

Occasional Paper 175

**Genesis of a Neighbourhood  
The Mapping of Bhabanipur**

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Occasional Paper 125

Genesis of a Foreign Mission  
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## Genesis of a Neighbourhood The Mapping of Bhabanipur<sup>1</sup>

In the search for early maps and plans of the city of Calcutta, I came across a manuscript map, unauthored, prepared in the year 1796. Its title read: 'A Survey of the ground to the Southward of Chowringhy and the General Hospital including the whole of Bowaneepore, performed in October, November'.<sup>2</sup> What struck me about the map was that it portrayed a locality, situated beyond the city's legal jurisdiction at that time, a low-lying tract in its southern fringe, an area not generally expected to be mapped in such minute details. The present paper takes off from this.

If one were to make a short resume of the cartographic history of the city of Calcutta, which would also be coterminous with the British mapping of the city from its known beginnings in the year 1742, till the early decades of the twentieth century, it is easily noticed that the emphasis of the surveys were laid primarily on the British occupied (or commonly referred to as) 'white' Calcutta, vis-à-vis its indigenous counterparts, since these were to represent the two broad categories within which the city space was divided, representative of colonial cities the world over. Both the categories - 'British' and 'indigenous' Calcutta formed spatial components of the city proper, with almost a clear line of demarcation that separated the two. British Calcutta primarily occupied space to the south of the line, and its counterpart, indigenous Calcutta, to the north, with a grey zone in between. There was often found to be a 'blurring of boundaries' between the two.<sup>3</sup>

In this usual patterning of colonial city space, the fringe areas or suburbs were generally peripheral. Under normal circumstances such outlying areas were not central to the deliberations of the colonial administrators, since surveys on the city were conducted for specific purposes. Their representation cartographically was thus a fact that needs to be probed, since this was one of the ways that brought such areas into focus.

The aim in the present paper is not merely to trace the genesis and evolution of the neighbourhood of Bhabanipur, but to unravel what



has been laid out in the several surveys conducted, the innumerable maps conceived, prepared, and published, factors that open up aspects of a locality, its populace, its neighbourhoods, its institutions, each revealing a different set of issues. Through these maps, one can visualise the evolution of a locality with the varied coordinates that have drawn people to this area. One can only draw inferences. But these inferences provide us with a backdrop to build upon, and along with documentary evidence try to piece together the manner in which the space that constituted Bhabanipur got organised over time.

### Colonial suburbs

By the end of the seventeenth century, colonial suburbs, contrary to generally accepted notions, were considered, 'instead of being unregulated sites for practices the cities found impermissible, slowly were transformed into highly desirable, detached, clearly circumscribed, exclusively residential (and generally bourgeois) enclaves. Central to this transformation was a fundamental change in the character of the relation between suburbs and cities from *hierarchical* to *contrapositional*. The positionalities of city and suburb no longer were tied to each other by simple relations of hierarchy'.<sup>4</sup>

Based on his studies on the suburbs of colonial Batavia, Madras and Calcutta since the eighteenth century, John Archer thus concludes that 'suburbs have afforded a premier locale for the material articulation of such binary distinctions.' This was observed to be 'especially feasible in a *colonial* setting', because, 'in many respects those who settled outside a 'Fort' and its immediate precincts were occupying not so much a *subordinate* locale, in the manner of lands surrounding European feudal cities, but rather a locale already demarcated as *alien* to the city, in the sense that it was part of the indigenous, non-European landscape.'<sup>5</sup>

One can thereby view 'colonial suburbs' in very different ways. Distinct and quite apart from the generalities observed in many other colonial metropolises, the city of Calcutta has been witness to very diverse influences in its process of development. These have been reflected not only in the organization of space within the city, but also in that of its outlying areas. On the one hand, we get the closely-knit enclaves of indigenous settlements, and, on the other, the widely spaced, structured band of alien 'white' settlements appropriating the relatively well placed lands, with a certain level of overlap. Bhabanipur, our subject of discussion, conformed more to the specifications of the former, yet was uncomfortably contiguous, at least in physical terms, to the latter.

Till the middle of the eighteenth century, in the city of Calcutta, European residences were confined primarily to locations contiguous to the original Fort William, (an area along the river Hooghly around the



present General Post Office), apart from Baghbazar, the cantonment at Dumdum, Perrin's Point, etc. at the periphery. This scenario underwent transformations with the completion, further south, of the new Fort William in 1773, when vast areas to its east, south and south-west, that came under direct military protection were laid open for European settlement. These were mostly evident around Chowringhee, along the Lower Circular Road in the east, and also along the river Hooghly on the southwest of the city. Several surveys carried out in the nineteenth century clearly illustrate the large residential estates, separated from each other by wide expanses of tree-lined gardens. Quite often these were found to be interspersed among indigenous residences, as observed in the maps of the period, along the periphery of Bhabanipur.

### **Emergence of the South**

It would be interesting to note, going back to over two centuries, that the very conception of a city core vis-à-vis its fringe would possibly not be relevant in the case of the city of Calcutta vis-à-vis Bhabanipur. Both the constituents – the city proper, as well as the nuclei of settlements that came to constitute the fringes, were independent settlement units that grew up in their own logic, independently, often simultaneously, in the pre-colonial era, prior to the coming of being of 'Calcutta'. This relationship of a city vis-à-vis its fringe area was a result of the administrative reordering of space that was brought into operation by the British. The two came to be linked to each other, gradually. Quite expectedly, the city proper has engaged more academic attention as compared to the fringes, which were to gain the official status of suburbs subsequently. Bhabanipur was representative of the latter.

The genesis of this locality has had a very different, yet distinctive history vis-à-vis the other indigenous nuclei of settlement in the city. As the urban space expanded, the component units quite often tended to interpenetrate. The traditional Bengali neighbourhoods in the north, however, were able to retain the elements of segregation and maintained a physical isolation from the British inhabited areas. This was not so much the case in Bhabanipur, or for that matter for any other fringe area inhabited by the local populace whose locations were contiguous to 'British' or 'white' Calcutta.

'At a more realistic and objective level', as observed, 'the Indian town was increasingly reflective, in its physical set-up, (of) those principles which distinguished it from the European town'. As for its functional role, 'the bazaar as an economic and spatial organization' tended to draw 'a huge and mixed crowd of people many of whom may be only marginally connected with the main channel of the economic activity of the bazaar.'<sup>6</sup> In the north of the city, huts or slums in the



majority of cases surrounded the opulent residences of the indigenous urban landlords. These not only provided the rent income of these landlords, the people residing there were also needed for service. 'The urban landlords, as a social force behind urbanization could make the physical city reflect many of their own concerns, preoccupations and priorities'.<sup>7</sup> One rarely comes across such features in the organisation of space in the indigenous localities in the south of the city. The exceptions would perhaps be very few.

### The Physical Coordinates

If one could briefly outline the physical coordinates of the city of Calcutta - the river Hooghly formed its western boundary, with the eastern area marked by low-lying marshes, a rationale for the north-south development of the city following its initial east-west spread. The natural inclination of settlements to take up the high ground or levee along river courses is a well-known fact. In the case of Calcutta, such land in the northern segment was settled prior to the arrival of the British. In the south, similar high land was found along the Adi Ganga / Tolly's Nala.<sup>8</sup> The expansion of settlement, as a result, was likely to be towards the south along the Hooghly, and southeast along the Adi Ganga, rather than towards the east.<sup>9</sup>

Probing into the genesis of the settlement of Bhabanipur, the role of the Tolly's Nala could be very easily explained. As observed from the accounts of Holwell (1771), a 'small brook' near Kalighat was 'deemed to be the original course of the Ganges' by the local brahmins. This channel was shown to be draining into the Bidyadhari (upper Matla) below Baruipur in the 1778 *Bengal Atlas* of James Rennell.<sup>10</sup> The now moribund course was mentioned in the early maps variously as the Govindapur Creek, Surman's Nullah<sup>11</sup> etc., and was subsequently identified by Hunter as the Adi Ganga, and he also observed how 'the Hindus still consider the route of the channel sacred, and burn their dead on the sides of the tanks dug in its bed.'<sup>12</sup>

There were thus two channels to the sea below Saptagram in the 16th century, writes Radhakamal Mukherjee - 'the Saraswati passing by Chaumata, Mandaran, Bator, Tamluk and Hijli to the sea; the other, the Bhagirathi (Hooghly), now called the Adi Ganga, diverging to the east from opposite Bator and passing by Kalighat, Nachangachi and Chhatrabhoga to Hijli.'<sup>13</sup>

In an older manuscript, Bipradas's *Manasamangala* (1495), Chitpur, Calcutta and Bator are listed among the cities that Chand Saodagar passes in the voyage from Bhagalpur to the sea, and along the Adi Ganga among the places mentioned as situated on its banks are Dhalanda, Kalighat, etc.<sup>14</sup> Dhalanda is seen to be located northwest of



Bhabanipur in maps published between the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth century. 'Bhawanipur' also finds mention in the accounts of W.W. Hunter as being located along 'Tolly's Canal', and whose principal trade was known to be firewood.<sup>15</sup> Even as late as the second decade of the twentieth century, it was reported that on 'the west border of Bhowanipore, along the Tolly's Nullah, we find some evidence of industrial occupation, this being a depot of country produce of rice, grain, etc., coming in by canal from the south-east canal system. A considerable road traffic between Calcutta and Tolly's Nullah is created, by this country import and export.'<sup>16</sup>

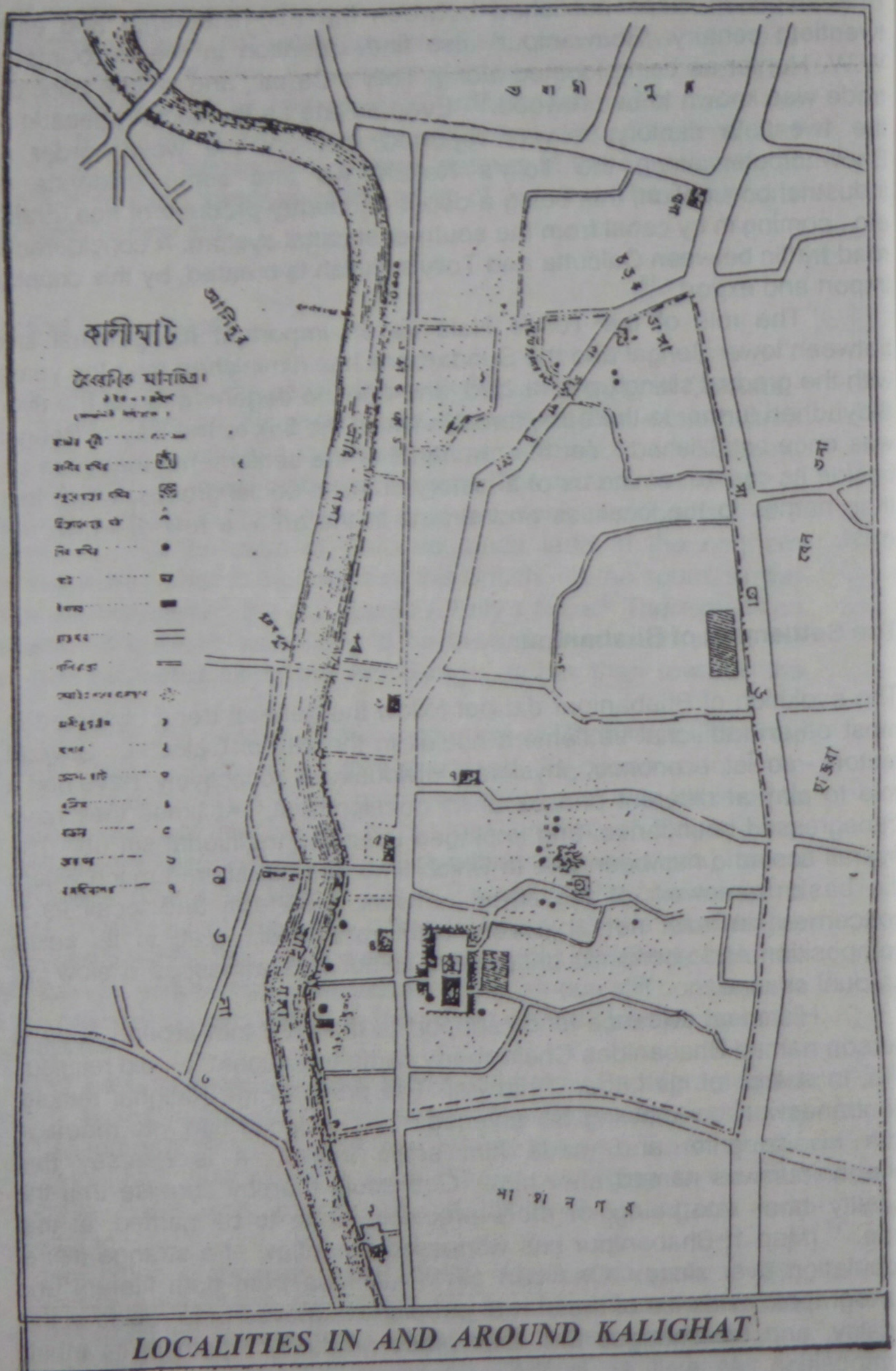
The role of the Tolly's Nala as an important navigational link between lower Bengal and the Sundarbans has diminished over the years with the gradual silting up of its bed, and with the degeneration of the river Bidyadhari further to the east, through which the link to the Bay of Bengal was once established. Yet the remnants of the settlements that grew up beside its course remind us of a history of those social groups, which lent their names to the localities and streets in the area, a few of which still exist.

