salatin*, 1975, pp. 280-281.

¹¹ Stewart Charles, *The History of Bengal: From the first Mohamedan Invasion until the Virtual Conquest of the Country by the English, 1757 A.D*, Calcutta, Bangabashi..., 1910, p.-376

¹² Jotirmoy Bhaattachariya & Giridhar Sarkar, *Bardhaman Itihaser Sandhan*, Kolkata, Dey Publishing, 2012, p. 166

¹³ Ibid.

associated with the foundation of many of these markets. Trilok Chand and Tej Chand established many *gunjs*, *haats* and *bazars*, which they appropriated for religious establishments among themselves.¹⁴

In 1748, Ramgopal Roy established *zamindari* in Jara. During 1750's Krishnakanta, the eldest son of Madanmohan and the grandson of Ramgopal, established a '*gunj*' through the inception of a village named *Krishangunj* which still exists today while coming from Burdwan to Jara.¹⁵ Moreover, Rani's market nearby Baroda was famous and named after certain queen of *Singha* Empire. In Renell's map this place is mentioned.¹⁶

During the first half of the 18th century, the rulers were highly interested in collecting tax from the trade and trading centres. They endeavoured to avoid all sorts of commercial hindrances. They established the rule through rule of law. This philosophy as well as ethic of business helped them to control the commercial arena. According to *Nijamat's* view, connoisseurship in business would bring the prosperity of the treasury.¹⁷ How mercantile activity was influenced by surrounding social status became clarified by Alibardi Khan's attitude towards state. He said that 'merchants are the state's benefactors; their imports and exports are an advantage to all men of the state...'¹⁸

In the rural areas weekly *haats* and *bazars* as well as roadsides and *ferry ghats* were the places of dominance of *zamindar* families. They collected duty and *abwoab* from the agrarian productions and the artisan's productions and their transportation. It sometimes exceeded land revenues. Consequently, local rulers got interested in establishing new

¹⁴ WBSA, Board of Revenue Sayer(BRS), Vol-1, 26th July, 1790, pp. 489-90

¹⁵ Panchanan Roy & Pranab Roy, *Ghantaler Katha, Ghaatal Mahakumar Itihas o Samajchitra*, Vol. 2, Calcutta, Sandesh, Ist Published(1977) reprint 2007, p. 47

¹⁶ Ibid, Vol. 1, p.240

¹⁷ Salim Ghulam Hussion, *Riyaz-Us Salatin*, 1975, pp. 280-281.

¹⁸ Alivardi to Barwell, 9th July 1749 see Rajat Dutta, op. cit, 2000, p.200.

markets and *bazars*. It is true that there was no such large *bazar* in anywhere of South-West Bengal as that of in Dhaka and Murshidabad. But, in rural belts there were huge number of intermediate markets, *haats* and *bazars*, which were connected to the provincial commercial network. These redistributed small centres were established by the loyal family members as well as members of the *Najim* family. Actually, they were the founders of the *zamindari* and they became landlords¹⁹. Before the inclusion of the landlord class, the gentry' class became interested in markets and they founded bridges, *chauks*, roads and *sarais*. Political dominance was established in all spheres of exchange centres.²⁰ Specifically, *zamindari* was established by their initiatives. *Najim* and the landlords expanded the collection of *sair* tax regarding religion when *gunjs* were established at its initial stage.²¹ Like *Najim*, *zamindar* and *talukdar* had also wealth and fame. Later periods, the Company became the sole approving authority of the *bazar*.²²

For instance, we may say that in South-West Bengal specifically the *haats*, *ghats*, *bazars* and *gunjs* of Hijli, Tamluk, and Jaleswar division were established by the ruling elite. Since the ancient times, the authority of collecting toll and rent out of these *ghats*, *haats* and *bazars* were given to these ruling elites. (V; I & 2) ²³

In South-West Bengal a *bazar* with great circumference was established by *Altumghas* and other tax holders. They did it because of their own benefits. Later, the authority shifted to other hands in case of controlling the *bazars*. The government got satisfied with imposing general regulations for the prevention of undue exactions and

¹⁹ Rajat Datta, op. cit, 2000, p.201

²⁰ Ibid

²¹ Proceedings of the Committee of Revenue (PCR), Vol. 24, 20th March, 1783

²² Rajat Datta, op. cit, 2000, p.167

²³ Ibid.

occasionally interfered to modify or to abolish particular imposts as they occurred or were discovered.²⁴

Monopoly of establishing most of the *haats*, *ghats*, and *bazars* of Hijli and Jaleswar division in South- West Bengal was in the hand of the ruling elite, which has been quite easily found. Those *haats*, *ghats*, and *bazars* coming under the governmental system of 1790 are as follow: (V.1)

²⁴ Ibid, pp.167-168

Table No: V. 1

<i>Parganah</i>	<i>Name of Haat, Ghaat, Bazar</i>	<i>Year of Establishment</i>	<i>First Establish by</i>	<i>Name of Occupier</i>
Bissan	<i>Haat Bhowany chak</i>	1155	Laxminarain Chaudury	Mahamad Gaus
”	<i>Haat Bahadurpore</i>	1186	Birnarain Chaudury	Mukliram das
”	<i>Ghat Tulsichura</i>	1174	”	Thakur das
Erranch	<i>Ghat kurgunj</i>	1163	Laxminarain Chaudury	Rupchand Bose
”	<i>Haat Sagdeah</i>	1193	Birnarain Chaudury	Nandalal gosh
Balsay	<i>Ghat pichabony</i>	1045	Hurrynarain Chaudury	Jaganath sing
Bougrai	<i>Ghat Deypaul & Darongutta</i>	1045	Hurry narain Chaudury	Bejaram pakree
”	<i>Ghat Gole</i>	1186	Birnarain Chaudhury	Premanand Maity
”	<i>Ghat Motah</i>	1044	Hurry narain Chaudury	Gangaram das
”	<i>Haat Daydekee</i>	1192	Birnarain Chaudury	Dowlat roy
Paharpur	<i>Chowmok Gurry</i>	1045	Hurrynarain Choudury	Samburam das
”	<i>Ghat Mahal</i>	1175	Birnarain Chaudury	Samburam das
”	<i>Paddu gunj</i>	1192	”	Rammohan ghosh
”	<i>Haat Tajpur</i>	1045	Hurrynarain Chaudury	Gokulchand Bose
Jallamotah	<i>Ghat Duttooguree</i>	1182	Birnarain Chaudury	Samprasad Ghose
”		995	Kisto narain Chaudury	”
”	<i>Ramchandrapur</i>	1175	Birnarain Chaudury	Ananda Das
”	<i>Haat Nandy</i>	995	Birnarain Chaudury	Petumber Das
”	<i>Ghat Taraipur</i>		Kisto narain Chaudury	
”	<i>Ghat Lawry & Butnan</i>	995	”	Ramcharan
”	<i>Haat Bhoorandah</i>	1177	Birnarain Chaudury	Gobinda das

Jallamotah	<i>Haat</i> Syepookereah	1192	Birnarain Chaudury	Bancharam das
„	<i>Haat</i> Dheypaul	1162	Laxmi narain Chaudhury	Darpanarain Roy
Magnamutha	<i>Haat</i> Mddaberat	1021	Jagomohan Chaudury	Durga Ch.Naik
„	<i>Haat</i> Cantanullah	1065	Jadhumohan Chaudhury	Meer Dowlat
„	<i>Haat</i> Taijpoor	1057	Roykishor chaudhury	Shakir Mahamad
„	<i>Haat</i> Pykebar	1057	„	Puram ghiri
„	<i>Haat</i> Kushumpore	1055	„	Rajaballal das
„	<i>Haat</i> Chutadurah	1187	Coornarain Roy	Laxmi Nr.Bhunia
„	<i>Haat</i> Kerakuneah	1188	„	Gopee Mondal
„	<i>Bazar</i> Bhagowan pur	1055	Roykishor Roy	Ramdaschudhuri
Jallasore	<i>Haat</i> Cosaful tolah	1119	Narahory Chaudhuri	Zamindar
„	<i>Haat</i> Boutarpore	1113	„	„
„	<i>Haat</i> Dookunnah	1145	Bazbulal Chaudhury	„
„	<i>Haat</i> Deallee	1151	„	„
„	Thalgachareey	1154	„	„
„	<i>Haat</i> Casbah	1129	Gazendra Bhunia	„
„	<i>Haat</i> Develly	1129	„	„
„	Uterkatchoah	1142	„	„
„	<i>Haat</i> Develly	1113	Prasad Bhunia	„
„	<i>Haat</i> Nulloah	1122	„	„
„	Baut Gram	1135	Sarbesor Bhunia	„
„	Meerjapore	1101	Narahory Bhunia	„
„	Serjabad	1101	„	„

Source: Comptroller of Salt and Collector of Salt ...Tamluk, Mtyasadal, Hijli (CSTHM), Vol. -3, pp. 60-61

