

## CONCLUSION

In the present study entitled *The Role of Press and Associations in the Socio-Cultural and Political Movements: A Case Study of North Bengal (1869-1969)*, we have presented an analysis of the role of socio-cultural transitions that have taken place in the present North Bengal Districts of West Bengal during 1869-1969 (however, a part of our universe of study may be out of the present North Bengal districts because we have taken the study from 1869 which is prior to independence, and hence, some parts of the territory have been merged with the present day Bangladesh) focusing primarily on the role of Press and Associations (Sabha-Samiti) as the creators and interpreters of the public opinion, contributing towards the socio-cultural transitions of the region. While doing so, we have begun with the geo-historical profile of North Bengal, background and the origin and development of Press and Associations, important associations and press publications and the role they played in the contemporary socio-cultural and political movements in the region, and finally, the emergence of the North Bengal question as a distinct geo-political entity, and tied with it, the emergence of demands for recognition of identities premised around ethnic, linguistic and cultural bases in the region, which impacts on the process of transition of the North Bengal society. This emergence of the two-pronged identity question, first, the identity of North Bengal as a distinct geo-historical and political entity on the one hand, and, secondly, the emergence of a multitude of identity based movements in North Bengal speak of not only the deprivation of the region from the benefits of development, but also the mis/non-recognition of the socio-political claims of a variety of ethnic, linguistic and cultural groups in the region, bringing in them a sense of relative deprivation vis-à-vis the dominant groups of the region. These have been amply illustrated by the emergence of Press and Associations in the region over the years. Thus the study strived to explore the issues like, that the forces of change, exploitation, and injustice under the British rule in North Bengal faced a reaction (as outlined in our First Hypothesis) from the North

Bengal intelligentsia through the media and associations; that the press and associations in North Bengal contributed towards the mobilization and aggregation of public opinion in favour of a distinct North Bengal, unidentical with the rest of West Bengal (Second Hypothesis); and that North Bengal, despite remaining as a neglected territory during the colonial rule, contributed significantly in India's struggle for freedom, a history, which, however, remains largely unexplored and unwritten (Third Hypothesis). However, our generalizations to this effect could not be overstretched due to the obvious limits of the present study. In the sections that follow, we have attempted to summarize the main contents of our study, point out the important findings of the present study, and present a set of concluding observations.

### **Summary of Chapters**

The present volume contains an '*Introduction*', eight chapters, and a *Conclusion* of the study. In the *Introduction*, we have introduced the problem under study, presented a brief overview of the existing literature on the subject to justify the necessity of the present research, designed our research questions and hypotheses, and explained our methodological orientations. The section also points out the significance of the present study and makes an honest confession on the major limitations of the study. The section, finally gives a bird's eye view of the organization of the entire thesis.

Chapter 1 bears a title *Geo-Historical Profile of North Bengal*, which is self explanatory of its contents. This Chapter has revealed that the North Bengal region has undergone a territorial-boundarial transformation in course of time. Even during the period taken for the present study (1869-1969), the geo-historical map of the region has changed owing to the circumstances created by the colonial rulers. Historically, it is seen that during the later Gupta period, and later on under *Sasanka*, North Bengal played a significant role not only in the history of Bengal, but also in the broader context of the history of North and North East India. From early medieval period to the advent of colonial rulers, North Bengal occupied a central position in the history of