### **The Settlement of Bhabanipur**

The evolution of Bhabanipur did not follow the general trend observed in most other traditional settlement nuclei in the city of Calcutta. Several factors - social, economic, physical, individually or collectively, have had a role to play at different phases of its development. At times they have transgressed boundaries, and impinged upon the traditional set up. The overall scenario has been one in which time has not altered much where the basic framework of the street network, built-form and localities is concerned, at least not at a very significant level. Yet, in its social composition and economic base, Bhabanipur has witnessed a slow yet gradual change.

Historical evidence lends support to the view that around 1600, a person named Bhabanidas Chakrabarty came to Kalighat, an old religious site, in search of his father, Prithviraj. The priest of the Kalighat temple, Bhubaneswar, on knowing his antecedents convinced him into marriage with his daughter and made him settle there. It is hearsay that Bhabanipur was named after him. One could thereby surmise that the locality came into being, or more precisely came to be named, at that time.<sup>17</sup> [Map 1] Bhabanipur has witnessed the inflow of a strange mix of population ever since. One can get a fair idea from both literary and cartographic evidence of the sort of people who moved in to reside in this locality, and the changes that took place gradually - both in its ethnic composition, as well as in the professions. Each phase of history





Map 1

Source: Surya Kumar Chattopadhyaya, *Kalikheta Dipika*, 1891



determined this nature, with the social character of this southern suburb altering gradually.

In the seventeenth century, when the English took over the villages of Sutanuti, Kalikata and Govindapur, some traders left Saptagram, the Portuguese port on the river Saraswati above Calcutta, as Saptagram was becoming unusable on account of the silting up of the river Saraswati. Artisan castes such as the Kansabaniks, and the Sankhabaniks as a consequence, came over to settle at Govindapur, the site of the present Fort William. These new settlers had to move out once again in the middle of the 18th century, when, in order to build the new fort, Govindapur had to be cleared of all its settlers. Many of the oustees selected the neighbourhood of Kalighat, and the nucleus of the settlement of Bhabanipur was known to have come into existence. The original settlement took place along the Adi Ganga, the reason being primarily the ease of transport and trade. This fact is borne out by arranging the maps of the locality in a chronological order. A distinct commercial belt had developed along its banks, 'the remnants of which are still visible from the layout of streets and buildings and location of temples.'<sup>18</sup>

The existence of occupational caste groups is clearly reflected in the naming of the streets and localities, illustrated not only in the maps of that period, but to some extent also in the maps published in recent years. Kansaripara, Sankharipara, Potopara, Telipara, are the names by which one can still locate the areas bearing these nomenclatures, although these localities may not be identified in the maps of the city today. But some of the streets, i.e. Kansaripara Road, Kansaripara Lane, Sankharipara Road, Telipara Lane, have still retained their names.

However, some of the caste-based occupational groups that had once dominated the social and economic scenario of Bhabanipur, have not been able to retain their dominance. Economic forces related primarily to the rapid pace of urbanisation could be an explanation. Occupational changes have been known to be unequal among these groups, the *kansabaniks* - workers in brass, the *sankhabaniks* - conch-shell designers, the *telis*—oilmen, and the *potos* - painters and idol makers. Making observations on the plight of the *kansaris*, Nirmal Kumar Bose wrote,

The Kansari or brass worker caste shows a comparable continuity of identity and residence in one ward in the northern part of the city and one ward in the south...for centuries the brass water jars, cooking pots and eating bowls that are the work of such artisans have constituted the principal imperishable possessions of the Hindu household. In recent years, however, their trade has suffered by serious competition from cheap enamel and aluminum ware and by the increasing use of glass and porcelain in the Bengali households of the city yet in the older Kansari ward in the north of the city there are still a large



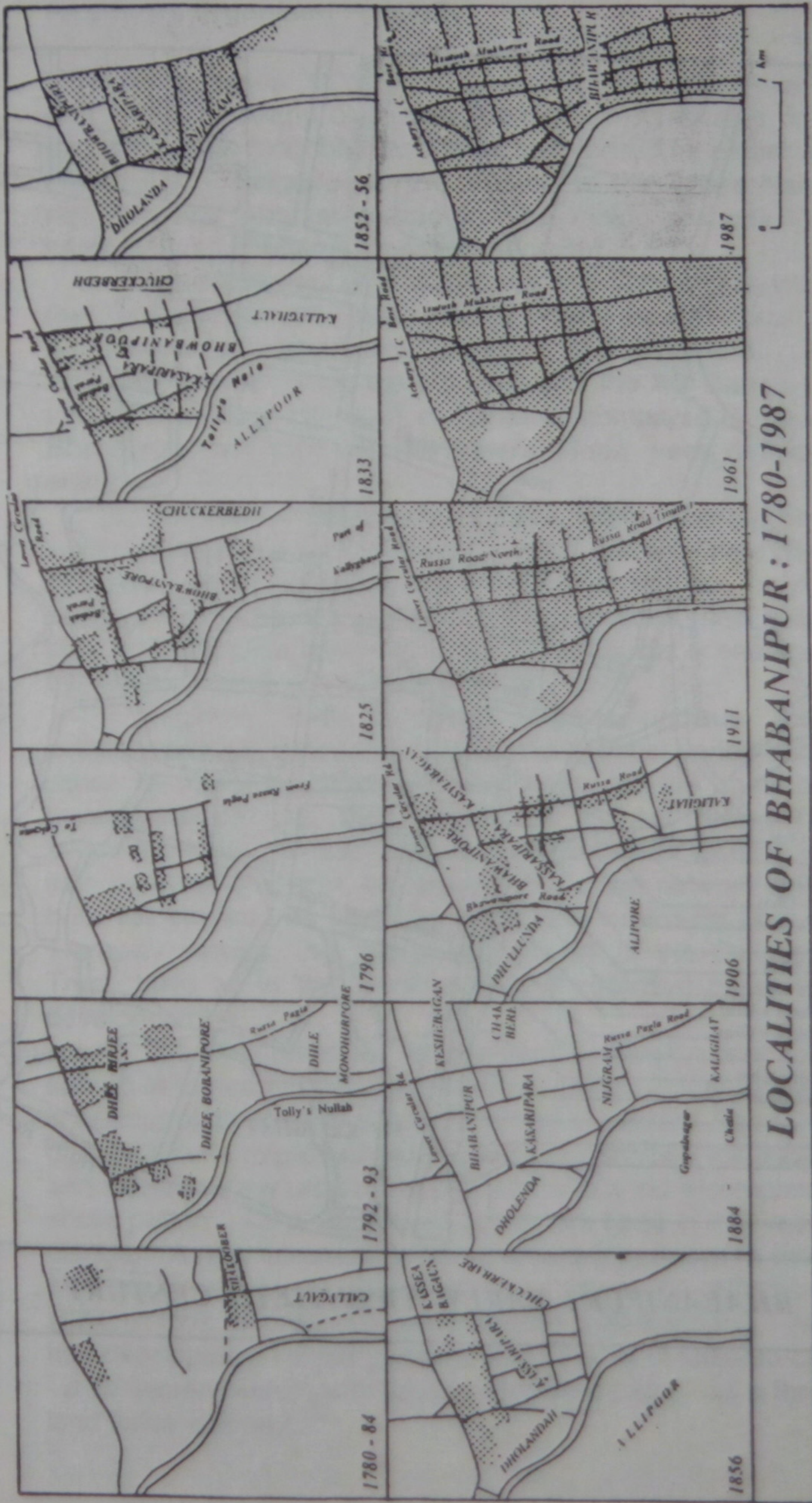
number of families who continue to make their living by something akin to their traditional calling. Some of the Kansaris in the southern ward have become goldsmiths or silversmiths, and others have taken up the making of electrical products and surgical instruments. What is notable is that members of this caste have tried to remain as close as possible to their hereditary 'monopoly', with a minimum degree of adaptation or change.<sup>19</sup>

As observed by Anjana Roy Choudhury, 'Changes among the Kansabanik occurred in the community as a whole, while among the Sankhabaniks there has been a complete shift from the traditional work to other lines of occupation. But the Potos of this area are still following the traditional work of image making.'<sup>20</sup> In the case of the Sankhabaniks, originally residents of Saptagram, subsequently of Govindapur, one observes a similar turn of events. The manufacturers moved to Baghbazar in north Calcutta, whilst most of the traders settled in Bhabanipur in the southern fringes of the city at that time. 'During this period, many Sankabaniks of Bhowanipur left the traditional work of conch shells and shifted to salaried office-work. What is to be noted is that there is no definite trend in the occupational changes in the community as we find in the case of the Kansabaniks'<sup>21</sup> As for the Telis, it is observed that 'though the name "Telipara" has remained, yet very few Telis are found in residence here. The original business of the caste was oil-pressing. But in course of time, nearly a hundred years ago, as wealth accumulated in their hands, some rich members of the caste adopted other lines of business.'<sup>22</sup>

The *potos* have been an exception to this general trend of occupational change. 'Even in the present century, a strict caste-wise occupational group in Bhowanipur is to be found among the *potos*... and though there are new openings all around, yet they have not shifted from their traditional occupation which still keeps them to make a living.'<sup>23</sup> The present exclusive dependence on image making in Potopara is known to be a comparatively recent development. The *potos*, known for their paintings on paper, the wellknown *patachitra*, primarily supplied the orders of the zamindars more than two hundred years back.

The changes that have been imminent amongst the traditional artisan groups of Bhabanipur have not been able to wipe out the fact of their very existence in present day Calcutta. Along with remnants of a few of the occupational groups, localities and streets bearing their names with an almost unaltered built form bear evidence of a past that is almost history. [Appendix 2 & Maps 2 & 3] The same observations apply in the case of Bhabanipur's counterparts in the north of the city, where Kansaripara, Sankharipara or Kumartuli remind us of a past whose remnants still persist.





LOCALITIES OF BHABANIPUR: 1780-1987

Map 2





**BHABANIPUR : EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY**

Map 3.



## Residents Organised Spatially

Multifarious forces, at different phases of its development, have lent to this locality a clearly distinctive identity - in its locales, in the mix of its residents, in its functions, and in its built-form. The earlier settled areas of Bhabanipur, contiguous to the channel of the Tolly's Nala, have mostly retained their original character. The major changes that have been brought about concern its eastern segment.

The settlement of artisans from the early eighteenth century led to the emergence of occupational caste-based localities such as Kansaripara, Sankharipara, Telipara and Potopara. Most of such localities grew up along the old course of the Adi Ganga. The residential pattern and street layout of this area as compared to the eastern part of Bhabanipur bounded by the Russa Road were almost two different entities.

The area along the Adi Ganga, that is the old Bhowanipur, is a well-integrated old residential area with narrow, meandering lanes and by-lanes. Local solidarity can be observed not only in population composition, livelihood pattern, social functions, and religious rites, but also in the physical layout. A very different social scene is observed along the two main traffic arteries in Bhowanipur.<sup>24</sup>

Beginning with a small religious nucleus, followed by the settlement of caste-based occupational groups, varied communities have come to reside in this southern fringe of the metropolis since the seventeenth century. The contiguity of the Adi Ganga/ Tolly's Nala, an important trade link, the gradual evolution of an institutional complex on its north-west and west, the spread of a street network linking this area to both the city and its far-flung areas, the extension of the Chowringhee Tramway service, the improvement work of the Calcutta Improvement Trust, have all in their individual and collective capacities aided such developments.