Table No: V. 2

<i>Parganah</i>	Name of <i>Haat, Ghaat, Bazar</i>	Year of Establishment	First Established by	Name of Occupier
Kasbah Hijli	<i>Ghat</i> Pertabpore	1025	Jadhmohon Chaudhury	Zamand Bose
„	<i>Ghat</i> Rossulpur	1176	Jaduram Chaudhury	Giridhar Dutta
„	<i>Ghat</i> Kedgree	1070	Roy kissen Chaudhury	Seikh Saker
„	<i>Ghat</i> Hoarcolly	1139	Coornarain Roy	Mukundaram Dass
Ballejorah	<i>Ghat</i> Petuah	1055	Chaudhury	Muroly mukund
„	<i>Haat</i> Mirza pur	1130	Roykissen Choudhury	Jeet ram Das
Daut Corai	<i>Ghat</i> Booyarry	1022	Booputty Roy	Suniberam Sarker
„	<i>Ghat</i> Tanna	1192	Jagomohan Chaudhury	Seikh Saker
„	<i>Haat</i> Comulpur	1161	Coornarain Chaudhury	Sunibarab Das
„	<i>Ghat</i> Boorkeah	1034	Jaduram Chawdhury	„
Pattapur	<i>Ghat</i> Booyarry	1034	Jagomohan Chaudhury	Rammohan Bose
„	<i>Ghat</i> Itabereah	1034	„	Samboran Das
Durudamnan	<i>Haat</i> Cookrahaaty	1057	„	Jagatanand Ghosh
„	<i>Haat</i> Gobindapur	1164	Roy kissore Chaudhury	Jagoo paul
„	<i>Haat</i> Gossepur	1164	Jaduram Chaudhury	Radasam Das
„	<i>Ghat</i> Hoarcolly	1139	„	Kissory kanta Roy
„	<i>Ghat</i> Gilleabarreah	1145	Bhooputy Chawdhury	Horry prem Roy
„	<i>Ghat</i> Banjahaat(sic)	1170	Parboty Charan Chaudhury	Jagatanand Gosh
			Jaduram Chaudhury	

Source: Comptroller of Salt and Collector of Salt ...Tamluk, Mtsadal, Hijli(CSTM), Vol. -3, pp. 60-61

We see many other instances every part of South West Bengal. Such as, after the death of Mirza Didar Alibeg in 1767, Santoshpriya and Krishnapriya, the wives of king Rajnarayan and king Kripanarayan respectively, offered some villages of Basudevpur *taluk* and Gopalpur *taluk* as accolade to the *dewans*, Nandakumar and Gangagovinda when the queens were offered the state of Tamluk. *Dewan* Nandakumar established in Basudevpur *taluk* a *haat* renowned as Nandakumar *haat* even still is existed today.²⁵

The establishment of markets continued throughout the century. Even the representatives of the East India Company established many markets, giving importance to the local needs. It can be said that in *Ain-i-Akbari*, Midnapore was mentioned as a great place under the government of Jaleswar, but it took its modern form and gained commercial activity after the patronization of the Company. As a huge army of captain Knox stationed in Midnapore, it became a much safer place for investment of resources by the Company. Gradually, Midnapore replaced Balasore as business headquarters.²⁶ Representatives of the Company stationed in Midnapore and took initiatives to set up one of the markets in Midnapore in South-West Bengal. These markets are Bara *bazar*, Choto *bazar*(Jaleswar *Bazar*), *Sepoy bazar*, Patna *Bazar* and Cornelgola. The places where Bara *bazar* and Choto *bazar* developed once were *jungal* land. A fort was established under the collectorship of Mr. Burdett. A *haat* was established in order to fulfil the need of the coolies engaged in the construction of the fort. It was the starting point of inception of *Bara bazar* which later got enlarged and lively. Besides the government employees and

²⁵ Kamal Chowdhuri, *Medinipurer Itihas*, Vol. 1, Kolkata, 2008, p.226

²⁶ W.Firmingar, *The Fifth Report*, Calcutta, 1917, p.135

their assistants, the *zamindars* of Midnapore division and their *vakils* established their residences at this place.²⁷

Choto *bazar* also developed in the similar way Mr. Graham established the *bazar* and proposed to call *Bibigunj* in the name of his wife Mrs. Graham. It is also known as Jaleswar *bazar* as the *zamindars* of Jaleswar and their *vakils* began to stay here. Patna *bazar* was established in 1769-70 during the tenure of Mr. George Vansittart as a collector. Similarly, Sepoy *bazar* developed on the basis of the arrival of the army to that place.²⁸ Besides, the places of Midnapore like Cornelgola, Corporal *bazar*, and Keranitola bear much evidence of the memories of British rule.²⁹

These rural markets of South West-Bengal became integrated with sub-continental as well as larger commercial arena. The production of necessary mercantile goods as well as agricultural commodities increased during the period of the Company regime, as the Company took initiatives in the establishment of markets and its proliferation. With the enhancement of commercial circumference, self-sufficiency of people and the collection of tax got increased.³⁰

V.1.a: Establishment of Markets for maintaining the Expenses of Mosques, *Thakurbaris* and Religious Ceremonies

There were several *debuttora* markets established on the rent free land. The profit earned from these markets helped in organizing rituals and maintaining the expenses of

²⁷ PCR, Vol. 9, 8th November, 1781, pp. 180-181 The four Principals Bazars Barabazar, Choto Bazar, Patna Bazar Situated in the Perganah of Midnapore. Lt From Peiarce 3rd November 1781, also see Governor General in Council, 23rd April, 1788, pp. 382-384

²⁸ . Ibid, pp.180-181

²⁹ Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations- A.K Jameson, see Tarunde Bhaattacharya, Paschim Banga Darshan; Medinipur, p.154

³⁰ Board of Trade Commercial Vol. 10, 22nd March, 1777, P 586 also see Tilotama Mukherjee, op.cit, 2011, p.21

many mosques and the *thakurbaris* and religious ceremonies,³¹ many *gunjs* of contemporary Burdwan province under South West- Bengal were established for the aforesaid reason. Such as Maharaja Tilok Chand of Burdwan granted a *debuttara* land to the family of his *dewan* Nunda Kumar Roy in *parganah* of Jahangirabad to establish a *gunj* at his own expense, and make collection from the *gunj* for their temple and service to the deity Laxminarayan. ³²Sometimes, *gunjs* were established in order to help some specific people.

Table No; V.3

Date of establishment	Name of the <i>gunj</i>	<i>Parganah</i> where situated	The present possession	The tenure whereby each is held rent free	Collection of each <i>gunj</i>
1165	Raje <i>gunj</i>	Burdwan	Established for the support of the sundry temples founded by rajah & his family	A grant for religious purpose	1000
1171	Luky <i>gunj</i>	Amboa			900
1174	Budoor <i>gunj</i>	Jahanabad			700
1178	Eshore <i>gunj</i>	Jahangirabad			200
1179	Joy <i>gunj</i>	Burdwan			200
1161	Bahadoor <i>gunj</i>	Roy poor	Rajah Raj bullab	Mahaat pran a grant	471.65
1167	Bodon <i>gunj</i>	Jahenabad	The mother of present(that time) rajah	for the emolument of some particular person the lady	100

Source: The Revenue Board Consisting of the Whole council (RBCWC), 21st June, 1774, Vol-17, p 235.

³¹ Rajat Datta, op.cit, 2000, pp. 201-202

³² Sudipta Sen, op.cit, 1998, p.54

Besides, Raja Bahadur Singh and Choton Singh established four *haats* and one *Gunj* out of which they collected eighty five (85) rupees to spend on religious affairs.³³

Many *bazars* and *haats* were established periodically in South-West Bengal for the sake of providing with services in religious affairs. The *Zamindar* of Jwalamutha donated two parts of land periodically in 1164 *vellaitte* and 1195 *vellaitte* to Namcharan Das, the resident of *Dunua* village under Kuihrmahal division, for serving *Radha Govinda* and lord *Gopal*. These lands were woody at that period of time. Namcharan Das established two *haats* of which one known as Sabgunj (place of lord Gopal) after cleansing the forest and he collected tax from these *haats*. He used to spend the collected tax for serving *Radha Govinda* and lord *Gopal*. Mr. Kalvart permitted Charan Das and gave him two *charchittis* in this regard. He collected tax from these *haats* till 1790. But, in 1790 when the govt. of East India Company stopped him collecting tax, it stood troublesome for him to bear the expenditure on religious affair.³⁴

Similarly, the *Zamindar* of Jwalamutha provided Baidanath Mistri of Basudevpur village under Kirumahal division with two parts of woody lands periodically in 1165 and 1184 *vellaitte* for maintaining the rituals and serving lord Gopal and lord Jagannatha. He cleared the forest and established two *haats* known as Thaunger and Thengneah. The rents collected from those *haats* were spent on the religious services of both of the gods.³⁵

The *Zamindar* of Jwalamutha also donated *debottar* land to Birju Panda of Basudevpur under Kirumahal division for *Thakur Dharmada*. A *haat* named Dyhrie was established in 1162 *vellaitte* after cleansing the forest. Again, *Zamindar* Bir Narayan gave a *Brahmattor* land to Gangadhar Mukhapadhyay who established Selimpur *haat* on that

³³ The Revenue Board Consisting of the Whole Council (RBCWC), 21st June, 1774, Vol-17, p..237

³⁴ CSTHM , 1790-91, Vol -3, pp. 74-75

³⁵ Ibid, pp.76-77

place.³⁶ *Zamindar* donated a part of land to a resident of Panchananda village under Baramutha *parganah* in 1162 *vellaitte* for serving goddess Kali. There he established a *haat* named Kalitola. The duties collected from that *haat* were used in the project of serving the goddess *Kali*.³⁷

The *Zamindar* of Sujamutha donated a piece of land in *Brahmania* to a man named Sanki Pati for serving goddess *Sitala*. He also established a *haat* there. Similarly, the inhabitant of Durudaman *Parganah*, Saidaranada Adhikari and Banamali Chakraborti established two *haats* in Basudalberia and Deboj.³⁸

In this way, throughout the South- West Bengal the *haat* of Ballavpur established by Harinanda Ghosh in 1171 *vellaitte* for serving lord *Madanmohan* became popularized. Gournarayan Ray of Jaleswar established the *haat* Janki in 1176 *vellaitte* for serving goddess *Kali*.³⁹

From Bengali literature it is known about the fairs where the merchants would gather and sell their commodities. Mostly fairs would be held during the full moon of Bengali month '*Kartik*'. It is needless to think that all the villages were self-dependent. So, business among the villages was existed even in the pre- eighteenth century. At that time, large number of fairs (128) held in Midnapore.⁴⁰ Some of these fairs and religious

³⁶ Ibid, pp 78-84

³⁷ Ibid, p.84

³⁸ Ibid, pp. 85-86

³⁹ Ibid, pp. 86-87.