Bengal, owing basically to the facts like, for instance, *Gour* being the administrative centre of the entire region on the one hand, and, because of the archaeological inscriptions like the *Mahasthanagarh* inscriptions which form the source of early medieval Indian history, on the other. North Bengal, at present a narrow strip of land at a short distance from the Chinese border connects the two divisions of India as a vital point in the bottom of the Himalayas. Its geographical proximity with Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan in the North, Assam and Bangladesh in the East, and Bangladesh, and the other parts of West Bengal and the state of Bihar in the South and West has provided her a special place of strategic importance. Since long past, North Bengal has been serving as the eastern gateway for the passage and communications of people, commodities and ideas between the Indian sub-continent in the West and the state of Assam, the countries like Burma, China and other parts of South-East Asia in the East. This area is situated in the centre of the network connecting different civilizations. Our explorations revealed that during the later Vedic Age, North Bengal was probably known as *Pragyotisha-Kamatapura*; and later on, *Paundra* or *Pundra Gauda*, the chief town of *Pundravardhana* (the North Bengal region) seems to have a place of significance in the social, cultural, ethnic and economic history of the region. During the rule of Sasanka and the *Palas*, North Bengal played a vital role in the history and culture of the region. Following *Palas* came *Senas*, and then the *Muslim rullers*. The sultans of Bengal established several cities like *Gour* and *Pandua* (located in the present day Malda region). which brought about, under the influence of Islam, a transformation in the region, in all aspects of social life. However, it is seen that in the contemporary period, attempting a geo-historical profile of the region is rendered difficult for a multiplicity of reasons (elaborately discussed in the chapter). What is understood as being North Bengal today differs significantly from what it constituted before 1947. Today, it cannot more than simply a region: it implies an identity, an identity of a particular mosaic of socio-cultural and ethnic formations.

Chapter 2 entitled *Background of the Press Publications and Associations in North Bengal*. In this Chapter, while we saw that James Augustus Hicky has the credit of publishing the first newspaper (Calcutta Gazette) in India on 29<sup>th</sup> January 1780, yet in North Bengal press publication was a latecomer. This owed to several reasons, the prime one being the infrastructural disadvantages. The region was socio-culturally backward characterized by low literacy rate, lack of printing machinery, and absence of railway communication and institutions of higher learning. North Bengal also witnessed the wave of Bengal renaissance quite late. Under such conditions, it was quite unlikely that the people of North Bengal would develop any interest in press publications. In spite of these disadvantages, press publications began appearing in North Bengal (of undivided Bengal) by mid 1800s from Rangpur (sometimes in 1847) as Rangpur and Rajshahi were the cultural centres; and at the fag end of the 1800s (in the region which falls under the present day North Bengal) with the Publication of Darjeeling News in 1870. The growth of public organizations and associations in Bengal was closely related to the growth and development of Bengali vernacular press. Raja Rammohun Roy's 'Atmiya Sabha' founded in 1815 may rightly be regarded as the pioneer of truly Indian association of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Subsequently a series of associations were founded mainly in Calcutta and its adjacent areas. Like as press publications, the people of North Bengal could not realize the importance of the associations. So any association of any kind either socio-cultural or political did not emerge in North Bengal before the last quarter of the 19th century. Associations of North Bengal founded in the early stage were located mainly in the region lying with Bangladesh (North Bengal of undivided Bengal). as for instance, Rajshahi Association (1878), Varendra Research Society, Rangpur Sahitya Parishad. North Bengal Zamindars Association, Rangpur, etc. In present North Bengal we find some associations and organizations (Sabha-Samiti), which were the branches of the socio-cultural organizations of Calcutta. To communicate their views and ideas to a broader section of population some branches of Arya Samaj, Brahmo Samaj, Bangiyo Sahitya Parishad, Indian

Association were founded in North Bengal which are found in the present day North Bengal. Actually the people of this region did not have that awareness to establish any socio-cultural or political organization. Arya Natya Samaj of Jalpaiguri was the exception, which was founded in 1904 with a view of cultural practices. In the subsequent period so many organizations—social, cultural and political have emerged in different districts of present North Bengal.