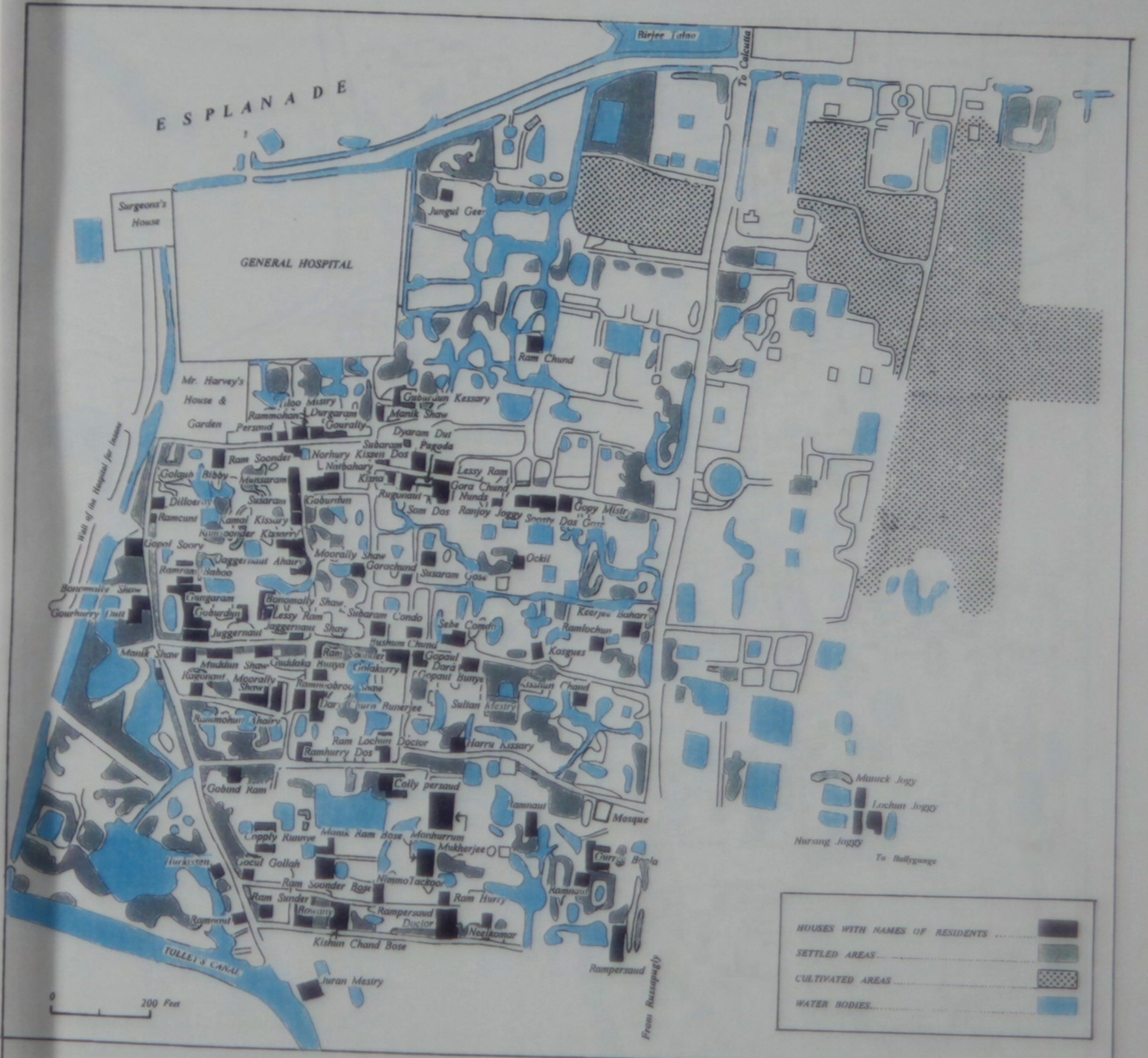
The sudden spurt of residential development in this southern suburb in the early decades of the twentieth century markedly altered the character of its eastern segment, along the Russa Road, 'where the work of the Calcutta Improvement Trust (CIT) disturbed the traditional localities and started a new urbanising process with a more complex economic and social pattern', vis-a-vis the old settlement base in the west, along the Adi Ganga. 'A new community element was introduced in the early twenties with the advent of the Sikhs, many of whom, on retirement from military service, took to professions connected with transport. Alongside, there has developed in recent years 'a distinct area of Gujarati-speaking people - a settlement which, with its rich economic base, has a forceful impact on land value and rent.'<sup>25</sup>



It would be interesting to look at maps, as alternative sources, for information on the people who held properties, few of whom resided in Bhabanipur, even though such information could be available for only three points of time, 1796, 1825, and 1884. (Appendix 3) The unevenness of cartographic sources as well as the information collated from maps that cover a period spanning almost two centuries may affect such comparisons. For example, in late eighteenth century Calcutta, there were not only fewer roads, only a handful of the few that were in existence were named. In comparison, one gets a fair idea of the composition of occupants since the mid nineteenth century, probably more from directories, than from maps. Naming of residents almost ceased to be part of cartographic information in the post Lottery Committee<sup>26</sup> phase. Two maps, one of 1796, showing the 'South of Chowringhy',<sup>27</sup> and the other of 1825, prepared for the Lottery Committee, illustrate 102 and 30 land-holdings respectively, with names of the residents/landholders.[Appendix 3 & Maps 4 & 5] In many cases, the owners of such properties resided elsewhere, primarily in the north of the city. [Map 3 & 4] The third map, *Kalikatar Naksha*, published in 1884,<sup>28</sup> names only 8 among the well-known residents of the locality who were primarily professionals. It would be difficult to draw parallels between these surveys, in the names enlisted. With the exception of a few residents common in the first two lists, there seem to be marked differences. One can think of three plausible explanations for the differences encountered in the surveys on the residents. First, the differences in the purposes of the respective surveys; second, a major change in the composition and magnitude of residents; and third, if the mapping of north Calcutta for the Lottery Committee could be any indicator, it could also be possible that only the well known residents were named in this southern suburb in 1825. *Kalikatar Manchitra*, selective in its contents, followed a similar method.

It would be interesting to note that there was a trend, in the directories and almanacs published in nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to include a street directory with the names of inhabitants (most often these carried information on only Europeans), along with the building numbers. In the directories of the mid-nineteenth century, what was more interesting were the additional information on the occupation of each resident. Such information provided us with insights into the professional character of residents in each locality. Later in the century, we get further details as names of residents / property holders were provided for the streets and lanes that were added to the already existent network, although the occupational categories ceased getting incorporated as before. However, one can make a fair judgement on the broad social categories that were in existence in the neighbourhood of Bhabanipur, and the changes, if any, that took place for almost one and a half centuries. It would have been more interesting if comparable





LANDHOLDERS OF BHABANIPUR: 1796

Map 4









LANDHOLDERS OF BHABANIPUR: 1825

Map 5





MAP OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

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information was available till the end of the twentieth century. Ward-wise data, available in the decennial Census, will not provide such detailed insights.

Moving aside from the cartographic sources we could, therefore, for the sake of comparison, highlight the information available in these annual directories – a street-wise list of inhabitants in 1856, 1863, 1886, 1906, and in 1939-40.<sup>29</sup>

For example, let us take the example of Russa Road North (later named Asutosh Mukherjee Road). If one takes a common stretch between Lower Circular Road and Hazra, the approximate number of holdings that were recorded (that included residential buildings, institutions, commercial establishments, and bazars), the figures varied between 3 in 1796 (for this year built up space was shown for only part of the stretch), about 13 in 1825, 23 in 1856, 34 in 1863, above 50 in 1886, above 100 in 1906, and around 130 in 1939-40. This was primarily a residential stretch, where the composition of population was observed to have changed significantly. One of the salient features of the changes in the land use that was observed was that from a primarily residential area, with few bazars, by 1939-40 a distinct commercial belt of a mixed character had come into being. This is illustrated also in the maps prepared on the basis of the land use surveys of 1961 conducted under the supervision of Nirmal Kumar Bose.<sup>30</sup> At present, the whole stretch is a predominantly commercial belt interspersed with residential-cum-commercial land use.

Another interesting road would be Peepulputty Road (later Elgin Road, and presently Lala Lajpat Rai Sarani). This area was always considered an integral part of Bhabanipur, although its location beyond its eastern margins was peripheral, if maps were taken as the only source of information. By 1886, there were 60 holdings along this road, mostly belonging to Europeans. The predominance of a Christian community, both Europeans and Indians, with the presence of the Congregational Church, has been mentioned earlier. By 1939-40, the number of holdings had increased, and we find another church, the St. Mary's Church, and the Cathedral Mission High School, The St. John's Diocesan High School, The Sir John Anderson Health School, Lady Rogers Indian Nurses Hostel, etc. added to its built space gradually. At present, not only has the composition of the population undergone changes, a few of the institutions are no longer present in this area.

An interesting feature which normally evades attention is the fact that one comes across evidence of the prevalence of a Muslim population in the heart of the neighbourhood. In fact, in the map of 1796, we find a mosque around the area where names such as Bechu Dactar / Shaik Bachoo (1884, 1886), Shaik Moguljan, (1886) were found later on Baneemadhub Nundun and Brothere' 2<sup>nd</sup> Lane. These were two doctors who had chambers in the vicinity. Interestingly, Bechu Doctor Lane,



(where the 'family cemetery of late Dr, S.Bachoo' was located) <sup>31</sup> though present today it would be difficult to trace the descendents of the family in the locality.

Harish Mukherjee Road offers an interesting case. Earlier named Bediapara Road in its northern stretch, the road marks a divide between the west, which has retained most of its old built forms and population mix, as mentioned above, vis-à-vis the east, which has witnessed marked changes not only in its built form, but also in the changing residential and commercial profile over the last one and a half centuries. Primarily a professional Bengali population, as well as a few Europeans till the 1940s inhabited this part of Bhabanipur.

Amongst the localities in Bhabanipur that have been distinctive in terms of their residential composition were Harish Chatterjee Street, Haldarpara Lane, Kansaripara Road, Sankharipara Road, etc. Harish Chatterjee Street, running almost parallelly along the Tolly's Nala, one of the earliest built up areas, has from the beginning been identified with the presence of temples, ghats, and a preponderance of a *brahmin* population. In terms of the residential population, the same applies for Haldarpara Lane and the adjacent localities. The contiguity of the temple complex at Kalighat easily explains this set up. Kansaripara Road, a densely inhabited locality, identified by a preponderance of the *kansari* or bell metal manufacturing/trading community, with surnames such as Nundan, Dass, etc. still retains its character, and in spite of changes in their occupation, the changes in population composition has been nominal. Sankharipara Road is a similar example of an area that has witnessed little change. It would be interesting to note in this context that localities that had evolved around distinct occupational groups have retained much of the characteristics of built space, and architectural forms.

Another representative sample of the residents in Bhabanipur has been provided by Anjana Roy Choudhury in her article 'Caste and Occupation in Bhawanipur'. It is illustrative of the character of the residents, a professional middle class, who since the late nineteenth to the early decades of the twentieth century was observed to be 'the most dynamic element in Bengali society' and dominated the social milieu of Bhabanipur. 'This class consisted primarily of people connected with the legal professions and secondarily of doctors.'<sup>32</sup>

As remarked upon earlier, Bhabanipur exemplifies a social milieu that incorporates distinct strands of social groups, where each strand retains its distinctive characteristics – in terms of built space, that takes into consideration the appendages that have evolved around such groups—i.e.the architectural patterns, the cultural associations, as well as the naming of bazars, roads, lanes, ghats, etc.

One could once again take recourse to other non-cartographic references to analyse the changing social profile of Bhabanipur.



Noteworthy amongst such instances is an autobiographical account of Ahindra Choudhury,<sup>33</sup> the well-known actor, who had grown up in Bhabanipur in the early years of the twentieth century. Through his detailed, almost graphical descriptions, one can visualise, with almost cartographic precision, the changes in the built form and in the residential mix that was witnessed in Bhabanipur as a result of 'modernising' forces in the first three decades of the twentieth century. The account mentions the names of a few residents of Bhabanipur and the places they came from.<sup>34</sup> The predominance of legal professionals in the locality was observed. It would be interesting to note from Choudhury's memoirs that in the early years of the twentieth century, the residents of Bhabanipur would talk of going to 'Kolkata', since along with Kalighat, Chetla, and Khidirpur, Bhabanipur was also a suburb, the city being defined as the space that lay northwards from the Lower Circular Road.

### Changes in Built Space

Similar to developments in other parts of the city, the built space of Bhabanipur has witnessed considerable changes over the last two centuries. Such changes however have not been as varied or as distinctive as in many parts of the city. The maps illustrating this locality provide possibly the only source material to analyse these changes chronologically, even though built-up areas are shown in only a few. From an area primarily covered with vegetative growth along with cultivated fields and a few scattered habitations till the late eighteenth century [Map 6], the predominant land use constituted residences, along with institutional developments in the periphery. A topography marked by a low marshy terrain with a high density of ponds is gradually seen to be taken over by early nineteenth century by residential uses. [Map 7] The locality is seen to be almost fully inhabited when Smart carried on his survey in the first decade of the twentieth century.<sup>35</sup> [Map 8] A comparable series of maps between 1911 and 1987, depicting developments over the twentieth century would illustrate such changes in built space. (Map 9) Between the maps of 1911 and 1964, the significant transformation was the diminution in the number of ponds, and between 1964 and 1987, the increase in the density of habitations marked by the displacement of the majority of slums.