⁴⁰ Tilottama Mukherjee, *Political Culture and Economy in Eighteenth Century Bengal: Networks of Exchange, Consumption and Communication*, New Delhi, Oriental Blackswan, 2013, pp. 122,142, Also see Asoke Mitra, Ed Compiled by Arun Kumar Roy . *Paschim Benger Puja Parban o Mela*, Delhi , Government of India, 1968

gathering were Tulsichaura on the bank of Kaliaghai in Gopiballabpur,⁴¹ Mahishadal, on the occasion of the *Rathyatra*;⁴² in Egra the honour of Sambhunath, Andhiri in the honour of Siva; Jharipur in honour of Siva, Kutubpur in honour of Brahmani. In Gopiballabpur a fair is held in honour of Chaitanya- an image of whom is here worshiped with much pomp. A wealthy raja of the district bestowed considerable landed estates for the worship of the image and a large establishment of priests is maintained for the performance of the ceremonies. Besides these fairs three or four religious- gatherings were held every year in Bagri *parganah* and were frequented by five or six thousand people for the purpose of worshipping an image of Krishna.⁴³ Similarly, a religious fair was held every year Bengali month of *chait* worship the image of ‘Masnad - i- Ala’ from the early 18th century which is still continue in modern times in Hijli. This was a symbol of communal harmony.⁴⁴ In this sense, a religious ‘sector’ may be understood as an integral part of the economy.

V.1.b Establishment of Markets on the Basis of Local Production

Villages were at the bottom of the mercantile structure. Maximum of the population of South West Bengal as well as entire Bengal used to live in the villages. Their necessities were limited and their economy was self-dependent. Consumption was the main objective of production. Exchange policy was considered least important in the contemporary economy. But, later the excess of the production and sometimes scarcity of production made the situation imperative for exchange business resulting into the development of the village society. Local people used to sell their excess of crops and industrial productions in local ‘*Mandi*’ or ‘*Kasba*’. *Kasba* was the administrative

⁴¹ W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. 3, Part 1, 1997, pp. 145-146

⁴² PCR, 11th January, 1782, pp.175-177

⁴³ W.W. Hunter, *op.cit*, 1997, PP. 145-146 also see O’ Mally, L.S.S. *Bengal District Gazetteers: Midnapore*, Calcutta, (1911) Reprint: December, 1995, p 155

⁴⁴ Binoy Ghosh, *Paschimbanger Sanskriti*, Vol.2, Calcutta, Prakash Bhawan, 2008, p.154

headquarter and the dwelling place of the *zamindars*, alongside the most potent mercantile centre of the local arena.⁴⁵ There were so many *kasbas* found in South- West Bengal like *Kasba Hijli*⁴⁶ and *Kasbapur*.⁴⁷ Again, local people used to buy essential commodities from local markets. These commodities came from townships. Local markets grew out on the basis of the production of either agricultural commodities or commodities produced by the *ryots* and the artisans, that connected diverse villages and nearby town. Communication system developed in both water and lands. Those villages which stood by the sides of either the rivers or the lands became the mercantile headquarters of the traders.

In those places discussed above, temporary markets used to run on regular basis under open sky, tree shades, and in religious places. In South –West Bengal, such kinds of numerous markets developed in almost every *parganah*. Among them, a few examples may be cited (V.4)

⁴⁵ B.R. Grover, “An Integrated Pattern of Commercial life” , Asiya Siddiqi,(ed) ‘*Trade and Finance in Colonial India 1750-1860*’, 1995, p. 223.

⁴⁶CSTHM, Vol-3, pp. 60-61.

⁴⁷ RBCWC 21st June, 1774, p 234

Table No: V. 4

<i>Parganah</i>	<i>Haat /Bazar</i>
Midnapore	<i>Haat Dhalhara</i>
Tappa Bahadurpur	<i>Haat Bahadurpur</i>
Moinacoura	<i>Haat Radhagune</i>
”	<i>Nikushi Haat</i>
”	<i>Kiranner Haat</i>
”	<i>Haat Tutkapur</i>
”	<i>Haat Moupachoura</i>
”	<i>Haat Mongalroi</i>
”	<i>Haat Muli gung</i>
”	<i>Haat Natasariy</i>
”	<i>Haat Khirai</i>
Tappa Dawbindha	<i>Haat Dawbindha</i>
Kharagpur	<i>Haat Kharagpur</i>
Bhuyamootah	<i>Haat kesuchanta</i>
”	<i>Haat Radhaballav</i>
..	<i>Haat Roghunath</i>
”	<i>Haat Gobinda</i>
jaitun(sic)	<i>Haat Bagoya</i>
”	<i>Haat Boul</i>
”	<i>Haat Faroya</i>
”	<i>Haat paindaá</i>
”	<i>Haat Durga</i>
”	<i>Haat Satkoihra</i>

Source: Home Miscellaneous Records Revenue Department Hast-o-Bud and Revenue account.... Midnapur, Mahisadal from 1179 -1183 B.C, Vol.89, pp. 774-775.

The villages indicated above were based on different kinds of works and professions. Those villages were connected with local markets through village paths. A small village, possibly, grew out of the unification of peasant community but in a large village lived people of different professions, like carpenters, iron-smiths, gold-smiths, tailors, cobblers, weavers and many others. Some villages were known for the name of their artistic craftsmanship. The crafts of one village used to mitigate the needs of the adjacent villages. The crafts used to sell the commodities from their resident shops on permanent basis. Those commodities were carried out by other people from their shops. They exchanged commodities. Work professionals got a part of grain in exchange of their crafts. Sometimes, they got agricultural land as reward from the *ryots*. Moreover, many tribes began to dwell in diverse places and those tribes began animal husbandry and then sold those reared cattle by the side of farming. They not only paid the land cesses but also paid rent for the sale of their reared cattle.⁴⁸

Mercantile community established network between villages and market places. The places adjacent to riverside got connected through waterways. Mercantile sphere gradually enlarged through markets, *haats*, *gunjs*, towns, and even international markets. Rich traders used to live in district headquarters or port areas. Among them, mention must be made to *Sahoo*, *Saukar*, *kathial*, and so on. They controlled the markets as they made dealings in large amounts of money while importing and exporting. Small as well as semi-large mercantile communities used to live in local trade centres or small townships. Rich traders and foreign companies established rapport with the local traders and the representatives for necessary commodities. Every trader remained intact with their profession on the basis of inter-provincial relations. Merchants, sellers and their agents

⁴⁸ B.R Grover, “An Integrated Pattern of Commercial life”, Asiya Siddiqi,(ed) ‘Trade and Finance in Colonial India 1750-1860’, 1995, p. 225.

bought grain, cash crop, and industrial goods from the village *haat* and local administrative centre, *kasba* after contacting different castes and tribes of the village. They sold these commodities to higher authorities of other provinces for a definite amount of profit. In the similar way, they supplied the imported commodities to the village or the local mercantile centre. Moreover, a band of itinerant traders supplied the essential commodities to the villagers. The mechanics and the artists worked personally or through putting out system for each province. These mercantile groups were recognized in different names in different provinces. Mercantile community controlled the trading of distinctive areas. The authority to govern the mercantile reign was allocated to generation after generation.⁴⁹

Crafts and trade are closely interlinked. At that time a large number of trade centres were formed on the basis of local production. Among them the noted were the cottage industries of Bengal, especially the *rarh* Bengal based on sculpture, metal; conch, cotton and silk were developed in this period.