Chapter 3 is given the title *Important Publications and Associations and their Role in the Contemporary Socio-Cultural and Political Movements*. The Chapter reveals to us that the publications and associations emerged from different places of North Bengal had initiated different issues, which had certain impact on the North Bengal society, culture and politics. Among them the associations and press publications from Jalpaiguri and Malda were most significant in terms of their vibrancy and activities. The press and associations of Cooch Behar and Darjeeling were significant contributors in terms of their literary activities and contributions to socio-cultural movements. The publications from Jalpaiguri like of *Trisruta Janamat* and *MuktiBani* were actively supportive of the activities of the Indian national Congress (INC). Similarly *Barendra* and *Deshbandhu* also made significant contributions to socio-political and cultural-literary awareness in the region. These apart, papers like *Ahvan*, *Nisan*, *Danpiteder Samachar*, *Amader Katha*, *Uttarpath*, *Nirapeksha* etc were published from Jalpaiguri and all these were concerned with the contemporary socio-cultural and political issues. The first Monthly periodical published from Malda was *Kusum* by Radhesh Chandra Seth (1890). Next he published *Gourbarta* and *Gourdoot*. The other important publications from Malda included *Malda Samachar* and *Malda Akhbar*. *Gourdoot* was a paper, which propagated messages against the colonial rule and exploitation. However, *Gambhira* was a paper that had mainly a socio-cultural theme and message. *Damru*, *Adhina*, *Minar* were the other publications coming from Malda. It was seen that in the context of the National Movement, *Gourdoot* as a media created a strong political awareness and mobilized the public opinion

against the exploitative rule of the British. Malda also witnessed the emergence of a few important associations during the said period. Malda Zela Sahitya Sammelan, Branch of Rampur Boalia Dharma Sabha, National Council of Education, Malda Muhammedan Association and the Malda Association are some important associations of Malda during the period taken for the present study. Apart from the Malda Muhammedan Association, all the other associations mentioned above were concerned with the cultural and literary development. Malda Zela Sahitya Sabha was the first literary organization in the North Bengal. Acharya Binoy Kumar Sarkar was the founder of the national Council of education in Malda, which was very active during the Swadeshi Movement. However, the central concern of the Malda Muhammedan Association was to promote the socio-economic wellbeing of the Muslim community. Voluntary organizations were also formed for the welfare of the weaker sections Relief Committee to help the flood victims etc. During our period of study Dinajpur did not as such have any important press publications. A few associations, however, were formed. Cooch Behar had a strong background of publications and literary activities. Famous literary figures of Bengal including Tagore used to contribute to the publications from Cooch Behar, some of which were even patronized by the maharajas of Cooch Behar. Being a separate Princely state with strict laws including the deportation law, Cooch Behar could conspicuously avoid the flowering of associations in general and anti- state/government associations in particular. A wide variety of press publications came during the period from Darjeeling district. A bulk of the publications was in Nepali and English and a few in Hindi, Bengali and Tibetan even. The themes of these publications ranged from the issues of socio-economic development to the literary-cultural issues to even issues of identity and nationhood. Similar was the magnitude and intensity of the emergence and activities respectively of the associations in the district.

Chapter 4 entitled *Growth and Development of Non Bengali Press and some Associations in the Non-Bengali dominated areas of North Bengal*, with an understanding that the Indian history and culture is multidimensional,

recognizes the North Bengal Region to be a mosaic of diverse socio-cultural formations. Hence, the Chapter explores the Non Bengali Press in the region and the role of the associations in the Non Bengali dominated region of North Bengal, particularly Darjeeling Hills. The chapter reveals that during the period taken for the present study, Darjeeling had its credit a large number of publications in Nepali, English, Bengali and Tibetan (at the fag end of the period under study), which owed to the contributions made by the British rulers and the missionaries by way of the establishment of schools and other institutions of learning. Several vernacular publications in the likes of *Gorkha Bharat Jiban* (1886- (Motiram Bhatt), *Gorkha Khabar Kagat* (1901-Ganga Prasad Pradhan) were published from Darjeeling, investigating different aspects of hill society and culture, propagation of the republican ideals and the condemnation of the social evils like child marriage (especially between 1912 and 1939) engaging basically in socio-cultural reform. The publications in Tibetan took place especially after the arrival of the Tibetan refugees to Darjeeling in the later part of the 1950s, and, most of their publications focus on the plight of the refugees, reflections on their religious and cultural traditions, their determination to free Tibet, and so on. Some Nepali novels (like *Noyo*) also focused on the story of the inhuman treatment meted to the Tibetans and the flight of the refugees from Tibet to India etc. As regards the associations, most of them were formed in for the assertion of the cultural and ethnic identity of the people of the hills (for instance, the NEBULA) barring some (like *Gorkha Dukkha Nibarak Sammelan- GDNS* and *Nepali Sahitya Sammelan*) which devoted to socio-cultural and literary endeavours.