The characteristics of the built space of Bhabanipur for the one and a half century between 1796 and 1939-40 reveal very interesting features. First, the increase in the density of roads, i.e., increase in the number of streets and lanes. Second, an increase in the number of holdings per road, which might be the result of either that the vacant plots were being built up, or that a fragmentation of existing holdings was in





Map 6 A. Upjohn, *Map of Calcutta and its Environs Taken in the Years 1792 and 1793*





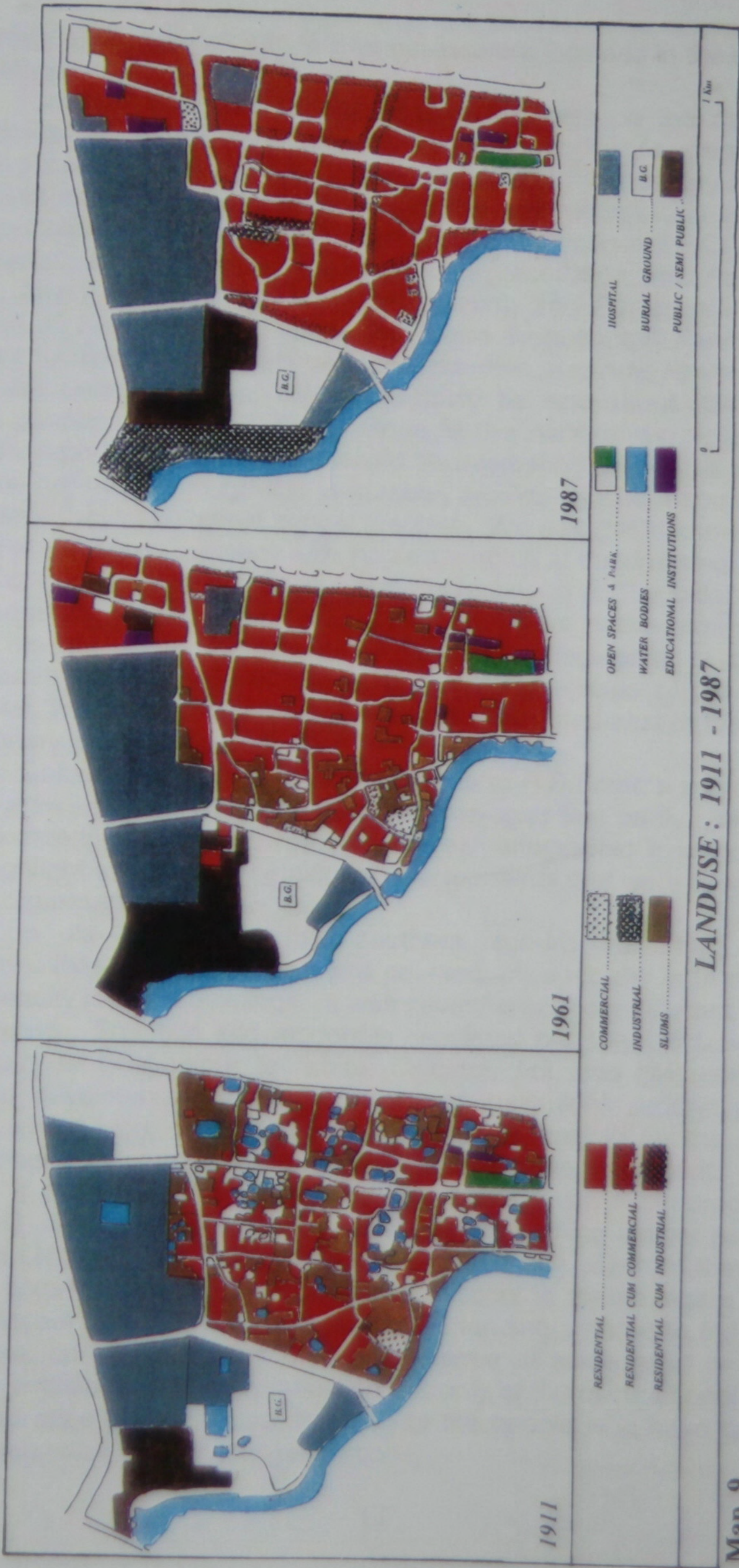
Map 7 *Plan of the City of Calcutta and its Environs Surveyed by the Late Major J.A.Schalch For the Use of the Lottery Committee and Containing all their Improvements with additions from the Surveyor Gen's Office, and from Recent Surveys by Captain T.Prinsep, 1825*





Map 8 Suburbs of Calcutta, Surveyed under the  
Superintendence of Major R.T.Crichton  
and Mr.R.B.Smart, 1903 to 1907





Map 9







progress, either way leading to a commensurate increase in the density of population.

Searching for further corroborative evidence on the nature and transformation of the built space, Ahindra Choudhury's memoir once again provides some insights, though very partial. Choudhury highlights the changes that have taken place with the demolition of old structures, ravages caused by fire, or those affected by the work of the CIT, later in the period. Notable among the subjects of description are, *Porabajarer Basti*, (the large slum that was burnt down), and *Porabajarer Math*<sup>36</sup> located at the junction of Russa Road and Sambhunath Pandit Street, landmarks that have normally escaped attention, and how newer forms of land use overtook these. The same could be said about *Jaltungi*, the water pavilion located off Russa Road to the north of its crossing with Sambhunath Pandit Street.<sup>37</sup> It would be interesting as well as important to note that maps, though few in number, provide us with a source which illustrates these landmarks almost precisely. We also get to know how the depot of the Tram Company with horses' stables at the crossing of Lower Circular Road and Russa Road North, gave way to an Exhibition ground, subsequently to house the Calcutta Club. Adjacent to this ground, on its west, as we know through maps, was the Bediapara of the mid-nineteenth century later to house part of the premises of the General Hospital. We are also told that a *Christianpara* existed east of the London Missionary Society's Institution.<sup>38</sup>

Collating some of these descriptions to R.B.Smart's survey of the same area between 1903 and 1907, a time-span that partly overlapped, and comparing these features with earlier cartographic evidences, one can highlight a number of significant developments that were taking place in the organisation of urban space.

In its built form this southern suburb has had several commonalities vis-a-vis its northern counterpart, specially in terms of its high-density low-rise buildings. It was nevertheless very different in many other ways. Tradition and modernity coexisted not only because of the contiguity of Bhabanipur to 'white' Calcutta, but also because of the gradual development of a wide range of institutions around it. The improvement work of the CIT was no less responsible for the spurt of residential development along Russa Road, its eastern segment.

If one were to map such developments, even a hundred or two hundred years after its inception, distinct belts running almost parallel to the Adi Ganga/Tolly's Nala would clearly stand out. Each of these belts would constitute distinct spatial entities, distinct in the amalgam of their street layout and built-form, almost always lending a name to the locality or street, as endorsements of their presence at some point in history. These localities would be a reflection not only of the occupational groups that had once predominated, but also of the people who have taken up residence since the last few generations.



## Layout of Streets, Lanes and Ghats

One of the most distinctive characteristics that mark the indigenous sections of the city from the British lies in the density and layout of the street network.

The bureaucratic, commercial and domestic enclaves of British Calcutta are unmistakably delineated in terms of broad, regular thoroughfares that bound discrete city blocks. In indigenous portions of Calcutta, people and goods traverse a web of streets and lanes that split into even narrower alleys and paths. Unlike the British cartographic portioning system of corridors and blocks, indigenous portions of the city resemble a capillary system penetrating a dense and complex material. Indigenous urban space in Calcutta was organized according to forms of spatial knowledge that were very different from those of the British. The overlapping and intersecting dimensions of that indigenous knowledge included such parameters as family, caste, occupation, wealth, and spirituality.<sup>39</sup> This description of indigenous localities though concerned probably more with the northern segment of the city, very aptly fits into the patterning of the streets and lanes in Bhabanipur.

If one were to observe historically the layout of roads, streets and lanes in Bhabanipur, these had been from their genesis based on three basic reference points - the Adi Ganga/Tolly's Nala along with the Bhawanipur Road in its west and south west; the arterial road - the Russa Road, presently the Asutosh Mukherjee Road, bounding it on the east, and the Lower Circular Road on the north. To this basic infrastructural frame was added, in gradual sequence, innumerable roads, streets and lanes. There were roads named after prominent residents, occupational groups, as well as after important landmarks. [Appendix 3] Noteworthy among the roads named after prominent residents of the locality, were Harish Mukherjee Road,<sup>40</sup> the northern segment of which was formerly called Bediapara Road, Sambhunath Pandit Street,<sup>41</sup> Asutosh Mukherjee Road, Gangaprasad Mukherjee Road,<sup>42</sup> among several others; the roads named after occupational groups - Kansaripara Road, Sankharipara Road, and Telipara Road, Jelepura Road<sup>43</sup>, as well as Chaulputty Road, Jultungi Road, running along the Jultungi, etc. Maps of the locality, ordered chronologically, bear evidence to such developments. [Map 2&3 and Appendix 3] Bhabanipur constitutes one of those areas in the city that have been able to retain a significant segment of its history, in the naming of streets, its localities, as well as in its built form.

The presence of *ghats*,<sup>44</sup> landing points on the riverfront, is representative of the people who resided in the neighbourhood, as are streets, localities, etc. Very little has so far been written on the *ghats* along the riverbanks in Bengal. Radharaman Mitra's *Gangar Ghat*<sup>45</sup> is



one of the few exceptions. It takes into account only those *ghats* that were constructed along the river Hooghly up to Hastings in the south, and leaves out those built along the Adi Ganga further south, though these were quite a few in number. In fact most maps that illustrate the location of *ghats* concentrate on this stretch, probably because these fell within the administrative jurisdiction of the city proper. The ghats located along the Adi Ganga / Tolly's Nala in Bhabanipur have thus been left out.

Cartographic sources, though very few in number for the suburbs of Calcutta, aided in identifying the location of the ghats, information that would otherwise be difficult to collate from literary sources, and could ultimately get lost in history. The detailed maps prepared on the basis of Smart's Survey, carried on between 1903 and 1907 for this area, provides us with possibly the most exhaustive list of ghats that was available. The other source is the guidebook in Bengali, *Kalikatar Manachitra*, with its map, *Kalikatar Naksha*, published in the year 1884. [Appendix 5 & Map 9] Commonly heard among these names are Joggeswar Lahar ghat, Tarasankar Babur ghat, Sen Bahadurer ghat, Balaram Boser ghat, Lochun Mukherjeer ghat, Rani Rasmonir ghat, all reflecting the social milieu of Bhabanipur in the early twentieth century, evidence that cannot be ignored.<sup>46</sup> Unfortunately for us, contemporary sources – both cartographic and documentary, have not been able to highlight such categories.

### The Institutional Frame

Looking for plausible explanations for the fast growing population of such heterogenous origins, one could perhaps surmise that there could be determining factors other than those stated earlier, that drew people to settle in Bhabanipur in spite of its unhealthy terrain and its distance from the mainstream activities of the city. One of the explanations could be that unlike its counterparts in the north of the city, the area that has come to constitute Bhabanipur, was to become, from its very early stages, the centre of a growing institutional complex. Of a varied nature - from jails, courts, hospitals, to educational institutes, these institutions were normally located beyond its precincts, though their distances were never too great as not to influence the character of the people who were drawn in to take up residence in this locality because of their engagement with these institutions. Cartographic sources, illustrating the development of these institutions over time help us in probing into such links. [Appendix 6]

Of such a vast array, almost all governmental, it could quite easily be accepted that the legal institutions played a vital role in drawing professionals to this area. The Sudder Dewany Adalat stood on the Lower Circular Road on the northwestern edge of Bhabanipur. 'Originally built as a military hospital', it was 'annexed...for the accommodation of



the Company's Court. On the creation of the High Court in 1862, the building reverted to its original use.<sup>47</sup> This explains to a considerable extent the preponderance of legal professionals in Bhabanipur. The Session Judge's Office at Hastings is another case in point.

There were around this area in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries a complex of hospitals and asylums. The Presidency Hospital, (the present Seth Sukhlal Karnani Memorial Hospital) covered a substantial area on Lower Circular Road. It was known to be in existence as early as 1709. Initially located at the building that housed the Sudder Dewany Adalat, the government was known to have acquired an extensive area for the hospital in 1768. The hospital was known to have been set up for the European population.<sup>48</sup> It is seen to be illustrated in Upjohn's map of 1792-93 and all subsequent maps. The Lunatic Native Asylum, the Hospital for the Insane, the Jail Hospital, are the other examples. Even though there might have been changes in the naming of these units at different points in time, their locations on the maps dispelled with any doubt. Jails constituted another set. An instance is the Great Jail / House of Correction stood opposite the General Hospital on the northern side of the Lower Circular Road. The Alipore Jail, with its appendage the Jail Hospital, was located west of the Tolly's Nala, with the Calcutta Militia Lines and the Military Burial ground next to it.