At that time Anandapur, Chandrakona became popular with crafts and artists and became the centre of production of *tasar*, cotton and silk.⁵⁰ One type of cotton textile known as *dhuti* was famous as the textile of Chandrakona. About one thousand cotton textiles were produced from the factory of a cotton merchant named Gurudas Dutta.⁵¹ Not only from different parts of Midnapore but also from Hoogly, silk was imported as raw material to Chandrakona for waving. Khirpai and its neighbouring village Radhanagar had become the centre of craft and trade.⁵²

⁴⁹ Ibid, p. 229

⁵⁰ Binod Sankar Das, *Changing profile of the South West Bengal* , 2013, p.185

⁵¹ Pranab Roy & Panchanan Roy , *Ghaataler Katha*, Calcutta, Sandesh, Ist Published(1977) reprint 2007, p. 142 also see Anil Kumar Ghosh, *Gramin Silpayan*, 2007, pp 42-45

⁵² Alexander Hamilton ; *A New Account of the East Indies* ,Vol. 2, London, 1930, p. 6

Kharar became famous as *gunj* during the reign of *Bhan* in Chandrakona. Later the craft with German silver and brass got flourished.⁵³ Some Ramlal Chakroborty, a brass metal utensils producer had a factory in Kharar and also the factories in Dalapotipur, Samsunderpur, Sultanpur area etc.⁵⁴

The *Malla* kings worshiped the God *Bishnu* and the place was named after God as Bishnupur and was developed with the handicraft of iron, German silver and conch. In the 18th century Bishnupur and Sonamukhi were famous for *tasar* industries. Bishnupur, Raybaghini, Atgram, Patrasayer, Sahaspur, Kamarsole, Laxminathpur, Chhilakhani, Srigopalpur in Bankura were noted as the centres of conch craft. At that time some famous places as the centres of conch were Mohishadal, Ramnagar, Digha (Birkul), Kolmijorh, Basudevpur, Baikanthapur Radhakantapur, Dubrajpur, Kadilpur, Fakirbazar, Ramjibonpur, Ilambazar in South West Bengal.⁵⁵

There were many other crafts like mat of Sabang, comb of Baisnabchak etc. The grass from which mat is produced were cultivated in Sabang and Narayangarh areas. Then Kashijora, Narajole, Raghunathpur were famous for mat handicrafts.⁵⁶ Comb crafts were developed in Daspur and Kolaghat areas. The artists would come from modern Bangladesh. The craftsmen of Ajura, Sonakhali, Kheput, Sribora, Sagarpur, Dhankhal in Daspur produced brass metal utensils and they also made the small canon and the idols of gods and goddesses.⁵⁷

⁵³ L.S.S. O'Malley, *Midnapore District Gazetter's*, 1995, pp. 126-127.

⁵⁴ Anil Kumar Ghosh, *Gramin Silpayan*, 2007, p.52

⁵⁵ Ibid, pp. 42-45

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid

Favourable locations helped out to develop specific mercantile centre. For instance, Geonkhali port situated at the juncture of the rivers, Rup Narayan and Hooghly became famous as a potent mercantile centre.⁵⁸

V. 2. Markets and Its Charity in South West Bengal

A discussion regarding the market establishment as religious inspiration that the revenue collected from the markets on the duty free land were spent in religious charity purpose has been done. Sometimes it was seen that the *sabaitis* also spent that money in their personal purpose mention earlier. Besides this, the grant of market privileges to run schools, hospitals and orphanages were common among rajas, *zamindars* and their agents. These obligations were as characteristic of the kingly prerogative as the power to exploit commercial exchange.⁵⁹ It continued throughout the century. Even the representatives of the East India Company established hospitals, orphanages and poor's fund.

At that time, some orphanages were run by the profit excerpted from the markets of South West-Bengal. Mr. Sahadatulla donated a part of his inherited land to Mr. Pierce who established there hospital and charity house for serving the old and the lame. In 1189 a *gunj* was established at the 517 *bigha* barren land adjacent to Midnapore by the charter act of *bazar zammer* office. This *gunj* was recognized as the Winshore *Gunj*.⁶⁰

In the established *gunj*, one twenty (120) houses were built and mended for the helpless and the widows having little children. In 1192 almost one sixty (160) people were

⁵⁸ W. Firmingar, *Midnapore District Records*, 1763-1767, P.45,46 also See Kamal Chowdhuri, *Medinipurer Itihas*, Vol. 1, p. 559

⁵⁹ Sudipta Sen ,op.cit, 1998, p. 52

⁶⁰ Revenue Department, Governor General in Council (RDGGC)23rd April, 1788, pp.389-91

living in one thirty (130) huts. In 1193 almost two fifty (250) people lived in one sixty two (162) huts. In 1194 two ninety (290) people lived in one eighty nine (189) huts.⁶¹

Every adult person was given one kg of rice, two (2) *chaatak* of *dal*(pulse), and ten (10) *coris* from the *gunj*. The children got in accordance with a definite ratio. Each person got a piece of cloth after an interval of six months. They were provided with a meagre place beside the go down house of Rani Siromani. Adjacent to the *Thakurbari* of Abas a village along with fourteen new houses were established in two thirty (230) after cleaning the forest. Mr. Pierce wanted to have a share of that land which would be used for serving the poor.⁶² A share of money collected over nine years from Midnapore town was spent in the charitable purpose. Statistics gave a clear evidence of the fact.

Table No: V.5

Orissa Year	Collected	Disbursed in Charity	Disbursed on sundry account	Name of the chief
1181	634, ,,	264, ,,	370, ,,	Under collector Mr Lwies
1182	623, ,,	264, ,,	359, ,,	Under the collector of Burdwan Mr Heggins
1183	611, ,,	360, ,,	238, ,,	Do
1184	660, ,,	360, ,,	300, ,,	Do
1185	594,2 ,,	360, ,,	234,2 ,,	Under the collection of Mr Biarce
1186	798,12, ,,	360, ,,	438,12, ,,	Do
1187	884, ,,	360, ,,	524, ,,	Do
1188	914, ,,	360, ,,	554, ,,	Do
1189	798, ,,	360, ,,	438, ,,	Do

Source: Revenue Department Governor General in Council, 23rd April, 1788, p. 393

⁶¹ . Ibid, pp.390-391

⁶² Ibid

A part of revenue collected from the *bazars* of Midnapore was spent in charitable work like previous work.

Table No: V.6

Orissa year	<i>Jumma</i> of Windsore <i>Gunj</i>	<i>Jumma</i> of Barabazar, Chhoto <i>Bazar</i> & Bibi <i>Gunj</i>	<i>Jumma</i> of Santi Patna <i>Bazar</i>	<i>Jumma</i> of Mirza Bazar	Total
1191	615, ,,	204, ,,	145, ,,	63,3, ,,	1023,3, ,,
1192	542, 12, ,,	204, ,,	141, ,,	63,3, ,,	950,15, ,,
1193	600, ,,	564, ,,	150, ,,	63,3, ,,	1377, 3, ,,
1194	600, ,,	765, ,,	150, ,,	67, 11, ,,	1582, 11, ,,

Source: Revenue Department Governor General in Council, 23rd April 1788, p. 393

Similarly, the acting collector of Midnapore relative to a fund for the poor (poor's Fund) rose in that district for the support of certain persons in capable of procuring maintenance by their own labour. Statement exhibits that portion of the poor's fund which arises from the several collections of ground rents, shop duty, and tax on the different articles of consumption in *haats* and other and the portion included in the fund had been raised in this collectorship for the support of the police.⁶³

Rents contiguous Nazar *gunj*.....246.2

In Midnapore -----216.3.10

Duty shops and *haats* situated in the several *bazar* the town of Midnapur-----198.10.8

Produce of the portion received of the several articles of consumption daily exposed for sale in *haat*, *bazar* situated within the town -----1016.1.16

Add amount receivable from the police fund ----353.13.16

From the received rupees total 1776.13.10 rupees were spent every year from the funds.⁶⁴

The government sanctioned the charitable land grants holders to established *gunjs*, *bazars*, and *haats*. They had the privileges of collecting duties from those establishments..⁶⁵ It is not astonishing that the *zamindars* insisted in claiming from the

⁶³ Board of Revenue (Miscellaneous) Vol. 175, 1st April, 1794, pp. 63-65

⁶⁴ Ibid

⁶⁵ Rajat Datta, op. cit, 2000, p. 168

Company 'an equal right in rents arising from *gunjs*, and *bazars*' as late as 1790.⁶⁶ But it was seen in Midnapore as late as on 1790; a ban on the collection of *sair* and on the collection of duties and tax being decreed there arose out problem in maintaining charitable fund.⁶⁷

V.3 Rules of Market Foundation

The establishment of markets by the ruler was quite normal. But, the bureaucrats took initiative in founding new markets after implementing some rules and methods. In earlier time *haats* and *gunjs* became fitted to the local mercantile infrastructure. In establishing *bazar*, higher authority became interested in lucrative business. In a specific level, exchange was done by the local families. The rules of establishing *bazar* became concretized by the rules regarding place and time. *Bazar* arena was not a separate centre at that time; rather it was a part of the larger economic infrastructure.

The founders of the *bazar* appealed to the state with reasonable arguments for its permission. They implored the authority that the business should not be replaced to any other places as it would contribute to the economy by alluring the outside traders. Otherwise the markets would be shifted to other places. The location of diverse tolls exposed the appearance of the *bazar* to outsiders. From the point of view of acclamation, local traders and the itinerant ones became mostly profited. It was seen, *bazar*-centric competition in pre-modern Bengal was all pervasive and it also influenced the government to implement rules regarding *bazar*.

According to land law, if on the basis of *sanad* any shopkeeper of established markets paid revenue to the government and wanted to run business in other rented

⁶⁶ Ibid

⁶⁷ Board of Revenue (Miscellaneous) Vol. 175, 1st April, 1794, pp. 63-65

markets, then it was no problem. But if he went a new established market where no revenue paid to the government, the renter of the deserted markets cannot himself seize the shopkeeper who has (Sic) left him but complain to the magistrate.⁶⁸

*According to the laws of this country, founded on the strictest principle of Justice, no new bazar, gunj or haat can be established within a certain limited distance of an old one, especially when the site of the new bazar comes within the description of the variation of the old one...*⁶⁹

The queen of Midnapore lodged a complaint through a letter. The *haat* of Sujagunj under her *mufassal jaydad* and a *gunj* and a *haat* nearby *golah* were established by Mr. Pierce's companion Mr. Porter. Consequently, the *haat* and *golah* of the queen became damaged. That was why the queen issued a warrant before the Company so that the traders and the shopkeepers came freely to her market and the market became lively again.⁷⁰

After scrutinizing the document of the *mufassal jaydad*, it was found that Sujagunj under the possession of *Sijual* Kalishankar was not part of queen's *mufassal jaydad*. Besides, it was mentioned that new *gunj* founded by Porter was for the mitigation of the needs of the local people. It was thought that earlier there was a *bazar* in that place where the new *bazar* was established. Moreover, the traders were decreed that they could go anywhere according to their wishes without any hindrance.⁷¹

The above mentioned incident gave birth to another problem. A rivalry arose among the rich people and *zamindars* of the state regarding the periphery of the markets, sand ribs, *gunj*, water tax, and other opportunities. Definite date of a week was assigned for

⁶⁸ Rajat Datta, op. cit, 2000, p.169.