In Chapter 5, we have discussed the *Contributions of the Regional Vernacular Press and Associations in Freedom Movement* contextualizing it in the location, locale and the sense of place of the emergence of the vernacular press and associations in the wider perspective of the national movement. The chapter brings to us the fact that the regional vernacular press and associations of North Bengal had a very strong contribution to the national movement in India, during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The vernacular press publications

of North Bengal, more particularly of Jalpaiguri and Malda districts worked in the direction of generating and consolidating the public opinion against the unjust and exploitative rule of the British. This was possible because a host of the editors of these publications had some strong political background.

Chapter 6 deals with the *Contributions of regional Associations in the field of Socio-cultural Development up to 1969*. This chapter is basically a descriptive chapter which has explored the sabhas and samities in Bengal during 1869 to 1969 and their contributions to socio-cultural development in the region, as it is obvious from the title of the chapter itself.

Chapter 7 is entitled *Emergence of North Bengal Question: North Bengal Press vis-à-vis Calcutta Press*. North Bengal, geographically is simply a region situated in the northern part of Bengal. Even after 1947 the present North Bengal lies with the northern part of present West Bengal. But North Bengal question arises due to so many reasons. Firstly geographically and secondly psychologically this northern part of West Bengal got some importance. Both the people of north Bengal and the rest of Bengal used this term North Bengal. Geographically, socially, culturally, this region got some identity. Moreover ethnical and linguistic identity brought the question into limelight. In terms of some natural resource the term 'THREE T' have identified this area. Moreover the backwardness, social, political and economic low position and the changes took place under the British rule produced some impact on the people of North Bengal. As North Bengal remained alienated to some extent (Calcutta scholars did not highlight North Bengal in any respect). Some eminent scholars of North Bengal and some institutions took interest to explore North Bengal's social and cultural matters. Racial, cultural and ethnical identity gave the birth of a separate identity question of North Bengal. In colonial period some caste based social movements and later on some ethnical, cultural and political movements (Hitasadhani Sabha, Uttarakhanda Dal and Gorkha League) bring the North Bengal question. In recent times this North Bengal question got some important dimension in socio cultural aspect.

In the press of North Bengal this north Bengal term is highlighted. Even the Calcutta press also used this term in different way. Due to some geo-historical background and presently due to socio-cultural, linguistic and ethnical background the North Bengal question gradually emerged.

Chapter 8 is named *Emergence of Ethnic, Linguistic and Cultural Identity Question*. In this chapter we have basically explored the evolution and consolidation of the identity question: linguistic, ethnic and cultural. Since the dominant identity related movements have taken place in an organized form as protest movements outside the time frame of our study (for example, the Gorkhaland Movement, the Kamtapuri Movement, and even the Greater Cooch Behar Movement), the chapter has explored extensively only the Kshatriyas Movement as a movement for identity in North Bengal. The Movement has shown the dynamics of identity of a community. The chapter also takes stock of the forces and factors during the period up to 1969, which influenced the emergence of the identity, based movements like Gorkhaland and Kamtapuri movements in North Bengal.