Calcutta had become, by the mid-nineteenth century, an important centre for the handling of both overseas and inland emigration traffic of plantation labourers. There were never more than three or four depots, though the number of agencies increased over time. 'For some time' writes Hugh Tinker, 'there was only the Mauritius Depot at Bhowanipur; then followed the Demerara depot in Garden Reach, and others at Ballygunge and Chitpur.' A Plan of the Mauritius Emigration Depot, Bhowanipore, 1861, which illustrates the detailed layout of the depot has been reproduced in Tinker's, *A New System Of Slavery*.<sup>49</sup> A very few maps of the period show this depot, named either as the Government Immigration Depot, or the Emigration Office.

Educational institutions constituted another significant category. Taking maps as evidence, till the early decades of the twentieth century, there were present a number of schools both within the locality, as well as in its immediate neighbourhood. The London Missionary Society's Institution, located on the Russa Road (which later became the United Missionary Girls' High School) originally established in 1718 and shifted to Bhabanipur in 1854,<sup>50</sup> was one of the earliest. Beyond the Tolly's Nala were located the Upper Orphan School and the Lower Orphan School. The other lesser known educational institutions that existed were not shown in the maps.

It would perhaps be interesting if one could take the example of one of the important thoroughfares in the locality, Bhawanipur Road (the present Debendralal Khan Road), that formed the western boundary of



Bhabanipur and would ideally be representative of the institutional structure that evolved round the area. Almost from its very inception, the built space that developed along this road was of a very different nature compared to the rest of Bhabanipur. Interestingly, it has never been a residential area, with minor exception. In 1796, the road was partially present, by 1825 an institutional set up was already in existence with the Surgeon's quarters of the General Hospital, a Sailors' hospital, a Soldier's Burial Ground etc. By 1886, added to this institutional milieu was the Mauritius Emigration Agency, the Native Lunatic Asylum, Military Burial Ground, Lock Hospital interspersed with a few European residences. By 1906, we find mention of a Livery Stables, a Venereal Hospital, quarters for General Hospital's nurses, Medical Officers quarters, Lady Cuning Home, etc. In the 1939-40 directory, the new entrants were a Mental Observation Ward, an Army & Navy Stores Department, two Racing Stables – Gladstone's and Kundu Babu's. The institutional character has been primarily maintained, with a few changes in the names and uses till the next half a century.

There were present, at different points of time, certain other government establishments, official residences of government servants, as well as other significant landmarks, as illustrated in the maps of the period. These lent a distinctive character to the urban landscape that was evolving at the margins of the city of Calcutta, quite unlike its counterparts in the north.

### **Localities in and around Bhabanipur**

The evolution of the localities of the city of Calcutta has generally not followed any planned path. Innumerable small villages, through time, have got engulfed in the fast growing urbanisation process. In most of such instances, their growth has been dictated by the necessities of the people who have taken up residence. This is an area that requires serious consideration if one has to reconstruct the history of the components that came to constitute the city. Although there is no dearth of literature on the city of Calcutta or on its European inhabitants, it is disheartening to note that very little has been written as yet on the evolution of its neighbourhoods or localities in those segments of the city inhabited by the local populace. Neither have these localities received their due attention in the numerous cartographic ventures taken up on the city. Yet such areas have constituted a significant share of the city space, and its populace a majority in a city that has been under colonial rule for a significant phase of its history. A few sporadic writings have attempted to record such developments as far as possible. We are thus able to get some notion about a few localities, streets, or their residents.<sup>51</sup>



The localities within and at the periphery of Bhabanipur as visualised from maps produced at different points of time are reflective of the course of its development. Varied factors have drawn people to these areas - religious, professional, economic, or social. In and around the immediate vicinities of Bhabanipur, through the last two centuries, have evolved localities that are representative of such distinct categories. Whether in the representations of occupational groups - Kansaripara, Sankharipara, Telipara, Potopara, of communities - Bediapara,<sup>52</sup> Christianpara,<sup>53</sup> rituals - Charakdanga,<sup>54</sup> bazars - Jadubabur bazar, Setaram Ghose's bazar, Gunganarain Sircar's bazar, Sulton Mistry's bazar, and Porabazar,<sup>55</sup> *bastis* or slums - Porabajarer basti Nemoo Mullickka basti, Gungaram's basti,<sup>56</sup> or in the other landmarks - Porabajarer Math, Jaltungi, etc.

Along the periphery of Bhabanipur the localities marked in the maps are Dhalanda in the north-west, Nijgram, Hazra, Kalighat in the south, Chakraberia, Beltala, Jelepara in the east, each bearing evidences of the past, though in different contexts, at different times.<sup>57</sup>

It would be interesting to note that the circumstantial evidence as gleaned from cartographic as well as documentary sources reveal a rough spatial grouping of ethnic/religious groups in the city of Calcutta. The names of streets and localities, the existences of temples, burial grounds, etc. lend support to such views. Names such as Bediapara, Kassiabagan, Christianpara, Kalighat, Charakdanga, Mussalman Basti, Mussulman's Burial Ground, are a few of such examples.

### **Cartographic Representation/Representing Cartographically: Locality vis-a-vis Administrative Units**

The genre of maps that our discussion has centred upon so far have aided in illustrating the city space - its topography, its functions, its built forms and its residents. Localities, which have had a popular parlance in the indigenous perception, have also been broadly delineated, although their spatial extent may have varied from map to map, reflecting on the one hand its conception among the local residents and on the other, the subjectivity implicit within each survey. [Map 2]

The appearance of Bhabanipur as an administrative entity is difficult to trace before 1757, even though according to A.K. Ray 'the history of these suburbs is as old as that of the town'. With the fort moving out into Govindapur in 1773, it was expected that the limits of the town would soon extend beyond the Marhatta Ditch. 'One of the first steps of the Company on the acquisition of their landed properties' writes Ray, was "to annex", according to Holwell, "a considerable tract of land taken from the 24-Parganas adjoining to Calcutta in order to extend its bounds." This tract, added to some of the mauzas intended for the town



but lying outside the Ditch, made up fifteen *dihis*, or homestead lands, raised above the level of the surrounding country, and comprised 55 mauzas or *grams* and was therefore called *Panchannagram*. These were called the "suburbs", and by Act XXI of 1857, the "suburbs" were defined to include all lands within the general limits of *Panchannagram*.<sup>58</sup>

As far as can be traced, between 1757 and 1857, and with certain modifications till 1888, the town within the Mahratta Ditch, and the suburbs thus defined, constituted two broad administrative units, and were treated as two separate municipal towns, where 'Bhowanipur' constituted the fourteenth of the fifteen *dihis* of *Panchannagram* and included the constituent villages of Bhowanipur and Neejgram.<sup>59</sup>

Our cartographic sources corroborate the above. Upjohn's map of 1792-93 clearly shows the location of Dhee Bobaneepore bounded on the east by Dhee Chuckerbere, and on the south by Dhee Monohurpore. In the map prepared for the Lottery Committee in 1825, Bhowbanypoor constitutes the area bounded between Lower Circular Road and the Peepulputty Road (the present Sambhunath Pandit Street.), and the map of Panchannagram, surveyed between 1852 and 1856, shows Thannah Bhowanipore. The varying extent of the locality was being codified in maps. In the map prepared in Bengali by Ramanauth Dass and published in 1884, one finds a broad correspondence in the extent of Bhabanipur with that of the present times.

### **Systematising the Locality: Introduction of the Census**

The late nineteenth century brought about some level of systematisation in the administrative organisation of localities. The decadal censuses published since 1872 demarcated the city into constituent wards and suburbs. In the Census of 1872 no information was available for the individual suburbs. Bhabanipur first appeared within the precincts of the Census in the year 1881, as a ward of the suburbs, and continued as an added area of Calcutta through the Censuses of 1891 and 1901. It became a constituent of Calcutta Municipal Area (Ward 22) from the Census of 1911, and has continued as a ward to the present. Its area, similar to those of the other wards, was circumscribed within juridical boundaries and its demographic constituents specified accordingly. The ward has undergone slight changes in its area, often only marginally, throughout its history. Since the Census of 1961 the wards have stopped being named, the system being replaced by numerals, the ward numbers. We have now become accustomed to referring to different localities of the city in terms of numerical figures. The perception of the locality has witnessed a slow demise.

The following table shows the area and population of Bhabanipur as given in the decadal censuses. We have confined the period to the



Census of 1951 in order to abide by some level of consistency, both for area as well as for population. What interests us in the chronology thus compiled, both from cartographic as well as documentary sources, is the presence of two distinct entities - Bhabanipur the locality as produced in maps and as perceived by its residents, and administrative Bhabanipur. These two identities have seldom been seen to converge. Herein lies the importance of the cartographic source, which more often than not reflects the perception of the locality, vis-a-vis the official or even the literary sources.

**Bhabanipur : Changes in Area and Population : 1881-1951**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Area</u> (sq. kms.)	<u>Population</u>	<u>Ward Numbers</u>
1881	4.38	38002	Ward 5 of the suburbs
1891	3.39	42591	Ward No.XXII
1901	3.29*	49641	Ward 22 of Added Area
1911	3.29*	54569	Ward 22 of Calcutta Municipal Area
1921	3.27*	57378	Ward 22 "
1931	3.29*	79684	Ward 22 "
1941	2.56*	97464	Ward 22 "
1951	2.46	118701	Ward 22 "

Note : \* Areas converted from acres to square kilometers.  
 Figures for subsequent Censuses have not been given since the areas are not comparable.

Source: Compiled from the Census of the City of Calcutta for the respective years.

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## A Case For Municipal Attention

Without attention to the state of the suburbs in the first instance, it is useless to attempt any great improvement within the city; while every square acre of the circumference is left in a state worse than that of nature, it were in vain to work in the Centre.<sup>60</sup>

Such observations were not novel for the city of Calcutta, and the suburban space of Bhabanipur was no exception.

This is the most populous of the native suburbs, and I believe it was the most severely visited by the epidemic remittent fever of 1833. To this calamity it would seem peculiarly exposed through its low, closely-built, and ill-ventilated streets, its great stagnant ditches, lived with rank vegetation, its background of extensive marsh and underwood, and its innumerable, half-dried tanks and pools.<sup>61</sup>

F.P. Strong, in *Topography and Vital Statistics of Calcutta* put forth a similar view on the implications of an unhealthy suburb on the white population residing in its neighbourhood.

I conceive then, that putting out of question the Sundarbans and the Salt-water Lake, that the thickets of trees and jangal, weeds, pools, small stagnant tanks, and jheels, which abound on each side of the road, from Chowringhee, Brijeetullah, to the end of Russapaglah, on each side of the Kalighat Road, on to Tolly's Bridge, on each side of Tolly's nullah, and the road on the right of this nullah as far as the Insane Hospital, where the eye can hardly find any equality of surface except on the jheels and tanks, and where the wild indigo, and noxious weeds are growing in all directions - all this being situated south of the presidency, must be a constant source of disease and disorders, many of which would vanish, if this pestilence could be removed. And if I am not mistaken, I can trace illness from this very source (these weeds) to certain houses in Chowringhee where in occasionally uninhabited houses, in the compound, and round the tanks is to be found, jangal indeed, which must add greatly to the malaria which is blown from the Russapaglah jangals over the Chowringhee part of the presidency.<sup>62</sup>

Even though the process was initiated in the late eighteenth century, municipal administration and town improvement began to get priority in the city of Calcutta in early nineteenth century, and that to in a very ad-hoc manner. 'Laws were made giving the administration power to



change the physical environment. Usually this happened when a civic problem became so pressing that it forced itself on the consciousness of the elite or threatened to disrupt other pursuits. Recurrent fires, eruption of epidemics or persistent stench from stagnant ditches of the meanest slums all served at one time or another to push the administration towards reform. There was a systematic policy for the municipalisation of Calcutta or for its structural development.<sup>63</sup>

The civic problem that became the focus of municipal attention related to the ill-drained swampy soil and stagnant pools which were reported to be the direct cause of the high mortality in many areas. The excerpts given above bear out this view. 'The desperate need for sanitary reforms proved to be the first impetus towards town-planning and the extension of municipal services.'<sup>64</sup> This was especially applicable for the suburban areas, Bhabanipur being a representative case. It was observed in the Report of the Census of the City of Calcutta in 1911 that, 'Bhawanipore', 'which was in 1901 the most densely populated suburban ward, has added only 10 per cent to its population, its advance having been checked by the necessities of sanitation.'<sup>65</sup> The change in density was also attributable to the removal of bustees for purposes of sanitation.