⁶⁹ Revenue Department-Sayer, O.C. 29th August 1794, No.1 also see Board of Revenue Sayer 31st January 1794, pp. 60, 63-64

⁷⁰ PCR, 28th May, 1784, p. 401

⁷¹ Ibid, pp. 402-403

adjacent *haats* and markets of simple commodities. Common people knew about the time and place of the *haat*.

*According to a contemporary report: no haats or public markets for articles of provision shall be held on the same days in places in vicinity of each other, the week is always divided and certain days fixed for each village, such has always been the custom here, that the inhabitants or purchasers may gathered and know the place and day of market in each village*⁷²

But it was found that renter of Chitua under Burdwan named Gopal Das Mohanta used to pay one thousand (1000) rupees to the government account from Sertusa. But, the *Zamindar* of Kutubpur established a *haat* in Raypur adjacent to Kutubpur. Then, he forcefully controlled the traders and the shopkeepers. Denying the govt. law the *Kanungo* of Kutubpur mentioned Raypur as the former established *haat*. But the *haat* of Raypur was dismantled by a government warrant.⁷³

Owing to the flood of lower plain region and seasonal river the markets used to run for four to six months a year. Such type of market was in the flood prone areas of Contai in South West Bengal where small quantity of thread, coarse clothes, bamboos, and brazen objects were being sold in regular interval. Similarly, *bazar* of Rajsahi under East Bengal used to be open in boats.⁷⁴

The markets were probably established and regulated by the *zamindars* in their respective areas. .One important person was '*Kotwal*' (the police inspector) to maintain the

⁷² BOR at Fort William, Vol. 23, 24th August, 1787 p 146

⁷³ PCR, 26th May, 1774

⁷⁴Sudipta Sen, op.cit, 1998, p. 5 also see Rajat Datta, op. cit, 2000, p. 208.

markets, to prevent there all sorts of disorders, to examine the weight and measures as well as quality of goods.⁷⁵ That system dates back to the pre- Company era.

*No one could sell anything in less than the proper weight, or cheat others by increasing the price. The Gaji punished him who violated the regulations the customers as well as the shopkeepers all required to obey his orders. 'Virasi ojan' (82 weight) was the standard weight in the market: now where was the weight more or less this standard*⁷⁶

In the second half of 18th century, apart from the major cities like Calcutta, there was private *gunj*, *haat* and market began to flourish in the countryside as well. It was seen that *haats* and *bazars* were built in crowded places and the highways centered on the shops and temporary sheds. During the decades of eighty older markets began to be demolished and new markets started establishing. During that period there were seventeen *gunj* and three hundred and twenty five *haats* in Burdwan.⁷⁷ In the similar way, *bazar* of Tamluk and Hijli province began to flourish.⁷⁸ Besides this, population growth in the rural towns was considerable, with the cities of South West Bengal being no exception. Such as instance the 1792 figures from Tamluk, a small division in the salt districts, provide evidence of a substantial number of people even in places other than the bigger cities, with 177,817 residents.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ K.K. Datta, *Alivardi and his Times*, Calcutta; the World Press Pvt. Ltd, 1960, p.175

⁷⁶ Samasera Gajira Pnuthi- Typical Selections, Part- II, p.1853 See K.K. Datta, *Alivardi and His Times*, Calcutta; the World Press Pvt. Ltd, 1960, pp.175-176

⁷⁷ Rajat Datta, op. cit, 2000 p. 205

⁷⁸, CSTM, Vol. -3, pp. 60-61

⁷⁹ CSTM, Vol. -4, 1791-93, p.137

V. 4. Rules of the Company as a State in South West Bengal

From 1772 to 1793 East India Company as a new '*Dewan*' wanted to collect duties in permanent basis from South West Bengal alongside the local areas of the entire Bengal to manage the government and to invest sufficient money in company's trade. The East India Company wanted to take up the responsibility of industrious work of the *Mughal* administration and its agrarian set up. After the Famine of 1770, rack-renting and lawlessness of the *zamindar* in the field of Farming system of 1772-77 were noticed. Pitt's India Act of 1784 decreed to attribute and collect tax on permanent basis. Debate among the landlords, the rules regarding the relation of the farmers became frequent during the time of governor general Lord Carnwallis. While the Company's attempts at market regulations are described more fully elsewhere.⁸⁰The 1773 Regulations for the future establishments and regulation of duties of the country government set out an ambitious framework for the control of a wide range of items, in practice, though most regulations could be circumvent.⁸¹

From the earlier times indigenous society accepted the domination of the ruling class. Either the local representative of the *Nizamat* or the agent of East India Company whoever might be person legally established the *bazar* through *sanad*. Perfect ruling system settled all types of conflict through the exploitation of traditional rule. Along with court, *thanas* and highways played an important role in the maintenance of *bazar* system—

⁸⁰ T.Mukherjee, "*Commodities, Trade and the Economy of Bengal*"; *A Reassessment of the Early English East India Company State*" in Jeyaseela Stephen, ed., '*The Indian Trade at the Asian Frontier*', Delhi, 2008, pp. 295-345

⁸¹ Home Misc., Vol.217, pp. 44-49, Vide Datta, '*Rural Bengal*' pp. 36-37

the *bazar* without the affiliation of the state. It was decreed that one ought to court jail if violated the rule recurrently.⁸²

Grant provided by the native ruler or his agent became the ruler of the Company later and consequently, *haat*, *gunj*, and *bazar* became established. Company wanted to bring an end to the ruling system of the landlords. The Company introduced general policy in order to prevent the forceful collection of revenue. It had to intervene occasionally to modify or to abolish particular revenue. In 1790 the Company as a state occupied the power to collect tax officially lead traders to anticipate the suppression of many duties on articles of internal manufactory and consumption as well as some exports. However, many of these imposts were not abolished and many forms of monopoly were not challenged.⁸³

Numerous conflicts among the *zamindars* regarding the collection of the duties from the merchants were noticed. On the one hand, it was found that poor *Gurrah* weavers of Chitua Barda, Jahanabaad, Chandrakona, Brahminchun, Mandalghaat, Boira, Vursut, Belia under South- West Bengal appealed for the relaxation of duties. Generally, they weaved clothes after buying cottons from the markets and then supplied them to the Company. They were not bound to pay taxes in any way. Petitioners complained when the owners of every market started imposing duties through their agents “We are poor people and buy our daily food in the markets that we may eat, which being stopped has thrown us in to the greats distress, we used to buy thread to weave cloth to gain a subsistence, but in consequence of these disturbances no man will bring thread for sale and we cannot furnish ourselves with that article, we have no way left to sustain life, you are our protector. Be pleased to prevent duties on thread taken from us, or from those who bring it to market for sale or from those who bring it to market for sale ,or upon such eatables as never before

⁸² PCR, Vol. 16, 5th August, 1782, p. 3275

⁸³ Tilotama Mukherjee, op.cit., 2008, p. 157

paid duties ,we shall than be able to stay in our habitations and weave cloths and be able to exist” .⁸⁴ The weaver’s advocacy shows that even the poorest depended on markets for subsistence changes in duties and regulation; therefore they were bound to have a direct effect on a very large of the population.

V. 4 a. Markets and Its Regulations, Duties and Rents

As mentioned earlier, the market was a huge field of money collection, where the owners of the market were freed from the uncertainty of the land revenue. General opinion regarding the attribution of tax by the state was that state authority made use of despotic and exploitative power in collecting tax during medieval and pre-colonial period. It was noticed that diverse types of taxes were collected from the so called *haats* and *bazars*. Different kinds of cesses such as *dokaun hasil*, *mootee bikree*, *kyallee jama*, *saji bikree*, *tolah*, *selami*, *mangon* were collected from the markets of South- West Bengal.⁸⁵It cited the tables (V.7, 8 and 9)

⁸⁴ Board of Trade Commercial (BOT),Vol. 28, 4th September, 1781, pp. 386-388

⁸⁵, CSTHM, Vol-3, p.69

Different kinds of duties collected from the *bazars* of Mahisadal *pargannah* in South West-Bengal during 1790's was as followed:

Table No: V.7

Name of <i>Haat</i>	Number of <i>Haat</i>	<i>Dokan Hasil</i>	<i>Mooty Bikree</i>	<i>Saje Bikree</i>	<i>Holah Mangon</i>	<i>Mangon</i>	<i>Hasil Maka-mee</i>	<i>Selami</i>
SeebTolah/Sadar pur	2	44.10.17	6.9.2	8.15.10	26.4	...	...
GhatPanscollee Haat	1	....	3.2.13	...	17.8	11.14.7	4.8.18	
Hurrycollee	1	....	5.2.19	...	...	47.15.1	10.4.14	
Burragoonee	1	19.11.4	1.6.7	1.7.2	...	....	7.6	
Chuncund& Teetulbarrah	2	6.10.15	23.1	-3.-	3.3	13.3	196.9	
Gunneah	1	2.2.11	5.7.15	5.13.16				
Chytampore	1	8.2.11.	1.13.19	-14.7				
Caullacoond	1	25.9.14	5.4.8	4.15.7				
Komuar pore	1	-7.-	...	...		16.11.19		
Chandee pore	1	...	...	...	
Nundepore	1	9.15	1.14.15	2.13.18				
Nynon	1	10.37	1.3.17	2.10.16				
Ghurr gong	1	...	8.9.4	6.-.-				
Sam Gunj	1	...	48.15.-	...				
GhatTerrapekha	1	...	139.9.8	25.14.19	97.10	317.6	1163.3	
Sonachoor a	1	3.2.15	13.5.-	1.15.1	2.-		17.9.6	
Takhpoora	1	19.14.8	17.15.8	20.12.9				
Kistnagar	1	3.12.9	1.4.-	...				
Doorgapore	1	2.9.1	-9.5	...				
Mukimgung	1	...	...	...			10.11	
Banca	1	86.410.9	248.-.8	176.13.4				
Burdah	1	19.4.11	2.9.-	2.1104				
Naulcote	1	55.13.15	25.15.-	10.14.12				
Bussunchauk	1	58.5	2.15.17	-13.6				
Dhauncolah	1	241.5	13.6.10	29.14.-				
Reyaparra h	1	...	...	...	
Mangulchauk	1	...	...	...	