### **Major Findings**

During the early stage, the press publications and the associations in North Bengal were engaged in several socio-cultural activities. However, with the spreading out of the National Movement in the first part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the press and associations in North Bengal are seen to have played a significant role. It was during this time that the British government adopted several press ordinances as part of the repressive measures to curb the national movement. The press in North Bengal, particularly the vernacular press was unequivocal in condemning and criticizing the government policies and actions. The press, by highlighting on the injustice meted out to the Indians, and by covering the emotionally charged public speeches by the leadership in the National movement, generated a public opinion against the British rule. Such roles were played by many press publications of North Bengal notably the *Jamamat*, *Trisrota* and *Muktibani* in Jalpaiguri and *Gourdoot* in Malda (see chapter 5 for

details). Hence, one of the major findings of the present study is that press and associations in North Bengal acted as agencies of creation and consolidation of the public opinion against the British rule in India. This in turn played a significant role in transforming the social and political life of North Bengal. To elucidate, significant changes in social and political life were the growth of general awareness for their social and political position. Through press, they ventilated their discontent and grievances in respect of low social position, promotion of education and culture. With the help of publication, literary activities, so many renowned writers in different field emerged. Cooch-Bihar Sahitya Sabha Patrika, NEBULA, Dinajpur Bhattpara Unnatigadhani Sabha, Malda Zela Sahitya Sammelan, Kshatria, (mouthpiece of Kshatriya Samiti) brought so many changes in the context of socio-cultural activities of North Bengal. Gourdoot of Malda made an atmosphere to arrange tripartite meeting (Bansis and Ghaiwalas, Communists and the administration) to increase the price of cocoons. Silk control order was challenged. Publications of Jalpaiguri generated a strong nationalist movement. Political activities and policy of the government were circulated through press which influenced the mass. After the formation of All India Political Party (Indian National Congress, Indian Association etc.) some branches were opened in North Bengal Districts. Representatives from North Bengal attended All India Conferences. Through associations and publications they raised their voice. Some intellectuals associated with Gourdoot raised voice in favour of the reelers and weavers of silk industry demanding justice in respect of wages. Indian Tea Planters' Association was formed with the aim of safeguarding their interests and ventilating their grievances to the government. During the partition of Bengal and Swadeshi movement an anti-partition movement started at Jalpaiguri and leadership and inspiration were provided by legal practitioners, teachers and planters. A large crowd led by Jogesh Chandra Ghosh, a leading planter walked barefoot through the town. A campaign was launched to boycott foreign goods. At Dinbazar, the market place of the town, propaganda for the boycott led to the arrest of three young men. Many anti-British activities were performed. The

North Bengal intelligentsia supported and highlighted these activities. Most of the associations of North Bengal were socio cultural and literary in character. Some of them got some indirect involvement with nationalist activities. Malda Zela Congress Committee, Jalpaiguri district Congress Committee, Darjeeling District committee did much for the freedom movement. Among the associations of North Bengal, some with the socio culture; activities generated a public opinion which ultimately became involved in the freedom movement. Some personalities engaged with some associations were nationalists. Krishak Samiti was formed in 1938, Gurudas Roy as secretary and Sachin Dasgupta as assistant secretary. Gurudas Roy had earlier been associated with Sree Sangha and Bengal volunteers the later organization being responsible for much of daring terrorist activities in early 1930s. Jalpaiguri District Congress Committee had a strong hold over the peasants and tea garden workers and they raised the voice of protest against the British government. In fact the association of Jalpaiguri regenerated a public consciousness which helped the nationalist movement at large. In the course of the freedom movement a publication of North Bengal played some active role. Among many publications, some from Jalpaiguri and Malda had a distinction in favour of the national freedom movement. In Malda district we see that Gourdoot was a mirror of the freedom movement during civil disobedience and the quit India movement. Due to strong nationalist background, Lal Behari Majumdar editor of Gourdoot strongly propagated in favour of the freedom movement on different issues. Similarly in Jalpaiguri, Trisrota, Janamat, Muktibani and Varendra were active supporter of the freedom movement. They were accused for seditious activities and were warned by the British government for their campaign in favour of freedom movement. Police case was filed against Muktibani and its editor Khagendra Nath Dasgupta was imprisoned.