The Lottery Committee constituted in 1817, has been well known for its attempts at municipal improvement of the city of Calcutta in the early nineteenth century. 'Under the direction of the Lottery Committee,' it was observed, 'the work of reconstructing chaotic Calcutta into a decent shape of a modern town was not only inaugurated but pushed on with vigour.'<sup>66</sup> Its period of operation, between 1817 and 1833, was found to be far too short for any meaningful progress. Unfortunately, very little is still known on the working of the Committee, since only the first three volumes of its Proceedings, covering a period between 1817 and 1821, have been known to survive. As is known from the Proceedings Volumes of the Committee during the four years mentioned above, the coverage of the Committee in terms of geographical area concentrated not only on the city proper, bounded by the Circular/ Lower Circular Road, but also on some of the suburbs that were known to be affecting the health and sanitation of the Company-occupied white areas of the city. The basic issues addressed were the unhealthiness caused by the low, marshy, ill-drained land. It was thought that three things were requisite to render the town salubrious - ventilation, raising and draining.

The locality of Bhabanipur was reported to be central to the deliberations of the Committee in early 1820. It was referred to as the low, marshy ground, responsible for the sickness of the people in its neighbourhood on the other side of the Lower Circular Road, especially during the rains. 'Reasons to believe that the unhealthiness of Brijetollah and its neighbourhood may in a great measure proceed from the thick jungle and numerous stagnant pools in that quarter.'<sup>67</sup> Brijetollah at that time was the area on the northern side of Lower



Circular Road near Theatre Road, whose neighbourhood constituted well laid-out European residences. It was reported that 'in the height of the rains, tide from the Tolly's Nullah comes up the drains in the south side of Circular Road near Birjeetollah, and crossing the road flows into the drains nearly as far northward as Theatre Road, running eastwards from Circular Road to the Theatre.'<sup>68</sup> The cause was observed to be the drains in the south side of the Circular Road that were higher than those in the north, thereby causing the water to stagnate in the latter.

By the time the Lottery Committee had taken charge of the municipal improvement of the city, Calcutta already had a surveyor whose primary duty was to determine the levels of the city. In 1820 this charge was handed over to Lieutenant J. August Schalch, Superintendent of Canals and Bridges. The survey and mapping of the city and suburbs carried on under Lieutenant Schalch's supervision is one of the most well-known and thorough surveys that has so far been carried on on the city, and is popularly referred to as the Lottery Committee map. Unlike most maps of the period, it illustrates such details not only for the city, but also its immediate neighbourhood. Schalch's map for the Lottery Committee, accompanied by a handbook giving information on residents, institutions, etc. provides us with rich source material in the analysis of the evolution of the city of Calcutta - its topography, functions, built-forms (both masonry and huts), and residents. The preponderance of ponds and water bodies in existence in the city, a subject of much deliberation in various committees set up for the improvement of the city, were marked in minute details.

The Calcutta Improvement Trust, set up in 1911, was an official body set up by the government and was given wide powers of land acquisition, demolition and replanning. The Report of the CIT revealed 'that very little had changed in official thinking, regarding theories of planning or its practice, since the days of the Lottery Committee.'<sup>69</sup>

As regards suburban development, it was observed in the Report of the CIT that, 'so closely inter-linked are all the inner and outer problems of Calcutta, and indeed of any other city, that close consideration of the inner - largely solves the outer'. The basic suburban needs had already become clear. 'An ordered, carefully designed street-net, segmented by the future great main roads, must be designed for all Calcutta, and be created at a speed equal to the natural demand. Land drainage, sewerage; water and lighting are essentials of the new streets and roads. Tramways are essential.'<sup>70</sup> Quite a number of improvement schemes were initiated by the CIT, some of which fell within Bhabanipur.



## By Way of Summing Up

The evolution of the indigenous settlement node of Bhabanipur as a 'colonial suburb' opens up several questions on the nature of the relationship that was known to have existed between cities and suburbs, as well as that between 'indigenous' and 'alien' settlements. The genesis and subsequent growth of the neighbourhood, its contiguity to 'British' or 'white' Calcutta, and the factors that have drawn varied communities to the area have all contributed to its distinctive<sup>ness</sup> in social, economic and most importantly, in spatial terms.

From an isolated religious base, through the settlement of varying strains of occupational caste groups and of professionals, along with the attention received from various improvement schemes, the changes that have affected Bhabanipur through the last two and a half centuries have been reflected in its changing morphology. Such changes have been portrayed in the maps and plans, prepared throughout the period, though sporadically at unequal intervals, as and when necessitated by the demands of the patrons. Cartographic sources have been central in studying the gradual development or demolition of institutions, other built forms, roads/streets/lanes/ghats, landmarks, localities and also in locating residents, along with the type of the residences and the milieu in which they were placed, both socially as well as physically. These no doubt contain images that are subjective. In spite of such inherent subjectivity, leading at times to problems of general non-comparability, the frequency at which the city was mapped allows us to evaluate, though perhaps not very systematically, the changes in the organisation of space. Such cartographic sources may not be able to address all queries relating to the evolution of the urban landscape. Yet, these can open up facts, facts related to the organization of space that could be complemented by documentary evidence. This paper is an initial attempt at this direction.



## Notes and References

This is a revised version of a presentation I made at the Centre a few years back. The paper forms part of a wider study on the cartographic history of Calcutta. I am grateful to my colleagues at the Centre, specially Sunil Munsi, Asok Sen, Barun De, Partha Chatterjee, and Tapti Roy, as well as others who participated in the discussion for helping me view Bhabanipur in a broader context. As always, I owe special thanks to Dr. Debasis Basu. His meticulous reading of the manuscript and helping me out with documentary evidence wherever substantiation was necessary is gratefully acknowledged. I am thankful to Sandip Bandopadhyay for clarifying certain facts. Anjusree Chakrabarty prepared the maps. For all errors, of facts or otherwise, the responsibility is mine.

1. Bhabanipur has been variously spelt as well as referred to as Bowaneepore, Bobaneepore, Bhowbanypoor, Bhawanipur, Bhowanipore, in both cartographic and literary sources. In the present paper the locally and commonly referred to name, i.e. Bhabanipur, will be used, except where the names appear differently in the respective sources. I have tried to keep to the spellings of other Bengali names as I found them in the sources, or as they are normally pronounced.
2. The map covers part of the area broadly known to constitute Bhabanipur. It is still a little known entity in the wide array of cartographic ventures on the city. In all probability it was part of a survey conducted by Ensign Blunt in 1796 when the Surveyor General was called on to advice the Military Board about scheme for draining the land "near the General Hospital and the back of Chowringhee" by means of a canal draining into the Tolly's Nullah, and to make a survey with levels for the purpose.' For further details, R.H. Phillimore, *The Historical Records of the Survey of India*, Volume I, Dehradun, Survey of India, 1945, 65.
3. This has been elaborated in the context of the white town in Swati Chattopadhyay, 'Blurring of Boundaries: The Limits of "White Town" in Colonial Calcutta', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 59: 2 June 2000. Chattopadhyay argues that 'such racial divisions were neither complete nor static. The black and white towns were far from being autonomous entities; the economic, political, and social condition of colonial culture penetrated the insularity of both towns, although at different levels and to varying degrees.'
4. John Archer, Paras, Palaces, Pathogens: Frameworks for the growth of Calcutta, 1800-1850, *City & Society*, Volume XII, No.1, 2000, 27.
5. *ibid*, 52-53.
6. Pradip Sinha, *Calcutta in Urban History*, Firma KLM Private Ltd., Calcutta, 1978, 17-18.
7. *ibid*, 19.
8. Tolly's Nala or Tolly's Canal extended from Kidderpur to Tardaha. Originally a private venture under a grant of land for a certain period, between 1775 and 1777 Major William Tolly was instrumental in making a connection between the Hugli and the Bidyadhari by means of a 27



kilometer long canal which mostly followed the Adi Ganga in its western section up to Gariya. It was known to be the principal navigational channel to the Bay of Bengal.

9. Meera Guha, *The Urban Fringe of Calcutta*, *Journal of Indian Anthropological Society*, 191. 29.
10. For details, see Sunanda Bandyopadhyay, *Location of the Adi Ganga Palaeochannel, South 24-Parganas, West Bengal: A Review*, *Geographical Review of India*, Volume 58, No 2, June 1996, 95-96
11. A.K.Ray, *A Short History of Calcutta: Town and Suburbs*, First Published 1902, Rddhi India, Calcutta, 1982, 205
12. W.W.Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Volume I, Districts of 24 Parganas and Sundarbans, London, Trubner & Co., 1875, First Reprinted in India, D.K.Publishing House, Delhi, 1973, 31 30.
13. Radhakamal Mukerjee, *The Changing Face of Bengal: A Study in Riverine Economy*, University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1938, 169 31.
14. *ibid*, 171. 32
15. Hunter, 24 Parganas, 34
16. E.P.Richards, *Report by the Request of the Trust on the Condition, Improvement and Town-Planning of the City of Calcutta*, Hertfordshire, 1914, 27 33.
17. For details see Debasis Basu (ed), Prankrishna Datta, *Kalikatar Itibritta O Anyanya Rachana*, Pustak Bipani, Calcutta, 1991, 16 and 195, and Haripada Bhowmik (Ed), Surya Kumar Chattopadhyaya, *Kalikhetra Dipika* (In Bengali), Calcutta 1891, Reprinted, 1986. 34.
18. Pradip Sinha, 243.
19. Nirmal Kumar Bose, *Calcutta: A Premature Metropolis*, *Scientific American*, 213: 3:1965, 97-98.
20. For further details on these occupational groups, see Anjana Roy Choudhury, *Caste And Occupation In Bhowanipur*, Calcutta, *Man in India*, Volume 44, No 3, July-September 1964, 211. 35.
21. Anjana Roy Choudhury, *op.cit*, 215.
22. *ibid*, 215-217.
23. *ibid*, 217.
24. Pradip Sinha, *op.cit.*, 244. 36.
25. *ibid*, 244.
26. The Lottery Committee, a prototype of the Improvement Trust functioned between 1817 and 1833. One of the most detailed surveys of the city, the 'Plan of the City of Calcutta and its environs' was carried on under the aegis of the Committee by John Augustus Schalch , in 1825, and published at varying scales.
27. 'A Survey of the Ground to the Southward of Chowringhy and the General Hospital including the whole of Bowaneepore', Performed in October, November and part of December, 1796'. See note 2 for details.
28. Ramanauth Dass's *Kalikatar Manachitra* a map-cum-guidebook (the map titled *Kalikatar Naksha*) published in 1884 is a distinctive and pioneering effort in the Bengali language. It stands out vis-à-vis other maps and directories of the period in its unique attempt to develop a different cartography and a different genre of information, aimed to address a local, Bengali clientele. For further details on this cartographic venture, see Keya Dasgupta, 'A City Away from Home: The Mapping of Calcutta',



- in Partha Chatterjee (ed) *Texts of Power: Emerging Disciplines in Colonial Bengal*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis and London, 1995.
29. The Bengal Almanac for 1856 (cover page missing), Part VIII, Street Directory Showing the Occupancy of Every House in Calcutta, Contains also an Alphabetical List of Inhabitants; The New Calcutta Directory for 1863, (cover page missing); Thacker's Indian Directory, 1886. Street Directory Containing an Alphabetical List of the Streets and their inhabitants in Calcutta, Howrah, and the Suburbs, Thacker Spink & Co., 1886; M<sup>c</sup>Cluskie's Calcutta Directory & Guide, 1906, E.T.M<sup>c</sup>Cluskie, House Broker & Land Agent, Calcutta; Thacker's Calcutta Directory And Environs, 1939-40, Thacker's Press and Directories Ltd., Calcutta.
30. Nirmal Kumar Bose, *Calcutta 1964: A Social Survey*, Lalvani Publications, Bombay, 1968.
31. Thacker's Calcutta Directory, 1939-40, op.cit.
32. These constituted the members of a local philanthropic society in Bhabanipur, the Bhowanipur Sahajya Samiti, established in 1891 for helping the poor residents in the area. For details see Anjana Roy Choudhury, op cit, 210.
33. Ahindra Choudhury, *Nijere Haraye Khuji: Pratham Parba* (in Bengali), Indian Associated Publishing Company Limited, Calcutta, 1884.
34. Notable among the residents were Baroda Prasanna Choudhury, Dwaraknath Mitra, (originally of Santipur, then of Kasaripara), Pankaj Ganguly, (later to become the government lawyer of Howrah and 24 Parganas), Jyotish Chandra Mitra, Priyanath Mallik, (formerly a lawyer at Alipore Court and then the Municipal Commissioner of Bhabanipur), and Asok Mitra of the Mitra family of Bishnupur, among others.
35. The most detailed survey on the city and its suburbs, using municipal holdings as the unit of survey, with an index of 68 items, was carried on under the superintendence of Major R.T.Crichton, and Mr. R.B.Smart. Based on the surveys of 1887-1892 and revised in 1909-10, it was popularly referred to as Smart's survey, and interestingly still much in use by present day urban planners.
36. *Porabajarer Basti*: Covering an area of 10 to 11 bighas, this *basti*, or slum was known to have existed in early twentieth century, at the junction of Sambhunath Pandit Street and Russa Road North, opposite the London Missionary Society's Institution. The ravages of fire burnt down this huge slum. Between 1911-12, demolition work continued from this slum along Russa Road, beyond Kasaripara Road upto Chaulpati Road, giving way to new structures. For further details, see Ahindra Choudhury, op. cit.
- Porabajarer Math* is mentioned by Ahindra Choudhury as the space located at the crossing of Russa Road and Lower Circular Road and presently occupied by the Calcutta Club. It used to house the Tram Company Depot with the stables for horses, reference to which is illustrated in the rough, manuscript version of Smart's survey, where such structures have been penned through for revision, indicating their removal subsequently. When horse-driven carriages were discontinued, the factory was shifted to Nonapukur. This is the same space that was the Bediapara shown in Schalch's map of 1825, and Tassin's map of 1833. *Porabajar* is shown in a map again in 1884, in Ramanauth Dass's