Source: CSTM, Vol-3, pp.46-47

Different kinds of duties collected from the *bazars* of Tamluk division were thus:

Table No: V. 8

Name of <i>Haat</i>	Nu mb er	<i>Dokan</i> <i>hasil</i>	<i>Mooty</i> <i>Bikree</i>	<i>Saje Bikree</i>	<i>Amdane</i> <i>Ginish</i>	<i>Raftane</i> <i>Ginish</i>	<i>Tolah</i>	<i>Kyalee</i>
Narrain pore	1	225.1	275.5	210.6.1	50.4	70.-	15	80
Bauminarre	1	42.6.9	9.3.14	16.3.11				
Maugree	1	11.4.1	6.11.12	10.13.19				
Hidgelbaneah	1	27.14.12	3.15.2	4.18.15				
Cunchee	1	5.4						
Srikissenpore	1	3.25						
Manikpore	11	28.9.16	13.11.18	8.18				
Guderam	1	...	...			
Chunderpore	1	...	...			
Gudeebautgar	1	...	...			
GhatAsnan	1	...	5.10					
Saheb Gunj	1	123.8.16	42.10.15	69.15.5	406.24	113.8.16	3	60
Paukureah	1	29.6.19	7.5	11.8.6				
Calkadaree	1	30.12.1	4.12.6	11.10				
Tekuchauk	1	10.3.15	1.2.8	1.15.9				
Horypur	1	3.12.8	5.10					
Kunddah	1	3.39	211.15	2.13.1				
GhatGageeter	1	...	34.12					
Bynchbarreah	1	28.5.2	7.7	12.11				
Myeghaat	1	22.17.16	2.94	3.14.15				
Manikgunj		...	-.15.-					
Taluk	2							
Gopalpore	2	54.4	10.12					
Basudebpore		33.8	20.5	12.4.6				

Source: CSTM, Vol-3, pp.44-45

Abstract Account of the division of Hijli 11th May- 11th September 1790. delivered at the *cutcherry* in consequence of the order of the Government,

Table No: V.9

<i>Haat/Bazar</i>	<i>Dokan Hasil</i>	<i>Mootee bikree</i>	<i>Kyallee jamah</i>	<i>Sajje Bikree</i>	<i>Tolah Bikree</i>	<i>Godar Perwar (sic)</i>
Doroodumnaun	189.10.3	27,1,51	9,9,17,1	674121	132192	3113152
Jallamotah	93.4,16	37,8,71	221131	559132	15112	221482
Sujamutha	38,93,21	--	--	4612113	27982	--
Beercool	46,10,1	46,10,1	--	31915	--	--

Source: CSTM, Vol-3, pp. 72-73

There were different markets or *bazars* within the boundaries of each town. Within every *bazar*, there were shops of luxury commodities alongside the shops of essential commodities like paddy, rice, fire-wood, sweetmeats, sugar, *bhura* (unrefined sugar), milk, ghee, betel-leaves, betel-nuts, mace, nutmegs, sandal, saffron etc.

There were descriptions of jewellery and garment division within Burdwan town in the writings of the contemporary poet, Ramaprasad. The poet observed that more than one thousand merchants were staying in the king's *bazar* and there were more than one hundred shopkeepers and traders of countless gems, pearls, and rubric.⁸⁶ Therefore, business of various commodities would have happened in the contemporary markets and even the stalls became different on the basis of business. For instance, we may cite the *haat* of Narayanpur under Tamluk division; where, different rates of duties were collected from different shops accordingly.

⁸⁶ . K.K Dutta, *Alivardi and His Times*, 1960, pp.175-176

Table No: V. 10

Name of Articles Dokans	Duties Collected			
	Rs	A	G	C
Oil Dokans	0	0	1	1EachDokan
Paun ..	0	0	2	0
Tobacco ..	0	0	1	3
Tachootar	0	0	1	3
Myrah	0	0	2	0
Sooparie	0	0	2	0
Coomar	0	0	1	3
Huldee	0	0	1	3
Loll Sooti	0	0	1	1
Turkaree	0	0	1	3
Kauraree	0	0	1	1
Mutchee	0	0	2	1
Johirinee	0	0	1	1
Courie	0	0	1	3
Gundabanich	0	0	1	1
Doom	0	0	1	2
Soonar	0	0	1	1
Lohar	0	0	1	3
Chumar	0	0	1	1
Palnia	0	0	2	1
Aum	0	0	2	0
Sucker	0	0	2	1
Rooree	0	0	2	1
Hoogul Chaatic	0	0	2	1
Jauf Chaatic	0	0	1	3
Kalai Chaatic	0	0	1	1
Buree Chaatic	0	0	1	1

Source: CSTHM, Vol-3, pp. 64-65

But, much information gave evidence of the fact that market duties were relatively less than the profits. The owners of the market thought only about their own self-interests within the competitive markets. Poor facilities or service, and extortionate levies, were

likely prompt traders to vote with their feet. A petition clearly states 'if duties ...are demanded more than once, not a single *beopary* will come in to the *zamindari*...' ⁸⁷

Holders of the markets wanted to enhance duties of tax through the expansion of business. Instead of raising rents forcefully, they wanted to provide with decent services. If the traders earned sufficient profit, they must be regular in coming to the markets. They tried to collect tax depending on the visit of the traders in regular basis. ⁸⁸

The duties collected for using lands, houses, and shops before 1790 were known as '*Chandania*' which meant a cover or a safe place for selling. Some amount of money was collected from this field but the amount was considerably meagre because most of the *haats* were operated under the tree shades. Some *gunjs* and *haats* were under the control of the *chaudhuris*, where the profit depended on the success of business. ⁸⁹ Speaking broadly, it can be said that they collected the taxes from the *moodies* and the commodity sellers. They inspired and protected the traders in trading in the *gunj*. ⁹⁰ Traders bought commodities from that market and the *bazars* were founded and controlled by the *zamindars* and the local representatives, depending on the ratio of the controlling measures. ⁹¹ The police inspector/ Kotwal used to visit the market and controlled all sorts of unruliness. He used to check the quantity and quality of the commodities and controlled the markets price. If anybody dared to defy it, he got punishment. *Cori* was used for exchange in the lower level. ⁹²

⁸⁷ PCR, Vol.7, 3rd September, 1781, pp 48-50

⁸⁸ Tilottama Mukherjee, *op. cit*, 2013, p.37

⁸⁹ PCR, Vol. 33, 25th September, 1783, p. 137.

⁹⁰ Revenue Department *Sayer*, O.C., 3rd May, 1793, No 2

⁹¹ Board of Revenue *Sayer*, Vol. 2, Pt.1,13th September, 1790, p.95.

⁹² K.K. Dutta, *Alivardi and His Times*, pp. 176-77

Officials followed many rules of market. They tried to control any kind of deceit/cheating and prevented the sale all types of harmful commodities in the market.⁹³ Among the other cesses collected from the markets, one was ‘*tolah*’ which was used mainly for meeting the expenses of *haat* replacement along with paying remuneration to headman, accountant or clerk, sweeper, and assemblers.⁹⁴ Many people were associated with the market system. In this way, a network of founders, traders, regulatory bodies, state ancillaries and private contractors’ co operated on the running of trade. The markets owner used to pay the people involved in the market from the money collected from the market in different ways. From long before 1790 it was mainly collected from the merchants. Account of duties collected on the *haats* in the province of Midnapore.