In the perspective of our study North Bengal acquired importance in the like manner as the other parts of Bengal. No study in their regard has been done as yet. On tea plantation, socio-economic structure and on other fields a good number of works are completed. But the intellectual exercise and the

political activities in respect of our study have not been properly explored. The role of the press, their editors and organizers of different associations remained almost unknown and untouched. The study of different aspects of this regional history have not been properly studied. So the intellectuals, writers and authors, editors, nationalists and their supporters, organizers of associations were important people. Some contemporary incidents like price hike, dishonesty of businessmen, ordinance to stop vernacular press, warning the editors and printing press, imprisonment of journalists, public meeting against the government and campaign in favour of national movement were important which have not been properly explored. Khagendra Nath Dasgupta, editor of Muktibani, (Jalpaiguri) after a long trial was imprisoned for one year. The case was filed due to violation of court order. The title of the case was Superintendent and Remembrance of the legal affairs Vs Kagendranath Dasgupta. Bhabaranjan Gangopadhyay, writer of an article entitled "Bichar" (in Muktibani) was also accused of seditious writings and was imprisoned for one year. Some important protest movement stirred the political life of Malda district. These movements were mostly stormed in Bhaluka, Harischandrapur, and Singabad. During the course of Quit India Movement Subodh Kumar Mishra was the President of District congress and he mobilized the people under the banner of I.N.C. The adjacent areas were also stirred with the political agitation which was reported by Gourdoot. Some movement also occurred in Balurghat. In Jalpaiguri also procession took place demanding liberation and the exemption of imprisonment of some nationalists. Picketing was shown in Jalpaiguri. Boycott movement also got good response. Geographically North Bengal is simply a region situated in the northern part of Bengal. Even after 1947 the present North Bengal lies with the northern part of present West Bengal. But North Bengal question arises due to so many reasons. Firstly geographically and secondly psychologically this northern part of West Bengal got some importance. Both the people of north Bengal and the rest of Bengal used this term North Bengal. Geographically, socially, culturally, this region got some identity. Moreover ethnical and linguistic identity brought the

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Most important identity based movement of North Bengal was Rajbansi Kshatriya Movement. The Mohammedans of different districts of north Bengal also formed some associations for the cause of their community interests. Anjuman-i-islamia of Malda, Jalpaiguri, Rangpur, and Darjeeling were also interested for the promotion of their community. Gorkha Dukkha Nibarak Sammelan, Hillman's association and NEBULA were interested for the socio-cultural development of hill communities. Gorkha Samiti, later on association served the purpose of Gorkha. For the general interest of their community and for their socio-cultural upliftment these associations were formed. Identity based movements/associations were formed for their general interests / promotion in respect of education, culture, upliftment of social positions, and to expose their grievances. Their aspirations were exposed through these associations. '*Kshatriya*'-mouthpiece of Kshatria Samiti. Nepali Sahitya Sammelan published Nepali Sahitya Sammelan Patrika. Gorkha Dukkha Nibarak Samity published '*Khoji*' by Rupnarayan Singh to ventilate their thoughts and ideas, to highlight their demands and problems.

The role of press has always been reflected in different socio-cultural movements. As present Dinajpur (NS) had no such important publication, the other districts of north Bengal witnesses a series of papers journals which initiated so many socio-cultural movements. In the case of Darjeeling most of the press publications were related with social-cultural movement. In Malda also press had an important role. Radhesh Chandra Seth and his Gourbarta, Gourdoot, and Malda Samachar contributed a lot for this purpose. Damru, Adhina, Minmar were also important. Malda Zela Sahitya Sammelan was the product of its literary activities performed by these publications. Cooch Behar had a strong background in this regard. Paricharika etc. had a contribution in this regard. In Jalpaiguri also we see good number of publications created an atmosphere of cultural practice and core group of socio cultural activities emerged. In different political movements, press had a contribution. Though it was not equally felt in all districts of North Bengal especially in Jalpaiguri and Malda Districts, press played a role to propagate the spirit of nationalism/national movement.