- Kalikatar Manachitra. Smart's published sheets (1903-07) show this area as a huge open space.
37. *Jaltungi* (the water pavilion) is illustrated in maps as being located on the western side of Russa Road, opposite the London Missionary Society's Institution. It was a 'circular summerhouse built in the centre of a tank'. The documentary evidence relating to this structure, as far as we have been able to trace differs markedly between sources. 'Known to the natives as the Jol Tungi' it was, 'according to rumour' constructed by Mr. Henry Pitts Forster, B.C.S., 'as a pleasure house for his wife', and was popularly called Forster's Folly. [*Bengal Past & Present*, Volume II, No.3, 1908, 361]. A photograph of Forster's Folly is also given.) One can surmise that this was built around the late nineteenth century. The 1863 New Calcutta Directory however refers to it as Heeralall Seal's Jull Tonghee and garden. It is shown in maps throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century, though not named always. The Lottery Committee map of 1825, Ramanauth Dass's *Kalikatar Naksha* in 1884, and Smart's survey of 1903- 1907, are a few of the examples.
38. For details, see Ahindra Choudhury, op.cit.
39. John Archer, 23.
40. This road was named after Harish Chandra Mookerjee, 2<sup>nd</sup> Assistant in the Military Auditor General's Office, who also became the editor of *Hindoo Patriot*, in 1855, and took up residence there. (Ashit Krishna Dey, *Oitihasic Kalkatar Anchal*, Atithi, Calcutta, 1989, 135.)
41. Formerly the Peepulputty Road, this road was named after Sambhunath Pandit, a Kashmiri by birth, who became the first Indian judge of the High Court and came to reside in Bhabanipur. Ashit Krishna Dey, op. cit., 135.
42. Asutosh Mukherjee Road, marks the eastern boundary of Bhabanipur as found in cartographic sources. Asutosh, judge of the Calcutta High Court, and the reputed Vice Chancellor of Calcutta University, was the son of Ganga Prasad Mukherjee, a well known medical practitioner who came to settle in Bhabanipur in the 1860s. There is a road named after him in the eastern periphery of Bhabanipur.
43. Located at the periphery of Bhabanipur, its present name is Girish Mukherjee Road. The name of the road implies that there could have been a creek or some other form of water body in its vicinity, or the presence of low-lying marshy tracts, which could probably be explained by the contiguity of the Tolly's Nala, so as to attract a community of fishermen, or *jeles*.
44. *Ghats* have been constructed for differing purposes since a very long time. One of the most common of such purposes has been bathing, yet there are some that were constructed for cremations, and others, for purposes of trading. Wealthy residents or traders of the locality have been known to fund most such constructions, and their names on the epitaph bear such evidences.
45. Radharaman Mitra, 'Gangar Ghat', in *Aitihasic* 4, *Magh* 1383 ( January 1977).
46. An enquiry into the social profile of these persons reveal very interesting facts. For example, Balaram Bose, after whom a ghat as well a road was named was known to be a contractor of the Alipore jail. Having thus amassed wealth, he constructed a ghat, and a house adjacent to it.



- (Ref. Debasis Basu, who came across this fact from people in the neighbourhood of the ghat, which he had visited. Interestingly, this ghat was also used for *Satidaha*, as written on the epitaph. Joggeswar Laha was known to have acquired the property of Robert Chambers in Bhabanipur and set up a bazar. Jagubabur Bazar, there is a view, (Ref. Debasis Basu) was named thus. In fact this bazar was known to have been bought off by Rani Rasmani for her grandson, Jadunath Chaudhuri.
47. H.E.A.Cotton, *Calcutta Old and New*, 1909, Reprint, Calcutta, General Printers, 1980, 149.
  48. For details see Harihar Seth, *Prachin Kolikata Parichay: Kathay O. Chitre*, Orient Book Company, Calcutta, 1359 (1962).
  49. Hugh Tinker, *A New System of Slavery: The Export of Indian Labour Overseas: 1830- 1920*, Oxford University Press, London, 1974, 136-137.
  50. Harihar Seth, op.cit., 257.
  51. Noteworthy among these are the following articles that have dealt with localities and the naming of streets in the indigenous segments of the city. Debasis Basu, *Sahar Kolkatar Pathanam, Ekshan*, 1393 (1986), *Kolkatar Pathanam, Ekshan*, 1394 (1987), *Kolkatar Pathanam, Ekshan*, 1395 (1988), *Kolkatar Pallinam*, in Debasis Basu (Ed.) *Kolkatar Purakatha*, Pustak Bipani, Calcutta 1990; Debasis Basu, *Nimtala: Path-ghat-Prabadpurush-Purakirti, Kaushiki*, 1996; Radharaman Mitra, *Kalikata Darpan*, op.cit; Tarapada Santra, *Kirtibas Kolkata*, Ananda, Calcutta, 2001; Ashit Krishna Dey, *Oitihāsik Kalkatar Anchāl*, Atithi, Calcutta, 1989; Anjana Roy Choudhury, *Caste and Occupation In Bhowanipur*, op.cit.; an unpublished report on Ballygunge prepared by Samik Banerjee, who worked with Nirmal Kumar Bose on a social survey of Calcutta; Meera Guha, *Concentration of Communities in Burrabazar, Calcutta, Man in India*, Vol 44, No. 4, 1964; Meera Guha, *The Urban Fringe of Calcutta*, op.cit., among others.
  52. Bediapara or Bedepara was known to be located south of Lower Circular Road, east of the present S.S.K.M.Hospital. The area is illustrated in Schalch's map. A road running next to it (northern part of the present Harish Mukherjee Road) was named after the locality. See also Debasis Basu, *Kolkatar Pallinam*, op.cit.
  53. The area south of Elgin Road, and east of Russa Road behind the London Missionary Society's Institution, was observed to be inhabited primarily by people of the Christian community. Of the four native churches set up for the non-white population, so that deliberations could be carried on in Bengali, three were located in the north where the concentration of Bengali population was high, and the only one in the south was the Bhawanipur Congregational Church set up in 1843. Although its location has not been specified, one can surmise that it is the same church that still stands on Elgin Road. See for details, Alok Ray, 'Kolkatar Native Girja', in Debasis Basu (ed) *Kolkatar Purakatha*, op.cit. Smart's maps (1903-07) and the 1839-40 Street Directory mention another church, the St. Mary's Church.
  54. Charakdanga was seen to be located south of Bhabanipur and west of Russa Road in the map published in *Kalikshetra Dipika*, p 87. *Kalikatar Manachitra* locates *Charakdangar More* at the crossing of Balaram Bose Road and Russa Road.



55. All the bazars are seen to be illustrated in the different maps of the city's suburbs, yet it is difficult to get information except for the first. i) Jadubabur bazar, known also as Jagubabur bazar, was located opposite Bhabanipur on the eastern side of Russa Road, southwards from the London Missionary Society's Institution. The area on which this bazar was constructed was earlier known to be the residence of Sir Robert Chambers. He was among the first four lawyers who joined the Supreme Court when it was established in Calcutta in 1774, later to become the Chief Justice. [Binoy Ghose, *Kalikata Saharer Itibritta, Pratham Khanda* (First Part), Bak Sahitya, Kolkata, 1999, 157]. Rani Rasmani bought the garden house and established the bazar and gifted it to her grandson, Jadunath Choudhury. (Radharaman Mitra, 48) This bazar is locally referred to as Jagubabur bazar. In fact it is named Bhabanipur or Jagubabur bazar in Kalikatar Manachitra. (See also, Kabibhushan Sri. Purna Chandra De Kabyaratna Udbhatsagar, *Madanmohan Thakur O Gokul Chandra Mitra*, Kolkata, 1937) ii) *Setaram Ghose's bazar* is seen to be located in the northeastern part of Bhabanipur, on Bhowanypoor Road (Russa Road) in the maps of Schalch (1833), and Tassin (1833), respectively. Of the two other lesser known bazaars, iii) Gunganarain Sircar's bazar was located opposite Setaram Ghose's bazar, on the eastern side of Bhowanypoor Road (Russa Road). It was named after Gunganarayan Das Sircar, known also as Gunganarayan Das. A wealthy gentleman, who had contributed generously with others to the setting up of the Hindu College, he was one of the few Bengalis who owned properties in the European dominated area near the Old Fort. He lived in Jorabagan, but also owned a garden, a slum and a bazar south of the Chowringhee Road, in the eastern part. (Radharaman Mitra, op.cit, 108-109) iv) Porabajar was located almost opposite the latter, on the western side of Russa Road, and e) Sulton Mistry's bazar was located southwards from Juggoo Baboo's bazar, in 1825.
56. Very interestingly, very few slums are seen to be illustrated in the maps prepared on Calcutta. One often has to assume, from the location of a cluster of hutments, or *kutchas* structures, that the area constitutes a *basti* or slum. *Nemoo Mullickka Busty* (Schalch, 1825) and *Gangaram Basti*, located between Russa Road and Ulfatbagan (Debasis Basu, *Kalkatar Pallinam*, op.cit.) which can also be identified through a road of the same name, *Gungaram's Bustee Road* (Heysham, 1856) in Kasseah Bagaun, indicating possibly the existence in the area of a slum of the same name. The same area is shown to be occupied by properties belonging to a Gunga Narain Sircar, in Schalch's map prepared for the Lottery Committee. One could perhaps surmise that the two names were probably of the same person, or the same family. There were two other slums referred to by Debasis Basu. These were *Brindaban Basti*, located south of Lower Circular Road, adjacent to the present Calcutta Club, and *Mali Basti*, located east of Kasseah Bagan. See Debasis Basu, 'Kalkatar Pallinam', op.cit. *Porabajarer Basti* in early twentieth century has already been mentioned in Note 36 above.
57. For further details on these localities, see Debasis Basu, *Kalkatar Pallinam*, op. cit.
58. A.K.Ray, op. cit., 109-110.



59. *ibid.*, 112.
60. Extracts from "Notes on the Medical Topography of Calcutta", by James Ronald Martin, in Asok Mitra, *The Census of the City of Calcutta*, Calcutta, 1951, Appendix XVII, 43.
61. *ibid.*, 44.
62. *ibid.*
63. For further details, see Samita Gupta, 'Theory and practice of town planning in Calcutta, 1817 to 1912: An appraisal', *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Vol.30, No.1, 1993, 31.
64. *ibid.*, 32.
65. Census of India, 1911, Vol VI, City of Calcutta, Part I, Report, Bengal Secretariat Press, Calcutta, 1913, 7.
66. A.K.Ray, *op.cit*, 159.
67. Proceedings of the Lottery Committee, Calcutta, 3 March, 1820.
68. *ibid.*, 14 January 1820.
69. Samita Gupta, *op. cit*, 51.
70. E.P.Richards, *op.cit*, 360.



## Appendix 1

### Maps used as sources

1. Mark Wood, Survey of the Country on the Banks of the Hugly River extending from the town of Calcutta to the villages of Oolobareah, 1780-84.
2. A. Upjohn, Map of Calcutta and its Environs from an Accurate Survey taken in the years 1792-93.
3. Survey of the Grounds to the Southwards of Chowringhy And General Hospital, including the whole of Bowaneepore, Performed in October, November and part of December, 1796.
4. Plan of the City of Calcutta and its Environs Surveyed by the Late Major J.A.Schalch, For the Use of the Lottery Committee and Containing all their Improvements with additions from the Surveyor General's Office, and from Recent Surveys by Captain Prinsep, 1825.
5. Plan of Calcutta Surveyed in the Year 1847, 48 & 49. Part I, South Division; Part II, North Division, by F.W.Simms, Consulting Engineer to the Government of India and Director of the Railway Department.
6. Plan of Calcutta from Actual Survey in the years 1847-49 By Frederick Walter Simms, Consulting Engineer to the Government of India. The Suburbs of the Town are from Surveys subsequently furnished by Major H.L.Thuiller, Deputy Surveyor General, Government of India Executed by himself and Captain R.Smyth, Revenue Surveyor Revised to 1875. Reduced and Engraved by J& C Walker.
7. *Kalikatar Naksha*, in *Kalikatar Manachitra*, Bengali Hand Map of Calcutta, For General Use, by Ramanauth Dass, Printed by B.M.Chakravarti at the B.P.M's Press, No.22, Jhamapooker Lane Calcutta, First Edition, 1884.
8. *Kalighat: Baibaranik Manachitra*, [Descriptive map of Kalighat] in Haripada Bhowmik (Ed), Surya Kumar Chattopadyaya, *Kalikhetro Dipika*, (in Bengali) Calcutta, 1891, Reprinted, 1986.