Table No: V.11

<i>Haat</i>	Duties collected on the <i>haat</i> in the year 1179
Midnapore	201,8,14
Narajole	197,11,19-1/2
Cossijurah	875,-,-
Shawpur	355,-
Cutubpur	----
Sayer Narayangur	656,6,15
Sayert Augeebgur	---
Tappa Balarampur	----
Cunchpur	----
Duttmootah	98,00
Kedar	52,--
Perban	---
Bhyamoota	84
Fultapore	45,15,8
Thanna Narraingur	307,15,3
Gongapur	--
Tanna Janpur	36.-

Source: . RBCWC, 7th June, 1774, p. 214

⁹³ Ibid, p.175

⁹⁴ Revenue Department Sayer, O.C., 3rd May, 1793, No. 2

Account of duties collected on the *haats* in the province of Jaleswar;

Table No: V.12

<i>Haat</i>	Duties collected on the <i>haat</i> in the year 1179
Lampachour	32.3.-
Chak Jamalpore	14.10.
Narayangachour	---
Turcachour	43.9.10
Cutnagur	41.2
Mutoubabad	---
Cooroolchour	491.—
Cakrachour	22.10
Dantan	98.6
Belorichour	18.8
Tappa Kesiary	97.7.9
Beercool	66.1
Balsay	14.1.
Sayer jatjan	97.—
Thanna Fatehabad	16.11.17(sic)
Tappa Gangasur	17.10.5
Cacrajah(Sic)	5.7.10

Source: Revenue Board of Consisting Whole Council, 7th June, 1774, p. 215

An account particular of the *sayer* revenue collected from Bissanpore of the Bengali Year 1183.

Table No: V.13

<i>Haats</i>	<i>Sayer</i> revenue collected bengali year 1183
Bunavear <i>Haat</i>	45,11,15
Purashee <i>Haat</i>	38,12,16
Sonacati <i>Haat</i>	300,14,18
Patrasyaer <i>Haat</i> & Baje <i>Haat</i>	606,-,-
Bissenpore Bycaller(sic) <i>Haat</i>	25,-,-
Lakherdighi <i>Haat</i>	32,19,-
Chanupurahr <i>Haat</i>	17,10,19
Keshabpurah <i>Haat</i>	16,14,2
Jaddabnagar <i>Haat</i>	12,9,7
Dusura Kisnogunj <i>Haat</i>	32,15,5
Conaidangar <i>Haat</i>	13,11,15
Cootubpur <i>Haat</i>	1524,4,14
Kinhinagar <i>Haat</i>	531,12,10
Samnagar <i>Haat</i>	102,12,2
CherraJulleey <i>Haat</i>	39,6,3
Hury pushcurny <i>Haat</i>	39,5,17
Rajer <i>Haat</i>	46,1,11
Pyracurrah <i>Haat</i>	45,11,-
Tazzapurul <i>Haat</i>	12,9,16
Madhabgunj <i>Haat</i>	14,2,14
<i>Haat</i> Gopal gunj	462,8,5
Hikum Kissangunj <i>Haat</i>	74,-,-
Gopalgunj <i>Haat</i> & Bazar	39,1,17

Source: Miscellaneous Records Revenue Department, Vol-89, Hast-o-bad and Revenue Account,. Birbhum...1179-1183 B.C or 1772-1776 A.D

The ownership of almost every established *haat*, *ghat*, and *bazar* of South West Bengal during the 2nd half of 18th century got changed to raise additional funds from the *haats*, *ghats*, and *bazars* controlled by the Company. Distinct from the *zamindari* of Midnapore, Urdu *Bazar*, Mirza *Bazar*, Sepoy *Bazar*, Shanti Patna (Patna Bazar), Kumar Mahal, Ojar *Gunj* were under the jurisdiction of the state. The *bazars* from where no tax was collected because which were founded by the collectors and run by the officials.⁹⁵ Narhari Das appealed to take lease of those *bazars* at the expense of 4000 (four thousands) rupees.⁹⁶

Instances of encroachments might be cited— seven year old Mir Turab Ali, son of Mir Korim Kamsama complained that Saheb *gunj* was forcefully snatched from him owing to the excess of duties. Mir Korim Kamsama , an experienced worker of Mr. Archdkin, established Saheb *gunj* in 1189, collected for stickers and enjoyed those till his death by donating 370 rupees in the govt. fund. Saheb *gunj* became flourished during this time. But, as the Company failed to earn sufficient profit from the market, it gave the lease of the *bazar* to Harekrishan Das after the death of Mir Karim Kamsama on the basis of one thousand and fourteen rupees annually. Based on the complaints of Mir Turab Ali, he was informed that he would be provided with the ownership of the *bazar* only if he gave tax with enhance rate.⁹⁷

Sometimes it was seen that representative of the Company arranged to collect duties in favour of the local *zamindars*. Such as, Mr. George Vansittart arranged to collect *mangan* from two *anaas* to four *anaas* form the households for the *Zamindar* of Midnapore. In exchange, the *zamindar* would safeguard the markets from robbery, protect

⁹⁵ PCR, 8th November 1781, P 184

⁹⁶ RDGGC, 23rd April 1788, P 391

⁹⁷ BRS, 14th March, 1791, PP.177-179, Lt. B. Grindal from William Dent agent Tamruk Division

from unruliness and arrange for overall protection. *zamindars* of Midnapore collected *mangan* till 1778.⁹⁸

Similarly, Mr. Pearce arranged to collect *rossom* for *Zamindar of Midnapore*, twenty four rupees from Sepoy *bazar* and forty eight rupees from the other three main *bazars* of Midnapore.⁹⁹ Matiram Khan, the owner of three main *bazars*, submitted eight hundred rupees to the Company and the next year it was again revised. He also collected four hundred rupees from the grant of *Thakurbari* and from the *baniyan* for paying the monks and providing the poor with the rice.¹⁰⁰

At least in Midnapore, The state assessed the value of the houses. Recommending that rent is demanded from the inhabitants and the shopkeepers of the town of Midnapore. The collector of Midnapore called upon them to pay the rent due on account of the three last years during which period they paid nothing and with a view not to distress them. He made the assessment at the same rate. that they paid on account of the *sair* duties in consequence of which many of their own accord paid the balance due while other positively refuse to pay anything on the plea that rent had not been demanded on them since the abolition of the *sair* duties.¹⁰¹

The Collector of Midnapore further induced to intrude on the Board for their orders with respect to the mode. He would adopt in making the assessment for the current year and suggest that the houses of the shop keepers & bankers who carried on an extensive trade and resided in most crucial *bazars* be assessed, instead of the land on which their houses situated. He adopted in assessing large *bazars* and should the Board approve of this

⁹⁸ PCR, 28th May, 1784, p.407

⁹⁹ Ibid, p. 408

¹⁰⁰Ibid

¹⁰¹ Board of Revenue Misc., Vol. 250, 27th October, 1797, pp. 574-575

mode of assessment. It would yield large revenue to government, and could not be considered as it was the custom of the country.¹⁰²

In 1789's November, regulations affiliated by the 'Governor General in Council' were related to Midnapore. Besides, more regulations were granted for Bihar on 20th May and 18th September of 1789 and for the entire Bengal on 10th February. Privately held markets, *bazars*, and *gunjs* were not included under any settlement. According to the above mentioned regulations, collector employed officials for collecting and controlling duties.¹⁰³

According to the earlier regulations, different officials were employed for leading the markets. Looking into the list of employees of Midnapore market, one could find that one (1) *sardar*/ chief and fourteen (14) *fouzdari* kotwal, and ten (10) wholesalers attended revenue business. Sixteen (16) *mootuahs* for carrying treasury and eleven *sepoys* were employed in the *bazar* outposts. Eleven were in Choto *bazar* and Patna *bazar* outposts. Thirty two (32) were employed in the outpost of *Bunglow* factory.¹⁰⁴

Zamindars had been the renters since the beginning. The collectors informed property owners and renters that some duties were included under *sair* duties. In the *haat*, propriety owner and renters got relaxation in tax without claiming in accordance with the regulation. According to the regulations, the collectors planned to collect toll and duties based on distinct commodity. The collector would decide whether tax would be totally free for any commodity.¹⁰⁵

In internal case, the right of the landlords regarding the attribution of duties and its collection were ceased as per government rule. Common people of the country got

¹⁰² Ibid

¹⁰³ CSTM, Vol-3, pp 1-2

¹⁰⁴ PCR, 3rd November, 1781

¹⁰⁵ CSTM,, Vol-3, pp 1-2

benefitted after the amendment of the misuse of duties collection. Governor General Council brought all duties, taxes and other cesses under *sair*. But, in this regard, there are some specific exceptions. Duties were collected in the same rate according to earlier instruction, taxes levied on the pilgrims, and excise. In accordance with the regulation published on 11th June 1790 landlords would collect tax from shopping houses and other houses from orchards, pasture ground, ground fisheries. *Phulkar* got included for a short period of time under *sair* duties. Whether a European or an indigenous person whoever might collect tax either on personal basis or on the basis of the government's consent, was forbidden. Compensation with definite rate was arranged for. Some collections were banned by the govt. but in accordance with the 11th June's resolution some taxes in *Malgajari* and *Lakhiraji* land were still maintained. ¹⁰⁶

Collectors were ordered that the officials ought to be withdrawn from the *gunjs*, *bazars*, and *haats* and to compensate the loss account's description would be sent without delaying. The reason was that to look over how much duties were collected in accordance with the report of the officials before having the report of compensation. ¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, Order by the Governor General in Council 28th July, 1790

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

Among these *haats*, *ghats*, and *bazars*, some were not included under the government settlement. These *haats*, *ghaats*, and *bazars* were mostly situated in *malgujari* and *lakhiraj* land:

Table No: V.14

Pergunnah	Name of <i>Haat, Ghaat/Bazar</i>	By whom sannad granted	Establish Year	Present occupier	Account not included in the Bandabast
Bissan	<i>Ghat</i> Syetengah	l.Chow'ry	1165	Buddenauth Mishra	27.3.10
„	<i>Haat</i> Tingneah	Bir.. „	1184	„	
Erranch	<i>Haat</i> Dulluah	l.Chow'ry	1164	Nundaram Das	5.12.14.3
Baharemotah	<i>Haat</i> Doysahi	„	1162	Birjupandha	12.6.17
„	<i>Haat</i> Collitolah	„	1162	Parchund Bhaatta	4.-.-
„	<i>Haat</i> ColleNayaban	Bir.. „	1174	Golam murtaza	3.-.-
Balsay	<i>Haat</i> Saheb Gunj	Bir	1190	Kistogobinda	40.15.-
Paharpore	<i>Haat</i> Beedonpore	l.Chw'ry	1161	Ramsundar Maje	--
„	<i>Haat</i> Selampore	Bir.. „	1190	Gangadar Mukhr.	3.4.-
Jellamootah	<i>Haat</i> Seeb Gunj	l.Chw'ry	1159	Nemucharan Adhi	66.1.10
„	<i>Haat</i> Soonakoneah	Bir...,	1190	Nuronarrain Roy	16.14.-
Magnamotah	<i>Haat</i> Jawah	Bhupoty,,	1136	Chocoo Mishra	19.6.5
„	Bazar Ulilasgurry	C.Chw'ry	1190	Soojdeb Das	---
„	<i>Haat</i> Durrah	Jadu „	1168	Attaram(Sic)	2.4.-
„	<i>Haat</i> Gorahmeah	Bhupoty „	1131	Sawchand Fakir	1.6.16
	„	„	1175	Laloo Mishra	1.2.-
Patashpore	<i>Haat</i> Beerjoobullabpur	Jaduram,,	1182	Darinanda Gosain	5.33.2
	<i>Haat</i> Bauisadeberrah	„	1161	Soundaranda „	18.4.-
Doroodamnan	<i>Haat</i> Dheyhoug	---	1161	Bonomali Chakroborty	6---
Sujamootah	<i>Haat</i> Dummun	---	1161	Janaki Dutta	55.2.-
Jallasore	<i>Haat</i> Tankee	---	1106	Joynarain Roy	36.--
Total					324,56,1

Source: CSTHM, Vol. -3, pp. 56-57

During the interim period between 1790 to 1815, East India Company took a special plan for encroaching *bazar*, fair, and diverse inter-business affairs. Their objective was to suppress the facilities enjoyed by the rich and the landlords because it hindered the permanent settlement of revenue.¹⁰⁸ Archival volumes dedicated to the proceedings of the *sayer* department of the 'Board of Revenue'; minutes, consultations and correspondence

¹⁰⁸ Sudipta Sen, op.cit, 1998, p. 134

with the collectors stationed at the various district of the presidency .These documents show the amount of the administrative energy spent in the inquiry into the minutiae of local privileges, usages, and practice involving markets, exchange, and day to day trading activity.

Reorganization of indigenous power and authority has been strived for through profound speculation of validity as well as economic morality. This reorganization was related to the imperatives of the later part of 18th century as well as the reform philosophy of 19th century. The outline of rent and tax regarding personal property, governmental grant, private transfer, legal rights, and illegal extraction was more clearly explained. Personal property and governmental wealth were greatly protected by the rules regarding legal rights. If the *zamindars* and the leaseholders were connected by a contract with the government, they would be the authorized collector of tax from the lands. Government being the sole authority of collecting tax, domestic authority began to be undermined from those places where from it got its resources — *bazar*, business, and agriculture. As the government became the sole authority of collecting revenue from customs and town duties, they did not agree to any kind of collection of toll, tribute, or traffic by any other “The imposition and collections of internal duties have from time immemorial been admitted to be the exclusive privilege of government, not exercisable by any subject without its express sanction” the Governor General could assert in regulations of the Board of Revenue in 1790. ¹⁰⁹

It was thought that to terminate various oppressive taxes, vexatious cesses, duties on export and import such measures were taken. The Company became eager to uproot all

¹⁰⁹ J.E. Colebrook op.cit, Regulations for the Guidance of the Board of Revenue and Collectors, Relative to Sayer or Internal Duties Identify the Governor General in Council on 11th June, 1790, P. 287 also See Sudipta Sen, op.cit.1998, p.135

types of impositions which “secretly continued to the great prejudice of the lower order of the people.”¹¹⁰

In 1790, the Company terminated many types of taxes, which known as ‘*tebajari*’ but they didn’t terminate many duties also. Collection of many taxes was left for the landlords as their right over the market by the Company — specifically those duties collected from *gunj*, *bazar*, and the traders.¹¹¹ A striving to enter markets for a temporary period through impermanent stalls, sheds and open streets was noticeable and the owners in most cases were the *zamindars*.¹¹² Landlords used to collect rents regularly from the permanent shops and other houses either on monthly basis or on yearly basis.¹¹³

Indigenous power and authority regarding business and exchange in market was reorganized. Public and private property, public charity, and private convenience determined the limit of legal right and illegal evacuation. Personal property and govt. property were protected upholding the rules and regulations of 18th century England.

It was thought that such kinds of measures were taken to abolish the faulty duties over the products produced and used internally. The Company became firmly determined to do away with the monopoly of advantages regarding import and export. Such kind of reformation resulted in the development of business. Governor General assured regarding reformation that the only objective was to develop business and to relief the common people.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ Sudipta Sen, op.cit, 1998, p.135

¹¹¹ Revenue Department of Sayer, O.C, 6th August, 1790, No-2

¹¹² Ibid , also see Sudipta sen , ‘Conquest of Marketplace’ pp. 67-68

¹¹³ Ibid

¹¹⁴ Ibid

It was said in the regulation that the collectors took part with responsibility in the *gunjs*, *haats*, and *bazars*. Two subjects would be distinguished and everything would be started overall whatever taxes might be collected. Beside that any other tax except the already referred ones would be revoked.¹¹⁵The owners of all the *haats*, *gunjs*, and *bazars* were informed that government wanted to compensate the loss before 1765 by giving a public notice to the collectors before three months.¹¹⁶It was also ruled that collector should make a list of peoples taking pension for charitable or religious purposes from the marketplaces. The collector also makes a report on the source of the amount and its expenses of the pension. If the charity fund to be fraud or objectionable then their allowance would immediately discontinue.¹¹⁷

Customs houses reorganized the centres of mercantile import and export. Standardized and exclusive taxes were invested on all commodities. Features of favourable geographical location unified economic territory. In 1794 custom master approved regulation which upheld the principle of integration. "I think that all the Company's province, districts, ports throughout the India ought to be considered as one great country and that any goods or merchandised having once paid the ... duty in to the Company's treasury at any place, ought to exempt the said goods from any further demand on account of duty, on importation at any company's port in India".¹¹⁸

Following the above principle, the Company took initiatives for displaying immediate path to control rules and regulations. Collector and 'Board of Revenue' bore the principle of the government and strived for maintaining the authority of the government by protecting the government's objectives after considering the practical situation.

¹¹⁵ J.E. Colebrook , op.cit.p.287

¹¹⁶ Ibid, pp. 289-90

¹¹⁷ Sudipta Sen, op.cit, 1998, p.142

¹¹⁸ WBSA BOT 22nd November, 1794 Customs Master's letter Vol. 6

Conclusion: The increase in number of markets during the second half of the eighteenth century did not occur due to the forced commercialization. During later period of the eighteenth century *Nazims* used to earn money from the rents of the markets. The feature of the eighteenth century was the commercialization of royal power.¹¹⁹ Economies of scale demand and supply and literal linkages characterised this economy.

The personal initiative for setting up a new market used to be done plan fully. The establishment was related to the individual rights and various measures were set up by the ruling elite. The founders were well aware that their established *haats* and *gunjs* were aligned with the existing trade system. They were more aware that these nodes had to draw trade from a wider area, and not just of the local inhabitants. There is of markets actually dying and most *bazars* were still enumerated in the popular category.

There were several rules and regulations to set up *haat* and *gunj*. Establishment of a new market near the old market was derogative; so they did not get permission to set up market there. But if it was not so near, than permission were granted to set up the new market. Another criterion restricting the degree of a market's domination of sales transactions was based on the timing of potentially competing markets.¹²⁰

During the eighteenth century, markets of South West Bengal used to be held on a particular day of the week. If it was seen that anyone could start a new trade, they were allowed to set up markets. The traders were the intermediaries among the producers and the last buyers. Different types of business groups were developed according to their wealth, geographical area, ideas about local arrangements and credit worthiness. Trust and co-operation played a vital role to manage business.

¹¹⁹ C.A Bayly, Rulers, *Townsman and Bazars; North Indian Society in the Age of the British Expansion, 1770-1870.*, Indian ed. Delhi; Oxford University Press, 2000

¹²⁰ PCR, Vol.43, 26th July, 1784, pp. 26-28

The Company's government denied accepting the unconditional grant. It means that the power generated from social and dynastic rights was defined from contractual obligations. It stated the overall investigation thousands of marketplaces by the collectors. In reality the physical remains of the symbols of grants, signs, seal, *sanads*, and *farman* were taken out from the dusty record rooms. These were justified legally and rationally. It was also said to screen the applications of the families for their pensions under the collectors. The collectors and their assistants had become agents of the state. They were the sole authority to decide who were to be considered worthy of pension.

Moreover it is said that the market and its economic prosperity were growing steadily. In the second half of the eighteenth century the markets got flourished through various obstacles. The pace of development varied. But it was not harmful at all. The East India Company tried to intervene in different ways to control and operate the market system. The introduction of various regulations by the Company has a clear impact on the collecting duties from the markets, yet they could not able get success in main constructional reformation of the market. Finally, it can be said that the establishment and development of the markets of South West Bengal were much significant in that period.