The study therefore revealed that the press and associations played a significant role in the socio-political movements in North Bengal. However, our study revealed the fact that there were inter- district similarities as well as inter-district variations. The nature of and the reasons for such similarities and variations have been summarized below. In respect of the socio-cultural and political activities, Malda and Jalpaiguri had many similarities. Darjeeling and Cooch Behar had some similarities in terms of the literary activities of the press and associations. As Cooch Behar was a princely state unlike the other districts of present north Bengal, any anti-state activity either by publication or by association was not possible. On the other hand, Darjeeling was a non-regulation area because of which the political activities in the area was restricted. Jalpaiguri, Malda and Dinajpur shared similarities in terms of the status of administration. Sectional politics existed both in Jalpaiguri and in Malda. Hence, the analysis of the role of press and associations reveal some commonness in Jalpaiguri and Malda but differ even with what took place in

Darjeeling and Cooch Behar, because each one of these—Cooch Behar and Darjeeling enjoyed a unique status of its own. And, Dinajpur, despite belonging to the category as of Malda and Jalpaiguri, had no important association or press publication coming out of it which can claim to have equal importance as those in Jalpaiguri and Malda, for reasons which have been highlighted below. Between Malda and Jalpaiguri the press owners (editors) were mostly nationalists. Some of them were secretary to the District Congress Committee or active political worker. The congress organization were formed and got a mass support for the cause of national movement. Due to literary activities a social and political awareness emerged in both the districts. Naturally the publications and associations of Malda and Jalpaiguri in their socio cultural and political activities got some similarities. Moreover other than colonial rule no other restrictions remained their especially due to strong political background.- Lalbehari Majumdar (editor of Gourdoot), Jyotish Chandra Sanyal (editor of Jamanat), Suresh Ch. Paul (editor of Trisrota) and Khagendra Nath Dasgupta (editor of Muktibani), all these publications focused on the national political activities, reacted against illegal and unjustified activities of the British government.

The press and associations of Malda and Jalpaiguri were of different character from that of Darjeeling and Cooch Behar. In the perspective of national movement some publications of Malda and Jalpaiguri were identical to some extent. Cooch Behar had as such no associational activities due to the cause of being a native state. But in cultural and literary perspective Cooch Behar a significant contribution for the cultural development of North Bengal. Due to different linguistic and ethnical background Darjeeling was different from the rest of North Bengal. Press and Associations of Darjeeling were mainly engaged in socio-cultural and literary development of the hill communities. Local problems and demand serve generally focused by the publications from Darjeeling. There are variations among the districts of north Bengal in terms of the contributions made by press and associations. For instance, Dinajpur had no important publication or association whatsoever

which can be compared to those of other districts of north Bengal. Ethnic, linguistic and cultural variations among the districts of North Bengal are already mentioned earlier. Due to some administrative compulsion in Cooch Behar, it was not possible to organize political movement. Apart from this, Deportation Law was totally different from the rest of North Bengal which is explained. Due to some regulations and influence of European education they were busier with their own affairs than the political/national. Sub-nationalism (socio-cultural and political demands related with the local issues) was more dominant among the hill communities than the rest of north Bengal. Though Malda and Jalpaiguri were identical or similar to some extent, some variations also remained there. Jalpaiguri was more active in all respect (social, cultural, and political) than Malda. Among so many publications we find only Gourdoot as nationalist paper (JATIO-SAPTAHIK PATRIKA). Malda Zela Sahitya Sammelan was the first district wise literary conference in north Bengal. Due to Benoy Kr. Sarkar Swadeshi spirit was exposed in Malda through national council of education. Other than Malda no districts of North Bengal founded National Council of Education. Some other reasons for variations in respect of socio-cultural and political activities were there, which have already mentioned in the context of different questions.