9. Plan of Suburbs South of Calcutta, Prepared Expressly for Thacker's Indian Directories. Revised and brought up to date by A.W.N. James, Calcutta, November 1906, Thacker's Indian Directories, 1907.
10. Suburbs of Calcutta, Surveyed under the Superintendence of Major R.T.Crichton, Superintendent, Survey of India, appointed Superintendent under Calcutta Survey Act I of 1887 and Bengal Survey Act V of 1875 by Mr.R.B. Smart appointed Assistant Superintendent of Survey by Bengal Government under Act I of 1887. 1903 to 1907s.
11. Maps showing Functions, 1911 & 1961, in Nirmal Kumar Bose, *Calcutta 1964: A Social Survey*, Calcutta 1968.
12. Calcutta Metropolitan Development Authority, Land-Use Maps, 1987.



Appendix 2

Localities in and around Bhabanipur

Early 20 <sup>th</sup> Century	Late 19 <sup>th</sup> Century	Mid 19 <sup>th</sup> Century	Early 19 <sup>th</sup> Century	Late 18 <sup>th</sup> Century
Bhawanipore	Bhabanipur	Bhawanipore/ Bhowanypoor	Bhowanypoor	Dhee Bobaneepore
Kansaripara	Kansaripara	Kassariparra / Cassareepara	Cassareepara	
Nizgram	Nijgram	Neezgram		
	Charakdanga			
Dholonda	Dhullunda / Dholandah			
Kalighat	Kalighat	Kalighat	Kally Ghaut	Dhee Monohurpore
Chakraberia	Chakrabere	Chuckerbedh/ Chuckerbare	Chuckerbedh	Shakoobar / Dhee Chuckerbere
	Keshebagan	Cussiah Bagaun / Kasseah Bagaun	Cussiah Bagaun	Dhee Birjee
		Bediah Parrah	Bediah Parrah	
Alipore	Alipur	Allipore	Alipoor	

Source: Collated from the following maps.

1. A. Upjohn, Map 7 Calcutta and its Environs from an accurate Survey, taken in the years 1792-93.
2. J. A. Schalch, Plan of the City of Calcutta and its environs, 1825.
3. F. W. Simms, Plan of Calcutta Surveyed in the year 1847, 48 & 49.
4. Ramanauth Dass, Bengali Hand Map of Calcutta for General use, *Kalikatar Manachitra*, 1884.
5. R. B. Smart, Suburbs of Calcutta, Surveyed in 1887 to 1892, Revised in 1909-10.



Appendix 3

Landholders/Residents of Bhabanipur  
1796

1.	Jungul Geer	2.	Ram Chund	3.	Mr. Harvey
4.	Tiloo Mistry	5.	Rammohan	6.	Persaud
7.	Durgaram	8.	Gourally	9.	Goburdun Kessary
10.	Manik Shaw	11.	Dyaram Dut	12.	Subaram
13.	Ram Soonder	14.	Norhury	15.	Kissen Dos
16.	Golaub Bibby	17.	Munsaram	18.	Natbahary
19.	Kisna	20.	Lessy Ram	21.	Gora Chund Nunds
22.	Dilloeray	23.	Susaram	24.	Goburdun
25.	Rugonaut	26.	Som Dos	27.	Ranjoy Joggy
28.	Soosty Dos Gose	29.	Gopy Mistry	30.	Ramcunt
31.	Kamal Kissary	32.	Ramsoonder Kissary	33.	Gopal Soory
34.	Jaggernaut Ahairy	35.	Moorally Shaw	36.	Gorachund
37.	Susaram Gose	38.	Ockil	39.	Bonomally Shaw
40.	Gourhurry Dutt	41.	Ramram Baboo	42.	Gungaram
43.	Goburdun	44.	Bonomally Shaw	45.	Lessy Ram
46.	Subaram Condo	47.	Sebe Condo	48.	Keerjee Baharry
49.	Ramlochun	50.	Juggernaut	51.	Juggernaut Shaw
52.	Bushum Chund	53.	Kosgues	54.	Manik Shaw
55.	Muddun Shaw	56.	Ram Soonder	57.	Guddaka Bunya
58.	Golakurry	59.	Gopaul Dara	60.	Gopaul Bunye
61.	Kishun Chand	62.	Ragonaut	63.	Moorally Shaw
64.	Ramnoobroo Shaw	65.	Dary Churn Banerjee	66.	Sultan Mestry
67.	Rammohun Ahairy	68.	Ram Lochun Doctor	69.	Harru Kissary
70.	Ramhurry Dos	71.	Gobind Ram	72.	Colly Persaud
73.	Ramnaut	74.	Copply Runnye	75.	Manik Ram Bose
76.	Monhurrum Mukherjee	77.	Guree Boola	78.	Hurkissen
79.	Gocul Gollah	80.	Ram Soonder Bose	81.	Nimmo Tackoor
82.	Ram Hurry	83.	Ramnaut	84.	Ramnaut
85.	Ram Soonder	86.	Bowany	87.	Rampersaud Doctor
88.	Neelkomar	89.	Kishun Chand Bose	90.	Juran Mestry
91.	Rampersaud	92.	Manik Jogy	93.	Lochun Joggy
94.	Nursing Joggy				

Source: Collated from 'A Survey of the Ground to the Southward of Chowringhy and the General Hospital including the whole of Bowanipoor, performed in October, November, December, 1796.



## Landholders/Residents of Bhabanipur 1825

1.	Setaram Ghose	2.	Gour Dey	3.	Netie Mistry
4.	Canto Dutta	5.	Sorooop Coondoo	6.	Ramram Turabdar
7.	Turoo Roy	8.	Busum Churn Dey	9.	Rammohan Coondoo
10.	Ram Ram Baboo	11.	Modun Mohun	12.	Kistonohun Baboo
13.	Gopal Dey	14.	Rajeeb Sircar	15.	Ramlochun Mukherjee
16.	Guluck Baboo	17.	Lochun Chatterjee	18.	Raja Ramlochun
19.	Gocul Bose	20.	Oboychurn Baboo	21.	Natoo Chatterjee
22.	Gopaul Ghosal				

### Around Bhabanipur

1.	Mr. Gordon	2.	Mr. Wilfords	3.	Gunganarain Sircar
4.	Canae Doctor	5.	Mr. Leslie	6.	Sorooop Poddar
7.	Mahmed Punno	8.	Cussenauth Dutta	9.	Ramnandan Mitter
10.	Buggirath Mitter	11.	C. Lascar	12.	G. Chatterjee
13.	Bulram Mitter	14.	Puddo Mitter	15.	Goluck Naug

Source: Collated from 'Plan of the City of Calcutta and its environs surveyed by the Late Major J. A. Schalch, for the use of the Lottery Committee and containing all their Improvements with additions from the Surveyor General's Office, and from Recent Surveys by Captain J. Prinsep, 1825.

## Landholders/Residents in and around Bhabanipur 1884

1.	Dr. Ganga Prasad Mukherjee	2.	Dr. Gopal Chandra Banerjee	3.	Kabiraj Gauri Nath Sen
4.	Kabiraj Kishor Chandra Sen	5.	Kabiraj Nabagopal Chakrabarty	6.	Dr. Beharilal Ghosh
7.	Dr. Bechu	8.	Dr. Rammoy Babu	9.	Raja Rajendralal Mallik

Source: Kalikatar Manachitra, Bengali Hand Map of Calcutta, for General Use, by Ramanauth Dass, Calcutta, 1884.



## Appendix 4

### Selected Roads in Bhabanipur

Late 20 <sup>th</sup> Century	Late 19 <sup>th</sup> /Early 20 <sup>th</sup> Century	Mid 19 <sup>th</sup> Century	Late 18 <sup>th</sup> Century
Lower Circular Road	Lower Circular Road	Lower Circular Road	
Asutosh Mukherjee Road	Russa Road/Russa Road North	Russa Pugla Road	To Russa Pugla
Sambhunath Pandit Street	Sambhunath Pandit Street	Peepulputtee Road	
Harish Mukherjee Road	Bagdiapara Road/Harish Mukherjee Road	Bediapara Road (upto the crossing of Peepulputtee Road)	
Debendralal Khan Road	Bhabanipur Road / Bhawanipur Road	Bhowanipore Road	
Kasaripara Road	Kasaripara Road	Cassareeparra Road	
Sankharipara Road	Sankaripara Road		
Telipara Road			
Beninandan Street	Benimadhab Nandan Brother's Street		
Harish Chatterjee Street	Harish Chatterjee Street		
Balaram Bose Ghat Road	Balaram Bose's Ghat Road	Balaram Bose Ghat Road	
	Chaulpati Road / Chelopati Road	Choulputtee Road	
		Nicooreeparrah Road	
		Jaltoongee Road	

Source: Collated from the following maps.

1. Kolkata, Detail Maps of 141 Wards with Street Directory, Kolkata, 2001.
2. West Bengal, District Planning Map Series, Kolkata, National Atlas & Thematic Mapping Organisation, Calcutta, 2001.
3. R.B.Smart's map, 1903-1907.
4. F.W.Simms' map, 1847-49.
5. A.Upjohn's map, 1792-93.



## Appendix 5

### Ghats in Bhabanipur along the Adi Ganga/Tolly's Nala

Early 20 <sup>th</sup> Century	Late 19 <sup>th</sup> Century	Mid 19 <sup>th</sup> Century	Early 19 <sup>th</sup> Century
Chamru Chaudhuri's Ghat	Joggeswar Laha's Ghat	Juggusur Laha's Ghat	Lochun Mukherjee's Ghat
Abhoy Charan Das's Ghat	Balaram Bose's Ghat	Do	Gorachand Mukherjee's Ghat
Babu Madhab's Ghat	Becharam Barujjer Ghat	Jaikisto Mukherjee's Ghat	
Madan Mohan Pal's Ghat		Puddosh Chuckerbutty's Ghat	
Narsing Prasad Dutt's Ghat		Govind Banerjee's Ghat	
Upendra Nath Ghose's Ghat		Govind Chand Mookerjee's Ghat	
Jadab Doctor's Ghat		Balaram Bose's Ghat	
Golak Chandra Koal's Ghat			
Ramnarayan Banerji's Ghat			
Haran Chandra Mukherji's Ghat			
Jadu Nath Mukhopadyay's Ghat			
Balaram Bose's Ghat			

### Ghats between Bhabanipur and Kalighat

Early 20 <sup>th</sup> Century	Late 19 <sup>th</sup> Century
Giris Chandra Banerjee's Ghat	Tarasankar Babu's Ghat
Tara Sankar Rai Chaudhuri's Ghat	Rani Rasmani's Ghat
Rani Rasmani's Ghat	
Sen Bahadur's Ghat	
Trikoneswar Shib's Ghat	

Source : Collated from the following maps.

1. R.B. Smart, 1903-1907.
2. Ramanauth Dass, 1884.
3. Frederick Walter Simms and Captain R. Smyth, 1847-49.
4. J.A. Schalch, 1825.



## Appendix 6

### Well-known Landmarks in Bhabanipur

Late 20 <sup>th</sup> Century	Late 19 <sup>th</sup> / Early 20 <sup>th</sup> Century	Mid 19 <sup>th</sup> Century	Early 19 <sup>th</sup> Century
Seth Sukhlal Karnani Memorial Hospital	General Hospital	General Hospital	General Hospital
Bangur Institute of Neurology	Bhawanipur Lunatic Asylum	Lunatic Asylum	Insane Hospital
Victoria Memorial Hall		Grand Gaol/ House of Correction	Grand Jail
Military Hospital	Military Hospital	Sudder Dewany Adalut	Soldier's Hospital
Bhawanipur Cemetery	Military Burial Ground	Military Burial Ground	Soldier's Burial Ground
United Missionary Girls High School	London Missionary Society's Institution	Bhowanipoor Institution/ Missionary School Premises	Mr. Leslie's
	Mauritius Coolie Office	Government Emigration Depot/ Coolie OfficeMauritius Emigration Depot, Bhowanipore	
	Jaltungi	Jultungi shown but not named	Jultungi shown but not named.
Jadubabur Bazar	Bhabanipur or Jagubabur Bazar	Juggoo Baboo's	Juggoo Baboo's
	Porah Bazar	Porah Bazar	

Source: Collated from maps as given in Appendix 1.